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International Approaches to Bridging the Language Gap

Cristina-Aránzazu Huertas-Abril
and María Elena Gómez Parra

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International Approaches to Bridging the Language Gap

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Detailed Table of Contents

The so-called language gap is not a modern invention, since language is power and a form of taking dominion over the world in humans' intellectual confrontation with reality. Historically, there has been inequality in language learning and mastery as a way to access knowledge and to achieve self-fulfillment in both the public and private spheres. This chapter explores the concept of language gap from a diachronic perspective and the way in which the Andalusian education system has taken actions emanating from European language policies, aimed at bridging the language gap among young people through initiatives of great impact on content and language education, such as the consolidation of bilingual education programmes through the CLIL approach and pedagogical tools like the Integrated Language Curriculum, the European Language Portfolio, and the School Language Project.

The growing presence of English language learners (ELLs) in classrooms throughout the country highlights the need for effective strategies in the process of language acquisition. Through the language acquisition process students are able to progress towards becoming fluent in the English language and ultimately perform on the same academic level as their English-speaking peers. The issue arises when ELLs enter the classroom with a language or word gap that places them at an academic disadvantage. Bilingual education is an option that is offered to students seeking to enhance their native language abilities as they acquire the English language. However, bilingual education is limited to the presence

In this light, the objective of this chapter is to reflect on the pedagogical scenario that the digital age has set up, as well as on the ideal portrait that teachers must have. Then, the authors will focus on the specific digital skills that teachers who want to "flip" their teaching process should have: What are the basic knowledge and skills that a teacher must master if they wish to rethink their practices and embark on a flipped classroom approach?

The use of technology in language instruction revolutionized the way and the feel education was provided. Several modes helped students with their language gap. Nowadays, emergent technologies including the Web 2.0, gamification and game-based learning, and immersive technologies has taken language education by storm benefitting and bridging the language gap. This chapter provides an overview of how emerging technologies are changing the paradigm and contributing positively as a bridge to confront the language gap.

In the current digital era, autonomous learning outside formal education has become a significant context for languages. In view of the huge number of websites for the study of foreign languages and their popularity due to the advantages of autonomous online learning, the authors' main goal is to evaluate the technical quality of a free online resource for the self-study of English: ESOL courses. For this purpose, this chapter presents the design of the evaluation tool: a checklist through which aspects concerning functionality and usability have been analyzed as essential characteristics of the technical dimension of a website, based on an extensive literature review and the initial technical analysis within LinguApp. The results show that non-compliance with the evaluated items leads to a deficient experience for independent users, unable to exploit all possibilities of the website due to the technical limitations they may encounter.

Language learning has become a key objective for providing new generations with competences that allow them to cope with the challenges of the 21st century. However, the socio-economic changes affecting the world have provoked the development of what has been called "language gap," which implies that not everybody has the means to access language learning. In this situation, new educational approaches characterized by the use of technology have emerged making language learning more accessible than ever before. Among the possibilities, TELL (technology-enhanced language learning) and more particularly CALL (computer-assisted language learning) and MALL (mobile-assisted language learning), offer a great potential for this purpose. Thus, this chapter aims to revise the concepts of TELL, CALL, and MALL and explore their possibilities for language learning and, ultimately, examine their potential for bridging the language gap.

Autonomous language learning is a hot topic in the scientific community as the omnipresence of ICT has increased its importance since the ‘90s. This chapter discusses the role of social media to increase learners’ autonomy in 21st century society, and how it problematizes the situations in which learners are completely autonomous (e.g., language learning through free-access websites). The autonomous learner needs to develop certain skills connected to digital competence, learning how to learn, motivation, responsibility, and perseverance. For this purpose, a SWOT analysis has been carried out to help the authors clarify the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats, which derived from ICT, impact on language learners’ autonomy. In this light, the research project PRY 208/17 aims at fostering autonomous language learning by using technology. The initial results bore out that specific abilities on autonomous learning, and personality traits benefit highly from language expert counselling and coaching, which have proved to improve the results.

This chapter presents the results of a study conducted in a language classroom in Galicia (Spain). The course was sponsored by the local administration and addressed to unemployed students (n = 14; average age 47). The education in foreign languages of the participants in the ‘80s and ‘90s had been held back due to curricular needs to promote the use of the second official language, Galician. The extrinsic motivation for English language learning of the participants was their need to improve linguistic skills to re-gain access to the job market. It was observed that they were consistently underperforming during writing exam preparation tasks. In order to meet the needs of these students, it was decided to study the impact that the explanation of the assessment rubric had on learners’ written production. Results of their performance in a pre-test were compared to the results in a post-test. The implementation of this strategy proved to be effective. By allowing the students to have knowledge of the rubric for the assessment of their writings, their fear was significantly reduced.

The term ‘translanguaging’ has been widespread in the field of Applied Linguistics in a short period of time, and just as quickly, it infiltrated in the field of Multilingual Education. Translanguaging is mostly seen as an opportunity to build on multilingual speakers’ full language repertoire in the classroom in

As a communicative link among cultures, interpreters have played a very important role throughout history. The main objective of this chapter is to analyze the language interpreter's role within warlike conflicts, paying special attention to their skills to bridge language, cultural, and power gaps. It has been observed that interpreting in conflicts is usually underestimated despite being extremely difficult and risky, and frequently, the support provided is quickly forgotten by all parts after the service is finished. This lack of consideration leaves many interpreters in danger in hostile countries. Due to the increase of displaced people and refugees in recent years, a brief historical review of the 20th and 21st century's wars has been carried out. This will be later referred to by the different interpreters and correspondents who work for diverse media and have been interviewed for the empiric study that we have carried out. Interpreters' work and ethical dilemmas they have to face are highlighted in this research. This study does not pursue, in any case, any political aims.

Foreword

This book we have the honor to preface is a substantial contribution to the discipline.

It deals with both an important and complex subject. This complexity occurs —as it is always the case— in everything related to language, Linguistics in general and the application of research on languages in contact and the need that every human community has of languages. This book has the great merit of interdisciplinarity and comprehensive treatment of the issue. Language in general and every language in particular, neither individually considered nor as a whole, should be viewed as abstract entities lacking of the basic functionality that constitutes their essence; they are a key tool of communication, as well as of the collective (and personal) identity of the community that speaks it, which even confers the consciousness of belonging (to a group) and even the very existence of the individual. History begins with writing, and Humanity begins with the development of language. In fact, the way the Neanderthal Man has been perceived until recently is changing, since it seems that he was endowed with the capacity of language, of speaking, of complex communication and, resulting from this, of abstract reasoning.

It is not a matter of invoking how the Book of Genesis begins, but taking into account the considerations aforementioned, *logos* (the Word, language) is at the origin of Humanity. It is of such importance —even in biblical terms— that, also in the Old Testament, one of the punishments Humanity receives is the destruction of the Tower of Babel and the (linguistic) chaos arising from it. Divine retribution, on this occasion, is the fact that the bridges of interlinguistic communication are destroyed. It would be with the New Testament and with Pentecost when we are told —at least in the Christian tradition— that languages, polyglotism, respect and knowledge of languages, can build and widen bridges.

What this book is about is not a minor issue. This book reaches successfully and precisely its goal with a strategic vision based on building interdisciplinary bridges from a balanced triangulation. It has 15 chapters divided into three parts, which are the following:

Section 1: Theoretical Approaches to Bridging the Language Gap
Section 2: Digital Competence and Emergent Technologies
Section 3: International Experiences to Bridging the Language Gap

The book progresses with a serene and firm rhythm from the theoretical foundation (Section 1), followed by the attention to how much Information and Communication Technologies can provide —and not only processing "musculature", but also to enhance knowledge— (Section 2) and the analysis of (innovative) experiences in the international arena (Section 3).

The editors of the volume have also established a serene and adequate order in the sequence of the chapters in each main Part. Thus, in Section 1, in Chapter 1, "CLIL, Bilingual Education and Pluriliteracies: Bridging the Language Gap in the Knowledge Society" (Martínez Serrano) is addressed; from where, in Chapter 2, the importance of "Preserving the Mother Tongue of English Language Learners" (Acosta) is analyzed. In For such purposes it is important to not neglect the cultural component, which may be at the base of the intensification (as an effect or as a cause, or as a catalyst) of "Language Gap". This is what Chapter 3 deals with: "Language Gap: Cultural Assumptions and Ideologies" (Kuchirko & Nayfeld). Finally, in Chapter 4, "English as a Lingua Franca Approaches to Bridge the Gap between Theory and Practice" (Rahal) is addressed.

Section 2 starts with—Chapter 5— the analysis of "Improving Teachers' Digital Competence to Bridge the Language Gap" (Caravello, Huertas Abril & Gómez Parra). It is important "to examine the digital skills that foreign language teachers must have in our global interconnected society, and the ways in which they can acquire them" —as the authors say. Chapter 6 discusses the benefits of "Bridging the Language Gap with Emergent Technologies" (Figueroa). Chapter 7, "A Proposal of Evaluation Criteria for the Quality of ESL/EFL Websites for Autonomous Learning" (Aguayo Arrabal & Ramírez Delgado), deals with the requirements of websites for autonomous learning of languages to be effective for the users. In Chapter 8, "TELL, CALL and MALL: Approaches to Bridge the Language Gap" (Palacios Hidalgo), the socio-economic changes affecting the world that have provoked the development of "language gap" are addressed. Finally, Chapter 9 discusses "Social Media Support and the Need of Counseling from Experts in Autonomous Language Learning: Challenges and Strategies for the 21st Century" (Gómez Parra & Huertas Abril).

Section 3 establishes a well-rounded international kaleidoscope, with attention to both contrast/contact languages, the integration of language teaching taking into account personal-sexual-gender diversity, the contrast/bridge of languages in specific uses (economy) and the role of the interpreter –incarnation of the language bridge– in armed conflicts. In Chapter 10, the importance of "Making Language Learning More Inclusive: Introducing Rubrics to Adult Students to Improve Written Performance" (Bobadilla Pérez & Lucía Fraga Viñas) is addressed. Chapter 11 focuses on "Dealing with Language Gap in a Hungarian-English Early Childhood Classroom" (Csillik & Golubeva). Chapter 12 provides a deep insight into "An Approach for Providing LGBTI + Education and Bridging the Language Gap: Integrating ESoPC into EFL Teacher Training" (Palacios Hidalgo). Chapter 13 addresses "Beyond the English Divide in South Korea" (Martinez-Garcia). Chapter 14 discusses "The spelling gap in English: Economy of rules and resolution of puzzles" (Achiri-Taboh). And finally Chapter 15 teaches how to do "Interpreting to Bridge the Gaps in War Conflicts" (Ruiz Mezcua & Valverde Ferrera).

This is a book with a very weighted international participation among universities and organizations specialized in language (teaching):

University of Córdoba, Spain
University of A Coruña, Spain
University Pablo de Olavide, Spain
University of North Carolina, USA
Brooklin College, City University of New York, USA
Aix-Marseille University, France
Mnemosine, Italy
Texas Woman's University, USA

NYC Department of Education, USA
University of Maryland, Baltimore County, USA
Hankuk University of Foreign Studies, South Korea
University of Buea, Cameroon

Therefore, this book (its editors and the respective authors of each chapter) is innovative and provides the know-how (as it is the result of great knowledge of the subject by its authors and publishers) to give us role models for future research. This book becomes a reference work in the field.

Rosabel Roig-Vila
Instituto de Ciencias de la Educación, University of Alicante, Spain

Vicent Martines
ISIC-IVITRA, University of Alicante, Spain

Preface

It was the best of times, it was the worst of times, it was the age of wisdom, it was the age of foolishness, it was the epoch of belief, it was the epoch of incredulity, it was the season of Light, it was the season of Darkness, it was the spring of hope, it was the winter of despair, we had everything before us, we had nothing before us…

Dickens's privileged pen describes with surgeon precision a deep contradiction, frequent in times of prosperity, where the good is usually the enemy of the best. This beginning to *A Tale of Two Cities* stands as a magnificent portrait of the 21st century in relation to knowledge and education. We have hardly known a better time for the diffusion of science, thanks to the Information and Communication Technologies (ICT), the ease of communications, globalization and migratory flows. All of them make this planet a smaller place than we have known so far. Borders are becoming blurred with respect to cultures, and second/foreign languages are the fundamental construct for understanding what is happening in the world (sometimes even in one's own country).

But, contradictorily, this 21st century is also the perfect breeding ground for inequality of opportunities and the consequent lack of knowledge in certain sectors of the world population that, due almost exclusively to the lack or scarcity of economic means, do not have access to the variety of resources that human beings make available to knowledge.

The concept of the language gap (initially called 'word gap') originated in 1995, when *Meaningful Differences in the Everyday Experience of Young American Children* was published. Betty Hart and Todd Risley, the authors of this work, postulate that there is a 'gap of 30 million words' between children living in poverty and those educated in affluent households.' The authors attributed most of the academic disparities found to socioeconomic inequality (SES). Based on this premise, the scientific literature has developed the concept profusely and, according to Johnson (2015, p. 42), "there has been a recent surge in educational programs that are based on a deficit view toward the language patterns of families from economically impoverished backgrounds."

Today, the language gap is not confined to the lexical sphere, but the term accounts for the difficulties of access to languages (first and second/foreign) due to the socio-economic disparities that are so evident among different parts of the world today. However, the position of the scientific literature on the matter is not unanimous, and in it we find authors who defend its existence (e.g. Hart, and Risley, 1995, 2003; Hindman, Wasik, and Snell, 2016) coexisting with others who reject the concept (e.g. Johnson, 2015; Johnson, and Zentella, 2017).

Different approaches are then considered in this volume, which is organized according to three main sections: i) Theoretical Approaches to Bridging the Language Gap, ii) Digital Competence and Emergent Technologies, and iii) International Experiences to Bridging the Language Gap.

The first section, Theoretical Approaches to Bridging the Language Gap, starts with the chapter "CLIL, Bilingual Education and Pluriliteracies: Bridging the Language Gap in the Knowledge Society," where the author states that the language gap is not a modern invention, "since language is power and a form of taking dominion over the world in humans' intellectual confrontation with reality. Historically, there has been inequality in language learning and mastery as a way to access knowledge and to achieve self-fulfillment in both the public and private spheres." Considering this starting point, Martínez Serrano explores the concept of language gap from a diachronic perspective and the way in which a specific region of Spain, Andalusia, has taken actions emanating from European language policies, aimed at bridging the language gap among young people.

Chapter 2, "Preserving the Mother Tongue of English Language Learners," deals with the growing presence of English language learners (ELLs) in classrooms, so effective strategies are essential in the process of language acquisition. In this context, the issue arises when ELLs enter the classroom with a language gap that places them at an academic disadvantage. In this context, Acosta presents the benefits of preserving the mother tongue among ELLs and the strategies necessary to replicate mother tongue preservation with language learners in non-bilingual classrooms.

Kuchirko and Nayfeld, in "Language Gap: Cultural Assumptions and Ideologies," deal with existing critiques by underlining the cultural assumptions and ideologies that underpin the language gap, to challenge them by drawing upon cross-cultural research on human development. Moreover, these authors discuss ways to move research forward using methodologies that attends to cultural variability, builds on families' funds of knowledge, and recognizes societal contexts and structures that may address systemic inequities.

Chapter 4 is the final chapter of the first section, and it deals with the fact that English currently occupies a unique place in today's interconnected world. "English as a Lingua Franca Approaches to Bridge the Gap between Theory and Practice" addresses questions revolving around the change of the teaching and learning habitus, and its purpose is to reflect on new approaches, which go hand in hand with how English is currently being used, and how it can also be integrated in classrooms.

Section 2, entitled "Digital Competence and Emergent Technologies," starts with the chapter "Improving Teachers' Digital Competence to Bridge the Language Gap." This chapter aims to examine the digital skills that foreign language teachers must have in our global interconnected society, and the ways in which they can acquire them. Caravello, Huertas-Abril and Gómez-Parra, after reflecting on the pedagogical scenario that the digital age has set up and on the ideal portrait that teachers must have, focus on the specific digital skills that teachers who want to "flip" their teaching process should have: the basic knowledge and skills that a teacher must master if they wish to rethink their practices and embark on a flipped classroom approach.

Following some of the ideas of the previous chapter, "Bridging the Language Gap with Emergent Technologies" provides an overview of how emerging technologies are changing the paradigm and contributing positively as a bridge to confront the language gap. For this purpose, Figueroa addresses emergent technologies including the Web 2.0, Gamification and Game-based learning, and Immersive technologies, which have taken language education by storm benefitting and bridging the language gap.

Chapter 7, "A Proposal of Evaluation Criteria for the Quality of ESL/EFL Websites for Autonomous Learning," presents the design of the evaluation tool: a checklist through which aspects concerning functionality and usability have been analyzed as essential characteristics of the technical dimension of a website. The results show that non-compliance with the evaluated items leads to a deficient experience for independent users, unable to exploit all possibilities of the website due to the technical limitations they may encounter.

Other possibilities related to technology to bridge the language gap are addressed in Chapter 8 - "TELL, CALL and MALL: Approaches to Bridge the Language Gap." There is no doubt that TELL (Technology-Enhanced Language Learning), and more particularly CALL (Computer Assisted Language Learning) and MALL (Mobile Assisted Language Learning), offer a great potential. In this chapter, Palacios-Hidalgo revises the concepts of TELL, CALL and MALL, explore their possibilities for language learning, and, ultimately, examine their potential for bridging the language gap.

Chapter 9, "Social Media Support and the Need of Counselling from Experts in Autonomous Language Learning: Challenges and Strategies for the 21st Century," discusses the role of social media to increase learners' autonomy in 21st century society, and how it problematizes the situations in which learners are completely autonomous (e.g. language learning through free-access websites). As the autonomous learner needs to develop certain skills connected to digital competence, learning how to learn, motivation, responsibility and perseverance, a SWOT analysis has been carried out to help the authors clarify the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats. Gómez-Parra and Huertas Abril highlight that specific abilities on autonomous learning and personality traits benefit highly from language expert counselling and coaching.

Considering the different approaches to the language gap, Section 3 presents "International Experiences to Bridging the Language Gap."

Chapter 10 presents the results of a study conducted in a language classroom in Galicia, Spain. The education in foreign languages of the participants in this study in the 80s and 90s had been held back due to curricular needs to promote the use of the second official language - Galician. The extrinsic motivation for English language learning of the participants was their need to improve linguistic skills to re-gain access to the job market, but it had been observed that they were consistently underperforming during writing exam preparation tasks. In order to meet the needs of these students, Bobadilla and Fraga study the impact that the explanation of the assessment rubric had on learners' written production. Results of students' performance in a pre-test were compared to the results in a post-test, and by allowing the students to have knowledge of the rubric for the assessment of their writings, their fear was significantly reduced.

Chapter 11 addresses the concept of 'translanguaging,' which been widespread in the fields of both Applied Linguistics and Multilingual Education in a short period of time. For this chapter, Csillik and Golubeva observed pedagogical translanguaging practices in the AraNY János Hungarian Kindergarten and School (USA) to understand how English language was used in teaching the heritage language and to discover how bridging existing language gaps between speakers worked in the practices of bilingual pedagogues. The main objective of this chapter is thus to show some interesting pedagogical translanguaging strategies used to deal with the language gap.

In "An Approach for Providing LGBTI+ Education and Bridging the Language Gap: Integrating ESoPC into EFL Teacher Training," the author highlights that the field of intercultural education is starting to address gender/sexual identity as a way to counterattack prejudices and intolerant attitudes towards LGTBI+ people. However, it is still necessary to reconsider how to deal with these concepts from teacher training in an effective way so as to prepare these professionals to develop their work in an inclusive way. This chapter revises how new approaches in English teacher training can help integrate LGBTI+ issues to educate future generations in respect towards gender/sexual diversity, and at the same time bridge the language gap.

"Beyond the English Divide in South Korea" presents the fact that the knowledge of English in South Korea is considered to be an important asset, such that it is an indispensable skill when applying for admission into the top universities in the country or finding good jobs. However, not all families have access to the same private resources, thus, creating a division (also known as 'English Divide') between the richer families who can provide their children with good private education and poorer families, who cannot do it. Martínez-García provides a detailed account of the current economic situation of South Korea, emphasizing the importance given to English education, and outline the work done by non-profit organizations to stop this English Divide.

Chapter 14 addresses a major item on the topic of language gap: spelling. Since the 1950s, English spelling has been an attraction to scholars, as "it is a major problem even to native speakers" (West, 1965), an assertion that stares at English spellers to this day. "The Spelling Gap in English: Economy of Rules and Resolution of Puzzles" demonstrates that base-words that take the t-form have a smaller set of conditions that can more easily be mastered than do those that take the s-form, thus forestalling the latter.

Finally, Chapter 15, "Interpreting to Bridge the Gaps in War Conflicts," analyzes the language interpreter's role within warlike conflicts, paying special attention to their skills to bridge language, cultural and power gaps. It has been observed that interpreting in conflicts is usually underestimated despite being extremely difficult and risky, and frequently the support provided is quickly forgotten by all parts after the service is finished. This lack of consideration leaves many interpreters in danger in hostile countries.

As can be seen from the different approaches presented in the 15 chapters of this volume, the publication of this book is motivated by the need to compile the research of a representation of authors who, positioned on one side or the other of the spectrum, contribute to shed light on this interesting debate that, undoubtedly, will not leave the reader indifferent.

We will leave in this Preface our position on the language gap which, to sum it up, declares itself in favour of the concept and defends that the 21st century is witnessing a clear inequality of access to learning and to the mastery of languages (whether first or second/foreign). This language gap has its origin in the SES of the subject and it is a reality that researchers, educators and policy-makers have to face in a coordinated way.

Firstly, though, we believe it is appropriate to contextualise how second/foreign language learning has recently evolved, and how ICT support has been a key element in focusing on the autonomous character of this process.

Technology-assisted second/foreign language learning has benefited in recent years from advances in crucial areas such as the use of authentic materials (Erbaggio, Gopalakrishnan, Hobbs, and Liu, 2012), the creation of real communicative contexts (Hwang, Chen, Shadiev, Huang, and Chen, 2014), the ubiquity of learning (Ghareb, Sate-Askew, and Mohammed, 2018) or increased motivation and improved outcomes (Lee, 2000), among others.

The union of linguistic competence and digital competence is endorsed by the European Union itself, both belonging to the key competences for lifelong learning (European Parliament and Council of Europe, 2006). This interrelationship is clearly manifested in the very definition proposed for digital competence, where the role of communication and collaboration is emphasised:

Digital competence involves the confident and critical use of Information Society Technology (IST) for work, leisure and communication. It is underpinned by basic skills in ICT: the use of computers to retrieve, assess, store, produce, present and exchange information, and to communicate and participate in collaborative networks via the Internet. (European Parliament and Council of Europe, 2006, p. 15)

Second/foreign language learning in the 21st century is thus inexorably linked to digital competence. Literature leaves no room for doubt: technology has substantially changed the way humans communicate. This change is easily perceptible in the six factors that Jakobson (1985, p. 113) designated in the scheme of verbal communication: we have a sender (*addresser*) who, by using a *code*, produces a *message* for a certain recipient (*addressee*), thanks to the physical channel (*contact*), located in the framework of a specific *context*. All the elements of this scheme have undergone an evolution that, to a great extent, has been fostered by ICT and social changes related to globalization and migratory phenomena (Hafner, Chik, and Jones, 2015). Language learning facilitates a type of communication that transcends the limits of the language itself, since the speaker of a second language (L2) has the possibility of accessing new linguistic, cultural and social constructs that allow them to interact with the medium in a different way. Technology (particularly the Internet) in the educational world has resulted in a change of methodological paradigm in the field of language learning and teaching (Ganderton, 1988; Lee, 2000; Román, 2002).

The emergence of ICT in the field of second/foreign languages, where language learning through computers (CALL, acronym for 'Computer-Assisted Language Learning') or technology in general (TELL, acronym for 'Technology-Enhanced Language Learning') are playing an essential role in the area, has modified (in a wide range of factors) the way in which the learner accesses information, selects it, learns it, retains it and uses it to communicate (as we say, by transcending the limits of the language itself).

In relation to linguistic competence, Widdowson (2004, p. 548) points out that: "Learning a language involves both getting to know how meanings are encoded into it, and being able to act upon this abstract knowledge to engage in actual behaviour."

This materialization of abstract knowledge is done through the well-known four skills (*speaking, listening, reading* and *writing*), a term that has its roots in the audio-linguistic approach and which nowadays is absolutely consolidated in the field of foreign language pedagogy through its adaptation to the communicative method, as teachers have been working with it for more than six decades.

This traditional classification of skills does not always find support in the literature; many authors criticize and reject it as a mere pedagogical artifice that does not find endorsement in the real world (e.g. Kumaravadivelu, 1994). In this sense, the most current scientific positioning in second/foreign language pedagogy advocates a holistic and complementary understanding of the four skills, where similarities and interconnection between them constitute a clear reference element for literature. Johnson (2018) puts it this way:

We shall treat listening and reading together, because both involve common processes of comprehension. Also, when we look at teaching techniques, we shall often find that listening exercises can be used, with small changes, for the teaching of reading as well, and vice versa. In addition, there are processes common to the productive skills, so that techniques for the teaching of speaking can, with modifications, often be used for writing. But there is another set of interconnections to think about. In a later section we shall touch briefly on the idea that to be a good writer, it helps to be a good reader. Understanding your reader, knowing what they are expecting next and anticipating how they will interpret what you write are essential skills for good writing. One might even go so far as to say that teaching good writing involves teaching someone to be a good reader. All this adds up to the fact that although it is sometimes useful to look at the four skills separately, we must not forget ways in which they are similar, and how they interconnect. (pp. 240-41)

Therefore, we firmly believe that the following facts can be deduced in the light of the literature review in both fields (linguistic competence and digital competence):

a. The learning (whether autonomous or guided) of second/foreign languages, nowadays, is inexorably linked to ICT.
b. ICT have developed rapidly.
c. Access to second/foreign language learning is, to a large extent, conditioned by socio-economic factors (SES) that may determine, for example, whether the learner has access to stays in the second/foreign language home country, or whether access to ICT is easy, adequate or even possible.
d. Access to ICT is unequal for the world's population as a whole, also due to the disparity of economic resources.

Therefore, we can affirm that economic inequality (and the multiple harms it entails) is the cause of unequal access to language learning (whether first or second/foreign) which, in many cases, causes the so-called language gap.

For the publishers of this volume, the language gap is the difficulty (or deprivation) of access to languages caused by economic disparities (SES). This language gap is perceptible in, for example, the lexical variety of speakers who have been educated in contexts of a higher SES, or in better training in second languages.

Thus, we join the current of authors who defend the need to face this disparity through adequate research, which can manage to design adequate and ingenious methodological procedures (overcoming or bridging the digital gap) to improve effective language learning. On the other hand, we defend the need for a political agreement at an international level that offers guarantees of educational equality for all the inhabitants of the planet. Finally, we believe that the institutional involvement of educators is essential, as they must be aware of the benefits of overcoming this language gap and that they must put their personal effort into continuous methodological training to update teaching processes for language teaching (let us insist, first and second/foreign).

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Section 1

Theoretical Approaches to Bridging the Language Gap

Chapter 1
CLIL, Bilingual Education, and Pluriliteracies:
Bridging the Language Gap in the Knowledge Society

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ABSTRACT

The so-called language gap is not a modern invention, since language is power and a form of taking dominion over the world in humans' intellectual confrontation with reality. Historically, there has been inequality in language learning and mastery as a way to access knowledge and to achieve self-fulfillment in both the public and private spheres. This chapter explores the concept of language gap from a diachronic perspective and the way in which the Andalusian education system has taken actions emanating from European language policies, aimed at bridging the language gap among young people through initiatives of great impact on content and language education, such as the consolidation of bilingual education programmes through the CLIL approach and pedagogical tools like the Integrated Language Curriculum, the European Language Portfolio, and the School Language Project.

INTRODUCTION

The concept of 'language gap' is as old as humanity for a simple reason: the human being is *homo loquens*, a creature that speaks, and social differences have imposed their tyranny ever since the very cradle of humanity. The United Nations Millennium Development Goals remind governments precisely that they have yet to eradicate world hunger and make primary education a universal right. It is no coincidence that injustice and social inequality have had many faces and one of them is the way in which the mastery of languages (the mother tongue and foreign languages) has allowed certain groups or individuals to attain greater levels of personal, academic and professional success (and power) in the public and private spheres. The school, as an institution in charge of perpetuating the vast cultural legacy of

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human beings, has not remained on the margins of this unavoidable reality. Thus, in recent decades, we have witnessed the unprecedented democratization of language learning in the European context. While language learning used to be an elitist prerogative, now public schools ensure that citizens have access to languages as powerful tools for meaning making and knowledge construction. In this context, the CLIL approach represents a unique pedagogical opportunity to fight the language gap: by transforming languages (the mother tongue and the foreign language) into genuine vehicles of communication and tools for accessing the knowledge of the different disciplines that make up the school curriculum, this approach makes it possible for learners to acquire more solid curricular knowledge, to improve students' linguistic competence in several languages, to access other worldviews and cultural meanings, as well as to develop pluriliteracies that ensure the learner's active participation in the so-called Knowledge Society.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the European Union, from its very origins, should have been committed to giving a decisive impetus to all those policies aimed at reinforcing the plurilingual and pluricultural dimension that must necessarily permeate the provision of high-quality education. In the case of Andalusia, in 2005 the regional administration put in place the *Plan for the Promotion of Plurilingualism. A Language Policy for the Andalusian Society*, an essential document from which various actions emerged that improved the competence in linguistic communication in foreign languages of the teaching staff and students alike. In 2017, the *PEDLA*, the *Strategic Plan for the Development of Languages in Andalusia. Horizon 2020*, was made public. It seeks to perpetuate the spirit of its predecessor, whilst not forgetting the need to cultivate different skills in the mother tongue to make citizens truly competent. In an increasingly globalised world, the pragmatic and functional mastery of languages opens doors, bringing people closer to the wealth inherent in the human species in its various manifestations. Needless to say, the school is called upon to be at the forefront of this titanic enterprise.

This chapter explores, on the one hand, the concept of *language gap* from a diachronic perspective and, on the other, the way in which Andalusian language policies emanating from European recommendations and resolutions have tried to bridge the language gap amongst young people through initiatives of great impact on content and language education, such as the consolidation of bilingual education programmes through the CLIL approach and pedagogical tools like the Integrated Language Curriculum, the European Language Portfolio and the School Language Project.

FROM PROTO-CLIL TO THE DEMOCRATISATION OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION

In a seminal book titled *CLIL* (2010), Coyle et al. define the concept of CLIL in crystal clear terms:

Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) is a dual focused educational approach in which an additional language is used for the learning and teaching of both content and language. That is, in the teaching and learning process, there is a focus not only on content, and not only on language. Each is interwoven, even if the emphasis is greater on one or the other at a given time. CLIL is not a new form of language education. It is not a new form of subject education. It is an innovative fusion of both. (2010, p. 1)

CLIL is, therefore, an educational approach that integrates the learning of content from different disciplines or curricular subjects and the learning of an additional language. In other words, the additional language is used as a tool of communication and as a tool of access to the disciplinary knowledge of content subjects. It entails learning History, Physics, Philosophy or Biology through a foreign language. In a nutshell, CLIL is about fusion, integration or harmonisation of content and language, and it allows for a more holistic approach to the curriculum and a more integrated learning experience for the student.

However, CLIL has its historical precedents in the history of humanity. There was a kind of proto-CLIL at stake centuries ago. Learning any discipline through a language other than one's mother tongue is an experience which is certainly as old as humanity itself. In *Uncovering CLIL*, Mehisto, Marsh and Frigols point out the following in a highly illuminating paragraph:

CLIL practice has a much longer history. The first known CLIL-type programme dates back some 5000 years to what is now modern-day Iraq. The Akkadians, who conquered the Sumerians, wanted to learn the local language. To this end, Sumerian was used as a medium of instruction to teach several subjects to the Akkadians, including theology, botany and zoology. If Sumerian instructors were true to the basic principles of CLIL, they supported the learning of Sumerian, as well as the learning of the content in theology, botany and zoology. (2008, p. 9)

Thus, the first proto-CLIL programme dates back five thousand years to what is now modern-day Iraq. The Akkadians, who conquered the Sumerians and wished to learn the vernacular language, used Sumerian as the language of instruction to teach disciplines as diverse as theology, botany and zoology. If they were faithful to the most elementary principles of CLIL, then they taught both the Sumerian language and the content of those disciplines at the same time. They must have been driven by pragmatic reasons, both political and educational, seeking the integration of the colonizers with the local people and excellence in matters of pedagogy.

Language learning has also been an unequivocal sign of a well-rounded education among the well-off and upper classes. The wealthy and powerful families of ancient Rome educated their children in Greek, so that they would have more opportunities in their social and professional life, in their *cursus honorum*, to hold responsibilities not easily accessible to those coming from lower, more modest social classes. From the very cradle of the Western world, since Greco-Latin antiquity, we find illustrious examples of polyglot learners: the Stoic philosopher born in Córdoba Lucius Anneo Seneca learnt through the medium of Latin and Greek; the Roman emperor Marcus Aurelius ruled in Latin and wrote his philosophical disquisitions in Greek in the famous *Meditations*; and the German archaeologist Heinrich Schliemann, the discoverer of Troy, came to learn a dozen languages (classical and modern) on his own thanks to a method based on the reading of classics and translation. We also find times sensitive to the diversity of human voices and essential milestones in our recent European history: the use of Latin as the indisputable vehicular language of European culture in the Middle Ages, the love for the word on the part of the European Renaissance humanists, and the fascination languages held for philologists during the emergence of Philology as an academic discipline in the 18th and 19th centuries. Consider, in this respect, the birth of Comparative Grammar, the search for the origin of human languages and the study of Indo-European as the mother tongue of those spoken on European soil. These are only instances.

In any case, let us not forget that there has always existed a form of bilingualism in the deep layers of intra-history, as used to be the case in the vast territories of imperial Rome, where any small merchant, soldier or slave was bilingual on a functional and pragmatic level, or as was the case with intellectuals and writers of modest social origin such as Ezra Pound, Rainer Maria Rilke or Czeslaw Milosz, who acquired a knowledge of several languages. As Pound himself put it in memorable terms, in an article entitled "Things to Be Done", published in *Poetry*, IX (6 March 1917),

… let us learn more languages – let more people learn more languages. The man who reads only one language is, intellectually, only half a man in comparison with the man of equal mental energy who can read two with comfort. All things are not written in one tongue (1917, p. 312).

Fortunately, 21st-century society is more multilingual and multicultural than ever before and enjoys greater doses of democracy. Access to language learning is no longer the prerogative of the elite or the most privileged classes. We are witnessing a true democratization of language learning within public schools, a phenomenon that has occurred as a result of globalisation, the impact of new technologies and profound changes in the processing, storage, retrieval and transmission of information and knowledge on a planetary scale. It is no coincidence that English is the *lingua franca* or language with no frontiers of today's world, just as Latin used to be in the ancient Roman Empire and in the centuries following its fall.

ANDALUSIAN LANGUAGE POLICIES: FROM THE PLAN FOR THE PROMOTION OF PLURILINGUALISM (2005) TO THE PEDLA (2017)

Changes in the world of education are not random or arbitrary, but are often the result of educational policies and guidelines that set the direction a society wants schools to take as institutions in the service of human communities. In this sense, the Andalusian educational administration has been making a huge effort and deploying multiple resources over the last years to promote training in foreign languages, contributing to the linguistic and didactic updating of the teaching staff, as well as of the students themselves. In this context, the *PEDLA* (*Plan Estratégico de Desarrollo de las Lenguas en Andalucía. Horizonte 2020*) came into force in January 2017, stating in its initial draft that "without a high-quality teacher training programme we cannot have a quality education and without a quality education we cannot have a genuinely free society" (2016, p. 2). This plan, which follows on from the 2005 *Plan for the Promotion of Plurilingualism*, aims to improve the education system in Andalusia on the fundamental premise that language learning is an element of equality when it comes to consolidating a democratic society that is firmly committed to employability, people's mobility and economic growth. In the *PEDLA* we read: "increased investment in the teaching of foreign languages is necessary if we are committed to providing all Andalusian students, and not just the well-off elites, with the possibility of speaking two or more foreign languages. There is no doubt that such an investment will make possible benefits for society in general, for the economy of the Andalusian Community and for each student individually" (2016, p. 39).

The objectives proposed by the *PEDLA* on the path to 2020 are multiple and ambitious. Among them, the following should be highlighted: to increase language skills throughout life, to increase the number of Andalusian bilingual schools, to articulate all language teaching in the Andalusian education system around the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages*, to fulfill the objectives of the European Union's language policies, to transform classrooms into plurilingual environments (boosting knowledge of languages such as Chinese, Portuguese, Italian or Slavic languages, alongside English, French or German), to increase exposure to several foreign languages, to promote the use of innovative methodologies, to foster the use of the European Language Portfolio (ELP) among teachers and students, to promote the exchange of good practice in language teaching and learning, etc. More specifically, the *PEDLA* sets out four ambitious strategic objectives for language learning with a view to 2020: (1) to develop and improve students' communicative competence, placing the mother tongue and foreign languages in the first line of action of the regional educational administration; (2) to increase the *CEFR* levels acquired by the students in at least one foreign language; (3) to improve the teaching-learning methodology deployed by teachers; and (4) to increase the number of people accredited in linguistic competence with a C1 level. These four strategic objectives are the ones that guide at all times a spectrum of six specific objectives that we detail below:

(1) To consolidate the achievements of the Bilingual Programme throughout Andalusia, for which purpose it will be necessary to guarantee the continuity of bilingual teaching in the transition from one educational stage to another, as well as equal opportunities for students attending school in areas that are disadvantaged due to their geographical or economic situation. Likewise, the aim is to extend the network of Andalusian bilingual schools to a total of at least 1,500 by 2020, increasing the offer of bilingual education in Vocational Education and Training (a greater variety in the study offer) as well as in Music or Dance Schools. To this end, it will be necessary to progressively increase the number of teachers who are methodologically qualified and accredited with a C1 level, to provide schools with language assistants as true agents that contribute to the linguistic and cultural immersion of students and teachers, and to transform the classrooms into plurilingual environments. Parallel to all of this, measures aimed at all Andalusian schools include the following: the implementation of the second compulsory foreign language (L3) in Primary Education, an increase in the diversity of languages offered as first and second foreign languages, the consolidation of the José Saramago Programme (for the teaching of Portuguese as a foreign language) and the Programme for the Experimental Teaching of the Chinese Language and Culture, as well as the reactivation of language immersion programmes for students.

(2) To improve and expand teacher training in accordance with the *III Andalusian Plan for In-Service Teacher Training*, which includes in its strategic line I axis number 3, concerning "the school of the Knowledge Society: plurilingualism, use of ICT and entrepreneurship". More specifically, sub-axis 3.1 focuses on the promotion of plurilingualism and insists on the need to train students to be able to communicate in their mother tongue and in one or more foreign languages. This boosting of language learning is in line with the European Union's language policies and the "desire for Andalusian youth to adapt as quickly as possible to the requirements of the European and global labour market and to facilitate the free movement of students" (2017, pp. 22–23). To this end, the linguistic, didactic and pedagogical updating of teachers in areas such as the balanced work on the five *CEFR* skills, CLIL, the Integrated Language Curriculum, the School Language Project, the European Language Portfolio, Erasmus+ and learner-centred dialogical methodologies mediated by ICT (project-based learning, cooperative learning, Design Thinking, flipped classroom, etc.) to promote effective communication will play a key role in the training of teachers coping with the challenge of bilingual education in the Andalusian education system. Cultivating the plurilingual and pluricultural competence of students is the ultimate goal of the Plan, so as to enable young people to live fully in the 21st-century Knowledge Society.

(3) To optimise the use of I+D+i (investigation, development and innovation) and seek synergies between the scientific community as represented by Andalusian Universities and the Educational Administration in order to propel forward the expansion and consolidation of the Bilingual Programme in Andalusia. Effective language policies can only be sustained by the latest advances made by the scientific community, which is the reason why it is necessary to ensure fruitful synergies between the regional Ministry of Education, bilingual schools and the researchers of the Andalusian Universities in order to carry out empirical studies on the development of the compe-

tence in linguistic communication on the part of Andalusian students. The ultimate aim would be to promote the creation of inter-professional communities of practice that bring together teachers, teacher trainers, advisors, university teaching and research staff, educational administration staff, etc., around research-action projects, with the aim of making informed decisions based on solid scientific evidence.

(4) To increase the exposure of students to languages outside the classroom through cultural products and easily accessible multilingual contents that complement their training through agreements with the audiovisual industry, especially RTVA (Radio Televisión Andaluza). In this sense, the broadcasting of audiovisual messages in the original version by RTVA in youth time slots and the projection of VSO films in cinemas are considered perfect allies to expose the Andalusian youth to foreign languages for a longer period of time. In addition, the Erasmus+ Programme offers multiple language learning opportunities in non-formal and informal contexts, outside of the classroom, as it connects the Andalusian school with other European education systems and promotes the use of foreign languages as living tools of communication within mobility projects (KA1) and partnerships for the exchange of good practices and innovation (KA2).

(5) To favour intercultural education in Andalusian classrooms, where the multicultural presence as a result of the migratory phenomenon is an unavoidable reality and an inexhaustible source of wealth – linguistic, cultural and human. Languages are not merely systems of linguistic signs, but they are loaded with cultural meanings and embody an entire worldview. Hence, learning languages other than one's mother tongue involves much more than learning labels for the same things: it involves learning other ways of thinking about those things, it is a complex intercultural experience *per se*. Thus, this fifth objective is to guarantee the full adaptation of immigrant students to the Andalusian educational system and to take good care of the coexistence of different languages, cultures and worldviews at school as a unique opportunity to cultivate mutual enrichment and empathy towards otherness.

(6) To improve the academic performance of pupils in the field of language learning. In general, the aims of the *PEDLA* can be briefly summarised in this way: (a) at least 30% of the students enrolled in non-bilingual education should reach an A1 level at the end of the 6th grade of Primary Education, an A2 level at the end of the 4th grade of Compulsory Secondary Education, and a B1 level at the end of Baccalaureate; and (b) at least 50% of the students enrolled in bilingual education should reach an A2 level at the end of the 6th grade of Primary Education, a B1 level at the end of the 4th grade of Compulsory Secondary Education, and a B2 level at the end of Baccalaureate. To this end, language programmes for Andalusian students will be promoted through immersion camps and student exchanges with other countries. The educational administration will also seek to encourage the participation of students in Erasmus+ and eTwinning programmes in order to promote the use of foreign languages as a tool for communication in projects involving students from other European countries. The *PEDLA* also encourages the implementation of the Foreign Language Accompaniment Programme to improve language learning from the first cycle of Primary Education onwards, especially in non-bilingual schools.

TOOLS IN THE SERVICE OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION: CLIL, INTEGRATED LANGUAGE CURRICULUM, EUROPEAN LANGUAGE PORTFOLIO, ERASMUS+ AND SCHOOL LANGUAGE PROJECT

The CLIL approach has meant a true Copernican revolution in the treatment of human knowledge in the classroom: language becomes a vehicle for communication and a tool to access the knowledge of the different disciplines that make up the school curriculum. In this context, the Council of Europe has chosen to promote the concept of *plurilingualism* as opposed to *multilingualism*, which was expressed in the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* (2001), an ambitious document that was born with a vocation for universality: that of uniting and homogenising the ways of teaching modern languages throughout the European Union according to rigorous parameters of competence. In the *CEFR* we read:

The plurilingual approach emphasises the fact that as an individual person's experience of language in its cultural contexts expands, from the language of the home to that of society at large and then to the languages of other peoples (whether learnt at school or college, or by direct experience), he or she does not keep these languages and cultures in strictly separated mental compartments, but rather builds up a communicative competence to which all knowledge and experience of language contributes and in which languages interrelate and interact. (2001, p. 4).

That is to say: language is one and languages form a single competence in the learner's mind, even though there might be different expressive channels through which it manifests itself. CLIL is, therefore, an educational approach that integrates the learning of content from different disciplines or curricular subjects and the learning of a second language. Thus, this approach allows for a more global, integrated, and holistic approach to human knowledge, beyond the watertight compartments of the disciplines that make up the school curriculum. It involves making the content of the content subjects the engine and soul of the learning of the L2/L3, whilst not forgetting the need for students to assimilate the specific contents of the curriculum areas or subjects; it involves working on the five *CEFR* language skills in a balanced, integrated and sensible way; and it involves placing learners at the very centre of the teaching-learning process and giving them plenty of reasons for needing to use the L2/L3 to communicate, to assimilate disciplinary content and to learn with a clearer purpose. As Coyle et al. point out in *CLIL* (2010), the heart of CLIL is, in fact, made up of the 4 Cs: Content (disciplinary knowledge), Communication (language), Cognition (what happens in the mind, which is the object of study of Neuroscience) and Culture (closely connected to a community's worldview or *Weltanschauung*).

The Integrated Language Curriculum (ILC)[1] breaks with the traditional separation that takes place in the teaching and learning of languages in the curriculum.[2] The aim is to train people to be able to understand, speak, converse, read and write, with different levels of competence, through the medium of several languages (the mother tongue and several foreign languages), in speaking and in writing, and who can expand their linguistic knowledge throughout their lives. The main objective of the ILC is to provide Andalusian citizens with the knowledge, procedures and attitude necessary for the acquisition of independence in terms of reflection and linguistic action that will allow them to be more responsible and cooperative in their relations with others. Therefore, the methodological model advocated seeks to promote the development of students' plurilingual and pluricultural competence.[3] Ultimately, the learner must become a competent user in the practice of languages in a wide array of situations, for public and private purposes alike. Moreover, the learning of a new language is based on already learned languages, since the concepts and procedures of language learning can be transferred from one language to another and this transfer must be pedagogically exploited in an integrated curriculum at school. Thus, the ILC focuses on the student as the very heart of the teaching-learning process, as an individual who communicates and develops his or her own learning strategies (i.e., learns to learn), as a social being who must learn to live as part of a human society, and as a person who develops and affirms his or her own identity and personality. Oral and written skills in the mother tongue and in the foreign language(s), both receptive and productive, are presented and worked on in an integrated way, trying to simulate communication processes in real life. On the other hand, the instrumental nature of languages as tools to access content subjects in the case of bilingual schools should not be overlooked. Hence, the ILC goes hand in hand with CLIL. In any case, the methodological guidelines have to be shared by the teachers of the mother tongue and of the foreign languages taught in the school, since language is a powerful tool in the service of communication and all the subjects taught at school use this invaluable instrument to handle and construct knowledge. Hence, languages are the most instrumental of all the subjects that make up the curriculum. This integrative treatment of languages in the classroom will have to be reflected in a joint programming of languages.[4]

The European Language Portfolio (ELP) is a powerful tool for learning and linguistic reflection proposed by the Council of Europe in 2001 for any language learner to keep a record in writing (although also in digital format, through audio and image files) of their language learning experiences and of contacts with other cultures throughout life, as well as the progress they are making in the task of learning other codes (both linguistic and cultural). In Spain, a pioneering country in working with the ELP in the European context, there are several portfolios validated by the Council of Europe: the ELP for Infant Education (3–7 years); the ELP for Primary Education (8–12 years); the ELP for Secondary Education (12–18 years); the ELP for Adults (16 years and over); and the e-ELP (+14), in digital format, for pupils aged 14 years and over. It is an open document that gathers all the school and out-of-school experiences of the language learner, and includes all the languages (communication and instruction, mother tongue and foreign languages) that he/she knows, uses and learns in his/her daily life. It consists of three parts (linguistic biography, dossier and language passport) and, in its twofold informative and pedagogical dimension, it allows the user, on the one hand, to keep an exhaustive chronologically ordered record of the development of their linguistic learning, and, on the other hand, to reflect on their achievements in the strengthening of their linguistic competence. Bilingual schools are called upon to promote its use as a tool for learning and self-assessment.

The Erasmus+ Programme (2014–2020) is a timely response to a new historical moment of the EU and an integral part of the language policies that seek to make Europe a plurilingual and pluricultural space in which citizens have an effective knowledge of languages other than their mother tongue. Erasmus+ is part of the *Europe 2020*, *Education and Training 2020* and *Rethinking Education* strategies, and encompasses all education, training, youth and sports initiatives within the European Union. In the field of education, it covers all levels in four clearly differentiated sectors: School Education, Vocational Education and Training, Higher Education and Adult Education. Erasmus+ aims primarily at improving qualifications and employability, as well as at modernising education, training and youth work. The programme will run for seven years and will provide more than four million Europeans with opportunities to study, train, gain work experience and volunteer abroad. With a simplified architecture, Erasmus+ finances staff and student mobility activities (KA1) for education, teaching and training, but also transnational partnerships (KA2) between educational, training and youth institutions and organisations, aimed at encouraging co-operation and innovation, and at building bridges between the world of education and the labour market in order to overcome the skills gap Europe faces. It is therefore a large-scale programme that connects

Andalusian schools to the rest of Europe and offers countless advantages not only for the linguistic and methodological updating of teachers, but also for schools themselves, which will have access to the experience of working with other European schools on subjects of shared interest and fighting against high drop-out rates, to foster the social inclusion of young people at risk of social exclusion, as well as the employability and comprehensive development of cosmopolitan young people in 21st-century Europe.

The School Language Project (SLP) is a very ambitious programme based on the premise that improving students' competence in linguistic communication is the responsibility of all teachers regardless of the subjects they teach, and not just of language teachers. Its main objective is to contribute in a decisive and effective way to the development of high levels of linguistic competence on the part of students as a fundamental requirement for school, personal, professional and social success. All teachers, regardless of the subject they teach, must contribute to the acquisition of the students' competence in linguistic communication, which acquires a transversal dimension insofar as language is used as an instrument to access information and ubiquitous disciplinary knowledge. In this sense, it is useful to create a SLP that harmonises all the pedagogical initiatives put in place in a school to improve students' linguistic competence – initiatives related to the School Library, the Bilingualism Programme, the CLIL approach, the use of ELP, participation in Erasmus+ actions, attention to diversity and the use of ICT, etc. Ultimately, all teachers share the same goal: to empower their students to be able to use different languages correctly, both orally and in writing. A good linguistic competence will have a positive effect on the academic performance of the students in the different areas or subjects of the curriculum, as language is a tool for co-constructing knowledge in the classroom.

CLIL AS A UNIQUE PEDAGOGICAL OPPORTUNITY TO FIGHT THE LANGUAGE GAP

As noted above, language is the first unmistakable sign of humanity and defines humans as a species among other species, as we share the desire to construct and transmit meaning in a kind of semiotic ecology in which each species does count and wishes to signify. The concept of language gap is as old as humanity itself, because the human being is *homo loquens*, a symbolic creature that builds its identity through interaction with its peers through language (and other communication tools that are not strictly linguistic). The concept of language gap is defined as unequal access to linguistic resources due to social, cultural or economic reasons (Johnson & Zentella, 2017).[5] In other words, language gap means any situation of disadvantage that leaves a person or human community on the margin or in the periphery, violates an inalienable human right such as access to the learning of languages as invaluable tools for the construction of meaning and knowledge, as vehicles for communication with others and with ourselves, as channels for the expression of ideas, thoughts, feelings, emotions, sensations, findings and sudden and valuable insights into the nature of the world and the place we occupy in it. As Johann Gottfried Herder put it in his groundbreaking *Essay on the Origin of Language* back in 1772:

Kein Gedanke in einer menschlichen Seele war verloren, nie aber war auch eine Fertigkeit dieses Geschlechts auf einmal ganz da wie bei den Tieren: Zufolge der ganzen Ökonomie war sie immer im Fortschritte, im Gange, nichts Erfundnes, wie der Bau einer Zelle, sondern alles im Erfinden, im Fortwürken, strebend. In diesem Gesichtspunkt, wie groß wird die Sprache! Eine Schatzkammer menschlicher Gedanken, wo jeder auf seine Art etwas beitrug! Eine Summe der Würksamkeit aller menschlichen Seelen. (1772, p. 206)

Not a single thought of the human soul has been lost, but there never existed among the human race a dexterity of the whole as it happens among animals. According to its harmonious concordance, the human soul is in perpetual progress, in perennial metamorphosis, because it is not molded at all, like the creation of a bee cell, but aspires to pure invention and perfection of itself. From this prism, how lofty language is! It is the treasure-house of human thoughts, which each one enriches in their own way! It is the sum of the incessant activity of all human souls. [Author's own translation]

Schools in democratic societies have the inescapable mission (or moral imperative) of compensating for initial inequalities attributable to the origin, family background, social class, purchasing power, privilege or cultural well-being of individuals and peoples. In other words, the school compensates for inequalities and seeks to ensure equal opportunities for all on the basis of justice and equity. In this sense, the CLIL approach represents a unique pedagogical opportunity to fight the language gap: by making languages (the mother tongue and the foreign language) into vehicles of communication and tools to access the knowledge of the different disciplines that make up the school curriculum, this approach makes it possible to acquire more solid curricular knowledge, to improve students' linguistic competence in several languages, to gain access to other worldviews and cultural meanings, as well as to cultivate learners' pluriliteracies (in several languages and non-linguistic codes) to ensure their active and responsible participation in the Knowledge Society. CLIL is, in a way, a tremendously humanistic approach.[6] It goes without saying that bridging the language gap in its multiple manifestations (in the mother tongue and in foreign languages) is a titanic and ancestral task that falls to the public administrations and all the agents responsible in their corresponding field of action: the legislator who devises and promulgates laws, the institutions that design language policies, educators in general, teacher trainers, the teachers themselves at the classroom level, the students and apprentices themselves, the 'tribe' as a whole, and so on. The reason behind such an ambitious enterprise is simple: languages are the most powerful instruments for the construction of meaning, knowledge and communication available to human beings and we are all invited to participate in the great feast of meaning (and to make even the smallest contribution to human knowledge), and the mission of the school continues to be to spread more humanity and to fight the language and digital gap. Therefore, the individual and collective effort of every institution, research group or teacher counts and makes a world of a difference.

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KEY TERMS AND DEFINITIONS

CEFR: The acronym stands for the Common European Framework of Reference, the framework document for language learning, teaching and assessment in Europe, setting six levels of language competence (A1, A2, B1, B2, C1, C2) for teachers and learners.

CLIL: The acronym stands for Content and Language Integrated Learning, a term coined in Europe in the 1990s to refer to an educational approach in which an additional language is used as a language of instruction for learners to access and assimilate curricular or disciplinary content.

Erasmus+: EU programme for the period 2014-2020 that seeks to foster mobility, language learning and intercultural understanding amongst people through education, training, youth and sports initiatives within the European Union and beyond.

European Language Portfolio: A pedagogical tool devised by the European Union to foster language learning among its citizens and cultivate their communicative intercultural competence in a variety of languages.

Integrated Language Curriculum: The implementation of pedagogical initiatives that involve all the languages of instruction used at school, setting shared learning goals and outcomes, methodological strategies and assessment procedures for all the language teachers.

Knowledge Society: Name given to the current society, where knowledge is the greatest asset of human communities alongside the capital and talent of individuals to propel the economic growth, development and freedom of nations forwards.

Plan for the Promotion of Plurilingualism: *Plan de Fomento de Plurilingüismo*, language policy document regulating language teaching and learning in Andalusia (Spain) for the period 2005-2015.

PEDLA: The acronym stands for Plan *Estratégico de Desarrollo de Lenguas en Andalucía* (Strategic Plan for the Development of Languages in Andalusia), a language policy document setting strategic objectives for language teaching and learning in Andalusia (Spain) for the period 2016-2020.

Pluriliteracies: The ability to produce and understand messages in a variety of linguistic and nonlinguistic codes (e.g., in languages other than the mother tongue or in visual, mathematical, or spatial terms).

School Language Project: A school programme that seeks to improve students' communicative competence in the L1, L2 and L3 and overall academic performance through the systematic cultivation of language skills and genres on the part of language and content teachers alike.

ENDNOTES

1 The Integrated Language Curriculum (in Spanish, *CIL. Propuesta de secuencias didácticas*) saw the light of day at the University Pablo de Olavide (Seville) in 2008. It represented the materialisation of a key aspect of the Plan for the Promotion of Pluriligualism: the design of a common, integrated language curriculum for schools.

2 See the article by Uri Ruiz Bikandi and Amparo Tusón Valls titled "El tratamiento integrado de las lenguas", in the journal *Textos. Didáctica de la Lengua y de la Literatura*, vol. 47 (January-February-March 2008), pp. 7-9.

3 A propos the concept of *plurilingual and intercultural competence*, see the article by Artur Noguerol, titled "El tratamiento integrado de las lenguas en el marco europeo", published in *Textos. Didáctica de la Lengua y de la Literatura, 47,* pp. 10–19, more specifically page 12. See also the methodological guidelines included in the *CIL. Propuesta de secuencias didácticas*, which are extremely helpful to guide the design and implementation of the Integrated Language Curriculum.

4 In her article "El tratamiento de las lenguas. Construir una programación conjunta", in *Textos. Didáctica de la Lengua y de la Literatura, 47,* pp. 46–58, Teresa Ruiz Pérez writes: "El objetivo último del tratamiento integrado de las lenguas es la elaboración de *una única programación de las diferentes lenguas que se imparten en el centro* a partir de objetivos y metodologías comunes, criterios de evaluación compartidos y contenidos de aprendizaje repartidos entre las lenguas" (p. 46). That is to say: "The ultimate goal of the integrated treatment of languages is the design of *a single programming of the different languages taught at a school*, based on common objectives and methodologies, shared assessment criteria and subject contents across languages" (p. 46).

5 These authors write: "disparities in academic achievement are related to the extent to which schools are equipped to support students from diverse cultural, linguistic, and economic backgrounds" (2017, p. 3).

6 This kind of humanism is conveyed by Uruguayan author Eduardo Galeano in one of his unforgettable short stories collected in *Los hijos de los días* (2012): "Según se sabe en el África negra y en la América indígena, tu familia es tu aldea completa, con todos sus vivos y sus Muertos | *Y tu parentela no termina en los humanos. Tu familia también te habla en la crepitación del fuego, en el rumor del agua que corre, en la respiración del bosque, en las voces del viento, en la furia del trueno, en la lluvia que te besa y en el canterío de los pájaros que saludan tus pasos*" (2012, p. 257).

Chapter 2
Preserving the Mother Tongue of English Language Learners

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ABSTRACT

The growing presence of English language learners (ELLs) in classrooms throughout the country highlights the need for effective strategies in the process of language acquisition. Through the language acquisition process students are able to progress towards becoming fluent in the English language and ultimately perform on the same academic level as their English-speaking peers. The issue arises when ELLs enter the classroom with a language or word gap that places them at an academic disadvantage. Bilingual education is an option that is offered to students seeking to enhance their native language abilities as they acquire the English language. However, bilingual education is limited to the presence of a specific language community and an effective language teacher. This chapter presents the benefits of preserving the mother tongue among ELLs and the strategies necessary to replicate mother tongue preservation with language learners in non-bilingual classrooms.

INTRODUCTION

The "language gap", also known as the "word gap", relates to the fewer number of words low-income children are exposed to during their language acquisition stage in comparison to children from high-income households (Raz & Beatty, 2018). The level of language exposure children receive during their early years is integral towards the development of their brain structure and ongoing cognitive abilities (Romeo, Leonard, Robinson, West, Mackey, Rowe, & Gabrieli, 2018). According to Jensen (2013), by age four children from low-income families in the United States hear an average of thirteen million words, children from middle-class families hear about twenty six million words, and children from upper-income families hear about forty six million words. The lack of exposure to words during early childhood places children from low-income families at an academic disadvantage as compared to their peers (Jensen, 2013). As students from low-income families progress through school, the language gap

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steadily increases and their inability to meet grade level standards becomes heightened. Therefore, the language gap contributes to the overall academic deficiencies of students from impoverished communities.

The passing of the No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB) of 2001 established the notion of maintaining high expectations for all students by increasing the accountability on schools and teachers to attain grade-level proficiency of all student subgroups in American schools (Good, Masewicz & Vogel, 2010). As mandated by NCLB, standardized tests serve as the determinant of student academic achievement. English language learners (ELLs), as a subgroup, enter classrooms at varying levels of English proficiency with distinct cultural and linguistic backgrounds. Therefore, the NCLB requirement of grade-level proficiency on standardized tests administered in English poses a challenge for ELLs who are developing their English language abilities while navigating proficiency in the academic content (Sanchez, 2017). Teachers of language learners must be able to determine if their underachievement stems from limited language production or limited cognitive ability (De Jong & Harper, 2005). Language plays a pivotal role in the ways in which students both acquire the curriculum and are assessed on it (Sanchez, 2017). Without the proper language abilities, students face increased difficulty when trying to demonstrate grade level proficiency on state mandated exams. ELLs who have the cognitive ability in their native language are presented with the challenge of having to acquire the English language before they are able to make the academic transfer.

The presence of the academic achievement gap between ELLs and their English-speaking peers poses issues for education stakeholders as the immigrant population continues to rise throughout the country. According to Garcia (2011), ELLs underperform their English-speaking peers by thirty to fifty percent at almost every grade level as depicted by national and state tests. This chapter addresses the gap in the literature by analyzing the benefits of preserving the mother tongue of ELLs to help bridge the language gap and ultimately close the achievement gap. Mother tongue preservation is a practice most closely associated with bilingual education. However, the option of bilingual instruction is limited to teacher and curriculum availability. Therefore, language learners in non-bilingual classrooms need effective practices and strategies that address their academic needs by way of their cultural and linguistic diversity. This chapter provides a breakdown of the different options of bilingual education available in schools throughout the country. The characteristics and benefits of bilingual education are discussed and addressed throughout this chapter in order to contribute to the understanding of the ways in which native language preservation enhances the educational outcomes of ELLs.

Current available research on improving the academic performance of ELLs focuses on developing English proficiency. However, the benefits of preserving the mother tongue with linguistically diverse students are essential to their learning. This chapter seeks to present students' linguistic diversity as an asset to their learning rather than as a deficit. Garcia (2011) argues that the effective education of ELLs requires teachers showing respect for the cultural and linguistic roots of students by sustaining and utilizing these roots in the processes of teaching and learning. Educators of ELLs require the additional recognition of the ways in which students' unique linguistic characteristics contribute to their learning and are overall integral to who they are as learners. This chapter begins with a literature review regarding the language gap of English language learners and the role of bilingual education in helping to bridge the gap. The theoretical framework guiding this chapter is the linguistic interdependence hypothesis proposed by Cummins (1979) in which second language acquisition is most effective when the first language is developed. This chapter ends with a summary of solutions and recommendations that non-bilingual classrooms can adopt to improve the academic success of ELLs. Ultimately, this chapter seeks to acknowledge the preservation of minority languages as a necessity for improving the academic outcomes of linguistically diverse students throughout the country. Additional readings are provided in order to offer a more holistic understanding of the ways in which the language gap influences the learning of linguistically diverse students throughout the country. This chapter focuses on the United States due to the author's experience and involvement with the topic being based on America's educational system.

BACKGROUND

English Language Learners

The presence of ELLs in mainstream classrooms presents unique challenges for educators. According to Sanchez (2017), five million students throughout the United States, or about one out of every ten public school students, are classified as an ELL. Garcia (2011) states that this large number encompasses both first-generation immigrants and their children. A majority of students classified as ELLs in schools throughout the United States are native-born with immigrant parents and live in households where English is not predominantly spoken. The increased likelihood of ELLs being present in mainstream classrooms throughout the country makes it necessary for teachers to receive explicit professional development that will help meet their academic needs (De Jong & Harper, 2005). In order to effectively teach ELL, classroom teachers require an in-depth understanding of second language acquisition and the role of the first language in learning the second language (De Jong, 2005). The language demands of ELLs must be addressed in order to foster their long-term academic success.

Students who speak a language other than English and are not English proficient are classified through language assessments that test their reading, writing, speaking, and listening abilities. At any grade level, students who are classified as ELLs and placed in mainstream classrooms receive English as a Second Language (ESL) services to aid in the development of their overall English proficiency. ESL is an instructional program model that aims to address the language needs of ELLs through state-mandated academic instruction by utilizing a specialized curriculum (Honigsfeld, 2009). The format of ESL programs varies by the school and their preferred method. Students receiving ESL services are most likely to follow either the pull-out or the push-in format. Under the pull-out ESL format, students receive their instruction from an ESL teacher in an area outside of their regular classroom (Honigsfield, 2009). The push-in format of ESL is when the instruction is provided inside the students' regular classroom (Honigsfield, 2009). According to Crookes, Davis, and Clair (1995), mainstream classroom teachers are not properly prepared to work with the growing population of ELLs throughout the country. Therefore, ESL programs are a necessity of the rising linguistically diverse student population.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The Language Gap

The rise in immigration throughout the country has contributed to the growth of emergent bilingual students present in mainstream classrooms. First and second generation immigrants unable to meet English proficiency standards are provided with targeted ESL instruction in order to help close the language gap between ELLs and their English-speaking peers. Through ESL instruction, teachers of ELLs implement standards that emphasize the use of English in social settings, in academic content areas, and in social and cultural norms (Short, 2000). The implementation of the ESL standards with ELLs allows teachers to provide students with the English skills necessary to receive academic content while still developing their language skills (Short, 2000). Johnson (2015) provides research on the word or language gap as presented by Betty Hart and Todd Risley in 1995. According to Johnson (2015), students' home language abilities plays an important role in their long term academic achievement. Therefore, ELLs experience heightened instances of the language gap because of their limited English proficiency coming into the classroom. Research also identifies the language gap as the 'vocabulary gap'. Suskind et al. (2016) points out the significant role that early language development plays in the long-term academic achievement of students from low-income households. The study (Suskind et al., 2016) elaborates on the ways in which parents can contribute towards ensuring that students receive the necessary linguistic exposure to ensure that they are adequately prepared for in-school demands and out of school outcomes.

The word or language gap concept can have a debilitating effect on low-income and minority families (Raz & Beatty, 2018). When viewing incoming ELLs from the perspective of what they are lacking in terms of language development, educators face the risk of enforcing negative stereotypes that can take away from the students' potential to grow as learners. Bilingual education promotes biliteracy by implementing a sociocultural approach to literacy (Martinez-Roldan & Malave, 2004). While bilingualism embodies layers of complexities involving linguistic, cognitive and sociocultural perspectives, biliteracy is defined as reading and writing proficiency in two languages (Vaish, 2016). Instead of emphasizing literacy instruction from the perspective of a transmission of skills, bilingual education establishes a transfer of skills amongst languages (Martinez-Roldan & Malave, 2004). Through bilingual education, educators are able enhance the process of language acquisition and instill a sense of confidence in their learners by purposefully utilizing ELL students' mother tongues as an asset during academic instruction (Yadav, 2014).

In a study conducted in order to explore the ideologies surrounding knowledge of the language gap (Antonsen, 2017), structured interviews depicted that different communities of practice hold different levels of expertise on their views on language development. Although parents, teachers, and university faculty all recognize the importance of language development in the early childhood stage, the author of this study (Antonsen, 2017) highlight parents and teachers as relying primarily on their personal experiences in order to base their claims. Therefore, extensive knowledge of the presence of a language gap in the early years of a child's life becomes rooted on previous encounters. Parents and teachers are then limited to their understanding of the language gap within their social sphere and may not have the necessary knowledge to identify language as a tool for enhancing the overall learning process.

In a counter investigation conducted by Sperry, Sperry, and Miller (2018), the '30-million-word gap' coined by Hart and Risley is challenged. This study finds that the level of variation in young children's vocabulary and language development cannot be directly linked to socioeconomic status (Sperry et al. 2018). The authors of this study go on to explain the debilitating consequences of associating children of low socioeconomic status with limited exposure to language input during their early stages. However, Hart and Risley (2003) extend on their notion of the 30 million word gap by emphasizing the fact that children acquire linguistic and socialization skills from within their home before they learn it anywhere else. Parents of emergent bilinguals or ELLs are incapable of providing their children with the necessary English language input prior to their schooling due to their own language limitations. A heavier focus is then placed on the native language proficiency of ELLs in order to determine their cognitive abilities. The issue arises when teachers of ELLs neglect to acknowledge mother tongue linguistic abilities in an effort to expedite the process towards English proficiency.

The Mother Tongue and Bilingual Education

A qualitative case study of a seven-year old Mexican American student and his family (Martinez-Roldan & Malave, 2004) reflects the ways in which emergent bilingual students begin to develop a negative self-image when their cultural and language identity are minimized in an English-dominant classroom. Yadav (2014) defines the mother tongue as a child's primary language typically learned during the early years in the home. Yadav (2014) goes on to describe the mother tongue as an integral "part of a child's personal, social and cultural identity" (p. 573). Emergent bilingual students entering mainstream classrooms are being held to the same academic standards as their English-speaking peers despite their lack of adequate exposure to the language. Therefore, educators neglect ELL students' mother tongue abilities in order to facilitate the learning of English for the performance on high-stakes tests. However, teachers must find ways to understand and relate to their students' backgrounds in an effort to increase student achievement.

Bilingual education offers ELLs the opportunity to enhance their language abilities with the possibility of then attaining complete biliteracy. Gandara and Escamilla (2017) argue that the history of bilingual education in the United States showcases the preference for teaching English over developing complete bilingualism. Ultimately, effective bilingual programs should strive to view cultural and linguistic diversity as a tool to benefit the academic content learning of emergent bilingual students. In a quantitative study conducted by Stanford University (Goldenberg & Wagner, 2015), the results depicted that students enrolled in bilingual programs at the elementary level show higher instances of attaining long-term English proficiency than students receiving English-only instruction. Goldenberg & Wagner (2015) propose that students are able to develop academic skills in their home language and then transfer to English as they develop their second language proficiency in school.

Lindholm-Leary (2005) defines two-way bilingual immersion programs or dual language (DL) programs, a subcategory of bilingual education, as the cohesive academic instruction of ELLs and their native English-speaking peers within the same learning environment. Under DL programs, students receive instruction in two languages. Students who are proficient in each language are brought together to serve as linguistic models for each other as they strive to attain complete biliteracy. However, DL program models also exist where ELLs are grouped together and receive instruction in their native language as well as English. Under such models, students are given the opportunity to preserve their mother tongue while developing English proficiency skills. Developmental bilingual programs are additive in nature as they emphasize students' cultural heritage as an integral part of the program, whereas transitional bilingual programs are more subtractive due to their ultimate goal to focus solely on English proficiency (Lindholm-Leary, 2005).

The two most commonly uses DL program models are the 50/50 model and the 90/10 model. Under the 50/50 DL program model, students receive half of their academic instruction in English and half in their targeted native language throughout the day for all grades of implementation. This program model promotes the inclusion of native English speakers and ELLs in one class setting due to the opportunities for them to learn from each other during their language acquisition process (Gomez, Freeman, & Freeman, 2005). The specific breakdown of the 50/50 DL program model can range from "content area, class period, instructor, day, week, unit, or semester" (Santillana USA, n.d.). Using this model, educators are able to help students develop literacy skills in both their primary language and their second language (Gomez et al., 2005). The implementation of the 50/50 DL program model strives to establish complete bilingualism and biliteracy in both native English speakers and ELLs alike. The challenges associated with the effective implementation of the 50/50 DL program model include authentic language assessment, professional development opportunities, and developing curriculum materials to enhance academic instruction (Brisk & Proctor, 2012).

The 90/10 DL program model is set up as a gradual decrease in second language content instruction and a gradual increase in English content instruction. Under this program model, 90% of instruction in the content subject areas begins in the second language while the remaining 10% of instruction is in English and in the arts areas (Santillana USA, n.d.). After the initial year, which is typically in Kindergarten, students receive 10% more of their content subject area instruction in English and 10% less in the second language (Santillana USA, n.d.). The ultimate goal of the 90/10 program model is to fully immerse native English speakers in the second language while allowing ELLs to strengthen their native language abilities while working towards English proficiency (Lindholm-Leary, 2005). Eventually, depending on the year of initial implementation, students get to the point where content subject area instruction balances off to 50% in both languages. The challenges associated with the effective implementation of the 90/10 DL program lies heavily on the lack of teachers who are fluent in both instructional languages (Brisk & Proctor, 2012).

The Linguistic Interdependence Hypothesis

The linguistic interdependence hypothesis combines the developmental interdependence hypothesis and the threshold hypothesis to argue that complete bilingualism and biliteracy are the result of strengthened first language skills during the second language acquisition process (Cummins, 1979). Under the developmental hypothesis, it was presented that successful development of a second language is a result of the foundational skills already developed in the first language (Cummins, 1979). The threshold hypothesis proposes bilingualism and biliteracy correlate with students' threshold levels of linguistic competence (Cummins, 1979). In a study analyzing the family context of linguistic development (Prevoo, Malda, Emmen, Yeniad, & Mesman, 2015), found that a positive transfer from the first language to the second language was only present when children spoke more of their native language in the family context. This chapter examines the benefits of preserving the mother tongue, which from the linguistic interdependence hypothesis perspective, is an effective method for attaining second language proficiency and ultimately bilingualism and biliteracy of ELLs. The preservation of the mother tongue in the education of ELLs, as presented by this hypothesis, provides amplified opportunities for learning as students are able to make connections and bring their prior knowledge into their new learning.

The linguistic interdependence hypothesis promotes the notion of additive bilingualism over subtractive bilingualism (Huguet, Vila, & Llurda, 2000). Additive bilingualism is defined as the ability to acquire a new language without any interference on the development or proficiency in the first language (Huguet et al., 2000). Under additive bilingualism. the preservation of the mother tongue has no negative effect on the second language acquisition process and is in turn a method that places value on the native language preservation. Subtractive bilingualism, on the other hand, promotes the sense that learning a new language undermines or devalues the native tongue (Huguet et al., 2000). Through subtractive bilingualism, students are taught to internalize the dominance of one language over the other. However, the linguistic interdependence hypothesis firmly presents the benefits of bilingual education on the prolonged academic success of emergent bilingual students rather than focusing solely on English proficiency. Cummins (1979) presents the linguistic interdependence hypothesis as a rationale for the underachievement of ELLs and the ways in which language inequalities contribute to the achievement gap. Under the linguistic interdependence hypothesis, Cummins (1979) explains the ways in which emergent bilingual students are provided the highest instances of success when value is placed on the preservation of their mother tongue throughout the English language acquisition process. Students who are able to utilize their verbal and cognitive abilities in their native language demonstrate higher instances of understanding when it comes to establishing the transfer to the English language (Prevoo et al., 2015). Therefore, teachers of ELLs are able to see more defined and prolonged academic success of their linguistically diverse students when they are able to integrate their native language into their development of English proficiency skills. The linguistic interdependence hypothesis highlights the ways in which linguistic diversity can be utilized as a tool and resource for learning rather than a hindrance.

MAIN FOCUS OF THE CHAPTER

Issues, Controversies, Problems

The purpose of this chapter is to review the method of mother tongue preservation amongst ELLs as an employable strategy for bridging the language gap that arises from the lack of English proficiency. As stated by the literature, in order to develop the necessary skills in a second language, ELLs require strong foundational skills in their native language. The presence of strong foundational skills allows for the transfer of knowledge from one language to the other. The linguistic interdependence hypothesis supports the argument that native language proficiency is necessary in order for students to become fully bilingual. The work done by bilingual programs to value students' cultural and linguistic diversity can be replicated in non-bilingual classrooms for the benefit of ELLs. Bilingual education, although a suitable option for linguistically diverse students, is not available at all schools. In order to have effective bilingual instruction, districts and schools require properly trained bilingual educators who have access to instructional material in both languages. Without the proper training and the proper materials, bilingual teachers are faced with the challenge of not providing students with authentic language experiences that can ultimately hinder their long-term academic achievement.

Students who are identified as ELLs can be at varying levels of academic proficiency in both their native language and in English. Rather than viewing language diversity as a limitation, educators have the potential to view it as an asset that can ultimately lead to student academic success. The preservation of the mother tongue through the use of effective language development strategies in non-bilingual classrooms serves as a cognitive and linguistic foundation that can ultimately be transferred to English language learning (Yadav, 2014). The presence of a language gap amongst ELLs portrays the need for establishing a connection between identity and language in order to attain prolonged academic achievement. This chapter examined the literature related to the preservation of the mother tongue with ELLs as it relates to bridging the language gap that exists with this population. The presence of the language gap in ELLs entering mainstream classrooms negatively impacts their academic achievement when teachers are unable to guide them in transferring the knowledge and skills they have in their mother tongue throughout the learning of the English language.

Research involving bilingualism states that students who are proficient in more than one language have higher metalinguistic awareness than monolinguals (Ter Kuile, Veldhuis, Van Veen, & Wicherts, 2011). Metalinguistic awareness is defined as the intentional manipulation of language and its complex features (Tunmer & Herriman, 1984). Nagy (2007) links heightened levels of vocabulary and reading comprehension to metalinguistic awareness. Therefore, the transfer of knowledge that occurs from one language to another amongst ELLs through the preservation of the mother tongue can be attributed to their increased levels of metalinguistic awareness. In attempting to close the language gap that is present amongst emergent bilinguals, it is important to consider students' existing banks of knowledge in their native language before attempting to make academic demands in a new language. Nagy (2007) explains the ways in which word learning, as a metalinguistic activity, relies heavily on memory retrieval on the part of the student. Nagy (2007) extends this argument by pointing out that the varying levels of exposure and experience students have with language makes it necessary for teachers to employ metalinguistic abilities into word learning in order to meet the needs of all learners.

In order to meet the needs of the growing ELL population throughout the country, mainstream teachers require linguistically responsive preparation in their teacher education programs (Lucas, Villegas, & Freedson-Gonzalez, 2008). Lucas et al. (2008) define linguistically responsive teacher preparation as the knowledge needed on the language acquisition process that is beneficial for the overall academic achievement of students who are not English proficient. At the teacher preparation level, mainstream teachers are not receiving explicit instruction on the ways to manage the presence of ELLs in their classroom. The assumption is made that ELLs in the mainstream classroom will eventually adapt to the classroom setting despite their linguistic diversity. However, research shows that this assumption is incorrect and an inaccurate understanding of the ways in which students acquire a new language and reach grade level proficiency in English (Lindholm-Leary, 2005). The lack of preparation at the preservice teacher stage makes it so that educators are not equipped to handle the linguistic demands of ELLs (Lucas et al., 2008). Mainstream classroom teachers who are charged with the task of teaching ELLs must find ways to navigate students' language demands while providing them with the academic content they need in order to demonstrate proficiency on standardized tests. Without the linguistic skills to acquire the academic content, ELLs are continuously at a disadvantage as compared to their native English-speaking peers. Therefore, it is important for mainstream classroom teachers to receive the proper tools and training in order to help meet the needs of their linguistically diverse students.

The long-term benefits of bilingual education and DL program models for both native English speakers and ELLs have not always been recognized throughout the United States. The passing of the NCLB Act of 2001 and the Every Student Succeeds Act (ESSA) of 2015 increased the level of accountability placed on districts and schools to depict grade level proficiency of ELLs on standardized tests. Therefore, English-only policies began to become implemented in order to expedite the process of acquiring English proficiency at the expense of emergent bilingual students' mother tongue preservation. California passed Proposition 227 in 1998, known as the English in Public Schools initiative, in response to the underachievement of ELLs enrolled in bilingual education. Under Proposition 227, the focus of academic instruction was solely in English with the intent of attaining heightened academic success for ELLs at all grade levels (California Department of Education, 2018). Proposition 227 promoted the assumption that mother tongue preservation of emergent bilingual students interferes with their ability to demonstrate grade level English proficiency on high-stakes tests administered at the state level. However, research conducted following the implementation of Proposition 227 demonstrates the significance of allowing ELLs to maintain their native cultures and heritage through mother tongue preservation fostered in bilingual education (Goldenberg & Wagner, 2015). Proposition 58, known as the California Non-English Languages Allowed in Public Education Act, was passed in 2016 to repeal the English-only initiative promoted by Proposition 227 (California Department of Education, 2018). Under Proposition 58, ELLs in California are given the option to enroll in bilingual education by shifting the focus from test scores to prolonged academic success (Goldenberg & Wagner, 2015). Ultimately, bilingual education offers long-term benefits for both ELLs and native English speakers who are able to attain complete biliteracy.

The use of bilingual education for mother tongue preservation of ELLs poses its own set of issues and challenges. Districts and schools are in high demand for teachers and educators who are fully bilingual and have the necessary skills in both languages in order to prepare students to attain complete biliteracy. In the 50/50 DL program model, teachers require proficiency in English and the second language at all levels of instruction. When teachers are more proficient in one language over the other, this language preference extends to the students and ultimately hinders their ability to become fully bilingual. In the 90/10 DL program model, on the other hand, teachers at the lower grade levels must be more proficient in the second language in order to help develop a solid linguistic foundation for the students to carry with them into future grade levels. Under this same DL program model, teachers will eventually require proficiency levels in both languages in order to honor the 50/50 requirement that comes in the later grades. As it stands, bilingual education is a viable option for students to both maintain proficiency in their mother tongue and develop a second language. With the proper teacher training in both languages, students have the opportunity to establish biliterate status in schools rather than emphasizing monolingual preference. However, the challenge of finding teachers who can truly promote bilingualism in their classrooms is a significant one. When bilingualism is not maintained in bilingual programs, students are left with a lack of adequate preparation in either language.

Mother tongue preservation of ELLs in non-bilingual classrooms is uniquely difficult for monolingual classroom teachers. Supporting bilingualism requires basic level understanding of the language acquisition process. Therefore, monolingual classroom teachers are able to provide bilingual support to ELLs without having to speak the second language as long as they are able to learn and implement basic second language acquisition strategies. Through the use of these strategies, emergent bilingual students are able to progress towards English proficiency with no interference to their native language. Comprehensible input is a strategy used under the Sheltered Instruction Observation Protocol (SIOP) model in order to help make academic content understandable to emergent bilingual students (Hansen-Thomas, 2008). Schools throughout the country make use of the SIOP model and other strategies of sheltered instruction in order to provide ELLs with the additional support for them to meet grade level proficiency standards set by the state (Haynes-Thomas, 2008). Through comprehensible input, second language acquisition is incorporated into the teaching and learning of academic subject content areas.

Controversy exists regarding the education of ELLs due to the over emphasis on English proficiency over their post-school success. As it stands, ELLs graduate high school with limited opportunities to attain success as depicted by academic achievement on standardized tests, graduation and dropout rates. In a study conducted to find the barriers that stand in the way of the postsecondary success of ELLs (Sharkey & Layzer, 2000) it was showed that emergent bilingual students experience lower level and exclusionary tracking throughout their high school years. Lower level track classes prevent ELLs from having the same quality of education as their native English-speaking peers. Under exclusionary tracking, ELLs are denied the opportunity to enroll in higher level courses that are necessary for college entrance exams. Umansky (2016) conducted a study that showed that emergent bilingual students are more negatively impacted by lower level and exclusionary tracking. Following the study, Umansky (2016) determined that the harmful effects of lower level and exclusionary tracking places ELLs at a disadvantage when it comes to their opportunities to experience postsecondary success. Research shows that higher levels of ELLs drop out of high school and lower level of ELLs graduate high school as compared to their native English-speaking peers. Therefore, it is evident that the classroom support being provided to ELLs as decreed by federal policies are more concerned with having emergent bilingual students attain English proficiency in order to pass standardized tests as opposed to preparing them for post-school success beyond high school. The level of academic support ELLs requires additional understanding of the ways in which the growing population can become contributing members of society after high school.

SOLUTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The potential harms associated with the presence of the language gap are significant as they relate to students' educational outcomes. As a subgroup, ELLs face an increased likelihood of experiencing a language gap in the English language because of their limited English proficiency. Similarly, research has shown that children of higher socioeconomic status demonstrate increased language experiences and verbal abilities between the ages of four and six (Romeo et al, 2018). The preservation of the mother tongue with ELLs provides students with the development of necessary skills to serve as a foundation for the language transfer that occurs when becoming proficient in English. Although slightly deviating from the focus of English proficiency, ELLs experience higher educational gains when they are able to progress towards native language proficiency as a resource to their learning. Bilingual education, such as dual language programs, implement practices of mother tongue preservation in order for students to ultimately become fully bilingual and demonstrate biliterate capabilities. Withholding elements of bilingualism in monolingual settings can provide ELLs with heightened academic success (Palmer & Martinez, 2016).

Some research-based recommendations for implementing practices of mother tongue preservation with language learners in non-bilingual classrooms include:

A) *Provide students with multilingual texts in their native language.* Give students the time and space to read authentic texts that are either entirely in their native language or bilingual incorporating their native language and English. Include literacy resources that target students' native languages in order to allow them to develop the necessary skills. The books in their native language will not only allow them to work on their decoding and comprehension skills, but it will also be a show of value for their linguistic and cultural diversity.

In a study conducted to explore a multilingual approach to literacy teaching in an urban setting amongst ELLs (Ntelioglou, Fannin, Montanera, & Cummins, 2014), it was found that students experienced increased instances of academic engagement and literacy learning. Placing value in students' linguistic diversity as it relates to literacy allow students to build in their already existing knowledge banks. The authors of this study emphasized the emotional component of ELLs entering a school environment where they are unsure of whether or not they will be accepted for their cultural and linguistic differences (Ntelioglou, 2014). Allowing students the opportunity to read multilingual texts in their native language establishes what the researchers refer to as 'identity texts' where the students become invested in reading because they see some of themselves in what they are reading (Ntelioglou, 2014).

B) *Allow a safe space for bilingual practices such as code-switching, translanguaging, and translating to occur as necessary.* Avoid punishing students for reverting to their native language in the classroom. As ELLs progress towards English proficiency, give them the opportunity to use their native language as a tool for learning. Make use of technological resources that can translate the academic content for the overall benefit of the students and their learning. Encourage students to attempt to translate the content on their own first before relying on the use of other tools. However, allow the tools to serve as a support to the students when needed.

Translanguaging is defined as an instructional tool or practice that allows students to utilize their multilingual abilities fluidly rather than making separations (Garcia, 2013). Garcia (2013) refers to *languaging* as the continuous process that allows us to develop individual and collective identities as we engage with the world around us. Emergent bilinguals rely heavily on their ability to navigate their linguistic abilities as they make meaning of instruction material (Garcia, 2014; as cited by Creese & Blackledge, 2015). Creese and Blackledge (2015) point out extensive research on the premise of translanguaging as an instructional approach that brings together the various entities that make up a multilingual learner and thus has the capability of varying distinctly depending on the individual and the social setting. Whereas code-switching conveys the practice of switching from one language to other within a single conversation, translanguaging more fluidly bring languages together in order to make meaning (Park, 2013). Garcia (2009) refers to these practices as *dynamic bilingualism* in which emergent bilinguals are given the opportunity to use their diverse linguistic abilities as a way of engaging with and understanding the world around them.

C) *Enhance the curriculum to provide value to bilingualism and biliteracy by implementing culturally and linguistically relevant literature across grade levels*. Students should be engaged in a curriculum that is reflective of their cultural and linguistic identities. Through the use of this strategy, educators can aim to provide English language learners with purposeful exposure to multilingual texts for the betterment of their language development and academic performance. By giving students the opportunity to feel validated in the academic curriculum, they will be more invested in their learning and thus demonstrate higher levels of engagement.

The rise in culturally and linguistically diverse students in classrooms throughout the United States makes it necessary for schools to become intentional in employing equitable practices that reflect their needs. Scanlan and Lopez (2012) present a study that focuses on providing school leaders with the necessary tools to allow for educational equity and excellence amongst their emergent bilingual students. In this study (Scanlan & Lopez, 2012) culturally and linguistic responsive instruction is at the forefront of curriculum design by bridging the gap between language and academic content. Monolingual classrooms can employ linguistically responsive practices such as “promoting academic English, scaffolding comprehensible input (e.g., making language meaningful and contextualized), fostering social interaction across culturally and linguistically diverse students and native English-speaking students, and explicitly supporting both native language and English language skill development” (Lucas, Villegas, & Freedson-Gonzalez, 2008; as cited by Scanlan & Lopez 2012, p.594).

D) *Encourage ELLs to process academic content in their native language first before requiring them to transfer to English.* As needed, give students the opportunity to show their understanding in their native language and guide them towards communicating this in English. When applicable, allow students to process information and show their understanding in their native language first and then prompt them towards making the transfer to English. ELLs require additional time in order to make sense of the content that is being taught and doing so in their native language allows them to view their linguistic diversity as a tool rather than a hindrance.

Cummins (2008) highlights the ways in which bilingual programs oftentimes embody monolingual instructional practices. More specifically, Cummins (2008) speaks on the ways in which languages are purposely separated in order to adhere to curricular demands as opposed to implemented what he refers to as 'teaching for transfer' to maximize the academic potentials of emergent bilinguals. ELLs, in particular, benefit from the opportunity to retrieve the necessary information in their native language in order to find meaning throughout the process of second language acquisition (Cummins, 2008). Activating prior knowledge plays an integral role in the academic achievement of emergent bilinguals.

E) *Incorporate aspects of students' cultural and linguistic practices in the classroom*. Teachers can purposefully seek to understand students' cultural and linguistic backgrounds and find ways to value these practices in the classroom. By diversifying the classroom community to be more representative of the students, a heightened sense of ownership will emerge. Students will have the overall sense of belonging in the classroom community and become invested in their learning and the learning of others.

A study conducted to explore the *third spaces* of learning that take place when using cultural and linguistic diverse practices in the classroom (Gutiérrez, Baquedano-López, & Tejeda, 1999) depicted the ways in which effective learning communities use differences to maximize learning. Gutiérrez et al. (1999) elaborate on the concept of third spaces as essential components of learning environments that utilize hybridity and diversity within classroom activities to mirror the complexities students will be exposed to in their day to day lives. Goldenberg (2014) extends the argument that closing the achievement gap in the United States requires us to recognize the opportunity gap that is also present due largely to the lower quality of academic instruction that is provided to culturally and linguistically diverse students by neglecting to reflect their identities in the curriculum.

FUTURE RESEARCH DIRECTIONS

Future research is needed to discover the instructional practices and strategies implemented in schools throughout the country that are contributing factors to the low academic achievement of ELLs. By looking into the ways ELLs are currently being taught, researchers have the ability to determine whether or not the practices are linguistically responsive or constraining. Further research should also look into teacher's level of preparation to work with emergent bilingual students at the preservice stage. Many colleges and universities devote attention to preparing teacher to feel comfortable with instructional strategies that will provide students with the necessary academic content to meet grade level standards set by the state. However, these same colleges and universities require additional preparation on the challenges that arise when teachers are faced with students who have diverse needs that extend beyond the curriculum. Within this realm, research must be conducted on teachers' comfort level with preparing students who are linguistically diverse to acquire the necessary skills to demonstrate grade level proficiency while honoring their mother tongue. Through this research, professional development opportunities can be determined for educators who feel they require additional training.

Additional research should target the use of SIOP strategies in ESL settings and the ways in which these can be transferred to mainstream classrooms. Similarly, studies uncovering the overall benefits of bilingual education on students' long term academic achievement can be conducted. The results of these studies can be used to extend the understanding of the ways in which the strategies of bilingual education can be replicated to non-bilingual classrooms. The research conducted should evaluate the ways in which SIOP strategies and strategies of bilingual education are influential in helping to close the word or language gap amongst ELLs. Extensive qualitative and quantitative research is required in order to determine the ways in which students and educators can successfully allow emergent bilinguals students to maintain the integrity of their mother tongue. The research should look into the academic performance of ELLs on high-stakes tests comparing those who are proficient in their mother tongue and those who are not. The research can then be further extended towards analyzing the overall effectiveness of dual language programs on the preservation of their native tongue.

CONCLUSION

The review of literature on the preservation of the mother tongue amongst ELLs conveys the additive holistic advantages of allowing students to feel valued in their culture while immersing themselves in another. Bilingual education throughout the United States provides opportunities for linguistically diverse students to acquire the English language while working towards attaining similar proficiency in a second language. ELLs in mainstream English-only classrooms are charged with the task of meeting state mandated grade level standards that will be measured by high-stakes tests that fail to incorporate the presence of a language gap. The preservation of the mother tongue through bilingual education recognizes the cognitive gains that can be made when emergent bilinguals who are learning English are equipped with the necessary resources to help address said language gap. The strengths of this chapter include the ability to present research-based findings that support the argument for the preservation of the mother tongue amongst ELLs. The information presented in this chapter provides solutions and recommendations for both researchers and practitioners who are invested in doing the work to help close the academic achievement gap that is inherently present between ELLs and their English-speaking counterparts. The limitations of this chapter include the need to conduct in-depth studies to help address the ways in which ELLs are being taught in effective bilingual classrooms and determining ways to replicate these strategies in non-bilingual classrooms. The chapter

The purpose of this chapter was to examine the literature surrounding the importance of mother tongue preservation in the teaching and learning of ELLs in non-bilingual classrooms throughout the country. Key characteristics of ELLs and the second language acquisition process depict the underlying need for new direction in the English-only mandates that negatively impact the academic achievement of ELLs. By requiring ELLs and their teachers to focus solely on English proficiency throughout their K-12 schooling, school districts are limiting their opportunities to engage with the curriculum and feel valued in their classrooms. The negative impacts of the language gap add an additional layer to the challenges faced by emergent bilingual students who enter mainstream classrooms having to play catch up with their native English speaking peers in order to demonstrate grade level proficiency on standardized tests.

Culturally and linguistically diverse students are offered limited opportunities to experience post-school success. Schools throughout the country require more inclusive teaching practices and strategies take into account the benefits of ELLs' mother tongue proficiency as a solid foundation that will ultimately lead to English proficiency. The negative impact of the word or language gap is affecting the education of the country's growing diverse population. Emergent bilingual students enter classrooms lacking the academic background knowledge their more affluent peers are granted through opportunity. Socioeconomic status plays a significant role in students' cognitive abilities at the start of their educational career.

Emergent bilingual students who are given the opportunity to develop native language proficiency that can later be transferred towards English content learning show increased academic achievement. These students are able to utilize their native language proficiency as a foundation that can later be used as leverage towards their English proficiency and meeting of grade level standards. The growing presence of ELLs throughout the country is bringing bilingual education to the forefront in public schools. However, bilingual education allows for the possibility of bilingualism and biliteracy. Students are prepared to develop reading and writing skills in reading and writing in both languages of instruction. The shift in emphasis from monolingualism to bilingualism throughout the country makes it possible for ELLs to achieve higher levels of academic success through native language proficiency. Rather than emphasizing the significance of English proficiency, ELLs are given the opportunity to experience higher levels of post-school success through the instruction provided by bilingual education. Mother tongue preservation should not be limited to the instruction provided by bilingual education. Not all students are given access to bilingual education. Therefore, these same practices and strategies can benefit ELLs in non-bilingual settings. As stated throughout this chapter, ELLs benefit greatly from the opportunity to build on the oral language skills they possess in their native language as they move through the second language acquisition process (Lindholm-Leary, 2011). The preservation of the mother tongue with ELLs allows educators to bridge the language gap that exists with this population.

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KEY TERMS AND DEFINITIONS

Bilingual Education: The academic instruction of the core subject areas in more than one language.

Biliteracy: The skill to read and write proficiently in two languages.

English Language Learners: Students who speak a language other than English and are not proficient in English literacy skills.

Language Gap: Students' lack of exposure to spoken or written words in a certain language as compared to their more affluent peers.

Mother Tongue: The native, or first, language of a student who is learning a second language.

Preservation: To maintain something for an extended period of time.

Proficiency: Having the skills necessary to demonstrate complete understanding in a specific subject area.

Second Language Acquisition: The process of learning a second language and becoming proficient in this second language.

Chapter 3
Language Gap:
Cultural Assumptions and Ideologies

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ABSTRACT

The language gap is one of the most widely cited explanations for existing socioeconomic disparities in educational performance. Since Hart and Risley's 1995 publication on the socioeconomic differences in language input among children living in the United States, the language gap has permeated research, education, policy, and public awareness both in the United States and abroad. Since then, critiques have emerged that question the validity of the language gap as a concept and as means to close educational disparities. In this chapter, the authors build upon existing critiques by highlighting the cultural assumptions and ideologies that underpin the language gap and challenging these assumptions by drawing upon cross-cultural research on human development. Future directions are discussed on ways to move research forward using methodology that attends to cultural variability, builds on families' funds of knowledge, and recognizes societal contexts and structures that address systemic inequities.

INTRODUCTION

The language gap is one of the most widely cited explanations for socioeconomic disparities in children's academic performance (Golinkoff, Hoff, Rowe, Tamis-LeMonda & Hirsh-Pasek, 2018; Hoff, 2013; Suskind, 2015). Research on the language gap posits that the language environment of children living in low socioeconomic contexts is characterized by a small quantity and limited diversity of vocabulary (Weisleder & Fernald, 2013; Hart & Risley, 1995), which subsequently places children at a disadvantage in educational settings. Since the publication of Hart and Risley's study on disparities in language environments of U.S. children (1995), the language gap has gained international appeal, attracted copious media attention, and spurred large investments in initiatives seeking to close educational disparities by

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encouraging parents to talk to their children (e.g., Thirty Million Words; Talk to Your Baby). Within the language gap discourse, talking to infants is widely regarded as the "magic bullet" for eliminating educational inequities and improving opportunities for upward mobility (Avineri et al., 2015).

Hart and Risley's (1995) study of 42 families has since been criticized for its approach to examining language in the home and its implications for educational outcomes (Avineri et al., 2015; Blum, 2017; García, & Otheguy, 2017; Johnson, Avineri, & Johnson, 2017). One key critique points to the study's methodology: the small number of families and the focus on only mothers' speech yields an incomplete representation of language input in the home of many families, as evidenced by a recent study using similar methods and sample (Sperry, Sperry, & Miller, 2018). Other prominent rebuttals suggest that the language gap portrays the linguistic practices of impoverished families within a deficit perspective, and that it is rooted in the culture of poverty argument which blames impoverished parents for their economic circumstances (Dudley-Marling, 2007; Miller & Sperry, 2012). Together, these critiques offer a deeply contextual understanding of the roots, framing, and consequence of the language gap. The discourse on the language gap emerges from and pertains to *a specific context* –the economic, political, and cultural context of the United States. The specificity of the American context problematizes generalizability of the language gap to other countries, since adults use language to socialize children to become competent and contributing members *of their own communities*, and neither developmental milestones nor end goals of development are identical across cultures. Thus, the international application of the language gap in addressing educational disparities is culturally and contextually insensitive.

In this chapter, the authors expand on existing scholarship that highlights how cultural research on child development challenges the theoretical and methodological foundations of the language gap. Specifically, they demonstrate that the language gap is rooted in: 1) cultural assumptions that implicitly privilege certain forms of communication over others, thereby hindering societal efforts to support cultural and linguistic diversity in the U.S. and internationally; and 2) racial, political, and ideological discourses in the United States that are based on individual-centered social policy, many aspects of which do not generalize to international contexts. In the discussion, the authors suggest considerations for moving forward given these assumptions and ideologies, as well as avenues of study that examine the complex role of culture and broader societal systems in language development.

CULTURAL ASSUMPTIONS OF THE LANGUAGE GAP

Lauren, a curious toddler, sits next to her mother on a carpeted floor in the family living room. In front of the dyad is a book filled with colorful pictures of animals, accompanied by nouns (e.g. dog) and speech bubbles emanating from animals filled with onomatopoeia sounds ("woof!"). Lauren enthusiastically points to a cat on the page. The mother immediately looks to where Lauren is pointing and says "Yes! That's a cat. What sound does a cat make?" Lauren meows in response. "Good job!" says her mother and directs her to turn the page. "What's that?" the mother asks, to which Lauren responds, "A cow!" The question-answer game continues until the last page of the book.

Behind this interaction lay numerous cultural norms about language exchanges. The young child is regarded as a conversational partner who is encouraged by the parent to describe and reflect on the shared object. The parent is a talkative adult who uses descriptive language, questions, and affirmations to engage the child in back-and-forth conversational exchanges. Gestures and other forms of nonverbal communication are regarded as accompaniments to speech, the privileged modality for expressing thoughts and emotions. Such question-answer exchange is precisely the style of communication valued in American schooling, where children are scaffolded to express their knowledge of the world by vocally asking and responding to questions.

The language gap places a premium on a culturally specific form of communication described above and implicitly regards it as the universal, correct standard for language learning. This style of interaction is characteristic of Western, Educated, Industrialized, Rich, and Democratic (WEIRD) populations, who are grossly oversampled in developmental psychology (Causadias, Vitriol, & Atkin, 2018b) and psychological research at large (Causadias, Vitriol, & Atkin, 2018a; Henrich, Heine, & Norenzayan, 2010). Research on the language gap neglects to place these interactions in the context of White, Western culture, falling prey to misattribution bias of the larger field of developmental psychology which focuses on culture as an essential influence in minority groups while failing to acknowledge its role in the behavior of Whites (Cuasadias, et. al, 2018b). These biases in methodology create a misleading representation of parent-child interactions in which one sample is generalized to a much broader population. Communicative patterns of educated, upper-income Americans are not representative of, nor inherently superior to, all cultures in the United States nor across the globe, where infants are often either not spoken to directly, immersed in multi-party conversations that extend beyond the parent-child dyad, or learn through observation rather than direct instruction (e.g., Correa-Chávez & Rogoff, 2009). Thus, the language gap privileges the linguistic practices of *a specific population*, the middle/upper-class, White, educated, mainly European and European-American family, implicitly creating a standard in which this cultural practice is more "right" than others.

To unpack how the language gap has normalized and privileged WEIRD families' language practices, the next section focuses on the implicit assumptions that guide the language gap discourse and its methodologies. These assumptions determine what aspect of language development is measured, which features of interactions are considered valuable objects of study, and what messages are communicated to policy makers, educators, and parents about the nature of children's language development. Below, the authors identify five implicit assumptions behind research on the language gap and review cross-cultural scholarship that challenges these assumptions. They end by discussing the implications of using the language gap as a solution to addressing educational inequities across the globe.

Assumption 1: There Exists a Universal Pathway to Development

The language gap implicitly assumes a universal, fixed, and narrowly defined pathway to success. In this pathway, children's verbal interactions in the first years of life are tightly linked to their later school readiness skills, academic outcomes, and ability to succeed beyond school. The implication of such logic is that children's early language experiences will relate to developmental and educational outcomes regardless of cultural contexts. This assumption is not supported by existing research on neuroscience and epigenetics, which suggests that brain structures are highly responsive to and altered by cultural and ecological contexts (Chiao, 2009; Fagiolini, Jensen, & Champagne, 2009). For instance, studies in cognition among WEIRD populations suggest that people approach problem solving with "cognitive sets" in mind; they use the strategy they have become accustomed to, even if this strategy is no longer efficient (e.g., Diamond & Kirkham, 2005). This tendency is not observed in all cultures. When faced with a problem- solving task, the semi nomadic Himba people of northern Namibia were more likely to use an efficient, novel shortcut than Western participants on the same exercise (Pope, Fagot, Meguerditchian, Washburn, & Hopkins, 2019). Moreover, processes underlying development are such that different developmental pathways may yield similar outcomes, just as similar developmental pathways may yield different outcomes (Cicchetti & Rogosch, 1996). Thus, to assume to a particular type of language interaction will necessarily predict particular school readiness skills regardless of context goes against the very tenets of developmental science.

Assumption 2: Children are Universally Regarded as Conversational Partners

The language gap implicitly assumes that child-centered interactions are universal. Middle-income, educated U.S. mothers, who are oversampled in developmental science, tend to treat infants as conversational partners, and frequently use infant-directed speech—speech characterized by high pitch, exaggerated pitch contours, limited vocabulary, short utterances, and slow tempo—to engage their babies in conversations (Fernald, et al, 1989). This style of communication is not found among many non-WEIRD communities abroad, as well as many communities within the United States. For instance, Kaluli mothers, who live in the tropical rainforest of Papua New Guinea, do not view their infants as having the necessary knowledge to understand what is being said, and thus do not speak directly to them (Ochs & Schieffelin, 1984). Rather, they face their infants outward, and when community members engage infants in a dialogue, mothers become ventriloquists, speaking on their infants' behalf using high-pitched voices. Among the rural Wolof community in Senegal as well as the Gusii community in Kenya, looking at or talking to infants directly is considered bad luck because of the common belief that infants might be possessed by evil spirits (LeVine, 1979; Weber, Fernald & Diop, 2017). Yet another example comes from the Tsimane population in lowland Bolivia, where adults spend less than 1 minute per daytime hour speaking directly to children under the age of 4 (Cristia, Dupoux, Gurven, & Steiglitz, 2019), suggesting that children are not regarded as conversational partners until a certain age. These and other cultures place more importance on nonverbal communication, on learning through observation, and on participation in ongoing group activities rather than on dyadic, face-to-face interactions (Mejía-Arauz, Roberts, & Rogoff, 2012; Rogoff, Najafi, & Mejía-Arauz, 2014).

The parents of such cultural groups employ communicative repertoires to assimilate their children into *their* respective cultures (Harwoord, Schoelmerich, Schulze, & Gonzalez, 1999; Tamis-LeMonda, Way, Hughes, Yoshikawa, Kalman, & Niwa, 2008). Although communication is part of the universal practice of parenting in which adults pass on beliefs, values and behaviors to their children, what those values and beliefs are and how they are expressed through communicative repertoires vary widely within and across cultures (Tamis-LeMonda & Song, 2012). Even within the United States, enormous variability exists among communities in how infants are engaged in conversations (Kuchirko & Tamis-LeMonda, 2019). For instance, Mexican children with indigenous backgrounds living in America are socialized by their communities to be "keen observers" of interactions, in which they learn the semantics and pragmatics of language by listening to conversations not directed to them (Silva, Correa-Chávez, & Rogoff, 2010). Because their communities place value on respect and being considerate of how one's actions impact others, Mexican-American children are less likely to interrupt adults and do so nonverbally to minimize obtrusiveness (Correa-Chavez & Rogoff, 2005; Ruvalcaba, Rogoff, López, Correa-Chávez, & Gutiérrez, 2015). Together, these studies suggest that interventions based on the language gap can be problematic and culturally insensitive, particularly when applied to families whose cultural practices are not characterized by high amounts of child directed speech.

Assumption 3: Parents are Children's Primary Conversational Partners

One of the core implicit assumptions behind the language gap is that parents are children's primary conversational partners, as evidenced by the oversampling of mother-child dyads in language development research. Although data on the percentage of studies that sample only mothers in developmental research does not yet exist (to the authors' knowledge), the bias toward mother-child interaction is so pervasive that articles with titles such as "Fathers are Parents, Too!" are published to urge developmental psychology to expand their scope of research to other family members (e.g., Cabrera, Volling, & Barr, 2018).

Cross-cultural research suggests that many children around the world are raised in multi-party households, in which their conversations are not limited to those with parents (Gottlieb & DeLoache, 2017; Keller & Chaudhary, 2017; Konner, 2010; Shneidman & Goldin-Meadow, 2012). In such households, children spend time in the company of multiple members of the extended family, some of whom are siblings and same-aged peers (e.g., Fouts, Roopnarine, Lamb, & Evans, 2012; Rogoff, Mistry, Goncu, & Mosier, 1991; Sperry, Sperry, & Miller, 2018). Among the Tsimane community in Bolivia, only 40% of total speech directed to children under the age of 3 was spoken by mothers, with another 30% spoken by siblings, and the remainder by other adults and children in the immediate environment (Cristia, Dupoux, Gurven, & Steiglitz, 2019). Moreover, as children grew older, proportion of speech spoken by mothers decreased, comprising of on average 10-15% of total child-directed language. Given the focus of research in developmental psychology beams a light on mainly mother-child (and occasionally father-child) interactions, children's conversations with other integral members of their communities (e.g., siblings, peers, grandparents, extended family, community members) are left largely unexamined.

Assumption 4: Words are the Most Meaningful Unit of Analysis

The language gap is premised entirely on one unit of analysis: words. The assumption that words are the most meaningful feature of language acquisition limits the scope of understanding of how children come to understand and use language in their everyday experiences. Children do not just learn the semantics of language (e.g., the meaning of words) but also the pragmatics of language (ability to use language to act on and in the world) (Cazden, John, & Hymes, 1972; Hymes, 1962; Rosaldo, 1982; Tamis-LeMonda & Song, 2013; Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986). Although both the pragmatics and semantics of language are important for children's later educational experiences, the language gap discourse stresses mainly the latter, in turn emphasizing an aspect of language development devoid of the context in which the meaning of words is conveyed.

Context, however, is integral to language learning. Decades of scholarship in developmental science and linguistic anthropology point to an embodied perspective of language development that challenges the premise that words detached from context are meaningful units of analysis (e.g., Pereira, Smith, & Yu, 2014; Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986). Both lines of inquiry suggest that language input does not occur in isolation from environmental and cultural settings. Rather, words are embedded in culturally scripted activities, of which the physical environment, nonverbal communication, and goals of communication are important features (e.g., Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986; Tamis-LeMonda, Custode, Kuchirko, Escobar, & Lo, 2018). For instance, social and physical aspects of interactions—such as the features of the setting, objects in the surrounding, visual cues, gestures offered by interlocutors, and overall goal of the interaction—together facilitate the development of communicative competencies. These features of communication are essential to language learning and inseparable from the fabric of communication (Sperry, Sperry, & Miller, 2015).

The language gap relegates these key contextual aspects of communication to the background, and instead foregrounds the number of words spoken to infants as the singular unit of analysis worthy of study. Taking the above research into account, however, suggests that parents may talk a lot to their infants but if they do so without providing infants with social and contextual cues, then their infants will not learn vocabulary. Moreover, although hearing specific words many times may be beneficial for young infants, who benefit from redundancy, older children can pick up words from a single exposure if those words are accompanied by other contextual cues (Heibeck & Markman, 1987; Medina, Snedeker, Trueswell, & Gleitman, 2011; Spiegel & Halberda, 2011; Trueswell, Medina, Hafri, & Gleitman, 2013). Finally, language is used to convey meaning in a given conversational context, and some interactions are sustained by a few words, while others by many. Thus, the amount of speech in the above examples does not matter as much as its function in the context in which it is spoken.

Beyond fostering vocabulary growth, language broadly functions to socialize children to become competent members of their own communities. People *do* things *with* words. The content, form, and goal of conversations as well as the context in which they take place transmit culture, arrange relationships, and structure identity (Austin, 1975; Duranti, Ochs, & Schieffelin, 2011). To not acknowledge the multi-faceted nature of language use is to reduce words to referents that fall short of capturing the complex relation between language and society. Research on the language gap inadvertently does just that.

Assumption 5: Between-Group Differences are Larger than Within-Group Variation

The language gap implicitly assumes that differences between children from low- and high-socioeconomic groups are larger than the variability that exists within them. Socioeconomic Status (SES)—typically measured by a combination of parental education, household income, and occupational prestige—is widely regarded as one of the most important influences on children's development and is at the forefront of discourse on the language gap (Caro & Cortés, 2012; Hart & Risley, 2003). The compelling figure Hart and Risley published displaying diverging trajectories of language input to children across socioeconomic groups masked the enormous variability that exists within low- and high-socioeconomic groups (Hart & Risley, 2003). Variability is notable at the group level (e.g., differences in language experiences within any group), individual level (e.g., fluctuations in language trajectories or input over time that are masked when the ''mean'' is computed), and across developmental time (e.g., rates of change in parental input or children's language growth) (Escobar & Tamis-LeMonda, 2015). Studies on cultural variation in parenting find that more variability exists *within* cultural communities than *between* them (Bornstein & Putnick, 2012; DiBianca Fasoli, 2014; Fuller & Garcia Coll, 2010; Galindo & Fuller, 2010; Tamis-LeMonda, Way, Hughes, Yoshikawa, Kalman, & Niwa, 2008). Indeed, a glance at within-group variability complicates any neat portraits of language practices attributed to any one community, be it characterized by class, race, gender, or ethnicity (Kuchirko & Tamis-LeMonda, 2019). For instance, African American, Mexican, and Dominican mothers from low-income communities in the United States provide language input to infants that spans a full range. This range is comparable to one observed in a sample of middle-class European-American mothers (Tamis-LeMonda, Custode, Kuchirko, Escobar, & Lo, 2018), who are frequently portrayed as displaying uniformly high amount of language input to children.

An emphasis on within-group variability, rather than between-group differences, is critical for two reasons. First, variability suggests that there are many other factors that shape children's home language environments besides socioeconomic status, which warrant examination. Second, a focus on variation challenges the homogenizing and essentializing messages about children from all socioeconomic communities that abound in research, policy, education, as well as the general public. Not all children growing up in low-income households hear little language, just as not all children growing up in high-income communities exist in language-rich environments. Attention to within-group variation is necessary in order to move away from essentializing groups of people who under close examination display a multitude of linguistic repertoires and vary on many important factors.

IMPLICATIONS OF GLOBAL LANGUAGE GAP INTERVENTIONS

In recent years, scholars and practitioners have implemented interventions based on the language gap across the globe. The Nuffield Early Language Intervention (NELI) in the UK, Bridging the Word Gap and Providence Talks in the US, and Reinforcement of Parental Practice (RPP) in Senegal are just a few examples of programs that seek to address socioeconomic differences in children's language development by framing children's abilities in terms deficiency in vocabulary. The authors posit that such interventions are deeply problematic, especially when implemented in non-Western communities whose cultural practices and end goals of development differ greatly from those in the US and other WEIRD (Western, Educated, Industrialized, Rich, Democratic) contexts. Because the language gap research is biased toward cultural practices of a small portion of the world's population (Henrich, et al., 2010), blanket application of such interventions to other communities across globe can be at best irresponsible, and at worst unethical (Morelli et al, 2017). Such interventions are problematic because they 1) impose a narrow, skewed definition of success; and 2) disregard culturally and ecologically situated practices of child rearing.

Interventions seeking to close the language gap implicitly assume the same end goal of development for all children. They mold children who enter school to verbalize their observations, pose their questions, listen while others are talking, convey their emotions and thoughts primarily using words, and, in U.S. context specifically, draw upon vocabulary and syntax that mirrors standard English rather than other dialects (such as African American Vernacular English). This style of communication aligns with the demands of standardized testing, which is rapidly increasing in American schools and in turn cementing the privileging of certain skills and achievements over others (Arbuthnot, 2011; Knoester, & Parkison, 2017). The demands of standardized testing are so expansive that the notion of school readiness continues to be pushed earlier into children's development, with programs now intervening with expecting mothers to coach them on the importance of talking to babies.

Relatedly, interventions on the language gap fail to adequately consider the culturally situated practices that constitute children's lived experiences. Communities have unique historically accumulated and culturally patterned ways of living with others that inform their parenting ethnotheories and structure the form and frequency of language interactions between adults and children (Keller & Kärtner, 2013; Harkness & Super, 1992). These practices equip children with the knowledge and skillsets to organize and interpret their experiences in light of their culture's beliefs and practices and enable them to become competent members of their own societies. Advising rural, Senegalese parents on how to speak to their infants in ways that mirror European-American styles of communication, as is done by the Reinforcement of Parenting Practice program, is an example of intervening in a cultural community with the assumption of a universal standard of language development that is, in actuality, a culturally specific practice that has been deemed generalizable. Such interventions are echoes of colonialism and White savior mentality, and have been criticized by scholars as being scientifically unethical (Morelli et al, 2017) and rooted in linguistic hegemony (Avinieri et al, 2015).

The Language Gap in the American Context

The language gap in its current manifestation (Hart and Risley's 30-million-word gap) arose out of American political and social climate. It gained prominence in the United States in part because it is framed within a context of school readiness, which implies a particular definition of success in a free market American economy that values radical individualism and favors individual, rather than structural, solutions to addressing poverty. In this section, the authors argue that the language gap cannot be understood without reference to the political, ideological, and cultural context of the United States. In doing so, the authors highlight how the language gap both reflects and reproduces racial and class ideologies, and challenge the application of the language gap in countries with different cultural, political, and economic systems.

The authors first begin with a discussion of how the language gap emerged in American policies targeting families and children living in poverty. The authors then discuss how the language gap both reflects and reproduces America's ideologies of individualism and race. These ideologies frame policies and interventions that attempt to change, or "fix", individuals living in poverty without addressing institutions and policies that create roadblocks to social mobility for impoverished families.

The Language Gap as U.S. Policy

The language gap originated in response to America's War on Poverty in the 1960s. The War on Poverty was a set of initiatives proposed by President Lyndon Johnson's administration aimed at improving educational, health, and economic opportunities for families living in highly segregated, impoverished communities in the United States An emphasis on education was one of the cornerstones of the War on Poverty, resulting in billions of dollars flowing into schools and communities in efforts to provide new and enhance existing educational resources to families facing barriers to social mobility due to their socioeconomic status and race.

Hart and Risley cited the War on Poverty as inspiration for their study. Their project followed 42 families from Kansas for 2.5 years and culminated in a 1995 publication of "Meaningful Differences in the Everyday Experience of Young American Children". Although their study was initially published in the 1990s, Hart and Risley's 30-million-word gap finding did not gain widespread attention until 2002, when President George W. Bush's No Child Left Behind (NCLB) policy went into effect. NCLB set up strict, unforgiving standards for the education system in the United States at the state level, and created incentives for schools to meet their goals of improving educational performance (as measured by high-stakes standardized tests) of students from low-income households. NCLB cited Hart and Risley among others to make the argument that substantial socioeconomic gaps exist at school entry and must be addressed by rigorous, highly standardized curricula.

Nearly 12 years later, President Barack Obama gave a speech about the Early Learning Initiative in which he urged parents to close the achievement gap by talking to their infants. In line with this mission, millions of dollars were funneled into programs like Providence Talks, Thirty Million Words, Talk with me Baby, and Talking is Teaching, all of which represent America's attempt to address widespread educational inequities by placing the onus on parents living in poverty. The complex problem of educational disparities is thus addressed with a seemingly simple, free, measurable solution: increase the number of words impoverished parents speak to their infants, and watch the education disparities disappear. In spite of these efforts, disparities in academic outcomes have only widened in the United States (Reardon, 2011).

The Language Gap as Ideology

The rise of the language gap in American discourse can be partly attributed to ideologies in U.S. society that frame how socioeconomic disparities are interpreted and addressed. The first ideology is that of individualism. America's radical individualism implicitly places a disproportionate amount of blame on people living in poverty for their circumstances, while largely disregarding the role of institutions and policies in creating and reproducing material conditions of families living in poverty. The second ideology is that of race. The language gap is embedded in America's ideology of race, an ongoing, historically rooted discourse which purports racial equality while implicitly condoning structural racism. Below, the authors demonstrate how the language both reflects and reproduces these two ideologies.

Ideology of Individualism

The language gap and its relation to closing educational disparities reflects America's radical individualism. When compared to other countries, the United States is an outlier even among Western nations on its emphasis on individualism (Hosftede, 2001). The "pick yourself up by the bootstraps" philosophy is a running thread through the fabric of U.S. culture, whereby an unwavering belief in meritocracy and hard work is rewarded with economic mobility. The theory goes that impoverished families can break out of the cycle of poverty by working hard and displaying "grit" (Gorski, 2016).

Such individualist approach to addressing socioeconomic disparities sets the context for blaming the victim ideology (Ryan, 1971). In this ideology, impoverished families are blamed for their circumstances, while the systems and policies that marginalize and disadvantage them in the first place are left unchanged. Blaming the victim ideology leads to solutions such as compensatory education, a widespread approach to addressing socioeconomic-related educational disparities in the United States (Chazan, 1973). The starting place of compensatory education is that children from low-income communities enter school with various so-called deficits, be it in vocabulary, self-regulation, or math abilities. These deficits are addressed by building children's skills and training parents and educators to scaffold academics and behaviors that prepare children to thrive in schools and succeed in a market-driven U.S. context. The deeper, systemic roots of poverty and educational inequities (e.g., under-resourced schools, access to resources, systemic discrimination) are often left unexamined. In turn, the broken systems remain untouched, while individuals who are victims of such broken systems are "fixed."

The language gap echoes blaming the victim ideology and its corresponding compensatory education approach. Interventionists are "strengthening" impoverished families by addressing "deficits" in children's language abilities. These deficits have been deemed as such because children's linguistic repertoires do not match those required by schools, whose curricula—at least in the United States—are based largely on European-American language practices. Consequently, the default approach to closing socioeconomic achievement gaps is to compensate children's abilities by aligning parents' and children's language with the culture of schools and the demands of standardized testing, rather than addressing systemic differences in access to resources or creating schools that adequately embrace cultural and linguistic diversity.

There are two main problems inherent in individual-level approaches to closing educational disparities. First, the assumptions behind home-school alignment are that all children and families value the same sets of skills, live in similar social settings, face comparable challenges, and would therefore benefit from similar supports. This is not the case within the United States, much less throughout other nations. Second, individual-level approaches stand in sharp contrast to bioecological theory of human development (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006), which suggests that people are products of multiple intertwining contexts. From this perspective, children's language development is shaped by their micro system, comprised of daily interactions with others in different activities and settings. These immediate settings are embedded within macro contexts, which include cultural values, ideologies, institutions, and policies, all of which structure children's daily language experiences. Solutions to educational disparities need to consider multiple nested contexts of development, such as school funding, racial disparities in discipline rates, teacher wages, parents' work schedules and stress levels, household income, access to health insurance, and quality of housing (to name a few). To truly close socioeconomic disparities in educational experiences, these systemic inequities need to be addressed. Since the prior is difficult and expensive, it is no surprise that scholars, educators, and policy makers funnel their efforts into the closing the language gap. Fostering small moments between parents and infants around books and songs is cheaper than revamping entire school districts, addressing structural racism, and tackling income inequality.

Ideology of Race

The language gap is part and parcel of a larger discourse around race and racism in the United States, where covert and overt forms of discrimination continue to structure opportunities and daily experiences of African Americans and other people of color, despite mantras of equality and meritocracy. Before "gaps" were the dominant label for socioeconomic based educational inequities, Americans spoke about deficiencies as ways of describing language abilities of impoverished children of color specifically, and their intellectual capacities more broadly. Such discourse functioned to marginalize and hinder opportunities for children at a time when segregation and discrimination based on race was no longer legal. Here, the authors argue that the language gap perpetuates racial ideologies by using language as a proxy for race. Specifically, by erasing race from the conversation, the language gap allows racial practices to continue to operate in covert ways.

The 30-million-word gap is not the first discourse to substitute language for race. In the early 20th century, the notion that African Americans and certain immigrant groups were intellectually inferior due to their biology was a commonplace justification for overt racial practices in society, of which racial segregation in U.S. schools is an example. The Brown v. Board of Education ruling in 1954 sought to eliminate discrimination based on race, color, or national origin, and subsequent policies by the U.S. Department of Education followed suit by requiring schools to provide equitable education to all of their students, regardless of background. However, covert racial discrimination was pervasive, and opponents of racial equality were left to find other ways to hinder opportunities for children of color. Since it was no longer acceptable to exclude children on the basis of race, it was possible to mark their language practices as inferior to marginalize them from educational resources available to White children. Race and language have become so intertwined that a new field called raciolinguistics was formed to examine the process by which race, language, and class are co-constructed in the service of ideology (Alim, 2016; Flores & Rosa, 2015).

It is unsurprising then that Hart and Risley's study is a continuation of a long American tradition of targeting the language practices of non-White children as reasons for their economic conditions. Their work is in line with that of Bereiter and Englemann (1966), who espoused a theory of cultural deprivation to explain why impoverished African American children were behind in their language abilities. In their study, they examined language skills among "culturally-privileged" (whom they considered White children) and "culturally deprived" (whom they considered African American) children and concluded that "culturally deprived" children basically could not navigate their way around words:

the culturally privileged child builds up his sentences by adding words to them as he masters them: from 'Mommy read' to 'Mommy read book' to 'Mommy read me book' and eventually to "Mommy, I want you to read me this book." The culturally deprived child grappling with such a sentence would probably start off with an amalgam like 're-ih-bu,' with which he would then be stuck. The words 'me' and 'this' would be lost in noise, as they would be in any other sentence where they occurred, and thus it would be difficult for them to emerge as distinct, usable words (Bereiter & Englemann, 1966, p. 36).

A detailed inventory of Bereiter's & Englemann's language deficiencies among "culturally deprived" children includes the omission of articles, prepositions, conjunctions and short verb statements, inability to understand the word "not" in a sentence, inability to correctly use plural statements, inability to use simple tenses to describe past, present, and future events, and so on (Osborn, 1968). Given these supposed deficits, Bereiter and Englemann advised educators to teach "culturally deprived" children as if they had no language at all.

Such deficit framing continued to show up in studies on children of color living in poverty. In 1967, Martin Deutsch examined communication among low-income families, and concluded that their speech was grammatically disorganized and inaccurate, contained "unfinished sentences, poor syntactic form, simple and repetitive use of conjunctions, characterized by an inability to hold a formal topic through speech sequences, and had a rigid and limited use of adjectives and adverbs" (Deutsch, 1967, p. 222). A number of years later, Basil Bernstein, a famous sociolinguist, argued that two distinct ways of speaking (or linguistic codes) differentiate children from lower from upper class societies: (1) "restricted code", characterized by fewer and shorter utterances, and more nonverbal communicative acts, was associated with the lower class; and (2) "elaborated code", characterized by greater quantity and quality of language, was associated with the upper class. Bernstein concluded that impoverished children spoke a "restricted code" that limited their ability to cope with abstract knowledge and ideas associated with formal schooling (Bernstein, 1971). Finally, in the 1990s, Hart and Risley framed African American children from low-income communities as deficient in language, and posited that their language skills hinder their overall success in life, not just in school. Without any empirical support, Hart and Risley even make a sweeping statement that the children of professional families "simply seemed to know more about everything" (Hart & Risley, 2003, p. 10).

Deficit perspectives on low-income children's language abilities did not go uncontested. William Labov, a famous sociolinguist and an ardent critic of the deficit perspective, referred to the segregated education system in the United States as a "color-making" system (Labov, 1972), thereby making race salient in discourse around language practices of impoverished children. He pointed out that linguistic repertoires of African-American children, who were deemed "disadvantaged" and "culturally deprived," are characterized as African American Vernacular English (AAVE), a dialect with distinct grammatical structure and vocabulary. Far from being deprived, Labov argued, African American children are immersed in verbal stimulation, hear well-structured sentences, and are engaged in a highly verbal culture. Their linguistic repertoires, however, are not valued in the U.S. classroom context, where a particular version of English—standard English—is privileged. By pointing to supposed deficits in children's verbal abilities and enforcing a hierarchy in which one culture is valued over others, scholars, researchers, and educators once again place undue blame on children while diverting attention away from an education system that fails to adequately embrace the linguistic and cultural communicative styles of children from different backgrounds.

Despite Labov's critique, race continues to be largely absent from discourse on the language gap. Instead of addressing the intersection of race, language, and socioeconomic status in their samples, articles on academic achievement broadly and language gaps specifically relegate race to the methods section, where researchers provide the standard, brief demographic characteristics of their sample. The erasure of race extends beyond the halls of academia and into the realms of policy and education. While families of color are the faces of language gap interventions, it is their socioeconomic status, *not* race, that is at the forefront of program messaging. This foregrounding of socioeconomic status incorrectly suggests that race is not part and parcel of educational inequities in the United States. By omitting race from the conversation, the language gap contributes to racial ideologies in the United States that purport racial equality while simultaneously endorsing policies that marginalize and harm people of color.

MOVING FORWARD

In this chapter, the authors have thus far discussed how the language gap is biased toward European-American middle-upper class language practices and rests on a series of implicit assumptions about the universality of infant language experiences. Moreover, they argued that the language gap emerged from a particular context, that of the United States, and thus reflects and perpetuates America's ideologies around class, race, and individualism. The crux of the authors' argument is that the particularities of the cultural and ideological context that gave rise to the language gap discourse preclude its use as a blanket solution to educational disparities within the United States and internationally. Below, the authors offer future directions for scholars, educators, and policy makers from across the globe who seek to address educational disparities. These insights challenge assumptions behind the language gap, and point to areas of inquiry that could move the conversation about differences in children's language abilities away from deficit discourse and toward one that is culturally grounded and considerate of multiple, nested contexts of children's development.

First and foremost, it is the responsibility of researchers to re-examine their definitions of success and developmental milestones in light of their own cultural ideologies. The definition of achievement and success based solely on Western perspectives of the cultural, racial, and socioeconomic majority creates a socially constructed hierarchy that values the knowledge of a particular group over others and propels measurement of skills and abilities aligned with those prevalent in that group (Paris, 2012). Researchers must acknowledge implicit definitions of success, for whom they apply and why, so that theories, measures, and assessments are based in, representative of, and authentic to the cultures, concerns, and voices of their participants (Souto-Manning, 2013). In the United States specifically, such scholarship challenges the notion of a monoracial (White), monocultural (European-American), and monolingual (English) child as the standard for research and practice, and carves avenues for research and pedagogy that have diversity and inclusion at the center. Notable research is being done in the fields of developmental psychology, education, and sociology to pave the path for expanding how scholars, policy makers, and practitioners approach child development, family interactions, and early education. Findings that have emerged from this work highlight cultural variations in parent-child narrative discourse (e.g., Caspe & Melzi, 2008), and demonstrate that students perform better across multiple domains when teachers engage in culturally responsive pedagogy by drawing on children's funds of knowledge (e.g., Gay, 2000; Moll & Gonzalez, 1994).

To uncover and interrogate implicit definitions of success and the cultural and ideological biases that frame their work, researchers must engage with epistemologies that challenge the notion that there is one way to gather findings, and one truth to be found. Forms of inquiry that embrace multiple research methods are essential in allowing scholars to capture the historically patterned, cultural norms that guide the language practices of the communities they study, and force them to confront the role of their own race and class in scientific inquiry. Privileging what can be counted (e.g., number of words uttered) over other, more complex aspects of communication that cannot be easily quantified leads to simplistic, incomplete, and/or inaccurate conclusions. Further, researchers studying children of color from impoverished communities are mostly White and upper-class, whose perspective is largely normalized and "goes without saying" (Pratto, Korchmaros, & Hegarty, 2007). Such positions of power fundamentally shape what forms of language are measured, what aspects of behaviors are examined, and what types of conclusions are made. The dangers of leaving such perspectives unexamined is exemplified in Bereiter's & Englemann's framing of children from non-White cultures as culturally and linguistically "deprived" as well as in Hart and Risley's observation that children from professional households seem to know more about everything than children from families on welfare. Researchers are viewed in society as experts in a given field and purveyors of evidence-based knowledge, embodying the power to shape policy, practice, and public conceptions. It is the responsibility of every researcher to take this role seriously and to examine and mitigate the biases that shape their practice.

An essential step in every research project working with families and children must first consider how researchers will work together with families and multiple stakeholders to identify their needs, learn their cultural perspectives, and collaborate to design supports that address identified problems in culturally appropriate and strength-based ways. Qualitative methods that create dialogue between families and researchers and encourage people with multiple perspectives to tell their story allow for co-construction of knowledge, and they have the power to create inclusive definitions and narratives while disrupting systemic inequalities (San Pedro & Kinloch, 2017). Further, interventions and institutions that claim to serve *all* children must ensure that their approaches truly represent the culturally, economically, racially, and linguistically diverse populations by including a range of stakeholders in the process of developing, implementing, and drawing conclusions from tools and programs aimed to provide resources that inform educational practice (Griner & Stewart, 2013, Milner, 2013). While such methods are more intensive in the development stages, they are essential to avoiding blanket solutions premised on one cultural perspective or one context that cannot be responsibly and sustainably applied to benefit others.

Finally, educational disparities cannot be simply addressed with child-directed speech. These disparities are products of complex sociological processes, are embedded in systems that perpetuate inequities and cultural-erasure, and must be addressed at multiple levels (micro, exo, and macro). Solutions that focus on multiple levels of context lessen the burden that families living in poverty carry, acknowledge the role of culture in development and schooling, and support families in promoting positive development in their children. Recent efforts in Philadelphia to create an integrated data system that connects public records of multiple risk factors with school records is a step towards linking information to create a more nuanced, and more truthful, picture of children's educational experiences, and to inform and create resources that support for families (Fantuzzo et al., 2019). Thoughtful interventions also acknowledge how perceptions of scarcity and stress, created by the context of poverty, tax parents' cognitive bandwidth. Like time and money, parents have a finite amount of attention to bring to the myriad of decisions and tasks required to raise children, and poverty makes parenting in the context of economic scarcity undeniably more challenging and stressful (Mullainathan & Shafir, 2013). Interventions enhanced by insights from behavioral economics acknowledge the cognitive demands experienced by families living in poverty, and create opportunities for them to access resources that do not add yet another task to their parenting "list" (Gennetian, Darling, & Aber, 2016). Successful approaches to closing educational disparities, thus, acknowledge differences in children's skills created by inequitable access to resources, and use a strength-based approach by focusing on the rich knowledge and skills children already come to school with, examine what opportunities exist for growth, and foster this growth in ways that are culturally relevant and appropriate for each family.

CONCLUSION

The language gap, its wide use in the justification of family interventions, and its export to other nations must be interrogated in light of its methodologies, ideologies, and contextual assumptions. Because countries vary in their economic structures, cultural values, and histories of discrimination, the language gap as a concept should not be applied internationally to understand and address contextually specific sources of educational inequities. Within the United States and abroad, the historical, political, and societal ideologies underlying research must be carefully considered, and effort must be made to recognize the cultural lens under which this work takes place. The values and practices of one culture must not be assumed to be the universal standard; rather, thoughtful and purposeful effort to understand, respect, and represent the cultures and funds of knowledge of families, and to examine the systems that marginalize them, is needed to move towards meaningful, ethical research and application.

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KEY TERMS AND DEFINITIONS

Cultural Lens: Perspective on the world that is rooted in and shaped by one's culture.

Deficit Perspective: Implicit assumptions that privilege the values, beliefs, and practices of one group over another.

Funds of Knowledge: The strengths and resources that students and families bring to school culturally and linguistically. These skills are often not recognized, valued, or capitalized upon in standard education systems.

Ideology: Socially constructed ideas that have been naturalized in order to preserve existing power structures.

Individualism: A social construct that describes an orientation toward the world that is centered on the individual rather than the collective.

Systemic Inequities: Institutions and policies that differentially provide opportunities and resources to some groups while restricting access to those same resources for other groups.

WEIRD: Western – Educated – Industrialized – Rich – Democratic. This term is used to describe research participants who are oversampled in the social sciences.

Chapter 4
English as a Lingua Franca:
Approaches to Bridge the Gap Between Theory and Practice

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ABSTRACT

English has occupied a unique place in today's interconnected world. The emergence of ELF opens questions revolving around the change of the teaching and learning habitus. Researchers point to the disparity between theory and practice in this new paradigm and the need for bridging gap between them. The suggested study tries to explore this problem. Its purpose is to reflect on new approaches, which go hand in hand with how English is currently being used, and how it can also be integrated in classrooms. It first presents the development of ELF. The monolingual view of language and language use and the plurilingual view are also highlighted. Then, the discussion will be turned to the central topic of the study. It focuses on approaches to bridge the gap between theory and practice.

INTRODUCTION

Heterogeneity is one of the characteristics of today's English. It is a language with "multiple norms and diverse systems" (Canagarajah, 2006, p. 199). Graddol (2006, p. 11) claims, "[English is no longer] English as we have known it, and have taught it in the past as a foreign language," but 'a new phenomenon' now known as English as a Lingua Franca. English in the terms of Jenkins (2009) is "being used as a lingua franca, the common language of choice, among speakers who come from different lingua cultural background…" (p. 200).

Some research findings raise questions about English language teaching. Alptekin (2002), for example, "questions the validity of the pedagogical model…The model is found to be utopian, unrealistic and constraining in relation to English as an International language" (p. 57) or English as a lingua franca. Language pedagogy should account for classroom diversity because "an appropriate EIL [English as

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International language] methodology presupposes sensitivity to the local cultural context in which local educators determine what happens in the classroom" (McKay, 2003, p. 17).

The overarching objective of the current study is to show the 'conceptual gap' between theory and practice in teaching ELF. It also highlights the need to bridge this gap through incorporating some approaches. English now is in a 'post linguistic' era. Teachers and researchers should go beyond the traditional approach which can be called the 'native language approach' to rethink new ways of teaching.

LINGUA FRANCA

A "lingua franca" refers to a common language used for communication between people who do not share their first language (Seidelhofer, 2005, p. 339). Jenkins (2007) describes lingua franca as "a contact language used among people who do not share a first language, and is commonly understood to mean a second (or subsequent) language of its speakers" (p. 1). Huntington (1996, p. 61), however, states that "a lingua franca is a way of coping with linguistic and cultural differences, not a way of eliminating them. It is a tool for communication, not a source of identity and community."

UNESCO also provides a definition of the term lingua franca, which is as follows: "a language which is used habitually by people whose mother tongues are different in order to facilitate communication between them" (1953, p. 46). According to Samarin (1987, p. 371), the term lingua franca means "any lingual medium of communication between people of different mother tongues, for whom it is a second language". Moreover, it is regarded as "a vehicle of communication between interlocutors who do not share their first language, both among non-native speakers and when native speakers interact with non-native users" (Bjorge, 2012, p. 406). It also refers to "a communicative tool of immense power" in the terms of Kachru (1996, p. 910).

Finally, lingua franca is also defined as an "[...] an emerging language that exists in its own right and is being described in its own terms. It is crucial to understand the word emerging. ELF is not a finished product; it is being developed and there exists an ELF corpus called VOICE" (Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English, 2014).

ENGLISH AS A LINGUA FRANCA

Seidelhofer (2011) defines English as a lingua franca as "any use of English among speakers of different first languages for whom English is the communicative medium of choice, and often the only option" (p. 7). Jenkins (2000) also provides her definition of this concept, which is as follows: "ELF emphasizes the role of English in communication between speakers from different L1s, …" (Jenkins, 2000, p. 11). Moreover, Gnutzmann (2000) explains this phenomenon as "[w] hen used as a lingua franca, English is no longer founded on the linguistic and sociocultural norms of native English speakers and their respective countries and cultures" (p. 358). ELF refers to global English, to a common language of its speakers. It is no longer the language of the natives.

Crystal is one of the supporters of English as a lingua Franca. He is enthusiastic about this phenomenon and this is clearly shown in the following:

I believe in the fundamental value of a common language, as an amazing world resource which presents us with unprecedented possibilities for mutual understanding, and thus enables us to find fresh opportunities for international cooperation. In my ideal world, everyone would have fluent command of a single world language. I am already in the fortunate position of being a fluent user of the language which is most in contention for this role and have cause to reflect every day on the benefits of having it at my disposal (Crystal, 1997, p. x)

Crystal shows that English is "a common language." Moreover, it is "an additionally acquired language system that serves as a means of communication between speakers of different first languages" (Seidlhofer, 2001, p. 146). Jenkins (2009) defines ELF as

English being used as a lingua franca, the common language of choice, among speakers who come from different linguacultural backgrounds. … ELF is thus a question, not of orientation to the norms of a particular group of English speakers, but of mutual negotiation involving efforts and adjustments from all parties (pp. 200–201).

MONOLINGUAL VIEW OF LANGUAGE VS PLURILINGUAL VIEW

Monolingual researchers view language as a single entity. "native- speaker English is regarded as the correct model" (Coskun, 2011, p. 46). Pennycook (1994) suggests that monolingual view is based on a native speaker ideology that stipulates that (a) there is a close correspondence between being a citizen of a nation state and being a native speaker of the national language; (b) language is a homogeneous and fixed system with a homogeneous speech and community; and (c) being a native speaker automatically endows one with a high level of competence in all domains of one's first language.

However, Sridhar and Sridhar (1986) point out that "SLA researchers seem to have neglected the fact that the goal of SLA is bilingualism" (p. 5). McKay (2009) also argues that "reliance on a native speaker model as the pedagogical target must be set aside" (p. 239). In this context, Seidlhofer states (2001) that

uncoupling the language from its native speakers and probing into the nature of ELF for pedagogical purposes holds the exciting, if uncomfortable, prospect of bringing up for reappraisal just about every issue and tenet in language teaching which the profession has been traditionally concerned with (p. 151).

Holliday (2006) claims that "native speakerism is a persuasive ideology within ELT, characterized by the belief that 'native speaker' teachers represent a 'western culture' from which spring the ideals both of the English language and of English language teaching methodology" (p. 385). In the traditional paradigm, ELT teaching materials tend to focus on the "standard" varieties of the UK and the US. This is due to the dominance of the Inner Circle (Kachru, 1985). The second reason is related to the fact that the EFL curricula have focused almost exclusively on these varieties of English (Matsuda, 2002).

ELF has developed as a reaction to 'monolithic views of languages' (Hall, 2013, p. 211). Pluralist researchers have announced 'the decline of the native speaker' (Graddol, 1999, p. 57). Kachru, one of the proponents of the pluralist view of English, states that:

The language now belongs to those who use it as their first language, and to those who use it as an additional language, whether in its standard form or in its localized forms. The recognition of this functional diversity is so important (Kachru, 1985, as cited in Tsuda, 2008, p. 48)

Kachru points to the diversity of English which consists of 'local varieties' also known as 'World Englishes' (Graddol, 2006; Bolton, 2004). Kachru (2003) also believes that:

English does have one clear advantage, attitudinally and linguistically: it has acquired a neutrality in a linguistic context where native languages, dialects, and styles sometimes have acquired undesirable connotations… It was originally the foreign (alien) ruler's language, but that drawback is often overshadowed by what it can do for its users. True, English is associated with a small and elite group; but it is in their role that the neutrality becomes vital (p. 322).

THE GAP BETWEEN THEORY AND PRACTICE

It seems that English language teaching has not adapted to the new sociolinguistic reality of English. In other words, teaching methods have not considered learners' languages (Alptekin, 2002). There is, therefore, a mismatch between theory and practice in teaching English as a lingua franca. This gap is called a 'conceptual gap' by Seidlhofer (2001). Kohn (2011) argues:

The need for pedagogic interventions that help close the gap between school and real life has become obvious and urgent. Insights from the social constructivist perspective emphasize the natural inevitability for speakers learners to develop their own English, thus backing up the general call for pedagogic change. (p. 89)

The new philosophy of ELF is still on theory. Pennycook (2008) points to the weaknesses of world Englishes or ELF which:

does not provide such a useful stance on global English teaching, since it has always been more concerned on the one hand with description of varieties rather than pedagogy, and on the other with Outer Circle Englishes rather than global or expanding Englishes.

Furthermore, it seems that language pedagogy does not move to practice to see its implications. Researchers just focus on the description of the emergent varieties and they neglect the practical pedagogical ways, tools, techniques to show how to integrate ELF in the classroom. Widdowson (2003) further argues that the "linguistic descriptions cannot automatically meet pedagogic requirement," and it would therefore be wrong to assume that "findings should directly and uniquely inform what is included in language courses" (p. 106). Matsuda and Friedrich (2011) claim that "much of the discussion on English in its international manifestation and its pedagogical implications has remained at the abstract level" (p. 333). Language pedagogy refers only to the linguistic description of the different varieties of English. Kachru (2001) considers that:

a perspective on language variation and its implications for language learning and teaching…is almost totally absent in SLA ('second language acquisition') literature. There is resistance to acknowledging the social reality of varieties and their relevance for human interaction across languages and cultures. (p. 349)

Another issue which is worth being raised here is the role teachers. Teachers are not trained to teach ELF. Snowden (2012) claims that "it is difficult to see how teachers of ELF could be adequately…supplied with appropriate classroom resources" (p. 92). Kumaravadivelu (2001) also points to the same gap or problem stating that:

language teachers can ill afford to ignore the sociocultural reality that influences identity formation in the classroom, nor can they afford to separate the linguistic needs of learners from their social needs. In other words, language teachers cannot hope to fully satisfy their pedagogic obligations without at the same time satisfying their social obligations. (p. 544)

At the level of teaching materials, Jenkins (2012) shows the gap between the new philosophy of multilingual English and teaching resources, stating that "ELT materials still remain undoubtedly towards ENL, with correctness and appropriateness still widely driven by NES use regardless of learners' current potential communication contexts" (p. 487). It is, therefore, essential to go globally and to rethink new pedagogical ways to bridge this gap because according to Dewey (2012), "it is not enough to simply say that ELF has implications for pedagogy" (p. 143).

APPROACHES TO BRIDGE THE GAP BETWEEN THEORY AND PRACTICE

"The unprecedented functional range and social penetration globally acquired by English demands fresh theoretical and descriptive perspectives" (Kachru, 1996, in Seidhlofer 2000, p. 57). This clearly shows the importance of rethinking ways to teach the unprecedented spread of the new emergent varieties of English. Hu (2005) contends that "in the light of what we now know in terms of World Englishes and ELF, it is quite clear that, from the point of view of curriculum conceptualization, the unquestioned and routine adoption of a particular native-speaker variety of English and a particular set of idealized social rules of use is no longer educationally satisfactory or desirable" (p. 139). There are different approaches to bridge the gap between theory and practice. These include rising awareness, revising the roles of the teacher and teaching materials.

Raising Awareness

The first step to bridge the gap in ELF is the raise teachers' awareness about the diversity of the new varieties of English and the multifarious aspect of this language. Hall and Wicaksono (2013) state:

raise awareness of the 'plurilithic' nature of English, enable teachers to value the diversity of individually and locally appropriate learning objectives and outcomes, and promote the development and sharing of pedagogical strategies which respond to the global realities of the language (p. 2).

Jenkins (2006) believes in "the need for a pluricentric rather than monocentric approach to the teaching and use of English. This approach, it is believed, would enable each learner's and speaker's English to reflect his or her own sociolinguistic reality, rather than that of a usually distant native speaker" (p. 173).

Kachru (1982) outlined a number of points to raise teachers' awareness for the purpose of developing a particular pedagogy to teach ELF. These include:

- Sociolinguistic profile: an overview of English in its world context with discussion of selected major varieties, their users and uses. A clear distinction to be made between the use of English in a monolingual society, as opposed to a multilingual society; and its implications (e.g. code mixing, code switching).
- Variety exposure: an exposition of the repertoire of major varieties of English, native and non-native: their uses and users, specific texts related to various interactional contexts, shared and non-shared features at different linguistic levels.
- Attitudinal neutrality: for teaching purposes, one might focus on one specific variety and at the same time emphasize awareness and functional validity of other varieties.
- Range of uses: the functional appropriateness of the lectal range of varieties within a specific variety (e.g. from educated varieties to pidgins and basilects).
- Contrastive pragmatics: the relationships of discoursal and stylistic innovations and their relationships to the local conventions of culture (e.g. strategies used for persuasion, phatic communion, apologies, condolences, regrets).
- Multidimensionality of functions: the linguistic implications of the functional range as in, for example, the media, literary creativity, administration, and the legal system.

The Roles of the Teacher

To bridge the gap in teaching ELF, the roles of teachers in the classroom should be revised. Kirkpatrick (2007, p. 195) tries to link the roles of teachers to the multilingual world of English. He believes that teachers should:

- be multilingual and multicultural and ideally know the language of their students and understand the educational, social and cultural contexts in which they are working;
- understand how different varieties of English have developed linguistically and the ways in which they differ phonologically, lexically, grammatically, rhetorically and culturally;
- understand how English has developed in specific contexts and how it has spread across the world;
- understand the role(s) of English in the community and how these interrelate with other local languages;
- be able to evaluate ELT materials critically to ensure that these do not, either explicitly or implicitly, promote a particular variety of English or culture at the expense of others.

As the teaching of English moves into a 'postmodern era', teachers should be aware of the implications of the spread of English and the subsequent development of its varieties. According to Seidlhofer (2004), "… teachers will need a more comprehensive education which enables them to judge the implications of the ELF phenomenon for their own teaching contexts and to adapt their teaching to the particular requirements of their learners" (p. 227). He further adds that "such teacher education would foster an understanding of the processes of language variation and change, the relationship between language and identity, the importance of social-psychological factors in intercultural communication and the suspect nature of any supposedly universal solutions to pedagogic problems" (p. 228).

According to Widdowson (2003), the teacher's roles may include:

- The teacher guides students to make higher standards achievable through a relocation of their identity and culture in intercultural settings where they can express their "social and personal voice" (Kramsch, 1993, p. 233) as *languagers*.
- The teacher should support the implementation of effective communicative strategies in ELF contexts to improve learners' communicative competence.
- The teacher fosters collaborative dialogue within multilingual and multicultural communities of practice, e.g. through web-mediated interaction, to improve learners' intercultural competence.
- The teacher encourages peer corrective feedback and language development within a zone of proximal development (ZPD) to give students the opportunity to raise their awareness of the variable nature of English as a lingua franca.
- The teacher considers deviations from standard norms acceptable, provided a) they do not affect the overall communication flow; b) they are consistent with the learners' language level and socio-pragmatic goals; c) they are appropriate to each specific communicative context.
- The teacher should present several varieties of English so that learners become familiar with the concept of multilingualism and linguacultural diversity.
- Conformity to NS-models should not be enforced in the English classroom and the assessment of learners' competences should be based on the students' communicative capability.

Based on the pedagogical points above, it is clear that the roles of teachers are redefined according to the new teaching context. Teachers should encourage multilingual and multicultural activities in their classrooms. They should also take into their consideration learners' different competences.

Teaching Materials

Researchers called for "closing a conceptual gap" (Seidlhofer, 2001; Jenkins, 2000) between the descriptions of native English varieties and the new empirical and analytical approaches to English in the world. Revising textbooks is a key element to integrate the new pedagogy of English as a lingua franca: "Textbooks should contain material that allows and provokes diverging opinions and discussions on cultural stereotyping. At the same time, some attitudes and behaviors should be developed: the feeling of empathy, the ability to change perspectives, to recognize (the reasons for) misunderstandings and to find ways to overcome them" (Wandel, 2003, pp. 73-74).

Moreover, language pedagogy should be based on authentic materials and authentic language sources. Bhatt (2005) points out that "the creative use of language variation, representing plural identities, must find a space in the local pedagogical practices, in the English teaching curriculum generally, and more specifically in the construction on instructional materials" (p. 49). Cook (1999) also argues that "language teaching would benefit by paying attention to the L2 user rather than concentrating primarily on the native speaker" (p. 185). Leung (2005) points out to teaching materials which should be on local varieties, stating "any English-teaching program should be related to its goals in context" (p. 139).

McKay (2002) suggests that teaching materials should convey learners' culture and the diversity of global English. This author argues, "First, the materials should be used in such a way that students are encouraged to reflect on their own culture in relation to others, thus helping to establish a sphere of interculturality. Second, the diversity that exists within all cultures should be emphasized. And finally, cultural content should be critically examined so that students consider what assumptions are present in the text and in what other ways the topic could be discussed" (p. 100).

FUTURE RESEARCH DIRECTIONS

It is deemed important to think about more practical ways to teach ELF. There is a need for further research projects about pedagogy for teaching ELF, teacher-education programs as well as new teaching materials because "limiting learners' exposure to only one or two of the infinite variations of L1 and L2 varieties…denies the realities of the repertoires of World Englishes learners encounter when they go out into the real world" (Burns, 2005, pp. 5-6).

Future research should focus more on 'goals in context' (Hu, 2005, p. 139). Teachers and researchers should take into their account local contexts and local varieties and learners' needs. Mauranen, Hynninen, and Ranta (2010) argue that "the successful use of ELF demands new skills from its speakers, native or non-native, compared to those which traditional language education has prepared people for" (p. 189).

CONCLUSION

This study shows that English has become a 'gatekeeper' (Pennycook, 2008). Its spread places an emphasis on the plurilithic nature of this language (Pennycook, 2009) and its multilingual aspect (Rahal 2018, 2019; Jenkins, 2015). The spread of English leads to the emergence of ELF. This movement represents "a catalyst for change in established ways of thinking" (Widdowson, 2012, p. 5).

Consideration of English as a lingua franca has raised serious issues concerning language pedagogy and bridging the gap between theory and practice. ELF aims to acknowledge English as part of its speakers and users. Therefore, the traditional norm-based approach which is based solely on British and American English is no longer useful. There is a pressing need to use multi-norm and multi-method approach. Overall, the ELF movement aims to "shed the straightjacket of English as a native language" (Seidlhofer, 2004, p. 212).

This movement also calls for a change in language teaching pedagogy. The current study presents the basic principles of this change. These include raising teachers' awareness of the new sociolinguistic profile of English and its multifarious aspect (Rahal, 2018, 2019). Revising teaching materials is also crucial to teach ELF and to bring the theoretical principles into real practical practices. There is also a call for revising the roles of teachers. This represents an essential part of the new teaching paradigm.

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KEY TERMS AND DEFINITIONS

Conceptual Gap: In this study, the conceptual gap refers to the mismatch between theory and practice in teaching English as a lingua franca.

English as a Lingua Franca: The use of English as a common language between people who do not share the same native language. In other words, English is used for communication among speakers of different languages.

English Language Teaching: Ways, approaches, and techniques that are used in teaching English.

Lingua Franca: Language that is used as a means of communication between people with different mother tongues or main languages.

Practice: Language practice refers to the practice of working with languages. It means how language is presented and performed.

Theory: Set of abstract ideas and principles on which the practice is based.

World Englishes: Different and/or newborn varieties of English.

Section 2

Digital Competence and Emergent Technologies

Chapter 5
Improving Teachers' Digital Competence to Bridge the Language Gap

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ABSTRACT

This chapter aims to examine the digital skills that foreign language teachers must have in our global interconnected society and the ways in which they can acquire them. Pedagogical and digital innovation has been traveling along the same lines for some time. In recent years, however, in all fields of education—and more specifically in the didactic of foreign languages—several methods and techniques that increase the use of digital technology have been developed. Consequently, all teachers must keep up with the times. In this light, the objective of this chapter is to reflect on the pedagogical scenario that the digital age has set up, as well as on the ideal portrait that teachers must have. Then, the authors will focus on the specific digital skills that teachers who want to "flip" their teaching process should have: What are the basic knowledge and skills that a teacher must master if they wish to rethink their practices and embark on a flipped classroom approach?

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INTRODUCTION

A revolution occurred in the field of education when, as early as the 1970s, computers and then Internet appeared in our daily lives, and they both had a somewhat explosive impact in almost all areas. As education is no exception, teachers have been called upon to update themselves for more than 40 years with regard to the development of Information and Communication Technologies (ICT). Since these instruments are constantly evolving, the rate at which this update must to be done is quite high. In this chapter, the authors want to emphasize that it is a question of developing technological skills with a didactic but also ethical (what effects the actions of teachers and students carried out in a digital environment do actually produce?) and epistemological (are users able to recognize the values of the tools or equipment used, and also to control their reliability?) reflection (Linard, 2003; Puren, 2004).

The current era sees an almost universal use of the Internet and an unprecedented global connectivity through tools such as computers, tablets and smartphones. In the world of teaching and learning, this has opened the door to enormous opportunities that, nevertheless, conceal some application difficulties: teachers must be able to adapt themselves to new developments related to ICT, and they must have access to the necessary tools to see the didactic assets hidden behind these developments. New technologies have the potential to support education throughout the curriculum and provide both teachers and students with opportunities for effective communication in a way that has never been possible before.

Therefore, the digital issue cannot be ignored and is always a priority. Considering this, the authors frame the discussion along three axes: 1) Promotion of digital technology: how innovation in Information and Communication Technologies are spreading and how teachers relate to new technologies; 2) Digital Didactics of Foreign Languages: what skills should foreign language teachers have?; are they sufficiently aware of online resources so that they can be integrated effectively into foreign language teaching?; what place do technologies occupy in the field of foreign language didactics?; 3) New approaches: the Flipped Classroom. Finally, the authors will propose an idea of training accessible to foreign language teachers who want to follow pedagogical and didactic developments, and integrate ICT into their practices.

Background

The digital tsunami is irreversible in our daily lives and it is on this basis that education policies of recent years is based. In 2006, the European Commission issued a Recommendation on Key Competences for Lifelong Learning, in which ICT are associated with a broader competence, namely "digital competence". This competence is defined as "the confident and critical use of Information Society Technology (IST) for work, leisure and communication. It is underpinned by basic skills in ICT: the use of computers to retrieve, assess, store, produce, present and exchange information, and to communicate and participate in collaborative networks via the Internet" (European Union, 2006, p. L 394/15). In this light, it should be recalled that the fourth key competence (Digital competence: the safe and critical use of information and communication technologies at work, in leisure and in communication) is an integral part of lifelong learning strategies and is constantly redefined in response to rapid technological developments (European Union, 2006).

Education connected to ICT literacy has become since then into a key focus of attention at the European level. More than ten years later, and considering that technologies are no longer 'new', their use is being integrated in pedagogy and education – slowly but firmly. Beyond the general skills detailed above, the authors will focus their attention on the specific skills of teachers, which must therefore be both technological and pedagogical, in order to move from the notion of ICT (Information and Communication Technology) to that of ICTE (Information and Communication Technology for Education). It is indeed time to invest time and energy in pedagogical reflection on the use of ICT.

In the *Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions on the Digital Education Action Plan* (European Commission, 2018), it is read that in Europe more than 80% of young people use the Internet for social activities, while mobile Internet access has increased considerably in recent years. However, the use of technology for educational purposes still seems to not be increasing. There are still many schools in the EU without high-speed connections, and not every teacher has the skills and confidence to use digital tools to support their teaching (European Commission, 2017).

Aware of the challenges at stake in this field, the European institutions have committed themselves to supporting any strategy aimed at integrating ICT into teachers, practices, as "Developing high-skilled ICT professionals is critical for competitiveness" (European Commission, 2018, p. 8). In this context, Europe is asking Member States to develop the skills of the 21st century: to be able to seek information, validate it, communicate, and collaborate by using digital means. This requires that all citizens should be trained in digital literacy – it has nothing to do with pure and simple computing, but it is about approaching digital from a social point of view. This concept dates back to the 1990s and has since been redesigned:

This new socio-technical reality requires participants to possess not only skills and abilities related to the use of technological tools, but also knowledge regarding the norms and practices of appropriate usage. To be 'digitally literate' in this way encompasses issues of cognitive authority, safety and privacy, creative, ethical, and responsible use and reuse of digital media, among other topics. (Meyers, Erikson, & Small, 2013, p. 355)

It should be born in mind that studies have shown that ICT integration is a complex phenomenon (Mackey & Mills, 2002; Ng, Miao, & Lee, 2010), and that teachers' use of technology or computers is also a complex process (Van Braak, Tondeur, & Valcke, 2014).

Because of the actions undertaken thanks to the Digital Plans in each of the European countries, according to the survey PROFETIC 2016 82% of teachers have and use a computer and 80% use a video projector during school hours (Ministère de l'éducation national, de l'enseignement supérieur et de la recherche, République Française, 2016). According to this survey, this is not enough because, for example, about the interactive whiteboard, 23% say they do not use it, whereas this tool is intended to make work more interactive for students, and 76% also believe they have few means to access digital readers (Ministère de l'éducation national, de l'enseignement supérieur et de la recherche, République Française, 2016).

According to other data collected by PROFETIC, 56% of teachers use digital technology to prepare their courses. 62% of them use it to fill in the online textbook and 61% to enter students' notes. However, teachers consider digital technology as an opportunity for both students and themselves: more effective course preparation, diversification of teaching practices, more attractive courses, collaborative work... The benefits are numerous (Ministère de l'éducation national, de l'enseignement supérieur et de la recherche, République Française, 2016). The reasons that teachers show as obstacles to the introduction of ICT in their practices are: too many classes, inadequate equipment or a poor Internet connection.

Despite a good progress in digital technology in schools, 47% of teachers consider that digital technology is not well developed in the classroom still. They would like more training in order to improve their skills in this field and thus pass on their knowledge to students who are also keen on new technologies (Ministère de l'éducation national, de l'enseignement supérieur et de la recherche, République Française, 2016).

In the past, the idea of using ICT in the classroom referred to an image of the teacher relegated to a role of mediator between tools and learners (Bétrancourt, 2007), thus creating an obstacle to their dissemination. In addition to this, it can be noted that most of the time students are much more skilled than their teachers when using digital tools, and this reality can sometimes be embarrassing for teachers. These students are, according to Prensky (2011), "digital natives", that is, they were born into digital culture, with all that it includes – new modes of communication and socialization.

This evolution is not lost on teachers and now there is no longer a question of whether or not to go, but rather how to go. Teachers must approach this universe, study it, and detect its didactic potential for their disciplines. Learners, on the other hand, will probably be more expert, and can counsel or provide some technical aids (Dejean, 2006), but this should not be a cause for discomfort between students and teachers.

The use of ICT in teaching practices may have a number of negative aspects that could drive some teachers away. First of all, the risk of dispersion: the world wide web is so wide and the resources are so many that it is very easy to get lost along the way (Gómez, & Huertas, 2019a). Secondly, any work with ICT is often time-consuming and may lead to frustration with the time invested and overwork. Technical problems are also among the most frequently mentioned by teachers, as well as those related to institutional difficulties: the lack of value for working time (most of the time spent preparing course sequences is invisible), the weight of programmes to which the use of ICT pedagogy is added, the budget and the time that must be invested for training and for the tools themselves (Tafazoli, Gómez, & Huertas, 2019). Moreover, digital means change: this field is constantly evolving and pedagogical practices do not have time to stabilize as new ones are put in place. Teaching with digital technology is therefore complex and requires the teacher to be constantly trained and updated (Demaizière, & Grosbois, 2014). Consequently, for better teaching with ICT, teachers must have adequate skills in several subjects. The choice, development, implementation, evaluation and management of ICT in education require diverse skills and knowledge (Kozma, 2002).

ICT in education has the potential to influence the evolution of teaching methods (Dawes, 2001). Teachers contribute to the basis of educational innovation, so teachers' ICT skills should be considered as an essential condition to facilitate teaching and learning in our current modern information and technology era. As part of the process of integrating ICT into education, teachers' skills, as well as their perception of the role of new technologies in their teaching and learning process, play a key role. Therefore, developing the use of digital technology in education implies a reorganisation. The role of teachers can then be reconsidered: what is and what will be the role of teachers?, should they be resource designers?, should they be technical trouble shooter? Regardless the potential answers to these questions, teachers' support during the learners' journey is fundamental and it will never be replaced by ICT.

New technologies, as already mentioned, have the potential to support education throughout the curriculum and to offer a new way of teaching, closer to the learners' new needs. However, beyond the fact that technologies are motivating for both teachers and learners, it is also a question of understanding that the use of technologies must comply with the pedagogical and educational objectives defined by teachers. They must therefore be transformed into "educational technologies", that is, digital technology must be at the service of pedagogy.

An effective way to integrate ICT into everyday educational practice is to use Bloom's digital taxonomy scheme (Churches, 2007), which is the evolution of Bloom's pyramid (Bloom, 1956) and which considers the use of technologies to improve and promote learning.

The following table (Table 1) presents a synoptic and comparative representation of the three versions of Bloom's taxonomy (Bloom, 1956; Anderson, & Krathwohl, 2000; Churches, 2007). Each competence is associated with functional levels: behaviours, cognitive verbs (which are the operational translation of the cognitive skills of the different levels of taxonomy), and activities that can be performed with digital tools.

At first glance, a non-expert teacher will proceed by trial and error (Rézeau, 2001), and it probably will be precisely this moment of research and error that it can be fruitful at the end, because it constitutes a real moment of creativity and reflection. This reflection is the basis of self-learning, which together with pre- and in-service training contributes to the development of teachers' skills.

Table 1. Synoptic and comparative representation of the development of Bloom's taxonomy

Bloom's Taxonomy (Bloom, 1956)	**Bloom's Revised Taxonomy (Anderson, & Krathwohl, 2000)**	**Bloom's Digital Taxonomy (Churches, 2007)**	**Functional Levels**	**Activities with digital tools**
-	-	Sharing	Publicly sharing, publishing, broadcasting.	Contributing to open social networks, publishing, broadcasting, networking.
Evaluation	Creating	Creating	Designing, constructing, planning, producing, inventing, devising, making.	Programming, filming, animating, blogging, video blogging, mixing, re-mixing, wiki-ing, videocasting, podcasting, directing.
Synthesis	Evaluating	Evaluating	Checking, hypothesizing, critiquing, experimenting, judging, testing, detecting, monitoring.	Blog commenting, reviewing, posting, moderating, collaborating, refactoring, testing.
Analysis	Analyzing	Conceptualizing	Comparing, organizing, deconstructing, attributing, outlining, finding, structuring, integrating.	Hacking, meshing, linking, validating, reverse, engineering, cracking.
Application	Applying	Applying	Implementing, carrying out, using, executing.	Running, loading, playing, operating, uploading, sharing with group, editing.
Comprehension	Understanding	Connecting	Interpreting, summarizing, inferring, paraphrasing, classifying, comparing, explaining, exemplifying.	Boolean searches, advanced searches, blog journaling, tweeting, categorizing, tagging, commenting, annotating, subscribing.
Knowledge	Remembering	Doing	Recognizing, listing, describing, identifying, retrieving, naming, locating, finding.	Bullet pointing, highlighting, book-marking, group-networking, shared bookmarking, searching.

Source: (Own elaboration)

TEACHERS' DIGITAL COMPETENCE

According to the TALIS research concluded in 2013 (OECD, 2014), the second area in which teachers feel the greatest need for training is ICT: as these technologies continue to evolve and improve, the identification of this specific need by teachers is probably a sign of the growing difficulty for them and for institutions to fully exploit them in support of teaching and learning (Drent, & Meelissen, 2008).

Hence the interest and need for in-service teacher training. But what is meant by continuing education? According to the TALIS:

professional development is defined as activities that aim to develop an individual's skills, knowledge, expertise and other characteristics as a teacher. This definition recognises that development can be provided in many ways, ranging from the most formal (such as courses or workshops) to more informal approaches (such as collaboration with other teachers or participation in extracurricular activities).2 Professional development can be provided through external expertise in the form of courses, workshops or formal qualification programmes or through collaboration between schools or teachers across schools (in the form of observational visits to other schools) or within schools where teachers work. Professional development within schools can be provided through coaching or mentoring, collaborative planning and teaching and sharing good practices (OECD, 2014, p. 86).

Regarding teachers' digital literacy, Mangenot (2005) identified four basic skills on which other specific skills are based:

- to be able to identify resources on the Net;
- to be able to evaluate a multimedia resource: to recognize that the resource has thematic, linguistic, semiological, ergonomic and pedagogical relevance, that it is reliable and therefore true, authentic, and, finally, that it has a real interest for learners;
- to be able to include a multimedia resource in a learning scenario;
- to be able to create a multimedia task or scenario in a traditional way, on paper.

Mangenot (2005) insisted that the most important aspect in this approach is not technical competence, but rather it is accompanied by in-depth reflection on the contributions and limitations of technology integration in learning (languages). Designing learning materials is not new, but designing them with ICT requires additional professional skills (Hamon, 2012).

Considering this, the European Commission's *European Framework for the Digital Competence of Educators (DigCompEdu)* (Redecker, 2017) aims at helping promote digital skills among all teachers by stimulating innovative initiatives in the field of education and thus promoting teachers' digital skills: "educators need a set of digital competences specific to their profession in order to be able to seize the potential of digital technologies for enhancing and innovating education" (Redecker, 2017, p. 8).

A total of 22 skills is proposed, divided into 6 areas (Redecker, 2017, p. 16), namely:

1. **Professional engagement:** "Using digital technologies for communication, collaboration and professional development."
2. **Digital resources:** "Sourcing, creating and sharing digital resources."

3. **Teaching and learning:** "Managing and orchestrating the use of digital technologies in teaching and learning."
4. **Assessment:** "Using digital technologies and strategies to enhance assessment"
5. **Empowering learners:** "Using digital technologies to enhance inclusion, personalisation and learners' active engagement"
6. **Facilitating learners' digital competence:** "Enabling learners to creatively and responsibly use digital technologies for information, communication, content creation, wellbeing and problem-solving"

Competence levels are calculated in the same way as language skills (i.e. according to scale A1, A2, B1, B1, B2, C1, C2) "for ease of reference" (Redecker, 2017, p. 28). Moreover, a self-assessment tool has been set up based on the DigCompEdu framework: the DigCompEdu Check-in (Kapsalis, 2019). This tool allows teachers to reflect on how they use ICT in their teaching processes, as well to understand their positioning in relation to the skills required. At the end of the questionnaire, a feedback with tips and a sort of 'roadmap' for participants is provided. This perspective is intended to be useful to all teachers in order to stimulate their willingness to innovate and improve their educational practices using ICT.

The duty of institutions and schools is to provide teachers with adequate training to achieve all the above, with the ultimate aim of enabling the evolution of education systems.

Another interesting initiative at the European level is EPICT, the European Pedagogical ICT Licence, is a European centre that certifies the digital skills of teachers from a pedagogical point of view and aims to enable teachers to develop the competencies that are required to successfully integrate ICT in the teaching process (SWGfl, 2019).This certification is extended to three levels: the first level refers to the ability to manipulate hardware and software used in didactics (i.e. computers, tablets, smartphones, etc.); the second level requires reflection on the pedagogical opportunity to use these tools, as well as on the choices to be made in the project phase (e.g. choice of tools in relation to users and didactic objectives); finally, the last level is even more epistemological and refers to the teacher's ability to evaluate the effectiveness of digital tools in the didactics of the subject taught.

The integration of ICT into teaching and learning relies heavily on teachers' initiatives. The main objective of integrating ICT into school curricula is to help students develop their ability to use, manage and understand ICT. However, to achieve this, teachers themselves must be well prepared and competent in ICT. They must be prepared, in terms of ICT skills, to deal with their students who are mostly "digital Natives", who are generally comfortable with any ICT device.

Language Teachers and the Development of the Digital Competence

Language teachers are less willing than others to take 'traditional', lectures and they are more aware than others of the need to create an effective teacher-student relationship, as well as to develop a motivating learning path. In addition to this, foreign language learning and teaching has moved from the vision of language learning for the future purpose of travelling or working in a foreign country, to the current need for immediate use of the language – in fact, insufficient linguistic competences in foreign language may lead to increase the language gap (Gómez, & Huertas, 2019a).

Language teaching has, more than any other, demonstrated adaptability to the social ideologies of each era (Puren, 2004). In particular from the middle of the last century onwards: the technological revolution of the 50s and 60s coincided with the birth of audio-oral and audio-visual methodologies; the information and communication revolution of the 70s with the communicative approach; the 80s saw an increase in the interest in learners' autonomy; the 90s summed up these three concepts and focused attention on inter-individual communication through interposed technologies. Since the 2000s, each of these aspects has been called into question: technology, because of its pedagogical impact; language, which is conceived now mainly as an action language and no longer only as a communication language; and finally, autonomy, which becomes a key moment in learning.

This type of work requires that language teachers broaden their vision of their profession and role: designing activities integrating ICT requires more skills and reflection. The questions they must wonder are related to their ability to find relevant resources on the Net and to evaluate them from a thematic, pedagogical, reliable and relevant point of view to the objectives. Then, the ability to integrate these resources into the activity and thus create the appropriate scenario or task come into play. This approach has been analysed in two documents in particular*: European Profile for Language Teacher* (Kelly, & Grenfell, 2004) and *European Portfolio for Student Teacher of Languages. A reflection tool for language teacher education* (Newby, Allan, Fenner, Jones, Komorowska, & Soghikyan, 2007), in which the use of ICT within appropriate methodologies and in a spirit of mentoring in relation to students' mastery of digital tools is recommended.

Foreign language teachers tend to put the learner at the forefront of the scene, while they remain in the background (e.g. communicative approach). The use of ICT does not change this posture, but rather enriches the pedagogical scenario: the language teacher optimizes the appropriation of the foreign language and culture by using, for example, authentic texts, realia or by offering moments of communication with native speakers thanks to online communication tools (Tafazoli, Gómez, & Huertas, 2017).

When focusing the attention on second/foreign language teaching, it is easy to see how thanks to the Internet:

- teachers and students can access authentic documents and direct examples in language;
- teachers and students can communicate in real time with other people all over the world (e.g. using Skype, WhatsApp, Zoom...); and
- social networks have acquired a new importance in the field of language teaching/learning since they offer a very useful field of collaboration and knowledge sharing for both teachers and learners.

It can be therefore summarized that ICT in language didactics promotes pedagogical diversification, communication, interactivity and autonomy, as well as it offers the documentary richness of the Web.

Indeed, the Internet is a primary source of information and documents useful to both teachers and students. However, the latter can be lost in the vastness of the Web – therefore it should be a teacher's duty is to intervene and help students differentiate reliable sources of information (for example, by proposing the creation of a Webquest, a research activity that allows students to find information online following a path guided by questions and instructions set by the teacher).

Another example of the use of ICT in language didactics is the production of videos and tutorials that highlight language acts, useful in mobilizing a set of skills (gestures, postures, pronunciation). Unlike a simple dialogue between two or more students dramatized in front of the class, an activity of producing a tutorial makes it possible to get out of the simple dramaturgy and experience the language, yet still in a fictional way. The simple fact of filming oneself explaining skills chosen by students, and therefore close to their immediate reality, gives meaning to learning the language, and thus makes it more real. This type of activity therefore leads to the construction of real language skills.

Blogs can also be excellent tools to use in language classes, as they provide an online space where students can write, read, create and share ideas using the target language. The key issue here is that students know that they can be read by their classmates and also, eventually, by other people from all around the world. This way, students write for a specific purpose, expressing their creativity and making an effort to be understood.

Social networks, which are mainly used for social purposes, can also be used in language didactics, being sociability their major asset. Using social networks to stay informed about the topics that interest us and to interact with others who share our interests makes them very attractive if we use them didactically in language teaching: not only to share logistical information, but also to get in touch with other people who speak the target language, to follow topics of the students' interests, to share opinions, or simply to make new friends.

Another Approach for Language Learning: The Flipped Classroom

When addressing the concept of 'flipped classroom', it is necessary to highlight that there are many definitions, and they often include that it is a 'method.' However, is this the most appropriate word or is it better to talk about 'strategy' or 'pedagogy'?

Indeed, the authors agree more with a definition given by Lebrun, & Lecoq (2015), who considers that the flipped classroom is a change of mind. Lebrun, & Lecoq (2015) also said that actually this method is not revolutionary, but thanks to the fact that it is not locked into a strict system and that it allows the use of a whole series of methods, strategies, pedagogies..., it is rather evolutionary because it can evolve according to the skills, ideas and creativity of teachers. This way, the flipped classroom is more a philosophy, a mindset, a teaching posture than recipes and techniques (Lebrun, 2014, 2015).

Consequently, there is not only one kind of flipped classroom, but rather as many devices as there are almost teachers. In other words, the choice of which type of flipped classroom to use will depend on the teacher's choices regarding the nature of the learning-teaching process to be carried out, the learning skills they want to focus on, the type of activities, and the choice of digital media.

The principles on which the flipped classroom is based are:

- the willingness to foster deep learning, characterized by active and motivated work by learners;
- learning content that is offered to students before the lecture (out-of-class learning) and in different formats; then the content is used in class following an active pedagogy; and
- the idea that the teacher is there to meet the student's needs, supporting and guiding them.

That said, one principle is solid: the flipped classroom reverses the traditional order of learning sequences. The course theory is studied at home and the practical focus is done in the classroom. The centre of the sequences is no longer the transmission of knowledge. Lebrun (2014), and Lebrun, & Lecoq (2015), in this regard, say that indeed the lecture teaching is thus over, since with the flipped classroom the pedagogy and didactics are completely centred on the student. Inversion is therefore not to be considered simply from a practical and procedural point of view, but also from an ideological point of view. The flipped classroom has an impact on students' motivation and engagement, their ability to acquire, understand, apply and mobilize new knowledge, with or without the teacher's help, in complex situations (Nizet, 2016).

The time freed up in the classroom allows the teacher to set up a whole series of varied activities during which learners really become actors of their learning: they have time to put themselves into play, to reflect, to experiment, to confront themselves, to conceptualize – all this under the observant eyes of the teacher. The latter's responsibility will be to provide the students with all the necessary material to present their knowledge and demonstrate its use using a variety of digital media.

The playground of flipped teachers is undoubtedly the world of digital and new technologies: from the video capsules prepared to introduce the subject of the lesson before the course, to all the applications that can be used in class and at home; it is a matter of putting into practice in everyday life the reverse didactics of digital skills.

'Flipped teachers' should have then the following characteristics:

- it is not necessary that the teacher is a computer pro. The should just have the basic skills to be able to use a computer, its applications, surf the web, know and use the main cloud tools, content production tools, use video production software, and know how to set up and manage a Personal Learning Environment (PLE);
- they must be able to transform these technological tools into learning tools, at the service of learning. They must therefore not be naive, because new technologies are not 'neutral' tools: whether it is a question of devices, applications or PLE, the choices they make will have an impact on learning. Teachers must therefore be able to analyse the impact of the tools and understand how these tools will be used to support their own learning objectives.

When talking about integrating ICT into education, for example, in the implementation of a flipped classroom for language learning and teaching, the priority should be initial teacher training. Unfortunately, experience tells us that training courses are not always available, adequate or meet all the expectations of the participants. These are often provided by the technological experts of companies seeking to place their products, rather than by experts in the pedagogical integration of ICT. These training courses usually focus on how to operate a device or application, rather than how to use it to improve learning – teachers are then usually left on their own to understand how to integrate the tool effectively with their students. The TALIS 2013 survey (OECD, 2014) demonstrates another aspect that the authors believe is essential in teacher training: the value of collaboration. Teachers whose students' progress best are those with better performing colleagues (Jackson, & Bruegmann 2009). As other several studies also demonstrate, teachers' collaboration and teamwork help and support in-service teachers' education (Jackson, & Bruegmann, 2009; Moolenaar, Sleegers, & Daly, 2012). Peer-to-peer communities are setting up for this purpose on the Net: everyone makes their knowledge and experience available, and the watchword is "pooling", a real strength of today's school, at all levels. These communities of digital teachers are found of course on Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, blogs, specialized sites and online magazines. The web has thus become the ideal toolbox for any teacher wishing to always evolve in these good practices, to the point that even digital e-learning platforms (e.g. MOOCs) no longer keep pace with the information that travels across the web galaxy.

FUTURE RESEARCH DIRECTIONS

It is necessary to continue on the path undertaken and give even more impetus to teachers in order to encourage the development of a teaching practice that integrates digital tools in a qualified way. What teachers are asked today is that they have all the skills necessary to train the citizens of tomorrow, and foreign language teachers play a dual role in terms of digital skills and the language skills for younger generations. Institutions that are expected to train future teachers should then guarantee a wide range of knowledge and skills, but they should also offer knowledge of innovative methodologies using ICT. Ideally, training pathways should be proposed in which the professional and personal needs of future teachers are taken into account, as requested by the main European training documents, which focus on improving education systems, enhancing the role of the teacher and didactic innovation. Moreover, university and especially post-university training should be more on the ground and less in the classroom: in-service and future teachers need to be able to touch concretely on new methodologies and techniques in order to really understand what is effective with learners.

In general, today teachers, especially younger teachers, are competent in basic ICT skills, Internet applications for accessing and using ICT. What they still lack, however, is advanced ICT skills, such as digital materials creation, graphic design, animation and multimedia production. In the future, teachers should also be exposed to training related to these skills.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, the authors have sought to show how second/foreign language teaching and learning has been able to exploit new technologies more than other subjects have by making them effective. Technologies have evolved and the language teacher has gone from the use of music cassettes and video recorders to the use of interactive whiteboards and digital materials, among many other resources. These new tools enable language teachers to create the learning environment that best suits the needs of their students: collaborative, autonomous, personalized, creative and authentic. The skills that teachers must have are therefore not limited to knowledge of the language and culture of a country, but also to their ability to translate didactically all the documents and materials they find online, in order to motivate students and make the lessons more attractive since this is how the language enters a dimension closer to reality.

In this light, it is a teachers' duty to be constantly updated (lifelong learning) in order to acquire the necessary skills to select and evaluate the information found (information literacy) and to ensure that using ICT in their teaching and learning process is actually an asset. It is no longer just a question of developing knowledge, but also of acquiring skills that make it possible to obtain new knowledge and skills in order to move and adapt easily in a complex and constantly changing environment.

To this end, training should be provided by pedagogical experts who can provide teachers with practical experience in how to use ICT in the classroom. The training curriculum should be programmed based on the specific needs of teachers and their teaching context. Nevertheless, it is not enough during training sessions to present the incredible benefits of ICT in education: trainers must be realistic and show what the limits and difficulties teachers could face during their daily practices.

It can be seen how effective collaboration among teachers is in improving skills. It is essential that teachers move towards a collaborative model of training in which the exchange and sharing of practices is the basis. The innovative teacher should not feel alone in their corner; on the contrary, they must share their experiences and skills, and also see what is happening elsewhere. The authors believe that practice is the ideal way to get to know digital tools as well as possible: a training on the basics is certainly desirable, but the rest is in the hands of each teacher, and continuous and personal training is the real challenge.

The teacher's style should be that of the eternal apprentice, who learns in the field, who proceeds by mistake, who copies here and there the good practices of others by adapting them to their specific needs and educational background. Moreover, the teacher must be self-trained: know the tools, learn to use them, put them in context according to specific needs and objectives.

To do this, the authors think it is very useful to have communities from different social networks that exchange and discuss digital tools that can be used in pedagogical practice. Exchanging opinions, advising, transmitting information, most of the time is the best way to find solutions and strategies useful for teaching purposes.

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KEY TERMS AND DEFINITIONS

Digital Competence: The ability to keep abreast with the rapid changes of technology; it includes the related knowledge and skills people need to use ICT in an appropriate way for their own purposes, both personal and professional.

Digital Natives: People brought up during the age of digital technology, so they are very familiar with computers and the Internet since their childhood.

Flipped Classroom: Student-centered educational approach that reverses traditional learning environments by delivering partly or completely instructional content online and outside of the classroom.

ICT: Abbreviation for information and communications technology; general term that highlights the role of the integration of telecommunications that enable users to access, transmit, exchange, store, and spread information.

Language Gap: The observed gap in language skills, including linguistic skills in second/foreign language/s, due to different socioeconomic backgrounds and/or various training opportunities.

Realia: Materials from real life used in education to improve students' understanding of other cultures as well as of real-life situations.

Teacher's Digital Competence: Teachers' ability to keep abreast with the rapid changes of technology so that they are able to teach and guide students on how to use technology as a key competence, so that education and the citizens of the future are in tune with the network society.

Chapter 6
Bridging the Language Gap With Emergent Technologies

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ABSTRACT

The use of technology in language instruction revolutionized the way and the feel education was provided. Several modes helped students with their language gap. Nowadays, emergent technologies including the Web 2.0, gamification and game-based learning, and immersive technologies has taken language education by storm benefitting and bridging the language gap. This chapter provides an overview of how emerging technologies are changing the paradigm and contributing positively as a bridge to confront the language gap.

INTRODUCTION

For many years, we've seen a strong bond between the use of emergent technologies as strategy to bridge the language gap language learners. This is in fact to the arrival of digital natives (Prensky, 2001) to the classrooms. These are students that needed the school system to adapt to the technological changes at the time. The use of technology provides them with valuable language learning experiences and contributes tremendously to the development of personality factors like self-esteem, risk taking, and motivation (Figueroa, 2015). Emergent technologies have become the common denominator in the teaching and learning process of languages since the years of Computer Assisted Language Learning (CALL), Technology-Enhanced Language Learning (TELL), to the integration of the Web 2.0, Gamification, Game-Based Learning and the most recent use of immersive technologies like Augmented Reality (AR) and Virtual Reality (VR). Recently, smartphones have given the teaching and learning process an effective way to combat the language gap due to the variety of applications they provide for language learning and their affordability. Most people might think that the use of these emergent technologies in the classroom is only for those who can afford it but that is not the case. These technologies are affordable and most come with free versions giving the chance to the educator to create and explore potential

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opportunities to bridge the language gap by using of them. The following chapter presents how emergent technologies can serve as a bridge to confront such phenomenon and provides the reader with specific educational implications and relevant classroom strategies.

OVERVIEW ON CALL AND TELL

When exploring the use of technology and its application in second language acquisition, it is important to understand the concepts of CALL and TELL. Both have been instrumental in their own right to establish the important vision of using technology as a way to bridge the language gap. CALL has an established presence on academia (Hubbard & Levy, 2006) and it is defined as the application of the computer in language teaching and learning. CALL followed a behavioristic approach when it started back in the 1950s and 1960s. It was full of extensive and repetitive language drills, grammatical explanations, and translations tests which made the English language learner bored and not engaged. Later Communicative CALL emerged focusing on the cognitive theories of the 1970s and 1980s where learning became a process of discovery, expression, and development. As part of the changes, computer-based activities were implemented and thanks in part to the emergence of the personal computer grammar was started to be taught explicitly rather than implicitly, along with simulated individual and pair exercises (Figueroa, 2015). In the last part of the 20th century, CALL moved to an integrative approach based on a socio-cognitive view and focusing specifically on providing authentic social context experiences (Figueroa, 2015). This approach implemented by CALL gave the opportunity to English language learners to work with task-based, project-based, and content-based activities along with a student-centered use of technology. Integrative CALL gave them the opportunity to develop, practice, and combine their listening, speaking, reading, and writing skills as well as gaining substantial knowledge of the technology tools.

On the other hand, TELL is a more inclusive sense of technology and its impact on language teaching and learning (Bush & Roberts, 1997). It refers to the use of the computer as a technological innovation to display multimedia as a means of complementing a teaching method (Radhakrishnan, 2017). One important factor described in the work of Bush and Roberts (1997) and Radhakrishnan (2017) indicated the support given by TELL to Computer-Mediated Communication (CMC), which has been very useful to helping students speak and write in a foreign language. CMC can be defined as a transaction or transference that happens between two networked computer systems (Figueroa, 2015). TELL provides the teaching and learning process with unique features like social interactivity, connectivity, portability, and immediacy supported by the internet. As part of the TELL activities, students find themselves using audio, film, online journals, infographics, email, and online messaging. TELL paved the way for creativity in the development of English language learner's instruction and empowered teachers and students with the opportunity to integrate a huge number of tools. Most of these tools are online-based and part of the Web 2.0. CALL, CMC, and TELL provide a solid foundation on the use of technology to bridge the language gap.

A BRIDGE CALLED THE WEB 2.0

The Web 2.0 changed how students of all ages received instruction. It revolutionized the way instruction was given and how educators felt about instructional technologies. It benefited greatly the delivery to instruct language education. Due to all its possibilities, the Web 2.0 became an exceptional bridge to work with the language gap due to its affordability and opportunities for motivation (Figueroa, 2016; Figueroa, 2015). In addition, it helped path the way for the learning and understanding of a global citizen (Carter, 2013) and digital citizen (Mossberger, Tolbert, & McNeal, 2008). The web 2.0 is considered as the read, think, and write web (Richardson, 2006), giving opportunities to the teacher and the learner to create and be in control of web-based materials. It differed greatly from its predecessor, the Web 1.0. The web 2.0 facilitates interactive information, which means that in a language classroom the learners are able to share, collaborate, maintain a user-centered design, and the interoperability of the interface. O'Reilly (2005) described it as the evolution of traditional technologies into web applications focusing on the user. So, for language learning, it flipped the classroom to another dimension giving the students tools that they believed could help them in the language acquisition process, especially for English language learners, by creating engaging activities where learning could be measured instantly. In order to confront the language gap, learners were able to interact now with other students around the world through social networking and web-based communities; by that moment, interactions in the language classroom took place using the internet and writing reflections on tools such as blogs, creating collaborative work with wikis, and developing oral language skills producing podcast episodes.

The affordability of acquiring web 2.0 technology empowered the language learner with confidence and motivation, two important personality factors presented by Brown (2014) that affect the second language acquisition process; it also benefited and had proven Krashen's Critical Period Hypothesis, that establishes that second language acquisition occurs when the affective filter is lowered, meaning less anxiety by students' better acquisition. As it was expressed previously, the instructors benefited greatly from the transition to the Web 2.0 due in part to the "power" tools gave to them; this included: new opportunities for individualized and interactive lessons, the use of shared language material, the connections with other educators, and the opportunities to provide authentic assessment in a non-traditional form (Figueroa, 2015). For example, language teachers were able now to assign an individual or collaborative writing project for English language learners that was shared on the *cloud*, like Box or Google Drive, and give authentic feedback to the students in real time or at a faster pace than in a traditional setting. It gave the opportunity to the educator to confront the language gap of the students in a more direct way and using a faster approach for error detection which motivated the learners. In order to confront the language gap, the teacher created lessons with blogs, wikis and podcasts.

ADVANTAGES OF BLOGS, WIKIS AND PODCASTS TO BRIDGE THE LANGUAGE GAP

A common denominator of most students, whose arrive to the classrooms nowadays, is that they are digital natives. According to Prensky (2001), digital natives belong to a generation that process the information different and the educational system is not ready to deal with their necessities. The web 2.0 offered never before seen opportunities for everyone to learn and create a different student-centered atmosphere motivated in part by infusing several educational approaches like social-constructivism (Vygostky, 1978) and connectivism (Siemens, 2005). Students have the opportunity to work with blogs, wikis, and podcasts. These tools provide great learning opportunities based on ease of use and affordability.

Blogs

To foster language development, it is necessary to develop engaging activities. The integration of blogging as part of the classroom setting helped this purpose. Blogs are websites where entries are commonly displayed in reverse chronological order (Solomon & Schrum, 2010). They combine text, images, and links to other blogs, websites/webpages, other media, and have immediate publishing. When applied to the classroom, they encourage friendly debate and critical thinking. As part of the teaching and learning process to bridge the language gap, blogs are often used in a way to assess or evaluate students' writing. Educators create opportunities for sharing reflections, types of paragraph writing, and sentence coordination, among other activities. In addition, they encourage and promote process writing, where the educator and the student are seen as working together. Also, individual activities using blogs include but not limited the development of portfolios, the integration of video oriented to the class, and collaborative class activities like a class website to foster a sense of belonging. Campbell (2003) mentioned that there are several types of blogs, and all of them can be used as strategies to bridge the language gap of English language learners. The types of blogs include: the Tutor blog, the Learner blog, and the Class blog.

Nowadays, educators have the opportunity to decide which blog platform is more convenient for them to implement in their classroom and most of all which one has the tools of gadgets available to implement instruction that will serve as a scaffold to battle the language gap. Due to the expansion and opportunities the Web 2.0 provides, blog platforms are available free in most cases. Some of these platforms are: WordPress, Blogger, Weebly, Medium, Ghost, and Tumblr.

Table 1. Types of blogs

The Tutor Blog	**Provides support by providing reading practices and exploring webpages and websites.**
The Learner Blog	An opportunity for students to react to reading assignments. Also, it opens the door to practice technical English writing.
The Class Blog	Promotes citizenship and international classroom exchange. It opens the door to the classroom walls and let the students share and practice with native speakers.

Source: Own elaboration

Table 2. Blogs platforms and url's

Platform name	URL	Type of Platform
WordPress	www.wordpress.org	Free access
Blogger	www.blogger.com	Free access
Weebly	www.weebly.com	Free access, but contains price packages
Medium	www.medium.com	Free access
Ghost	www.ghost.org	Free access and fully open source
Tumblr	www.tumblr.com	Free access

Source: Own elaboration

Wikis

Jatkowski and Piipo (2012) described a wiki as Web 2.0 software that allows users to easily create, edit, and link together different web-related content. When educators work with wikis, they focus on content as a priority. They empower the teachers with opportunities to transfer knowledge to the students without focusing on several aesthetic details. Wikis combine video and audio and are used for enabling collaborative websites.

The use of wikis as a strategy to reduce the language gap has become an additional strategy for educators these days. Their functionality provides learners with knowledge expansion along with tools to confront the language gap. Students are able to create collaborative projects, webpages, discussion boards, among other learning opportunities. By integrating wikis into instruction, the learners can practice language writing skills due to the importance of having hypermedia as an enhancer. In addition, the teacher could create plenty of engaging activities to activate critical thinking and promote language skills. As an example of an engaging activity, the teacher could ask the class to complete an assignment on a social justice topic and conduct research on it. As part of the project, the students will be able to practice their language skills and use plenty of the resources the wikis platform provides including video, audio, hypermedia text, embedded presentations, etc. Also, integrating wikis as part of a strategy to confront the language gap offers the learners with the opportunity to engage in digital citizenship which is a crucial aspect on how to manage properly the computerized system and conduct ethically on the web. There are several websites where teachers and students could develop wikis in an easy and interactive form. These are called wiki software/platforms and include: PbWorks MediaWiki, DokuWiki, and PmWiki.

Podcasts

Oral communication and listening have always presented a challenge in the language teaching and learning process. Another strategy to use technology as a bridge to shorten or confront the language gap is the use of podcasting or podcasts as part of classroom instruction. According to Hasan and Hoon (2013), the term "podcast" comes from the combination of the words Apple's "iPod" and "broadcast". It is defined by Lafferty and Walch (2006) as a series of digital audio or video recordings, also called v-casts, uploaded on the web with the aid of Rapid Simple Syndication (RSS) feeds. It is also perceived as a collection of episodes that could be played-back on mobile devices and personal computers, which enables the learner to use oral communication by connecting students with a real audience and bridging cultures.

The process of language learning is influenced by many factors, but the learner's positive attitude is key. Working with personality factors is important in order to achieve language learning (Brown, 2014)

Table 3. Wiki software/platform

Platform name	URL	Type of Platform
PbWorks	www.pbworks.com	Free access but contains price packages
MediaWiki	www.mediawiki.org	Free open source wiki engine
DokuWiki	www.dokuwiki.org	Open Source software
PmWiki	www.pmwiki.org	Wiki based content management system

Source: Own elaboration

and close the gap that exists. Technology then becomes a scaffold or vehicle to work with these factors and podcasting seems as a great alternative. A study conducted by Chan and Lee (2005) determined that the use of podcasts reduces students' anxiety and create a sense of belonging to a learning community. In Hasan's and Hoon's review of recent studies (2013), they mention that podcasts provide students with a more authentic and personal experience to learn various skills of language. Participants of Li's (2010) study stated that they enjoyed listening to podcasts and showed willingness towards this new technology in developing their language skills. Podcasting offers a variety of opportunities to engage students in diverse scenarios. Instructors are able to record classes and divide them as episodes for the learners; by doing this, the student will be able to have the class instruction and replay it as many times as s/he wants. Another opportunity is to create radio shows with which the educator will be able to assess pronunciation and provide effective feedback to the students.

The proliferation of mobile technologies and the use of the smartphones in the classroom have contributed greatly to the expansion and use of podcasting. There are several podcasting platforms that could work in designing effective instruction for the language classroom and serve as a bridge for the language gap. These are: Podomatic, Chirbit and Spreaker (see Table 4).

Other Web 2.0 Tools

As technology looks to shorten or bridge the language gap, more educational tools based on the basics of the web 2.0 continue to appear. It is all about the flexibility, low cost, and ease of use this technology offers to the teaching and learning process. Recently, tools like Flipgrid, Toontastic and Padlet are being used effectively for language learning instruction and to close the language gap due to the accessibility they offer. All these tools empower the language classroom and educators are able to engage with students and families.

Flipgrid offers the opportunity for teachers and students to create a classroom atmosphere in cyberspace where language can be assessed thru videos; this can also work as a collaborative tool where the teacher shares the online classroom as well. Toontastic is used for storytelling; educators and students can create their stories and upload them to the site. The visuals are excellent and offer a great opportunity for collaboration and practice of different language skills. Lastly, Padlet is a new way to share collaboration; the teacher can share an assignment and students are able to write, record audio or video, and upload images among other things, giving the opportunity to practice language skills frequently.

Table 4. Podcasting platforms

Platform name	URL	Type of platform
Podomatic	www.podomatic.com	Free access. Paid annual plans.
Chirbit	www.chirbit.com	Free access. Five minutes of recording for free.
Spreaker	www.spreaker.com	Free access. Different paid plans.

Source: Own elaboration

Table 5. Other tools

Platform name	URL	Type of platform
Flipgrid	www.flipgrid.com	Free access. Free and paid plans.
Toontastic	www.toontastic.com	Free access. Free and paid plans.
Padlet	www.padlet.com	Free access. Free and paid plans.

Source: Own elaboration

SOCIAL NETWORKING INFLUENCE

Social networking refers to the aspect of Web 2.0 that allows users to create links between their online presence such as a webpage or a collection of photos (Green & Hannon, 2007). Social networks have given educators the opportunity to confront the language gap in different ways. Since the evolution of Facebook and Twitter, educators and students have been using social networks to post comments using target language, to promote critical thinking, and to develop a sense of web responsibility. Most social networks are free of charge, giving the opportunity to post and track homework in a different environment. Some educational platforms or learning management systems have copied the look and feel of social networks to get closer to the learners. This is the case of Edmodo whose colors resembled Facebook and is a look-alike giving a sense to the learner that it is not an educational experience opening a relax atmosphere. Edmodo is a private communication platform designed specifically for teacher and students to share notes, links and files (Solomon & Schrum, 2010). This platform is considered to be the first educational social networking platform. It has provided a dramatic and positive influence toward education and language learning due to the global connections and internationalization of education. Classes can be conducted via groups or can be seen in active real time video. Teachers can track homework easily and assign badges as well. Definitely the use of social networks when used properly bridges the language gap and provides a great learning experience for all students.

GAMIFICATION, GAME-BASED LEARNING AND THE LANGUAGE GAP

Two other strategies that educators are using to confront the language gap are Gamification and Game-Based Learning. In order to understand how each one could be applied to the language learning process, it is essential to study them individually. Both of them have plenty of similarities and differences and both focus on motivation, which is essential to achieve language proficiency, and both can be adapted to the classroom setting.

Gamification

According to Werbach and Hunter (2012), Gamification is the use of game elements and game design techniques in non-game contexts. It is based in the success of the gaming industry, social media, and decades of research in human psychology. Basically, any task, assignment, process or theoretical context can be gamified. The main objective is to increase the participation of a person during an activity and provide motivation by integrating game elements such as prizes or awards and leaderboards.

The Role of Motivation in Gamification

Motivation has an important role in language learning and influences the language gap tremendously. A student that is not motivated for a particular reason loses focus and learning is not transmitted. If it is transferred to language learning, it is one of the major factors that affect the process due the student's own behavioral characteristics. For example, research mentions six principal perspectives towards motivational theory that can be linked to gamification. These are Trait, Behavioristic Learning, Cognitive, Self-determination, Interest, and Emotion, which explained in the work of Sailer, Hense, Mandl and Kelvers (2013). Each perspective has its own characteristics, and are explained in Table 6.

Elements and Components

According to Sailer, Hense, Mandl and Klevers (2013), video games follow a design pattern which integrates certain elements or components. This is crucial at the time of designing a game and it is essential towards the main objective of gamification, which is motivation. Some of these components include: points, badges, leaderboards, progress bars/progression, performance graphs, quests, levels, avatars, social elements, and rewards/rewards system. In the work of Figueroa (2016), these are defined as follows:

1. **Points:** Numeric accumulation based on certain activities.
2. **Badges:** Visual representation of achievements for the use has shown online.
3. **Leaderboards:** How the players are ranked based on success.
4. **Progress Bards/Progression:** Shows the status of a player.
5. **Quests:** Some of the tasks that have to be fulfilled in a game.
6. **Levels:** A section or parts of the game.
7. **Avatars:** Visual representation of a player or alter ego.
8. **Social Elements:** Relationships with other user through the game.
9. **Rewards/rewards System:** System to motivate players that accomplish a quest.

Table 6. Perspectives and characteristics linked to motivation and gamification

Perspective	Characteristic
Trait	Observes motives as individual characteristics and some of the important ones that it presents include achievement, need for power, and affiliation (McClelland, 1961, 2009)
Behavioristic Learning	A result of previous experiences, including past positive or negative reinforcement, or stimulus-response bonds (Skinner, 1963).
Cognitive	Perceives motivation as a means-ends analysis which is dependent on situation-specific goals, and expectancies regarding the outcome of the situation itself, expectancies of the consequences of the outcome, and the subjective value (Heckhausen, 1977; Heckhausen & Heckhausen, 2008). The influence on the variables could differentiate a performance intrinsic motivation (Schunk, Pintrich, & Meece, 2010).
Self-determination	Postulates the psychological needs for competence, autonomy, and social relatedness. The fulfillments of these needs are necessary in intrinsic motivation and can be extrinsically perceived by the fulfillment of the needs (Ryan & Deci, 2000).
Interest	Is perceived as an affective and cognitive variable and evolves in specific content and interaction with the environment (Hidi, Renninger, & Krapp, 2004).
Emotion	Considered as an emotional design of instruction, which works with motivational mechanisms (Astleitner, 2000).

Source: Own elaboration

All these elements have different purposes and can be adapted to basically any work, business or education-related environment. According to Dickey (2005), every game integrates three basic elements: meta-centered activities, rewards, and progression. But it is the element of "rewards" that calls the attention of the participant depending on the context. The work of Smith-Robbins (2011) suggests that three principal categories exist for "rewards" and include: leaders, prizes/awards, and achievements. The "leaders" are participants classified based on their game success; it is the same concept used in sports and most of the time incorporates a leaderboard. Another category is "prizes/awards", which promotes an additional commitment and engagement by the participant (Glover, Campbell, Latig, Norris, Toner, & Tse, 2012). Finally, "achievements" are publicly shown icons, or the so-called badges, in the participant online profile.; they are perceived as the integration or combination of the previously mentioned reward categories. The integration and use of badges, each with a different meaning, has grown tremendously in part to the development of game consoles and online gaming.

Gamification in Education

As the 21st century move forward, and technology continues to be an integral part of it, new pedagogical strategies have appeared. These strategies are developed based on the needs, the environment, and competencies of the 21st-century learner; this learner is called "digital native". According to Prensky (2001), a digital native learns and processes information differently. They are described as living lives immersed in technology "surrounded by and using computers, videogames, digital music players, video cams, cell phones, and all the other toys and tools of the digital age" (Prensky, 2001, p.1). The digital native belongs to the Net-generation and, in many cases, is labeled as a "millennial" (Howe & Strauss, 2000, 2003). According to Mongan-Rallis (2009), the digital native wants to be engaged by the instructor and expected to create and consume. One of these new pedagogical strategies is gamification. According to Kingsley and Grabner-Hagen (2015), gamification in education lets the instructor gamify an activity or a certain literacy skill. It integrates game elements and rewards mechanisms as part of the lecture, while motivating and engaging the student, and promoting healthy competition. The students learn a concept and practice skills just like if they were playing in a game. This is ideal to handle the language gap by integrating activities that will motivate the learners and infuse them with game-like strategies that they are used to. In addition, it makes the educational experience challenging and fun (Vassileva, 2008). The objective for integrating gamification towards education is to unchain a more attractive and effective learning experience for the student (Figueroa, 2015). Gamification will work directly with the psychological factors mentioned by Brown (2014) and will provide the students with the ability to confront the language gap by increasing oral, listening, speaking, and writing skills in game-like situations. Another benefit of gamification to battle the language divide has to do with the opportunity of learners to interact among themselves. Another important fact is that when people perceive any form of social presence, they tend to respond in a natural way to feelings such as happiness, empathy, and frustration, or even follow social rules like taking turns (Fogg, 2002).

In order to use gamification as a strategy to bridge the language gap, it is necessary that educators develop classroom content following Huang and Soman's (2013) Educational Gamification Five Step Model. The work of Figueroa (2015; 2016) described each of the parts of the model which included understanding the target audience, defining learning objectives, structuring the experience, identifying resources, and applying gamification elements.

Table 7. Educational gamification five step model

Understanding the Target Audience	• In this step, the instructor needs to know who the students are. • A combination of the target audience is necessary along with analyzing the context to understand several key factors like group size, environment skills sequence, and length. • In this step solutions to psychological factors are presented. Points include: focus, motivation, skills, pride, learning environment and nature of the course, and physical, mental and emotional factors. By understanding these points, the educator will be ready to determine the gamification elements to implement.
Defining the Learning Objectives	• Always necessary for a successful teaching and learning experience. • The objectives need to have general instructional goals, specific learning goals, and behavioral goals. • In order to have a successful learning experience through gamification, the instructor needs to have the ability of combining and implementing the learning objectives.
Structuring the Experience	• In this stage, the instructor prepares the sequence and quantify what the student needs to learn and achieve by the end of each stage. • If students are staying behind, the instructor needs to re-think and provide a push for motivation in order for the student to complete the stage. • The educator needs to move his educational program from simple to complex by starting with easier milestones so that the student stays engaged and motivated.
Identifying Resources	• The instructor will have complete assurance of which stage can or cannot be gamified. • The instructor needs to reflect in regard to several aspects that need to be considered. These are: tracking mechanisms, currency, levels, rules, and feedback.
Applying Gamification Elements	• In this step, the educator decides which gamification elements will be applied. • The elements are divided in self and social. Self-elements most of the time use badges, levels and time restrictions. They focus on making students compete with themselves and recognize self-achievement. • Meanwhile, interactive competitions along with cooperation are seen as social elements. It is with this type of elements that students' achievements are made public and learners become part of a community.

Source: Own elaboration

Game-Based Learning

Scholars such as Epper, Derryberry and Jackson (2012) mentioned that a study conducted by Newzoo and Humana Games in 2011 found that 47% of game players were women and 29% were over the age of 50.4. The study also included that educational games were gaining prominence and media attention, which indicated a positive adoption towards Game-Based Learning (GBL). Supporting this statement, the NMC-Horizon Report (New Media Consortium, 2015), which indicated that GBL was already a pedagogical strategy suited for the 21st-century learner, was likely to become one of the mainstreams in the coming 2-3 years.

According to Perrotta, Featherstone, Aston and Houghton (2013), GBL refers to the use of video games to support teaching and learning. It is a natural evolution from traditional methods of teaching, which include static, non-interactive elements, such as textbooks, chalkboards, and lecturing at students rather than exploring with them. It is a form of experiential engagement in which people learn by trial and error, by role-playing and by treating a certain topic not as "content" but as a set of rules, or a system of choices and consequences. Games in education provide a vehicle by which students can explore, solve problems, attempt challenges, and make decisions, and educational games contribute to learning broadly (Figueroa, 2016). GBL has shown to be an effective means of enhancing both learning motivation and academic performance (Chang, Wu, Weng, & Sung, 2012; Virvou, Katsionis, & Manos, 2005). GBL could be considered the "big brother" of gamification gameplay in education. One important aspect to consider is that GBL is a strategy that can adapt educational video games to leisure use video games, which the digital native plays a minimum of 3½ hours a week (Mongan-Rallis, 2009). This leads to different blended experiences during the process. In order to implement GBL, it is necessary to understand the principles and mechanisms that support the strategy, both mentioned in the work of Perrotta, Featherstone, Aston and Houghton (2013). Lastly, it is necessary for the educator to prepare and develop a good learning environment and to achieve learning outcomes, to compare and contrast GBL and gamification.

Principles and Mechanisms of Game Based Learning

According to Figueroa (2016), in order to engage the 21st -century learner and overcome the language gap, the teaching and learning process needs to be precise. This digital native wants to learn and is eager to use video games and compete. In order to plan a proper curriculum and achieve successful learning outcomes with GBL with the objective of confronting and working to beat the language gap, certain principles and mechanisms must be taken into consideration. The term "principles" imply underlying assumptions and concepts as explained by Perrotta, Featherstone, Aston and Houghton (2013). On the other hand, the term, "mechanisms" is defined as the processes and dynamics which makes people understand how video games can, in theory, assist the pursuit of educational goals (Perrotta, Featherstone, Aston, & Houghton, 2013).

This principles and mechanisms are necessary and must be assessed at the moment of integrating GBL to the language curriculum. In addition, the educator must conduct an evaluation of the video game to be used and observe its potential characteristics and challenges toward language instruction. All the principles are explained as follows:

- Intrinsic motivation: Gaming is intrinsically motivating because, by and large, it is a voluntary activity. Therefore, gaming for learning works best in the context of invitation and persuasion, rather than compulsion.
- Learning through enjoyment and fun: Several authors suggest that games can be a vehicle for engaging students in a "flow". Flow is a state of consciousness during which an individual is in control of his/her actions and completely absorbed in the task at hand.

Table 8. Principles and mechanisms of GBL

Principles	Mechanisms
Intrinsic motivation	Rules
Learning through enjoyment and fun	Clear/challenging goals
Authenticity	Fictional setting
Self-reliance and autonomy	Progressive/difficulty levels
Experiential learning	Interaction/student control
	Uncertainty
	Immediate/constructive feedback
	Social elements

Source: Own elaboration

- Authenticity: Authenticity means a concern for the real nature of learning, which is supposedly different from the "artificial" or decontextualized forms of learning that take place in schools. In the name of authenticity, contextual skills are prioritized over the abstract notions and facts valued in traditional instruction. Therefore, "good" gaming reflects actual learning processes, which are always grounded in specific settings and practices. These can be actual professions, but also extravagant, fantastic roles and endeavors.
- Self-reliance and autonomy: Gaming encourages independent inquiry and exploration; interests and passions can branch off from the individual game, towards aspects of the 'ecosystem' that surrounds it. These aspects include technical and artistic skills like programming, writing, drawing, making music; but also, the desire to find out more about certain topics, e.g., about science, history or mythology.
- Experiential learning*:* The notion of experiential learning is a very old and influential one in education, dating back to the work of John Dewey. Many claimed that gaming provides a cost-effective alternative to learning by doing in real settings.

The mechanisms of video games will assure that effective instruction can be delivered by following the specific student learning outcomes. In addition, language learning will benefit greatly due to the rules and goals the educational setting will have and the student feedback that will be received. The mechanisms are explained as follows:

- Rules: These rules can be more or less complex depending on the choices they elicit and the related consequences. For instance, rules can be simple and binary (if/then); or multifaceted and accommodating a broad range of decision-making processes.
- Clear/challenging goals: The presence of clearly defined, demanding activities which, although might appear arbitrary and unnecessary, allow people to see the direct impact of their efforts.
- Fictional setting: This is an essential but easily misunderstood aspect of gaming. Notwithstanding the tendency to indulge in escapism and compensatory fantasies, classic studies on playing suggest that pretense can also be a deliberate and conscious strategy that assists learning.
- Progressive/difficulty levels: Over the years game developers have devised mechanisms for progression and "levelling up'" to a considerable degree of refinement. Not all of these mechanisms may be appropriate in an educational context, but they raise interesting questions for educators—not least the fact that players are allowed to tackle challenges and tests (like exams) as many times as necessary—and with no lasting consequences—in order to progress from one level to another.
- Interaction/student control: The feeling of being in control of one's destiny through actions and choices. Most importantly, it concerns the certainty that effort and dedication will be acknowledged and rewarded.
- Uncertainty: As long as it does not contradict the previous mechanism of interaction, a measured injection of uncertainty into tasks is consistent with many game developments tenets. For example, in schools' quests students are not given assignments as such but asked to choose between numbers of possible "missions".
- Immediate/constructive feedback: One of the most powerful mechanisms of video games is the ability to provide feedback in real time, not only as evaluation, but more often as guidance to facilitate and correct performance. This is largely in line with the idea of formative assessment in education.

- Social element: A game is not simply a product or tool, which may or may not have a relationship with learning. The ecosystem surrounding the game is just as important. In fact, it is probably even more relevant from an education perspective, because it provides players with a range of opportunities to share, interact and pursue interests and passions.

Advantages of Gamification and GBL to confront the Language Gap

As it was mentioned previously, gamification and GBL have been widely used by academics specially in working with digital natives. Both strategies have been successful in order to bridge the language gap and offer resources to language learners. Most of all both strategies/approaches had benefited widely the transformation of education as it promotes a relaxed motivational atmosphere to achieve learning. The language gap is a current problem in education and by using these two strategies student could receive instruction in a more fun and engaging way. This instruction comes with constant motivation and feedback from the teacher to the student, necessary for language learning especially in non-native speaking environments. It is important to recall that, to combat the language gap, the student will need to be more attentive to the classroom instruction and gamification focuses on that as well along with providing badges to the student to showcase success in class. On the other hand, GBL relates to the use of games to enhance the learning experience. Educators have been using games in the classroom for years (Isaacs, 2015). Some of the benefits of using GBL in language learning environments is to promote students to become problem solvers, be risk takers, foster the learning of new modalities. In addition, the use and implementation of these strategies along with the educational resources can be adjusted to any school district. This is particularly important to confront the language gap due to the fact of the economic issues that affect language education and prevent learners from achieving fluency. The decision of integrating either gamification or GBL relies in the hands of the educator/teacher. There are plenty of resources nowadays to integrate them into the classroom; the most important factor is the affordability that had been mentioned previously in the chapter to combat the language gap. Here are several resources that can be found online and can be applied in the language classroom:

Table 9. Gamification and GBL resources

Platform name	URL	Type of platform
Socrative	www.socrative.com/	Free access. Upgrade paid version available.
Classcraft	www.classcraft.com	Free access. Upgrade paid premium version available.
Minecraft EDU	education.minecraft.net/minecraftedu/	Free trial access. Subscription based.
Kahoot!	www.kahoot.com	Free access.
Goose Chase	www.goosechase.com	Free access. Upgrade paid version available.
Edmodo	www.edmodo.com	Free access.
Play Brighter	www.playbrighter.com	Free access. Premium paid version available.
Duolingo	www.duolingo.com	Free access.
World Peace Game	www.worldpeacegame.org	Free access.

Source: Own elaboration

IMMERSIVE TECHNOLOGIES AND THE LANGUAGE GAP

The smartphone revolution gave education multiple tools to work in and outside the classroom. With the it, students had a computer in the palm of their hands. Most of all the phones offered Wi-Fi connection accessibility which is a must-have for the millennial generation. Staying connected and immerse dwith social networks, games, and online discussions open a bridge to conduct positive language learning in ways never imagined before. Most of all the accessibility and cost of apps have given an opportunity to beat the language gap and produce effective instruction based on teamwork, entertainment, experiences, flexibility, all these are important in order to gather new knowledge and skills. Recently, a new group of technologies named Immersive Technologies have arrived in education, proving never imagined opportunities to teach at all levels. According to Blyth (2018), immersive technologies are new forms of experiences that employ sounds and images to create engrossing simulated learning environments and allow the "real world" to merge with the digital world. Two of the most used in the education field are Augmented Reality (AR), which is the ability to layer data and images over materials and actual spaces and Virtual Reality (VR), which is the use of computer technology to create simulated, interactive, immersive environments. Both technologies are changing the way instruction is given. This in part to the alternative modes it brings to traditional instruction. An important benefit of AR and VR to bridge the language gap has to do with the often-lower cost. Students and educators are able to download apps and get equipment at a cheaper cost in comparison to other technologies. For example, apps are readily available, and the needed tools are already in the hands of the students, with over 80% of k-12 students (McFarland, et.al, 2017) and over 95% of college students either owning of having access to a smartphone or tablet (Dahlstrom & Bichel, 2014). This makes the use of AR/VR feasible for k-12 and university students. Another aspect is that they benefit language instruction due to the fact that both technologies eliminate the language barrier and can be non-linguistic. Integrating AR and VR into language instruction confronts the language gap thanks in part to the engagement and participation both technologies offer to instruction (Burstyn, Walker, Shelton, & Pederson, 2017; Hsu, Lin, & Yang, 2017).

CONCLUSION

Technology in education is a necessary scaffold nowadays. It is essential for language learning and development. By integrating emergent technologies into the language gap discussion, alternatives for instruction are provided. This is essential in dealing with such a difficult topic which enables scholars to work with critical pedagogy and look for alternative ways of teaching and learning to bridge the language gap. This chapter has provided several ways on which technology can serve as that bridge. From an overview on the use of early modes of technology to the most recent integration of immersive technologies.

This chapter provided several educational implications on how to bridge the web 2.0 to confront the language gap. It includes the integration of blogs, wikis, and podcasts. It also mentioned ways to incorporate game-based context strategies through gamification and game-based learning. Lastly, is gives an opportunity for the expansion and development of more research, which needs to be conducted in the area of immersive technologies and the use of augmented and virtual reality. Both technologies are changing the way language is taught and its affordability are giving educators new ways and alternatives to integrate and blend content that benefits and bridges the language gap.

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KEY TERMS AND DEFINITIONS

Augmented Reality: An interactive experience where the user points an object with a mobile device and a 3D overlay appears.

English Language Learners: Students who are not able to communicate in English. Most of the time, English is not their native language.

Gamification: Application of game elements to any activity.

Game-Based Learning: The use of educational games for specific educational purposes.
Instructional Technologies: Technologies specifically designed for creating learning experiences.
Language Gap: A lack of accessibility to a specific language based on several socio-economic factors.
Virtual Reality: An experience that takes place fully online and simulated. It is 100% digital.
Web 2.0: Term used to refer to the new world wide web.

Chapter 7
A Proposal of Evaluation Criteria for the Quality of ESL/EFL Websites for Autonomous Learning

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ABSTRACT

In the current digital era, autonomous learning outside formal education has become a significant context for languages. In view of the huge number of websites for the study of foreign languages and their popularity due to the advantages of autonomous online learning, the authors' main goal is to evaluate the technical quality of a free online resource for the self-study of English: ESOL courses. For this purpose, this chapter presents the design of the evaluation tool: a checklist through which aspects concerning functionality and usability have been analyzed as essential characteristics of the technical dimension of a website, based on an extensive literature review and the initial technical analysis within LinguApp. The results show that non-compliance with the evaluated items leads to a deficient experience for independent users, unable to exploit all possibilities of the website due to the technical limitations they may encounter.

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INTRODUCTION

Undoubtedly, the potential of the computer network has opened up a world of opportunities for foreign language learners, who now have access to a greater quantity of authentic and up-to-date materials, direct contact with people from the target culture and the possibility of learning in a multimedia environment (Lim & Lee, 2007, p. 67). Indeed, learning English through the Internet is acquiring an increasingly important role in modern language learning (Islam, 2011, p.1080).

It goes without saying, therefore, that today the Internet offers an infinite number of resources for learning English online, but in this proliferation of web pages, the authors detected that many of them present a deficient design in as far as technology and pedagogy are concerned (Lim & Lee, 2007, p. 67). In this sense, the need to analyze the "debatable" quality of these educational websites (Martínez, 2015, p. 24) is unavoidable, in order for the users' experience to be satisfactory enough to be able to achieve the expected learning outcomes. It is in this context that the present study —framed within the LinguApp research project— is conducted. The LinguApp research project (with the support from the Fundación Pública Andaluza Centro de Estudios Andaluces) aims to design an app and an accessible and free web service that provides formative tools specifically selected and evaluated for the learning of the Spanish and English languages.

It should be noted that the process of evaluation of websites within this project consisted of a two-pronged analysis: an analysis of the quality of the content and the most relevant technical aspects. Nonetheless, according to the literature reviewed, there is an apparent scarcity of works with a technical evaluation approach on websites for foreign language learning. Instead, they generally aim at addressing the educational possibilities of Web 2.0 for language teaching (González, 2012), the experience of learning in language portals (Berdugo & Pedraza, 2008) or the quality of the content and its suitability for achieving learning outcomes (Díaz & Moncada, 2014).

That is why, in this study, the authors seek to analyze the technical dimension of the website as a product, fundamentally on the basis of functionality and usability criteria, as they are the two essential components in achieving usefulness of a system (Nielsen, 1993): functionality (functional utility, the functions of the product with respect to the user's needs) and usability (relating to the ability or the way in which users utilize these functions) (Hassan & Li, 2008). So, in order to proceed to the technical evaluation of online ESOL Courses website for the autonomous learning of English, the authors will design a checklist based on the ISO 9126 standard as a main reference, which will be duly described in the methodology section. The authors will present the main results reported from the application of the checklist in the analysis phase, followed by the conclusions.

THE EVALUATION OF THE QUALITY OF WEBSITES

Web genres are essentially composed of three elements interrelated: content, form and functionality (Shepherd & Watters, 1998), the latter being an inherent property of these genres (Jiménez-Crespo, 2013). Web functionality is based, in turn, on the technology that supports web design and architecture, and that gives web content its own characteristics, such as the absence of linearity or multimodality.

The many existing studies and methods that address the evaluation of website quality and that are cited throughout this study, despite presenting differences in the design of assessment instruments, provide an insight into a series of common dimensions or criteria that coincide or can be related to the three components already mentioned: content, form (appearance, design) and functionality (technology, site functioning). In general, functionality is defined as a set of physical and mechanical characteristics that a product needs to fulfil its purpose. Web functionality is related to site technology and functioning and, therefore, it is necessary for users to be able to access the content and use the website (Sawasdichai, 2009, p. 94).

Usability, on the other hand, generally focuses on convenience and the ease of use of a product, which in the Web context, refers to the site's ability to be understood, learned and accepted by the user (Gledec, 2005). This aspect becomes a major requirement in the context of this study since websites are defined as self-products (Kang & Satterfield, 2016), and more especially in the case of websites the authors are focusing on, which are intended to be used and operated autonomously for the purpose of English self-learning.

Calisir, Gumussoy, Bayraktaroglu and Saygivar (2011, p. 1317) state that functionality and usability are subfeatures of what is considered the usefulness of a website or multimedia product, which is crucial for its acceptance by the public (Lu & Yeung, 1998). This explains their inclusion in different proposals for website quality assessment models (Aly, 2008; Mebrate, 2010, among others). In relation to specific research applied to the evaluation of learning websites and web-based systems reviewed in this study, the authors need to emphasize the presence of functionality and usability, among other aspects, and the importance assigned to the technological dimension of the tool or resource in electronic learning (Kyriakaki & Matsinis, 2014, p. 236) to ensure its success. It is this dimension that constitutes the object of study of their research.

METHODOLOGY

For the study proposed in these lines, the authors have followed a descriptive method since their purpose is to describe, through observation, the functionality and usability of a website for the autonomous learning of the English language. Indeed, these aspects, among others, determine the excellence of this product (Devi & Sharma, 2016, p. 1).

With this goal in mind, the authors have created a checklist which is a frequent tool used in usability inspections such as heuristic evaluation (Matos, 2013, p. 29). This tool will help them to undertake the evaluation from a heuristic perspective, a methodology consisting of the analysis of experts who evaluate and identify potential problems related to usability. This method is widely accepted for the evaluation of this component (García, Tornero & Sierra, 2011, p. 3) and the authors will also apply it to functionality in this study according to their research objectives, due to its great efficiency in the identification of problems in websites (Barnum, 2002, p. 51). The choice of the ESOL Courses website is determined by the results from the previous double revision of this tool carried out separately by the authors during the LinguApp project, a pilot phase that has helped to detect the potential of this website as an object of study in a work of this nature.

Description of the Evaluation Tool

Next, the authors will describe and justify the design of their checklist. To do this, the authors will describe the fields of which it is composed: on the one hand, the criteria on which the analysis will be based and, on the other hand, those elements intended for the collection of the results derived from that analysis.

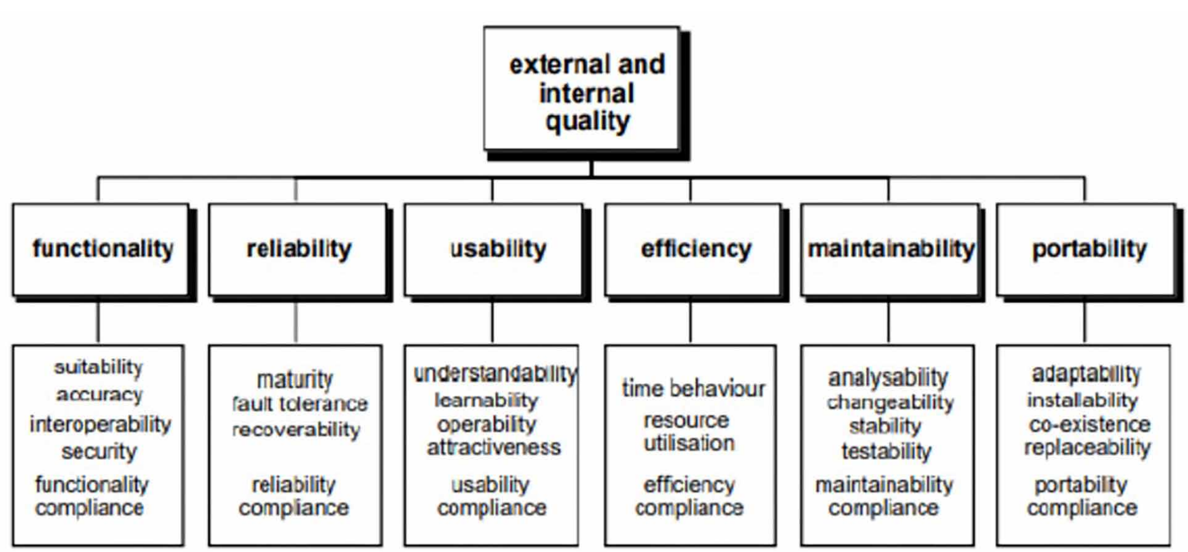
The first group consists of the category, subcategory and indicator or item fields, a three-level hierarchical organization based on the ISO 9126 evaluation model, which allows us to order and logically associate the individual items that will form part of the analysis with the general and specific evaluation criteria.

The two fundamental criteria on which the checklist is based and which are established as its main categories are Functionality and Usability. The review of the literature has allowed to identify and select several checklists that address the study of various aspects and include the two on which the authors focus here. However, despite the fact that their main objective in all cases is the study of the website quality —either from a general perspective or intended for websites with a specific purpose, and that identical issues are addressed in the evaluation— homogeneity is not apparently observed in their design, in the establishment of categories or criteria, in the grouping of items or in their designation. For this reason, each checklist has undergone an exhaustive analysis in order to identify common elements, group them by means of an abstraction process and, from there, create the subcategories and indicators that would be most appropriate. All of the above has been determined by the specific decisions that the research needs require, which accordingly guide the authors in the design of their evaluation method. On the other hand, the knowledge of the resource after its previous evaluation within the framework of the LinguApp project has been very valuable for the design of this assessment.

However, despite the multiple existing approaches and organizations found in the literature, there is one aspect that several of the consulted checklists share: the use of ISO 9126 as the basis for their design, an international standard that presents a software quality assessment model and often constitutes the main reference in website quality evaluations.

This standard establishes a two-part assessment model. On the one hand, the evaluation of external and internal quality and, on the other, of the quality in use. Within the first group, functionality and usability are regarded as categories to be evaluated as part of internal and external quality, related to the needs of developers and users respectively (Kaur, 2012, p.4310).

Figure 1. External and internal quality assessment model. Source: ISO 9126-1:2000



This would be, therefore, the model from which the authors would start, focusing on Functionality and Usability as the only categories object of analysis and making a selection of the subcategories that were appropriate for this specific study. These would be compared and complemented with certain subcategories and items of the selected checklists together with the technical evaluation form elaborated and used in the context of the LinguApp project, always prioritizing the particular evaluation needs of the author's study.

All the categories, subcategories and items described below make up the checklist as the main result of the research itself and can be consulted in the analysis and results section.

In the case of Functionality, the chosen categories coincide partly with those included in the ISO model, whereas others, such as Navigation, are extracted from the other consulted checklists. In the specific case of navigation, this is an issue without which the use of any website or web-based system cannot be conceived, as it allows the user to scroll through all the website pages. It is considered an essential aspect of website design and is often related to usability. However, the authors consider that navigation also has a functional part linked to technology, to the elements that must work for navigation to be possible.

The second and fourth subcategories (1.2. and 1.4.) within Functionality correspond to suitability and accuracy, included in the ISO evaluation model and focus on the relevance of the technology used in the development of the website with respect to general and specific requirements respectively. Thus, in subcategory 1.2. general operational issues are addressed and in subcategory 1.4. specific elements about the technology implemented in the website, specifically, what the authors consider necessary for it to fulfill its function.

The authors observe, in the case of the precision of the technology used in the development of the website, that there are specific aspects that are reflected in the corresponding items.

Finally, subcategory 1.3. is also an issue that appears repeatedly in the reviewed checklists, crucial not only in the conception of a website and any resource or computer product but also in the very conception of e-learning (Freire, Arezes, & Campos, 2012, pp. 1039-40). Interactivity allows the user to communicate with the website and makes it a dynamic resource, which is essential for the specific purpose of the site the authors are dealing with here and for any other. The essential resources or functional elements that a website must include to contribute and allow interactivity with the user are included in the indicators, which have been created on the basis of others that appear in the examined checklists.

The Usability category is composed of subcategories that correspond, in their entirety, to some of those included in the ISO quality model, specifically those that are useful for the research purpose.

The first subcategory ("Intelligibility") corresponds to the understandability subcharacteristic of the ISO standard and focuses on the understanding aspect of the website in order to be able to use it. In this way, indicators are based on aspects such as indications, instructions or information on how to use the website, whether static or the result of an interactive consultation process.

The second subcategory ("Ease of use" or "Learnability" according to ISO) refers to certain elements that contribute to making the site easy to use. The diversity of indicators associated with this dimension has led us to create a third-level subcategory that allows us to classify them properly. The authors have extracted two aspects related to usability from the revised checklists that are essential for the use of any website: organization and coherence. In a genre whose main characteristic is hypertext and, as a consequence, it is not linear, a correct hierarchical and logical organization of the contents at the superstructural level (general structure of the site), an adequate disposition of the contents at the microstructural level (within each webpage) and the maintenance of the coherence throughout the site, are crucial issues so that the resource makes sense and the user can use it minimally.

The subcategory "Operability", as referred to by ISO, aims at evaluating the capacity and readiness of the site to function well so that it can be easily used and controlled. For this reason, aspects related to navigation intervene here but not in relation to its technological or functional component, as the authors already analyzed it within the first category, but regarding the use, characterized by being intuitive, that is to say, simple, practical, and logical.

In the second group of indicators corresponding to this subcategory, the authors focus on the study of the interactivity of the site, thus the level at which the system allows the user to perform an action (Stanujkic, Smarandache, Kazimieras Zavadskas, & Karabasevic, 2018, p. 44), communicate with the resource and control the operation of its elements.

Finally, the Design subcategory would be associated with the attractiveness option included in the usability analysis model of the ISO standard, which would address the aesthetic appearance of the interface. In their study, the authors have chosen to select those indicators from other checklists that do not have subjective implications about the design but rather practical implications, that is, design-related issues that influence the use of the website: visualization of the page as a whole, reading, quick identification of elements (scanning), and so on.

After having analyzed the fields of previous elements and on which the evaluation is based, the authors now describe the fields corresponding to the results of the analysis:

RESULTS

After applying the checklist to the selected website, and having carried out a rigorous and exhaustive analysis for the verification of each of the formulated items, the authors will now present the main results obtained (where the abbreviations P. and L.I. stand for "partially met" and "level of impact").

Functionality

For the first subcategory within the Functionality dimension, the authors deal with Navigation (1.1.). As a general rule, the items included here are fulfilled, except in the case of the operation of external

Table 1. Justification of the fields created for the evaluation completion

Yes / No	A checklist is a list of specific indicators or characteristics in which you can mark whether each characteristic is present or absent in the evaluated object (Brookhart, 2013, p. 77).
Partially	The evaluation of a website made up of different sections or pages means that some of the indicators can be met throughout the site or only partially met.
Level of Impact	The analysis of the incidence or level of impact of each item on the basis of the purpose pursued by the analyzed resource, is very useful in determining its relevance and also in interpreting and organizing the results of the study. The level of impact is indicated in the checklist by means of a color code made up of the colors of a traffic light: red (● R) for high impact incidents, which are those that affect functionality or usability to a degree that prevents the site from fulfilling the function for which it was created; yellow (● Y) for medium impact incidents, which hinder, in some way, the functioning or capacity of a site to be used properly; green (● G) for low impact incidents, which it would be advisable to correct but do not affect the fulfillment of the function of the website, which can be fully used.

Source: (Own elaboration)

links (leading to pages outside ESOL that offer other English courses or advertising content) and some elements that, at first glance, look like links because of their location in submenus but are not active.

From the data obtained for this subcategory, the authors observe the completion of all the items included, which confirms the adequacy of the technology to meet some basic requirements relating to the general functioning of the web resource.

As in the previous case, positive responses to these items relating to subcategory 1.3. suggest that interaction occurs satisfactorily between the user and the tool.

In this subcategory the authors notice some weaknesses for the items described. When considering indicator 1.4.3., the authors highlight the limitations identified in various modes of evaluation, such as feedback and quantitative results both by task and in general, as well as the absence of feedback for oral and written production activities. In spite of having automatic correction, feedback can often be either insufficient or not very indicative for the student in certain exercises, being non-existent in oral and written production tasks. The authors identify certain inconsistency in evaluations, since depending on where the exercise is located on the website, the information they provide may have significant variations.

Table 2. Subcategory 1.1. "Navigation"

Item / Indicator	Yes	No	P.	L.I.
1.1.1. Internal links function properly	X			●R
1.1.2. External links (if any) function properly			X	●G
1.1.3. Buttons function properly	X			●R
1.1.4. Links are active			X	●Y
1.1.5. Loading speed is appropriate	X			●Y
1.1.6. Visual elements load properly	X			●R ●Y
1.1.7. Dynamic website elements (banners, videos) can be successfully reproduced	X			●R
1.1.8. The website is compatible with all browsers	X			●R

Source: (Own elaboration)

Table 3. Subcategory 1.2. "Adequacy of Technology"

Item / Indicator	Yes	No	P.	L.I.
1.2.1. Standard multimedia formats are used	X			●Y
1.2.2. Dynamic website elements can be reproduced	X			●R
1.2.3. The website has a responsive design	X			●Y

Source: (Own elaboration)

Table 4. Subcategory 1.3. "Interactivity"

Item / Indicator	Yes	No	P.	L.I.
1.3.1. An internal and effective search tool is provided	X			●Y
1.3.2. Interaction between the user and the website is allowed (email, form, chat)	X			●R
1.3.3. Response speed is appropriate	X			●Y

Source: (Own elaboration)

Table 5. Subcategory 1.4. "Precision of the Technology for a Specific Purpose"

Item / Indicator		Yes	No	P.	L.I.
1.4.1. Progress can be saved or managed			X		●G
1.4.2. Completed task or lessons follow-up is provided			X		●Y
1.4.3. Evaluation	1.4.3.1. Automatic evaluation is available	X			●R
	1.4.3.2. Feedback and/or quantitative results (by task) is provided			X	●R
	1.4.3.3. Evaluation of oral production tasks is available		X		●R
	1.4.3.4. Evaluation of writing production tasks is available			X	●R
	1.4.3.5. A final quantitative result is provided		X		●Y
1.4.4. The website offers the user the possibility of exporting or downloading materials, results or other data to other programs or online platforms		X			●G

Source: (Own elaboration)

Table 6. Subcategory 2.1. "Intelligibility"

Item / Indicator		Yes	No	P.	L.I.
2.1.1. Introductory or step-by-step guidance is provided			X		●G
2.1.2. Frequently asked questions are included		X			●Y
2.1.3. Terminology used in task instructions is appropriate and intelligible		X			●R
2.1.4. Terminology used in elements that are part of the website superstructure (menus, submenus, footers) is appropriate and intelligible		X			●Y
2.1.5. Interactive resources for consulting	2.1.5.1. A link or direct means of contact is provided			X	●R
	2.1.5.2. A chat is offered		X		●Y
	2.1.5.3. There is a forum available		X		●Y
	2.1.5.4. Link to social networks is included	X			●Y

Source: (Own elaboration)

Usability

For the subcategory of Intelligibility, the first of the elements under study within the Usability dimension, four of the items are not met (or only partially met) for the ESOL site. In fact, no instructions are given so that the user knows how to use the website successfully. The authors find, on the other hand, no interactive resource for queries (2.1.5.) —with the exception of an e-mail address— in order to help the student to ask for guidance in case of need.

When observing the superstructural and macrostructural organization (2.2.1.), the authors notice that three of the six items are subject to improvement: the organization of the website is not intuitive, the hierarchical organization of the contents is inconsistent on different pages of the site, and the terminology to designate sections and subsections is not sufficiently descriptive or changes when the user reaches different submenus from the main menu, causing confusion as a consequence.

Table 7. Subcategory 2.2. "Ease of use"

Item / Indicator		Yes	No	P.	L.I.
2.2.1. Superstructural and macrostructural website organization	2.2.1.1. There is a main menu available	X			●R
	2.2.1.2. The website follows a hierarchical structure	X			●R
	2.2.1.3. The website delivers an intuitive and simple organization or structure		X		●R
	2.2.1.4. The website organization is constant through all pages of the site		X		●R
	2.2.1.5. Each section and subsection are adequately labelled	X			●R
	2.2.1.6. Terminology used to label sections is appropriate and descriptive			X	●Y
2.2.2. Microstructural website organization	2.2.2.1. Content organization is clear (allowing the page to be scanned)	X			●Y
	2.2.2.2. Content organization is presented in a coherent order		X		●R
2.2.3. Coherence	2.2.3.1. Menu options lead to the corresponding subsections			X	●R
	2.2.3.2. If there exists an option or a shortcut link to the same section, terminology coherence is maintained		X		●R
	2.2.3.3. Images help to identify subsection or activity		X		●Y●G

Source: (Own elaboration)

With regard to item 2.2.2., it should be noted that, although the layout of the content generally favors the scanning of the page, the organization of the content itself is not presented in a coherent order. In a language learning website, for example, the organization of components by level of difficulty is of great relevance, and it happens that they are found thoroughly mixed in the lists of lessons and activities levels without sequential order.

With respect to indicator 2.2.3., the results show weaknesses of this tool related to coherence. Fundamentally, menu options do not always lead to the corresponding subsections once the level is chosen, while terminology does not always coincide when several menus give access to the same section, resulting in the users' confusion.

Firstly, Navigation (2.3.1.) can lead to complications in the use of this resource as five of the nine items are not met or only partially fulfilled in ESOL. On the one hand, the site map does not reflect the authentic structure of the site and, furthermore, it does not always indicate the section where the user is located at any given time. On the other hand, there is no option to go back in the subsections or to go back up in pages that include drop-down lists, nor is there any content that guides students to know what to do at every step during their learning process, beyond the inclusion of the "Next" button in some submenus.

However, concerning the Interactivity indicator within the Operability subcategory, it is positively noted that the user, in short, can communicate effectively with the system and has the control to direct the functioning of the dynamic elements at their convenience.

Finally, the authors performed the analysis of the interface design. In general terms, the tool presents a legible font, easily distinguishable headers, navigation and execution buttons, as well as a good balance between the text and the images that support it visually. However, the design of the interface is characterized for being changeable and for the overcrowding of content arranged in menus and submenus often lacking a logical order, which can mislead and cause student frustration when using this website.

Table 8. Subcategory 2.3. "Operability"

ITEM/INDICATOR		YES	NO	P.	L.I.
2.3.1. Navigation	2.3.1.1. Site map available	X			●R
	2.3.1.2. Site map options correspond with the organization of the website's contents			X	●R
	2.3.1.3. Direct links are provided from the homepage to the main sections	X			●R
	2.3.1.4. The last subsections are linked through more than three clicks from the homepage	X			●Y
	2.3.1.5. User can easily identify in which section or subsection they are located			X	●R
	2.3.1.6. An option to go back to the homepage is available in all subsections of the website	X			●Y
	2.3.1.7. There is a "back" option in all subsections of the website		X		●G
	2.3.1.8. There is a "back to top" option in all long scroll pages		X		●G
	2.3.1.9. Intuitive content to guide the user about what to do next is provided (explicit instructions or "Next" button)			X	●R
2.3.2. Interactivity	2.3.2.1. The user can interact with the system	X			●R
	2.3.2.2. The user can control the operation or reproduction of the dynamic website elements (audio, video)	X			●R

Source: (Own elaboration)

Table 9. Subcategory 2.4. "Design"

Item / Indicator	Yes	No	P.	L.I.
2.4.1. Interface design is coherent in all website pages		X		●Y
2.4.2. Interface design is clear and clean			X	●G
2.4.3. The used font is easily legible	X			●G
2.4.4. Headings are visually marked	X			●Y
2.4.5. Navigation buttons and options are visually marked	X			●Y
2.4.6. Execution buttons are visually marked	X			●Y
2.4.7. There is a clear balance between text and images	X			●G

Source: (Own elaboration)

CONCLUSION

This research was aimed to identify the limitations of the analyzed resource (items that are not or only partially fulfilled) according to the level of impact defined during the analysis, which is explained below:

A) Low impact (● Green): Limitations identified at this level are concentrated mainly in the usability dimension. Among the aspects that do not cause serious errors but would help the resource to better fulfil its function, the authors find the following:
   - External links should work properly to avoid a loss of information.

- The student should have an option to track and manage their learning activity on the website.
- Introductory instructions would be necessary to guide the user when starting to use the resource.
- Additional options of scrolling through the page that speed up the navigation must be included.
- Design issues such as greater order and cleanliness of the user interface so there is not too much content viewing and finding items is easier.

B) Medium impact (● Yellow). With regard to the items that are partially or not met at this average level, the authors can highlight that the following elements or actions would be necessary for better functioning and use of the website:
- Activating those links that appear inactive and that may cause confusion to the user.
- Offering a system to track completed activities or units would motivate students who would obtain information about their progress, current language and would avoid, at the time, unnecessary repetitions.
- Providing a general quantitative result which would give the users an idea of their progress, and help them to know what they should do next in order to achieve their objectives.
- With regard to interactive support resources, the user experience would be improved if communication channels were provided in the form of advice or tutoring for the learner.
- Homogenizing the terminology used to name the different sections and specifying the level and the language skill developed in each submenu or activity.
- Making a coherent selection of images which helps the user to identify the activity. In this way, they will serve their purpose of supporting the written content.
- Designing an interface with a consistent layout in all the pages in order to avoid misleading the user, or regrouping pages with the same layout.

C) High impact (● Red). Finally, the authors focus on those indicators whose lack of compliance causes more serious errors that prevent the website from working correctly and serving its purpose, and so it is crucial to resolve them:
- In terms of evaluation, it would be advisable to develop an assessment system or a scheme for speaking and writing activities so these skills can be evaluated in some way and later improved by the user. On the other hand, the option of getting a quantitative result per activity would better guide the users to know their progress and which aspects should be improved and worked on the most.
- The only means of communication works by accessing and using the e-mail manager, but it is not possible to send a message until a complex multistep procedure is completed, which may cause the user to give up on the attempt.
- The website structure should be simpler and more intuitive. In this sense, the authors detect inconsistencies, not only at a macrostructural level but also with respect to microstructure (content). The menu options do not always lead to the expected or proper subsections and terminology (the name of the hyperlinked option) changes when there is more than one access hyperlink to the same section or activity, making difficult and confusing the access to the contents.

- With regard to navigation, the authors assume that the structure of the site map does not coincide with the real organization of the contents. An accurate site map is important to solve the serious organizational shortcomings detected giving the users an at-a-glance view of the whole website and helping them to easily find where they are at all times and which pages they are looking for.
- Due to structural deficiencies, it would be necessary to include intuitive content and information that guides the user through the steps to be followed at each moment or stage of the autonomous learning process.

Once the limitations found on the ESOL Courses website have been explained and organized by their degree of impact on the user experience, there is even more evidence that improvements are necessary if the authors take as references other platforms analyzed in the framework of the LinguApp project, as is the case of the BBC Learning English website. Specifically, the authors highlight that the vast majority of items that have been negative for ESOL are satisfactorily fulfilled in the BBC resource, a fact which guides us in adopting possible solutions to improve essential aspects of the functionality and usability in autonomous language learning websites.

Thus, among the outstanding aspects of this tool promoted by the BBC for learning English, there is a logical and ordered structure, active links and coherent terminology, a clean, well-organized and more intuitive interface design, scrolling options and buttons that speed up navigation, the possibility of visualizing a progress scheme with the activities and lessons completed, a more detailed quantitative and qualitative evaluation per activity and per lesson with scores recorded in a table of results that can be consulted at any time.

In short, the identification of the strengths of this website, this is, the compliance of the majority of the quality criteria that constitute the backbone of this study, allows us to advance in the planning of plausible improvements and in their application.

By virtue of this analysis, the authors have made a first incursion into the design and implementation of a checklist for technical assessment of the quality of an website for the autonomous learning of the English language, which should be complemented with external assessment by other experts such as the developers, who are responsible for the internal quality of the website, in order to confirm its relevance and, on the other hand, by users as final consumers of the external quality of the product.

In this way, technical problems and improvements applicable to the website development can be detected, contributing thus to the design of a product that supports and guides the user, and allows them to take advantage of all the potential offered by this and other web resources with the same purpose, i.e., autonomous learning of English as a second language.

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KEY TERMS AND DEFINITIONS

Autonomous Language Learning: Modality of language learning which has emerged and develop with the evolution of new technologies in combination with the internet technologies. This form of language learning is based on online resources hosted in websites or web-based systems which allow the user, by interacting with them, to select, review and learn the contents they want at their own pace and guide them in the process. The main characteristics of these resources are: they are normally organized by language proficiency levels and skills within the hierarchical structure of the website or web-based system; learning contents and activities are based on texts, audios and videos on various subjects; depending on the website or system, users can record their tasks, get assessment or feedback, and track their learning progress.

Ease of Use: Subcharacteristic of web usability related to the extent to which a website or web-based system can be used or learned (understood and operated) by the users without much effort in order to achieve their purposes.

Functionality: Feature or characteristic present in any technology-based product related to the level of technology or the technologies used to develop and build such product, which defines its technical functioning and behavior.

Independent User: Self-learner, user of a website or web-based system for a specific purpose, i.e. the autonomous learning of a language.

Interactivity: Feature that allows the website or web-based system to communicate, interact with the user and vice versa. It is crucial in the development of an interactive process like learning and even more in the autonomous or self-learning, where the website or web-based system serves as the “teaching part”. This subcharacteristic of web quality is an essential aspect on the evaluation of both functionality and usability.

Navigation: Act of moving through the hierarchical hypertextual structure of a website or web-based system, this is, between the different web pages that compose it, or up and down around the content or parts of an individual web page. This subcharacteristic of web quality is an essential aspect on the evaluation of both functionality and usability.

Operability: Subcharacteristic of web usability related to the extent to which a website can be easily operated by the user. Commands, buttons and functions which facilitate navigation through the site and interaction, are important elements for the evaluation of this feature.

Usability: Feature or characteristic present in any technology-based product related to the ease of use of such product and how much effort the user must employ to use it.

Web Genre: Textual genre conceived and presented exclusively in the web medium, which is mainly characterized, by opposition to traditional genres, by functionality and hypertextuality.

Web Quality: Ability of any web-based product (website, platform, etc.) to fulfill the purpose for which it was created and to satisfy the users’ expectations.

Chapter 8
TELL, CALL, and MALL:
Approaches to Bridge the Language Gap

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ABSTRACT

Language learning has become a key objective for providing new generations with competences that allow them to cope with the challenges of the 21st century. However, the socio-economic changes affecting the world have provoked the development of what has been called "language gap," which implies that not everybody has the means to access language learning. In this situation, new educational approaches characterized by the use of technology have emerged making language learning more accessible than ever before. Among the possibilities, TELL (technology-enhanced language learning) and more particularly CALL (computer-assisted language learning) and MALL (mobile-assisted language learning), offer a great potential for this purpose. Thus, this chapter aims to revise the concepts of TELL, CALL, and MALL and explore their possibilities for language learning and, ultimately, examine their potential for bridging the language gap.

INTRODUCTION

21st-century society is characterized by an increasing demand for knowledge and abilities that connect with every sphere of human life. Among all of them, the linguistic and communicative ones arise as the main skills individuals must acquire and develop to become fully prepared to participate in the globalized world of today, a world full of social, economic, cultural and professional challenges to face.

Whereas it is clear that digital technologies can help improve the world at different scales, they also pose a number of challenges (Sorbe, Gal, Nicoletti & Timiliotis, 2019). For instance, they can contribute to both creating new professional opportunities and destroying certain employments due to the automatisation of routine tasks (Gal, Nicoletti, Renault, Sorbe & Timiliotis, 2019). As Sorbe, Gal, Nicoletti

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& Timiliotis put it, "new technologies make it possible to automate an increasing share of tasks, and a key challenge is to enable the transition of displaced workers to new tasks, jobs, firms and sometimes industries" (2019, p. 19).

This situation has a clear effect on education, provoking what has been called *transnational education*, *borderless education* or *cross-border education*, three terms which refer to both the unprecedented growth in distance and e-learning education and the increasingly importance given to the international, intercultural, and global dimensions of education (Kosmützky & Putty, 2016; Leung & Waters, 2017).

At this juncture, the current educational context is shifting away from traditional approaches and to new technological paradigms (Sanz & Pantoja, 2015) required by the Information Society (or Network Society), which is characterized by the huge amount of information produced every day on the Internet (Muñoz, 2017). In this new educational context, modern society is demanding new approaches to language learning to guarantee European citizens are able to take part in the multilingual and multicultural world (Vassiliou & Šemeta, 2012).

Despite the attempts of educational bodies from all over the world, the economic and social disparities that affect quite negatively certain groups of the world's population, together with the increasing migrations, are expanding what has been defined as the language gap (Johnson, 2015), which implies social and academic disparities between social groups that is translated into both a lack of both linguistic proficiency and an inability to access to language itself of those of a low social group:

This notion of a "language gap" has become normalized to such an extent that some individuals from low-SES [socioeconomic-status] backgrounds have been led to believe that their ways of speaking to their children are responsible for, and can result in, academic failure. (Johnson & Zentella, 2017, p. 1)

In this sense, technology and digital competence seem to be powerful elements to bridge the language gap (Gómez & Huertas, 2019). ICT have been present at all educational levels for many years (Guri-Rosenblit, 2018), and even language classrooms cannot be understood without them nowadays (Tejada & Pozos, 2018); proof of this is the emergence of new technological and educational approaches and concepts such as Learning and Knowledge Technologies (LKT) and Technologies for Empowerment and Participation (TEP) (Reig, 2016). The former implies:

[…] orienting ICT towards more educational and training uses, for both teachers and students, with the main purpose of learning more and better. They aim at focusing on the methodology and on the actual uses of technology, and not only on ensuring the mastery of a series of digital tools. This evolution of the term implies that is a matter of know-how and evaluate the possible didactic uses that ICT have for the teaching and learning processes, exploring the use of the tools at the service of the acquisition of knowledge. (Huertas, 2017, p. 213)

LKT are basically the result of integrating ICT with teaching/learning processes, exploring possible didactic uses in knowledge building (Granados-Romero et al., 2014); in this sense, both teachers and learners must develop competences to use technology according to their role in it to ensure optimal learning and teaching (Valencia-Molina et al., 2016).

Similarly, Huertas (2017) defines TEP, a term deeply discussed by (Reig, 2012) as follows:

TEP could be defined as the use of technologies applied in real contexts to foster the participations of citizens, developing their empowerment and social awareness. This new approach to technologies may have a direct impact in education, as students are more and more conscious of their role in the globalized society. Furthermore, TEP should be viewed as a foundation for social cohesion, creating an environment conducive to the exchange of knowledge, ideas, interests and proposals in favour of a shared educational and social purpose. (Huertas, 2017, p. 214)

These technologies are different from ICT and LKT as they are used when users operate with technology through collaboration networks and with the purpose of generating social movements (Pinto, Díaz & Alfaro, 2016).

Among all the varieties of educational technologies, LKT and TEP, Technology-Enhanced Language Learning (TELL), Computer-Assisted Language Learning (CALL) and Mobile-Assisted Language Learning (MALL) appear as three innovative language-learning-focused approaches that offer great potential in this field as they can help learners become linguistically proficient and bridge the language gap.

In this sense, this chapter aims to revise the concepts of TELL, CALL and MALL, explore their possibilities for language learning, and, ultimately, examine their potential for bridging the language gap.

TELL, CALL AND MALL: STATE OF THE ART

New educational technologies are now shifting towards foreign and second language education, which have in active learning their cornerstone. This way of learning is based on collaborative work and learning, negotiation practices, and technology-based activities (Palomares et al., 2017). The literature is profuse when affirming that students learn more effectively when they get actively involved in their learning process; in words of Tannehill, “student engagement in the learning process is linked to motivation as it tends to direct behaviour toward a particular goal” (2017, p. 3). Several studies reveal that those students who participate in a collaborative online learning environment are both more satisfied with their acquired knowledge and more motivated to continue studying (Cortés, 2019; Kintu, Zhu & Kagambe, 2017; Saritepeci & Çakır, 2019).

The rapid development of science and innovation has led to the implementation of technology-based teaching methods, which has also provided an appropriate environment for learners which radically differs from traditional methodologies. For this reason, it could be interesting for teachers not to continue using conventional ways of teaching and for students to take part in the new ways of learning technology offers. Among all LKT and TEP available, TELL, CALL and MALL appear as innovative language-learning-focused approaches that not only offer many possibilities for foreign and second language education, but also foster active and meaningful learning.

Technology-Enhanced Language Learning (TELL)

According to Patel (2017), TELL “deals with the impact of technology on teaching and learning a second language also called the L2” and it “refers to the use of the computer as a technological innovation to display multimedia as a means of complementing a teaching method language teacher”. It is an approach more than a methodology and it materialises in more specific methods such as CALL and TELL.

Studies analysing TELL revealed that using technology in language lessons have multidimensional benefits that revert in all aspects of the learning process (Ghanizadeh, Razavi & Hosseini, 2018; Ghanizadeh, Razavi & Jahedizadeh, 2015).

Using TELL implies employing technological devices (i.e., a computer, a tablet or a mobile phone) along with Internet connection. Some examples of using this approach applied to the language classroom can be: using electronic dictionaries to look for the meaning of words; instant messaging in the target language; reading news websites; using, creating and uploading multimedia content; participating in an online discussion; and listening to music while reading the lyrics online, among many others (Patel, 2017).

Despite its economic requirements and the fact that both teachers and learners must be digitally competent to participate in a TELL environment, the advantages of this approach are clear:

- it fosters a more active and flexible language learning than more traditional teaching methods;
- used with the textbooks, it can help deepen learning experiences;
- it constitutes a learner-centred approach;
- it improves motivation;
- it helps develop better attitudes towards learning among students (Palacios & Espejo, 2019; Patel, 2017).

Computer-Assisted Language Learning (CALL)

Coined by Levy in 1997, the term CALL refers to an educational approach characterized by the presence of computer as supporting elements in language education. Its objective goes beyond a mere use of technological tools in the language classroom, as it consists of establishing a digital environment that promotes a natural-like language learning process (Levy & Stockwell, 2006; Palacios & Espejo, 2019).

The literature is profuse about the positive use of computers, laptops and netbooks in education (Balteiro, 2015), and more specifically, about the benefits that CALL has in students' motivation and language proficiency (Davies, Otto & Rüschoff, 2013; Mateo-Guillén, 2016; Tafazoli, Gómez & Huertas, 2017a, 2017b, 2018b). CALL is not a new phenomenon, as it has been used since the development of microcomputers in the 1970s and 1980s; however, with the expansion of new technological paradigms, such as e-learning and virtual learning environments, CALL has become a trend in language education and not just because it is fashionable or up-to-date, but because of the opportunities it brings for teachers and learners creating chances for communication (Tafazoli, Huertas & Gómez, 2019), even for minority languages (Domeij, Karlsson, Moshagen & Trosterud, 2018; Galla, 2016; Ward, 2018).

As it happens with TELL, CALL requires money and time investments, as well as a good command of computers and technology and well-designed websites, apart from the obviously necessary Internet connection. Nevertheless, it also presents notable advantages:

- it helps and facilitates language learning;
- it turns learning into an efficient, individualized and motivating process;
- it guarantees free/easy access, autonomy and comfortability;
- it promotes a student-centred learning process, adapted to learners' abilities, preferences and cognitive and learning styles;
- it provides students with authentic communication and motivates them to use the language outside the classroom (Gómez, 2014).

There are several technologies and web resources which can be considered CALL as they offer many learning opportunities for language learners. Among such chances, socializing (or, at least, interacting) with native speakers of the target language arises as one of the most relevant; some of them, which have also been intensely studied in the specialised literature, are: blogs and wikis (Ballidag, 2018; Reinhardt, 2019; Yim & Warschauer, 2017), podcasts (Elekaei, Tabrizi & Chalak, 2019; Yoestara & Putri, 2018), multimedia tools (Hashmi, 2016), Massive Open Online Courses or MOOCs (LMOOCs especially) (Fuchs, 2019; Rinatovna, Vladimirovna, Bizyanova & Haidar, 2017), social media (Barnes, 2017; Kang, 2019) and social networks (Álvarez & Fernández, 2019; Lin, Warschauer & Blake, 2016).

Taking the assets of both CALL and TELL into consideration, the challenges posed by technology in the 21st century cannot be overlooked. This implies that a good implementation of CALL or TELL activities compels a good understanding of:

- The challenge of implementing new approaches, methodologies and digital resources in the language classroom.
- The challenge of introducing cross-cultural and intercultural approaches in TELL.
- The challenge of increasing telecollaboration in the language classroom with the use of technology.
- The challenge of improving language teachers' digital competence to excel in their performance. (Tafazoli, Gómez & Huertas, 2018b, p. xxi)

In this sense, as Rivera (2018, p. 123) points, "training in the use of learning environments is crucial to renew abilities and competencies", which entails the necessity for universities to provide teachers with training that really helps them become fully digitally competent so that they are able to develop CALL- and TELL-based resources. For this reason, "for the mastery of new technologies, it is necessary to lead the students and increase their interest in learning by using new educational strategies" (Rivera, 2018, p. 123).

Mobile-Assisted Language Learning (MALL)

From a general perspective, MALL has been present in language learning and teaching for more than 20 years if we think of mobile technologies; however, it was not until 15 years ago approximately when MALL, in terms of mobile phones, had its first official appearance in the form of SMS text messaging to deliver word definitions and translations and Personal Digital Assistant (PDA) applications (Burston, 2014, 2015).

MALL can be defined as a combination of both mobile learning (normally referred to as *m-learning*) and CALL (in fact, some experts consider MALL as a subcategory of CALL [(Tafazoli, Huertas & Gómez, 2019)]) which aims at supporting language learners by promoting the use mobile technologies, from mobile phones and tablets, to MP3 and MP4 players, in order to facilitate both their access to quality materials and their communication with other learners and with teachers anytime and anyplace (Mateo-Guillén, 2016, p. 879). The scientific literature is profuse when demonstrating the utility and potential of using portable devices in language education, devices such as smartphones or tablets (Jordano, Castrillo & Pareja-Lora, 2016; Rodríguez, Martínez, Guevara & López-Olivera, 2017; Somoano & Menéndez, 2018). According to Shahbaz & Khan (2017), not only language but general learning becomes easier and more beneficial by using up-to-date smartphones, which are as useful learning tools as laptops.

As for the advantages of this approach, we can refer to the properties of mobile devices stated by Klopfer, Squire & Jenkins (2002), which are:

- Portability, i.e., this means that these devices can be easily taken to different places thanks to their size and weight;
- Social interactivity, i.e., they facilitate data exchange and collaboration with other language learners;
- Context sensitivity, i.e., they can both gather and respond to data uniquely to the current time, location and environment;
- Connectivity, i.e., they can help create networks;
- Individuality, i.e., they allow customization of activities according to learner's individual necessities.

Nevertheless, an effective integration of MALL into the language curriculum must face two main challenges: (i) technology access, i.e., hardware, software and digital knowledge/competence required; and (ii) pedagogical methodology, i.e., a careful planning and implementation to get the most out of technology (Burston, 2015).

There are, in fact, several MALL initiatives which have been revealed to be great tools for language learning; some of them are: COMALAT (Competence Oriented Multilingual Adaptive Language Assessment and Training) Project, which seeks to facilitate European users' language needs (Mateo-Guillén, 2016); ANT (Audio News Trainer) app, which aims to develop oral and written competences and provide students with metacognitive strategies for listening comprehension (Read & Barcena, 2016); BYOD (Bring Your Own Language Lab), which "allows pedagogical activities to extend beyond the computer lab, and indeed beyond the classroom, virtually anywhere, anytime" (Burston, 2015, p. 5); and Duolingo, devoted to free language learning (Cortez, Pérez, Guzmán & Martínez, 2016); besides, there are some projects currently developing language learning apps, such as «*LinguApp: Asegurando el acceso al aprendizaje universal e inclusivo de segundas lenguas*» (PRY208/17), funded by Fundación Pública Andaluza Centro de Estudios Andaluces; the main objective of LinguApp is to design a free-access app containing quality language learning resources (focused on Spanish and English) carefully selected and evaluated by experts, with the ultimate purpose of bridging the language gap (Gómez & Huertas, 2019).

From all mentioned above, we can infer that, as it happens with TELL and CALL, the use of mobile devices can provide both language learners and teachers with plenty of opportunities by facilitating the educational process, improving motivation, fostering autonomy, adapting to learners' abilities, preferences and cognitive and learning styles through a student-focused learning process, and providing real-life-based communicative situations inside and outside the language classroom. As Miangah & Nezarat put it, "MALL can be considered an ideal solution to language learning barriers in terms of time and place" (2012, p. 315).

BRIDGING THE LANGUAGE GAP: THE POTENTIAL OF TELL, CALL AND MALL

It was mentioned at the beginning of this chapter the fact that, in spite of the efforts of educational bodies and institutions from, economic and social disparities affect specific sectors of the world's population enlarging the language gap; the effects of this phenomenon is so big and normalized nowadays that low social groups believe that their lack of linguistic proficiency and inaccessibility to language is due to their ways of speaking to their children rather than a result of not fostering efficient language education approaches (Johnson, 2015; Johnson & Zentella, 2017).

In this sense, Johnson (2015) encourages educational bodies and teachers in general to set aside from elitist visions of education and to design new educational policies that help resolve language disparities and, ultimately, the language gap:

It is imperative that we take a course of action that differs from the traditional approach to educating children from economically impoverished backgrounds. Although recognizing the linguistic strengths of culturally diverse students is a necessary step in ameliorating this situation, leveling academic (and social) disparities between different SES groups must begin by acknowledging the ingrained language ideologies that continue to subordinate diverse dialects to a mythical "standard English". (Johnson, 2015, p. 47)

Experts at the forefront of language gap research give an emphasis to the fact that educators should focus on the quality of language teaching rather than on the quantity of input (although both are clearly important) students receive in order to promote an effective communicative environment (Cartmill et al., 2013; Goldin-Meadow et al., 2014; Unsworth, 2016).

At this point we should wonder: can technology-based language learning approaches such as TELL, CALL and MALL help bridge (or, at least, reduce) the language gap? There are, in fact, several proposals for using technology to reduce disparities in different areas, such as health (Ralston, Andrews & Hope, 2019), business (Weis, Bashyam, Ekchian, Paisner & Vanderford, 2018), energy (Karatayev, Hall, Kalyuzhnova & Clarke, 2016) and even law (Cole & Bertenthal, 2017), apart from those focused on education, aiming at broadening the access to education of, for instance, refugees (Sengupta, Reshef & Blessinger, 2019), improving learning in different subjects (Baglama, Yikmis & Demirok, 2017; Manzano & Hunt-Gómez, 2018; Nurdyansyah, Rais & Aini, 2017; Strimel & Grubbs, 2016) and fostering creativity (Glăveanu, Ness, Wasson & Lubart, 2019; Henriksen, Mishra & Fisser, 2016), among other purposes. It seems, thus, that technology can be applied to language education in a similar way as it is done in other fields so as to reduce language access inequalities.

As Waite & McDonald (2019) affirm, 21st-century society cannot be understood without technology, which, along with globalization, is shaping the world and the global workforce. In this respect, and bearing in mind what has been stated in the previous section, TELL, CALL and MALL have been demonstrated to be powerful and innovative approaches to language learning that can help learners become linguistically proficient, and whose main advantages can be summarised as follows:

- they foster active, flexible, efficient, individualized and motivating language learning process adapted to learners' abilities, preferences and cognitive and learning styles;
- using them implies employing a learner-centred approach;
- they are easily portable and freely accessible as they can be taken anywhere;
- they provide authentic communication situations and promote positive attitudes towards learning and the target language;
- they promote intercultural awareness as individuals from different cultural and socioeconomic backgrounds learn from each other, easing the creation of telecollaboration networks (Lee, 2018; Petrović, 2018).

The fact that these promote active, flexible and efficient language education, as well as individualization and motivation in the learning process, really differentiate from the traditional approaches to educating children that, according to Johnson (2015), we have to move away from. Similarly, the promotion of intercultural awareness and intercultural communicative competence (O'Dowd, 2018) can help overcome the socioeconomic disparities that sustain the language gap. Furthermore, the opportunities for the use of technology and multimedia tools for academic contexts and lifelong learning have been confirmed in many studies (Chai, Malik, Saad & Rahman, 2019).

Nevertheless, to bridge the language gap through the use of technology, TELL, CALL and MALL, it is necessary for learners to be aware of their digital competence level in order to improve it (Gómez & Huertas, 2019); in this sense, European Commission's *Digital Competence Framework for Citizens*, with its three versions developed from 2013 until 2017 (Carretero, Vuorikari & Punie, 2017; Ferrari, 2013; Vuorikari, Punie, Carretero & Van den Brande, 2016), has been carried out to help EU citizens in this respect. The European Commission (2018, sec. 3) highlights that the framework aims at "developing non-formal and work based programmes and training to support the development of digital competences" as well as "tools for assessment of digital skills and competences, including those acquired through non-formal and informal learning, as well as self-assessment". These two objectives, faced through TELL, CALL and MALL, are key to deal with the language gap phenomenon.

Definitely, the three technology-based educational approaches proposed have been designed to enhance language learning by resolving limitations of traditional teacher-centred methodologies and thus they can, additionally, help reduce language access disparities.

As a final point, it could be highlighted the necessity of specific technology-related literacy in order to assure a correct application of technology to language learning/teaching and, similarly, positive outcomes deriving from it. Tafazoli (2014) refers specifically to CALL literacy, (although we could enlarge the term so as to include TELL literacy and MALL literacy) as the skills needed to use technology adequately for language learning/ teaching. In other words, "the more CALL-literate [as well as TELL-literate and MALL-literate] students and teachers become, the more appropriate applications they will have with which use CALL" (Tafazoli, Gómez & Huertas, 2018a, p. 336), TELL and MALL, and the more helpful they will be, thus, to bridge the language gap.

CONCLUSION

Bearing in mind the multiple benefits that education has in the language classroom (Chun, Smith & Kern, 2016), this chapter has revised the concepts of TELL, CALL and MALL, three innovative approaches to language education, all of it with the main objective of exploring their possibilities and potential for bridging the language gap, a phenomenon characterised by social and academic disparities between high and low social groups when it comes to language access and, consequently, linguistic proficiency (Johnson, 2015; Johnson & Zentella, 2017).

The scientific literature has revealed both the main features of these innovative approaches and their potential for foreign and second language education. The most significant are: (i) they foster an active, flexible and efficient language learning process, also motivating, individualized and adapted to learners' characteristics and needs (Ghanizadeh, Ghanizadeh, Razavi & Hosseini, 2018; Tafazoli, Gómez & Huertas., 2018b); (ii) they promote a learner-centred learning environment, authentic communication and language use, and positive attitudes towards both learning and the language (Gómez, 2014); (iii) they are easy and free to access (as long as users are digitally competent and provided with software and hardware needed); and (iv) they promote intercultural awareness (Lee, 2018; Petrović, 2018). These characteristics can contribute not only to the bridging of the language gap but also to the promotion of a new language learning/teaching conception that shifts away from traditional notions of education.

Technology, in general, TELL, CALL and MALL, in particular, have been demonstrated to play a role in students' motivation, satisfaction and success due to their interactive nature (Alexander, Barcellona, McLachlan & Sackley, 2019; Cortés, 2019; Kintu, Zhu & Kagambe, 2017; Saritepeci & Çakır, 2019; Sun & Hsu, 2012; Vezzetti & Violante, 2013). For this reason, language teachers need to take into account the possibilities that these approaches offer. However, as Kauffman puts it:

The challenge remains for institutions to design courses to meet students' needs/expectations, for instructors to effectively integrate technology into content, including features of CMS [course management system], in order to facilitate engagement and deeper learning, and for students to be self-disciplined and use technology to engage with other students and the instructor. (2015, p. 11)

Finally, we cannot forget the necessity of promoting TELL, CALL and MALL literacies to ensure not only positive outcomes of the application of these approaches to language education but also the bridging of the language gap. Developing these literacies is also a challenge for educational institutions, which should put this aim at the top of their agendas.

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KEY TERMS AND DEFINITIONS

CALL: Integration of technology into the language classroom as a support with the objective to create a digital environment that promotes a natural-like language learning process.

Information/Network Society: Society where information creation, distribution and manipulation is a key economic, social, political and cultural activity.

Language Gap: Lack of language proficiency and language accessibility due social and economic disparities.

LKT: Integration of ICT into the teaching/learning processes with the objective to enhance the development of teachers' and learners' technology-related competences.

MALL: Combination of mobile technologies use (e.g., smartphones, tablets, MP3 players) and CALL as a support for language learners by in order to facilitate both their access to quality materials and their communication with other learners and with teachers.

TELL: Integration of technology into the language classroom as a complement to teacher instruction by means of displaying multimedia.

TEP: Application of technologies in real contexts with the objective to foster citizens' empowerment and social awareness and cohesion.

Transnational Education: Provision of education in one country different from the providing institution's own.

Chapter 9
Social Media Support and the Need of Counselling From Experts in Autonomous Language Learning:
Challenges and Strategies for the 21st Century

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ABSTRACT

Autonomous language learning is a hot topic in the scientific community as the omnipresence of ICT has increased its importance since the '90s. This chapter discusses the role of social media to increase learners' autonomy in 21st century society, and how it problematizes the situations in which learners are completely autonomous (e.g., language learning through free-access websites). The autonomous learner needs to develop certain skills connected to digital competence, learning how to learn, motivation, responsibility, and perseverance. For this purpose, a SWOT analysis has been carried out to help the authors clarify the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats, which derived from ICT, impact on language learners' autonomy. In this light, the research project PRY 208/17 aims at fostering autonomous language learning by using technology. The initial results bore out that specific abilities on autonomous learning, and personality traits benefit highly from language expert counselling and coaching, which have proved to improve the results.

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INTRODUCTION

The use of digital technologies has transformed autonomous language learning, and nowadays there are umpteen online resources and spaces with an enormous potential for learning. Practices and methodologies are continuously evolving with the emergence of social media and instant communications in a firmly interconnected, multilingual, intercultural and social World Wide Web. For learners, the use of educational technology is a factor that fosters their motivation, especially as it enhances autonomous learning, interaction and collaboration, and it may easily accommodate multiple learning styles.

Current online resources and spaces are multimodal, multilingual and multipurpose, which entails an almost unmanageable choice (Stockwell, 2012) for the learners. In this context, autonomous language learners need a series of new skills to use the online resources that fit best with their needs, in terms of either level or skill. Among these skills, the importance of digital competence, learning how to learn, motivation, responsibility and perseverance are undeniable. Nevertheless, the transformation of these online resources into usable and useful language learning spaces is not an easy task, especially when learners are completely autonomous (e.g. language learning through free-access websites).

This paper addresses the role of social media to increase learners' autonomy in 21st century society, and how it problematizes the situations in which learners are completely autonomous. For this purpose, and after a review of the literature on language learning methodologies, learner autonomy and their relation to digital competence, special attention is paid to analyze language expert counselling and coaching in this autonomous process. This is the main goal of *LinguApp: Ensuring Universal and Inclusive Access to Second Language Learning*, a research project granted by the Centro de Estudios Andaluces (PRY 208/17), whose initial results bore out that autonomous language learners can actually improve their results by using digital resources when they can benefit from expert counselling and coaching.

BACKGROUND

Language Learning Methodologies, Styles and Strategies in the 21st Century

Learning a language is basically learning to communicate with people from different linguistic, social and cultural backgrounds. It is widely accepted that effective language acquisition must be based and focused on the communicative approach, so that the main aim of language learning should deal with the ability to express oneself and exchange ideas in a target language (different from the main language/mother tongue) in real situations (Widdowson, 1978; Brown, 1987; Yang & Chen, 2007). It is not always easy, however, to access real situations where the target language is used naturally. In this light, the arrival of technology, and more specifically of the Internet, to education resulted in a change of paradigm in language teaching and learning methodologies (Ganderton, 1998; Lee, 2000; Román, 2002).

In this context, it is necessary to address Computer-Assisted Language Learning (CALL), which Beatty (2003, p. 7) defines as "any progress in which a learner uses a computer and, as a result, improves his or her language." Since CALL was coined by Davies and Steel in 1981, different terms have appeared in the literature of applications of technology in education, including Computer-Aided Instruction (CAI), Computer-Assisted Learning (CAL), Computer-Assisted Language Instruction (CALI), Computer-Assisted Language Teaching (CALT), and Computer-Based Training (CBT), among others.

The emergence of web-based resources, tools for computer-mediated communication (CMC) and social networks has recently broadened the concept of CALL, which has undoubtedly moved beyond what Garret (1991) described. Bangs & Cantos (2004, p. 222) discussed the future of CALL related to foreign language pedagogy, arguing that: "the efficient use of language technology […] requires a combined knowledge of foreign language pedagogy, teaching experience and some computer literacy." In spite of the initial suspicions that CALL arose related to specific teacher training (Davies, 2002, pp. 2-3), it has succeeded over time. Moreover, the traditional tutor and tool dichotomy has also been overcome, as Hubbard and Bradin-Siskin (2004, p. 456) state that tutor and tool-oriented CALL are no longer mutually exclusive, but "[i]t may be more fruitful to speak of the degree to which a particular software application embodies the characteristics of tutor, tool, or both and the quality of the software as a tutor, tool, or both rather than forcing a classification as one or the other."

Furthermore, it could be even considered that CALL has gone a step further with the development of Technology-Enhanced Language Learning (TELL), where computers are only one of the potential technological devices used for language learning. In fact, there are authors who agree that currently "CALL is dead" (Jordan & Dudeney, 2011, as cited in Martín-Monje, 2012, p. 203), since the use of computers has given way to numerous types of devices, such as tablets, smartphones, or even wearables.

Technology-Enhanced Language Learning (TELL), as an alternative to CALL, refers to any applications of technology in language learning –including thus CALL approaches. Thanks to TELL, learners can apply their knowledge, and they also can foster their language acquisition by decontextualizing the process (ubiquitous learning). This way learners can develop the four language skills (listening, speaking, reading and writing) in real situations with real users of the target language. Moreover, when TELL is adequately implemented, research suggests that TELL plays a key role to increase motivation, global collaboration, empowerment and student-centered learning, construction of knowledge, global understanding, intercultural awareness and digital citizenship (Tafazoli, Gómez & Huertas, 2018).

Autonomy in Language Learning

The term "learner autonomy" was first used in the field of language instruction of Holec in the report entitled *Autonomy and Foreign Language Learning* published in 1979 by the Council of Europe (cited here as Holec, 1981), where the author suggested a shift from "directed teaching" to "self-directed learning". This move was directly encouraged by the following goal of the Council of Europe: "[to] make the process of language learning more democratic by providing the conceptual tools for the planning, construction and conduct of courses closely geared to the needs, motivations and characteristics of the learner and enabling him so far as possible to steer and control his own progress" (Trim, 1978, p. 1).

Nowadays, learner autonomy is endorsed by research that highlights "it can increase motivation to learn and consequently increases learning effectiveness" (Sanprasert, 2010, p. 109), while it is also highly influenced by learners' beliefs (Zhong, 2015). Lately, the concept of "autonomy" has been defined by Benson (2013, p. 2) as "the capacity to take control over one's own learning."

In the context of language learning, over the last decades a number of researchers have published relevant studies (i.e. Akbari, Pilot & Simons, 2015; Benson, 2001; Benson & Voller, 2014; Cotterall, 1995; Hurd & Lewis, 2008; Littlewood, 1996). Despite the different approaches, there is a general consensus on its fundamental principles: learners take responsibility for their own learning process, they learn to make their own decisions on what, where and how to learn; they apply critical thinking to the learning process; they understand their needs and identify their learning gaps; and they try to maximize their opportunities to learn the language (Benson, 2001; Dickinson, 1987; Gardner, 2007; Holec, 1981; White, 2008).

A complementary point of view was provided by Deci and Ryan (1991), who defined learner autonomy as a process of "self-determination" or "self-regulation". This author also linked autonomy to "relatedness needs", referring to the needs for contact, support, counselling and even community, which derives in the so-called "autonomous interdependence". This approach is in line with Little (1991) and Little, Dam and Legenhausen (2017), who consider that learner autonomy lies in interdependence rather than of independence, and also with Broady's (1996) notion of "social autonomy", defined as the ability to function effectively when being a cooperative member of a given group. Contrary to popular belief, learner autonomy in language learning does not increase in isolation, but it is better constructed by means of an exchange process that depends on the learner's environment. As a matter of fact, it is widely agreed (Benson, 2001, 2007; Eneau & Develotte, 2012; Tremblay, 2003) that the role of the learner's environment, and specially the social environment, is key to developing learner autonomy.

The distinction between "proactive" and "reactive" autonomy, developed by Littlewood (1996), marked a milestone in the field. On the one hand, "proactive" autonomy refers to those learners who assume their own learning responsibilities, thus in line with Holec (1981). On the other hand, however, "reactive" autonomy does not set its own directions but, once the direction and goals are clear, it allows learners to organize their resources in an autonomous way, so that they can reach their objectives. In the field of education, including language learning, reactive autonomy can be seen either as a first step towards proactive autonomy or as a proper objective. In any of these two situations, it must be borne in mind that being autonomous does not mean being self-sufficient. This entails that the development of certain meta-skills is unavoidable (Tremblay, 2003). According to this author, there are four meta-skills to be considered in leaner autonomy, namely: i) to know oneself as a learner; ii) to be able to learn by doing; iii) to be able to adapt oneself to different contexts and situations, and to be resilient; and iv) to be able to learn from others.

Digital Competence and Autonomous Language Learning

The use of digital technologies, and the significant advances in CALL and TELL, have transformed language learning, especially when it also deals with learner autonomy. The diversity of online and digital resources available specifically for language learning require that learners, together with the aforementioned meta-skills, develop their digital competence. The digital competence has been identified as one of the eight key competences for lifelong learning by the European Parliament and the Council of the European Union, which emphasize that it "involves the confident and critical use of Information Society Technology (IST) for work, leisure and communication. It is underpinned by basic skills in ICT: the use of computers to retrieve, assess, store, produce, present and exchange information, and to communicate and participate in collaborative networks via the Internet" (European Parliament & Council of the European Union, 2006, L394, p. 15). As can be seen, digital competence is not limited just to use software or digital devices, but it also addresses "a large variety of complex skills – cognitive, motoric, sociological, and emotional – users need to have in order to use digital environments effectively" (Eshet-Alkali & Amichai-Hamburger, 2004, p. 421).

Learners need to develop their digital competence to benefit from digital learning opportunities – but also to mitigate or even avoid potential risks like digital gap or language gap. Furthermore, the effectiveness of digital technologies in language learner autonomy may rely on learners' abilities and skills to use technology adequately (Hatlevik & Christophersen, 2013).

Language learners thus need to be aware of the different components of digital competence, which the European Commission, in its *Digital Competence Framework 2.1* (Carretero, Vuorikari & Punie, 2017), has unpacked as comprising five main areas articulated into eight proficiency levels. Considering autonomous language learners, these five categories may be understood as follows:

1. **Information and data literacy:** to be able to locate and retrieve relevant contents to learn or improve the target language; to be able to judge and assess the relevance of the language resources available; to be able to store, manage and organise relevant digital resources for language learning according to their specific needs (e.g. current or prospective level of the target language; weaker skills in the target language).
2. **Communication and collaboration:** to be able to interact, communicate and collaborate through technologies with speakers and other learners of the target language while being aware of diversity of cultures, languages, lifestyles, generations, etc.
3. **Digital content creation:** to be able to create and/or edit digital content to improve their own different skills in the target language while helping other potential learners and while understanding how copyright and licenses are to be applied.
4. **Safety:** to be able to protect not only the devices they use, but also content, personal information and privacy in all types of digital environments, especially being aware of protecting physical and psychological health in interactions and promoting the use of digital technologies for social well-being and social inclusion, regardless the language used.
5. **Problem solving:** to be able to identify needs, problems and weaknesses related to digital language learning, and to use digital tools to try to overcome these issues; to be able to use different digital tools to innovate, modify or improve their language learning process.

In addition to these five categories, regarding digital competence autonomous language learners also need to develop a series of interdisciplinary competences, including critical thinking, creativity, resilience, and openness to engage collaboratively with other language learners.

The Role of Social Media for the Development of Key Competences

The massive spread of social networks characterizes the 21st century, and their uses vary from the simplest activities: e.g. to chat and share information (Facebook), or to see photos (Instagram); to the most complex ones: e.g. to use Electronic Commerce (EC), which "is not just about buying and selling; it also is about electronically innovating, communicating, collaborating, and discovering information" (Turban, Outland, King, Lee, Liang & Turban, 2018, p. v). Furthermore, Bechmann and Lomborg (2012, p. 1) discussed the role of social media in processes of value creation. They identify two main areas: (a) "Economic and socio-political value creation"; (b) "…value creation as sense-making, that is, creative explorations of the self and management of social relationships in everyday life."

Although these authors do not explicitly include language in their analysis, it can be seen inherently attached to both of these areas. On the one hand, regarding the economic and socio-political arena, language has been reported as a key element to improve the individual's socio-economic status. Schluessel (2007), Tsung (2009), and Zelasko and Antúnez (2000) underlined the possibilities that good commandment of languages opens for bilingual university graduates, who will be able to apply for a position in the international arena. Regarding the second area, "creative explorations of the self and management of social relations in everyday life", language can be said to be the essential component of these processes.

Accordingly, one of the intricate operations that 21st century individuals carry out is online second language learning, which entails the commandment of a varied range of competences: social, digital and linguistic, just to mention some of the most relevant ones. Language learning is one of the biggest challenges for European citizenship, and it aligns with the most influential educational policies in the globe (e.g. the Strategic Framework for Education and Training, ET 2020). The Foreword to the *Key Data on Teaching Languages at School in Europe* (EACEA, Eurydice and Policy Support, 2012, p. 3) states: "The improvement of quality and efficiency of language learning has become one of the key objectives of the Strategic Framework for Education and Training ('ET 2020'). The framework underlines the necessity to enable citizens to communicate in two languages in addition to their mother tongue, as well as the need to promote language teaching and provide migrants with opportunities to learn the language of the host country."

Therefore, to show some kind of proficiency in a second language is not only an educational priority; it has become a societal need. Constant social changes, the permanent need to access wide-spectrum and updated information, and the explicit labor demand of individuals who can speak (at least) two languages; all this has made it a priority to assure universal access to second language learning.

In this context, social networks play a fundamental role, as connectivity facilitates the individual's:

- Autonomy.
- Ubiquity.
- Access to updated and interactive resources.
- Variety of languages among which they can choose.

Therefore, a thorough analysis of the benefits and pitfalls that autonomy brings to language learning will lead us to identify the need of an "improved" or "adapted" version of social networks to aid students in this process both professionally and efficiently.

Social Networks and Language Learner's Autonomy

As aforementioned, "autonomy" is a problematic term, which can be usually found in the literature associated to a bunch of keywords that strive to define it: responsibility, sharing, taking of initiatives regarding the learning methods (such as planning, executing and reviewing) (Holec, 1981; Little, 1991). Little (1996) stated the role of technology in supporting autonomy, so the subsequent impact of social networks on the increasingly development of this century language learner's autonomy is undeniable. Hafner and Miller (2011) carried out an experimental research to assess if (and how) ICT can foster the autonomy of the language learner. Their findings suggest that "a technological learning environment [is] capable of fostering learner autonomy in a structured setting" (Hafner & Miller, 2011, p. 82).

Table 1. SWOT Analysis

STRENGTHS	WEAKNESSES
• Discussing less complex issues. • Getting acquainted. • Planning tasks. • Ubiquity (Halvorsen, 2010, p. 1062). • Flexibility (Lee, 2016, p. 81). • Variety (of second languages, codes and registers) (Pegrum, 2009, p. 22). • Updated contents (Guth, 2009, p. 458). • Motivation (Sanprasert, 2010, p. 109). • Responsibility (Benson, 2001; Dickinson, 1987; Gardner, 2007; Holec, 1981; White, 2008).	• Bad use of the second / foreign language (Eisenstein, 2013) • Scarcity of non-free accessed language learning websites. • Low-quality websites (due to users' feedback [Kozar, 2015, p. 112], language resources and materials, or technical reasons). • Infoxication (Benito-Ruiz, 2009; Dias, 2014).
OPPORTUNITIES	**THREATS**
• Native speakers (Esch, 2009, p. 36) • Real language (Godwin-Jones, 2018). • Self-improvement culture (Cameron, 2002, p. 75). • Social and community interaction (Cohen, 2011). • Enhancement of intercultural skills (Kozar, 2015, p. 107).	• Need of guidance (Lin, Warschauer & Blake, 2016; Nunan, 2013, p. 53). • Feelings of loneliness and isolation (Duranton & Mason, 2012).

Source: Own elaboration

A SWOT analysis will help us clarify the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats which, derived from ICT, impact on language learners' autonomy (see Table 1):

"Individual learner characteristics have an enormous impact on language anxiety" (Gkonou, 2013, p. 53). As seen above, the two key features that describe successful autonomous language learner are "responsibility" and "motivation", where perseverance is a key skill used by students to cope with second language anxiety (Woodrow, 2006). Therefore, these factors can impact negatively if they are low-levelled. Responsibility is a component of personality that affects positively the progress of the autonomous language learner; if it does not appear, however, it can become a threat. The same goes for motivation: Results from the experimental studies in the aforementioned literature show that motivation is a determining factor for the success of autonomous language learning. If it is low, it will become a threat (as it can lead to abandonment of the process); if it is high, it will boost the learning.

Let us now describe the main goal and lines of a research project granted by the *Centro de Estudios Andaluces* (PRY 208/17), whose initial results bore out that these abilities and personality traits benefit highly from language expert counselling and coaching, which have proved to improve the results.

LinguApp: Improving Responsibility and Motivation of Second Language Learners

LinguApp: Ensuring Universal and Inclusive Access to Second Language Learning (*LinguApp* hereinafter) is a research project (Reference No. PRY208/17) granted by the *Centro de Estudios Andaluces* in its 2017 competitive call. The project stems from the theoretical bases herein analyzed; individual learning of second languages is only understood nowadays if it is done online. Therefore, the combination of autonomy (determined by responsibility and motivation), digital competences, and appropriate counselling and guidance should lead to a relatively high level of success in the area (Gómez & Huertas, 2019). Nevertheless, the drawbacks of this equation (conceptualized in the SWOT analysis herein as "Weaknesses" and "Threats") cannot be side-lined.

The main objective of *LinguApp* is the design and implementation of a free web app which offers the user the possibility to access a selected variety of language learning websites.

The selection of these webs has been done according to the following features:

- Quality of both contents and technical features.
- Stability, so that consistency and permanence in time are ensured.
- Gratuity, as only free-access websites are eligible within the project's goals.

This web app (called *MentorLang*) will guide the user through an accompanied learning process where the learner's personal features, records, achievements and content choices are taken into account to offer them the best options according to the following parameters:

1. Learning objectives (set at the beginning of the process and introduced in the app).
2. Initial language level.
3. Foreseen time for learning (measured in hours per week).
4. Desired deadline to achieve the objectives set.

Thus, the secondary objectives of *LinguApp* (which stem from the main objective set above) are:

- To offer guidance and professional counselling (from expert language teachers, researchers in this project and responsible for the design of the web app) to autonomous language learners, so that the main threats identified by the SWOT analysis (the risk of abandonment induced by lack of guidance and feelings of loneliness and isolation) can be taken to a minimum.
- To design, validate (through a Delphi method) and apply a double rubric which has allowed researchers to evaluate:
  - The quality of language contents. The expert evaluation of researchers leads to scoring chosen websites, whose analysis has been done on individual exercises. This allows researchers to indicate users:
    - The best path to follow (based on their specific requirements and individual features, kept in their personal profile of the app).
    - *Ad hoc* exercises to review specific skills, grammar tips, vocabulary items or pronunciation practice that the user needs to reinforce.
  - The technical quality of each website: which measures the updating of tools, feedback offered, accessibility and other technical features.

This double-sided rubric, thus, is the key instrument that the researchers of *LinguApp* have designed to minimize one of the weaknesses identified herein related to the low quality of the resources that free-accessed websites generally offer. The analysis carried out by *LinguApp* is a first quality-assurance guarantee for the user, who does not need to have some kind of linguistic background to help them to discriminate between good and bad activities and tasks. Seemingly, the technical analysis of the resources is also a quality-assurance guarantee that *LinguApp* offers to their users.

Moreover, the selection of websites made by *LinguApp* can contribute to minimize the risk of bad language use, as learners will mostly use those websites which offer appropriate feedback (especially in the lowest levels of the CEFR).

Additionally, it also copes with the risk of 'infoxication' as users will be guided through specific exercises of particular websites. This will, for sure, avoid the risk of 'getting lost in the forest'.

Unfortunately, the weakness identified as "Scarcity of non-free access language learning websites" cannot be addressed by *LinguApp*. Nevertheless, our commitment with the accomplishment of the objectives of the project is determined, so let this be a call to action for institutional organisms in charge of education and language policies to push forward the design of free-access websites to promote the autonomous learning of second languages.

CONCLUSION

Autonomous language learning is, as aforementioned, the most plausible option for 21st century students, due to the fact that the Internet has universalized and democratized some of the processes that are usually attached to instruction. Román (2002, p. 32) stated: "Internet-based learning – also known as networked learning, online learning or e-learning, as it has been titled more recently – is here to stay". In spite of the popularity of web-based resources, autonomous language learning entails some weaknesses and threats that our SWOT analysis has identified and analyzed. Bad use of the second language (Eisenstein, 2013); scarcity of non-free accessed language learning websites (identified by *LinguApp*); and low-quality websites (due to users' feedback [Kozar, 2015, p. 112], language resources and materials, or technical reasons); and the so-called 'infoxication' (Benito-Ruiz, 2009; Dias, 2014) are the most relevant weaknesses discussed herein. Additionally, the threats identified (i.e. users' need of guidance [Lin, Warschauer & Blake, 2016; Nunan, 2013, p. 53], and the appearance of feelings of loneliness and isolation [Duranton & Mason, 2012]) can be mitigated through specified counselling and advising, and targeted coaching to the adult language learner.

One of the features of the good language learner, following Johnson (2018, pp. 136-137), is the fact that they "realize that learning a language involves affective problems, which they have to come to terms with." A certain amount of isolation, need of guidance, and some kind of reward must be faced by the autonomous learner, who most of the time only counts with their own motivation to go on. Dörnyei (2013) has studied some of the factors that impact positively on motivation, namely: a) making learning stimulating and enjoyable; b) presenting tasks in a motivating way; c) setting specific learner goals; d) protecting the learner's self-esteem and increasing their self-confidence; e) allowing learners to maintain a positive social image; f) promoting cooperation among the learners; g) creating learner autonomy; and h) promoting self-motivating learner strategies. Although Dörnyei's study applies mostly to classroom-based teaching contexts, some of its factors can be said to be relevant also in online learning settings. That is, language learning webs can "present tasks in a motivating way"; "set specific learner goals"; "increase [learners'] self-confidence"; foster "learner autonomy"; and "promote self-motivating learner strategies". That is, the fact that the teacher is not a human presence in the classroom context does not mean that online setting cannot be designed to be motivating. Nevertheless, human interaction can be said to be essential throughout the learning process, especially when advice, counselling and coaching are needed to improve the efficiency of the learning process or the (lack of) quality of the resources available. Kozar, Yates and Pryor (2016, p. 508) state: "As the contexts of language learning have broadened and expanded, advising has emerged as an important aspect of language education."

LinguApp addresses these stages of the language learning process where guidance, coaching and counselling are needed. Wagner (2015, pp. 92-93) affirms: “These data demonstrate clearly that going out into the wild is not helpful *per se* but that newcomers need support, coaching, and debriefing to normalize the sense that they give to unexpected experiences.” If coaching and counselling are important in classroom interaction settings, it will become essential in CALL and TELL contexts. Autonomous learning is only understood nowadays when it comes under the umbrella of digital competence.

Therefore, *Mentorlang* is of the utmost importance to offer the coaching that the literature has identified as a key element both to improve motivation and to foster autonomy among 21st century language learners. Targeted research has taken us to analyze the most renowned websites, which had to fulfil two main features: a) be consistent in time (so, only institutional webs have been included); and b) be free-accessed. The design and implementation of a holistic web app will make access to online resources easier, and it will also provide learners with the necessary expert guidance and counselling to help overcome the weaknesses and threats that may impact negatively on autonomous online language learning processes. Moreover, *Mentorlang* advises the learner on the most appropriate path to follow in order to achieve their language goals by taking into account the personal features of each student (e.g. age, hours devoted to study per week, target level – according to the CEFR –, or starting level of the second language, among others).

This is the arena where *Mentorlang* is relevant, as it addresses a problematic area identified by the literature: online language learning is the tendency, but language teachers and researchers cannot neglect the drawbacks and difficulties that it may entail. A web app that offers expert guidance (on free-accessed resources, personalized itineraries according to second language level objectives, and counselling and coaching when required) is a societal need, according to our analysis.

Language teachers have taken a number of roles along the bewildering history of methods and approaches, some of which can be named as “extravagant” (e.g. inductor in Total Physical Response), whereas some others are considered as “more natural” (e.g. researcher, communicator or facilitator). The latest of these is to be a “coach”, a term which accounts for the emotional universe of the language learner, usually forgotten in the theoretical design of approaches. When the teacher is blurred from the learning context (that is, when the setting is classified under the heading “autonomous online language learning”), the feelings of the learner do not disappear with them. In fact, learners’ emotional moods may result in a threat if they are not appropriately managed. New ways of looking at old issues in new times.

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KEY TERMS AND DEFINITIONS

Autonomy: The quality or state of being freely self-directed.

Digital Competence: Key competence for the current globalized society. It involves the confident, safe and critical use of information society technology (IST) for work, study, leisure, and communication. It includes then basic skills in the use of IST, namely: the use of digital devices to retrieve, assess, store, produce, present, communicate and exchange information, as well as to participate in collaborative networks online.

Learning Autonomy: The capacity, competences, and skills to take control over one's own learning.

Proactive Learning Autonomy: Type of autonomy that those learners who assume their own learning responsibilities have.

Reactive Learning Autonomy: Type of autonomy that, once the direction and goals are clear, allows learners to organize their resources in an autonomous way, so that they can reach their learning objectives.

Social Autonomy: Type of autonomy defined as the ability to function effectively when being a cooperative member of a given group.

Technology-Enhanced Language Learning (TELL): As an alternative to CALL, TELL refers to any applications of technology in language learning –including thus CALL approaches. Thanks to TELL, learners can apply their knowledge, and they also can foster their language acquisition by decontextualizing the process (ubiquitous learning).

Section 3

International Experiences to Bridging the Language Gap

Chapter 10

Making Language Learning More Inclusive:
Introducing Rubrics to Adult Students to Improve Written Performance

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ABSTRACT

This chapter presents the results of a study conducted in a language classroom in Galicia (Spain). The course was sponsored by the local administration and addressed to unemployed students (n = 14; average age 47). The education in foreign languages of the participants in the '80s and '90s had been held back due to curricular needs to promote the use of the second official language, Galician. The extrinsic motivation for English language learning of the participants was their need to improve linguistic skills to re-gain access to the job market. It was observed that they were consistently underperforming during writing exam preparation tasks. In order to meet the needs of these students, it was decided to study the impact that the explanation of the assessment rubric had on learners' written production. Results of their performance in a pre-test were compared to the results in a post-test. The implementation of this strategy proved to be effective. By allowing the students to have knowledge of the rubric for the assessment of their writings, their fear was significantly reduced.

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INTRODUCTION

Research on Foreign Language Anxiety (FLA) has increased during the last two decades, but most of these studies have mainly focused on high school or university students, and not so much on adult L2 learners (Dewaele, Petrides & Furnham, 2008). The focus on language learners over 25 years of age is particularly relevant in the context where the study here presented was carried out. The 2007 global economic and financial crisis has had a huge impact in the Spanish region of Galicia, where many companies faced bankruptcy and many jobs were lost. More than a decade later, the effects of that crisis can still be observed. Many professionals and workers, who previously had steady jobs, have found themselves in need of updating their training skills with the aim of re-gaining entrance into the contemporary job market. In the globalized world, the ability to use a foreign language is no longer a favorable quality but a basic prerequisite. In Spain, English the L2 language required by most hiring companies.

In the bilingual region of Galicia, since the end of the dictatorship in 1975, most of the educational efforts regarding language teaching and learning were made towards reducing the dominance of Spanish over Galician – which is also an official language. As a result, the generation born and educated during the 80s and 90s in Galicia has had an insufficient training in foreign languages. English has been the main foreign language taught at schools during that period, but Galician people lack real communicative competence in it.

Within this context adult language learners need to be given some strategies to overcome the stress of performing in English. With that in mind, this study focuses on improving the written performance of a group of unemployed language learners who, during the course of the lessons of an intensive English course, were feeling very insecure and over stressed during exam preparation tasks. This article focuses on the writing tasks training them for the official exam, which would grant them their much sought-after English certification.

In order to meet the needs of these students it was decided to study the impact of the access to and explanation of the assessment rubric, which concentrates more on communicative performance rather than on language knowledge. In the authors' opinion, due to political and social circumstances, these adult learners were never given proper training in communicative language learning. There is a need to find strategies to bridge the language gap among adult language learners. In that sense, this study aims to raise awareness on the impact of the use and explanation of rubrics in the adult learner's writing performance. It intends to answer the following questions: (i) would the explanation of rubrics have a positive influence on student's post writing test?; (ii) explaining assessment instruments can help in making language learning more inclusive by lessening adult students' anxiety during their performance?

As an introduction to the case study, a brief theoretical consideration will address relevant issues, such as the nature of adult language learners or previous studies on the use of rubrics. As it will be seen, rubrics are becoming a frequent tool for the assessment of communicative skills. As opposed to traditional tools of evaluation, which normally measured the memory ability and cognitive skills of the learner, rubrics are assessment tools which measure learners' performance in a standardized way. Later, the study is explained, describing the method, the participants, the analysis and the results. The chapter concludes with some considerations and further research suggestions, as well as with the pedagogical implications of the study.

PREVIOUS STUDIES

Nature of Adult Learners

In this section, three mayor topics relevant to the study are discussed. Firstly, it becomes necessary to identify the characteristics of adult learners in order to better address their learning needs. Secondly, once the support strategy has been chosen, i.e. the explanation of the assessment tool, previous studies on the topic are considered. Finally, since obtaining a Cambridge ESOL certificate is the ultimate goal for these students, its elements, procedure and grading scales are described.

The debate about the existence of an ideal age to learn languages has been the focus of research of Second Language Acquisition theories for many years. Particularly since the 60s, due to the findings derived from neuropsychology and neurophysiology. Several studies carried out during that period discussed the better linguistic ability of young learners as opposed to adults. The most relevant of these studies is Lenneberg's theory (1967) about the existence of a critical period for language learning, which goes from the early childhood to pre-puberty. Lenneberg´s theory is based on the plasticity of the brain during that age. It has since been given certain validity, but it has also been questioned because of its rigidity. Lenneberg himself agreed on the fact that a language can be learnt after puberty, although with more difficulty (Cortés, 2002). Later, his theories were revised, but there is a general agreement that learners acquiring a language during that critical period stand out in their ability to acquire a better pronunciation; adult learners, on the other hand, lack that ability (Cortés, 2002). In our opinion, even though this might be true, the fact that adult learners in general fail to acquire a near-native pronunciation of the foreign language, it should not be considered and obstacle in achieving a real communicative competence.

Adult learners have their own characteristics that need to be taken into consideration during the teaching and learning process of foreign languages. Harmer (2007) identifies the following positive characteristics of adult learners: they are more disciplined than adolescents and apply themselves more to the task. Adult language learners have more motivation as well, because they understand why they are learning. But on the other hand, following Harmer (2007, p. 15), it is also true that:

- Adult learners come with a lot of previous learning experience which may hamper their progress.
- Students who have had negative learning experiences in the past may be nervous of new learning.
- Students used to failure may be consciously or subconsciously prepared for more failure.
- Students who have got out of the habit of study may find classrooms daunting spaces.

Besides all that, adults also have to confront a great variety of situations: official procedures, professional interviews. Therefore, they can feel frustrated when experimenting a significant desynchronization between their ability to process thinking and their capacity to express themselves in a foreign language (Cortés, 2002). All these factors may be the cause of stress or anxiety for older language learners. With regards to the group of students considered in this study, unemployed adults, this feeling of anxiety or frustration is enhanced by the added pressure of having to learn the language as opposed to wanting to do it. Inclusive education in this context implies providing them with the necessary tools to overcome these obstacles.

Rubrics as Assessment Tools for Writing Performance

Previous research on writing in second languages was also considered in the context of this study. Particular attention was paid to Cumming and Riazi (2000), who argued that previous enquiries on the topic had not paid enough attention to how the teaching and learning process can actually have an impact on the final written product:

a severe criticism that can be made of a majority of research on writing in second languages is that it has utilized isolated composing tasks whose validity or representativeness is limited to the performance of these tasks alone, being separated artificially (like most experimentation) from the usual complexities of learning and teaching. As a consequence, considerable information now exists describing how people compose in a second language and the features of the texts they produce for single writing tasks, but we have very little information on how people actually learn to write in second languages or how teaching might influence this (Cumming & Riazi, 2000, p. 57).

In the final considerations of their study, Cummin and Raizi (2000) also argue "that further research was needed into the effect of teacher´s feedback on second language writing to discern what effects various approaches to feedback actually have … to accommodate second-language students' preferred learning styles and actual uses of such feedback" (p. 69). This study aims at filling that gap by analyzing how the use of a particular assessment tool, i.e. the rubrics, can actually have a positive impact on the production or writing tasks.

Rubrics were originally introduced at the beginning of the 20th century. At that time, they were used to assess students' writings in L1 classrooms (Brooks, 2012, p. 229). Until then, writings were scored based on the teacher criteria, who did not have any specific guidelines to support final marks. According to Brooks, rubrics "were first proposed as a tool to analyze writing in 1912 when Noyes suggested the use of a rubric as a means of standardizing the evaluation of student compositions" (Brooks, 2012, p. 230). Noyes decided to create a rubric to grant more objectivity to the assessment process. The purpose of these rubrics was just the assessment of students by means of an objective scale and not the improvement of students' performance in writing. In the same year, Hillegas (2012) created *A Scale for the Measurement of Quality in English Composition by young people*, which would later be known as the *Hillegas Scale*. Turley and Gallagher (2008) argued that this scale "offered a scientific way to quantify the quality of student compositions fashioned on a statistical model of normal distribution" (p. 88). *Hillegas scale* was used by many schools in the United States. Edward Thorndike, who had been Hillegas' professor at Columbia, improved this scale in 1915. He did so by "substituting new specimens for certain of the original samples and by including several examples in the steps at or near the middle of the scale" (Hudelson, as cited in Brooks, 2012, p. 230). Noyes, Hillegas and Thorndike early rubrics were used to compared and rank different schools all over the United States and some school principals even used them to assess their teachers. (Turley & Gallagher, 2008, p. 88). That was probably the first-time rubrics were used not only for the assessment of students but also for the assessment of teachers' performance.

The evaluation of L2 writing tasks is a difficult and complex process since it "requires accounting for multiple factors to ensure a fair and accurate judgement of writer's abilities" (Veerappan & Sulaiman, 2012, p. 143). Several studies on the use of rubrics for the evaluation of writing have been carried out in recent years. Sundeen (2014) focused on the assessment of writing with a high school group of students from the western region of the United States. The 89 learners were divided into three different groups who were exposed to three different conditions. One group could see the six-point rubric they would be assessed with and it was also explained to them; the second group could see the rubric but none explanation was given to them whatsoever; and the final group did not receive any instruction related to the assessment tool. The rubric measured the organization, word choice, ideas, sentence fluency and convention of the persuasive essays. The results proved that those students who had seen and studied the rubric obtained improved results. However, no significance difference was found in terms of number of paragraphs, sentences and words, contrary to what it was expected. Regarding the group which could only see the rubric some minutes before the doing the activity, it was observed that the quality of their task had improved in comparison with previous tasks where students could not see the rubric. Nevertheless, this improvement was not as significant as the results in the group where the rubric had been shown and explained beforehand (Sundeen, 2014). Wang (2017) conducted a study about the effects of rubrics for the self-assessment of university student's writings. The research consisted of six essays and several interviews with six informants among the 80 who were doing the writing tasks. The research demonstrated that the participants "embraced the rubric as an instructional tool guiding them throughout the forethought, performance and reflection stages of self-regulated learning" (Wang, 2017, p. 9). Becker (2018) carried out a similar study. The author considered the impact that the involvement of students in the creation of the rubric could have in their results. The aim of the workshop was to develop a scoring rubric. With this in mind, students were shown good and poor examples of rubrics, and later they were asked to think about how a summary could be assessed. Later, the criteria to articulate levels of quality were discussed. The results obtained by the research were in line with Sundeen's findings. Becker concluded that the fact of providing the learners with a rubric is not enough to improve their writing performance. It is therefore necessary to involve the students in the creation of the rubric or, at least, to explain it and provide them with different models and examples in order to improve their scores. Finally, Laurian and Fitzgerald (2017) analyzed the differences in the results between students who had been shown the assessment rubric and those who had not. The students had to prepare two writing assignments; the second one was done with a copy of the rubric that would be later used by the scorer. The results of the case study were quite significant as the average score of the students improved from 86.83 to a 90.86 in the second essay. Eighteen of the students got a higher mark in the second assignment.

The studies carried out by Sundeen (2014), Wang (2017), and Laurian and Fitzgerald (2017) focused on high school or university students. Considering the positive results of all these previous studies, it was decided to use a similar approach with our adult unemployed students in order to help them overcome their fear of performance during exam tasks. A comprehensible implication of the involvement of the students in the design of the assessment tools is the fact that they may focus more on the exam than on the actual learning process. When the student knows how the scoring is done, this can be a weakness in the grading system that they can exploit; they may be able to figure out what to avoid not to fail the exam. This limitation was considered by the authors, but since the goal of the group of students was to pass the Cambridge ESOL exam, it was decided that the benefits outweighed the possible adverse effects.

Cambridge ESOL Examinations

Cambridge ESOL examinations are one of the most acknowledged language certificates in the European region. The University of Cambridge introduced in 1913 the Cambridge Proficiency Examination (CPE). They were originally intended to test the language performance of people from the colonies who wished to enter the British Educational System (O'Sullivan, 2012). Despite the fact that only twelve students took the first edition of the exam, its importance lies on the acknowledgement that it was the first attempt ever to assess language with an objective, systematic, coherent philosophy. The exam was designed in 1899 by Henry Sweet who "can be seen if not as the founder of applied linguistics then as an inspiration, because of his emphasis on language use, rather than on language knowledge" (O'Sullivan, 2012, p. 11). The examination was also important because it set a precedent in Europe for the assessment of language through performance, "where the test content was central and validity was key" (O'Sullivan, 2012, p. 11). In Spain, the recognition of CPE certificates is only paralleled to those issued the Spanish Official School of Languages. In fact, the possession of an ESOL certificate in very frequently highlighted in the Curriculum Vitae of those seeking job opportunities. Members of the Cambridge ESOL examinations board took part in the definitions of the principles outlined in the *Common European Framework of Languages* (Council of Europe, 2001). Afterwards all their tests were adapted to the different levels alluded to in the document (see Table 1).

For the purpose of this study, the equivalent to the CEFR B1 level was considered, the so-called Preliminary English Test (PET). PET has two versions one for schools and another one for adult learners, which is the one used here. As it can be seen on Table 1, the general description of this threshold level is the ability to communicate essential points and ideas in familiar contexts, therefore referring to basic communication skills.

As it will be discussed later, during the teaching and learning process, the teachers observed that students were progressing effectively in this sense, but when they came to perform during exam preparation tasks the results did not show their improvement. The hypothesis was the lack of recent experience among our adult students in the strictly systematic format or the CPE examinations with an empirical underpinning system: "Cambridge ESOL developed the concept of an empirically-derived common scale that allowed for the systematic ordering of examinations according to level and purpose of use" (Milanovic, 2009, p. 2). This objectivity of the systems was achieved by "introducing an item banking approach which allows for all examinations to be calibrated on a common scale within a psychometric framework" (Milanovic, 2009, p. 2). The students in our study group were not ready, linguistically speaking, to perform during this highly structured testing system due to lack of practice.

Table 1. Cambridge english exams and CEFR level.

Level			General description	Cambridge English Exam
Proficient User	C2	Mastery	Highly proficient-can use English very fluently, precisely and sensitively in most contexts.	Proficiency
	C1	Effective Operational Proficiency	Able to use English fluently and flexibly in a wide range of contexts.	Advanced
Independent User	B2	Vantage	Can use English effectively, with some fluency, in a range of contexts.	First/First for schools.
	B1	Threshold	Can communicate essential points and ideas in familiar contexts.	Preliminary/Preliminary for schools
Basic User	A2	Waystage	Can communicate in English within a limited range of contexts.	Key/Key for schools. Flyers
	A1	Breakthrough	Can communicate in basic English with help from the listener.	Movers Starters

Source (English Profile (2015))

The Preliminary Cambridge Certificate (PET) consists of (4) parts: speaking, listening, reading and writing. The latter is made up of three writing tasks. The first task is a transformation exercise in which students have to paraphrase different sentences. Part two and part three are writing compositions. The second task is a short essay of 35-35 words, which is usually a short letter or message about a topic given by the task. This text must include salutation, farewell and signature. Besides this short writing, candidates must also write a longer essay in part 3. The answer to the task should be at least 100 words long. In this case, the learner has a choice between two different activities: they can choose to answer to a short letter from a friend given in the exam paper or create a short story which must begin with a given first sentence. Candidates are scored out of 100% and must obtain at least a 70% in order to pass the written part. Examiners will mark the learner's writing compositions with a rubric.

METHOD

Participants

This study was classroom-based and it was carried out in a language school in A Coruña (Spain). The participants of the study were fourteen students enrolled in an intensive two months course with a weekly attendance of twenty hours. This course was specifically addressed to adult unemployed students (n = 14; average age 47) and it was public funded by the local administration. The aim of the course was the preparation of the Preliminary Cambridge Certificate (PET) examination which the students would take at the end of the course.

The extrinsic motivation for language learning of these fourteen students was their need to improve linguistic skills in order to have better employment opportunities. Therefore, in general, this group of students was very eager to learn the language and showed a very positive attitude towards language learning. Nevertheless, the teacher perceived among students a general insecurity among students during speaking and writing tasks. Generally, for all language learners the productive skills are always more challenging that receptive skills, which are reading and listening. As it was previously mentioned, the students in this group were consistently underperforming in writing tasks.

Several reasons were found to motivate a general feeling - one of them being the average age of the group of students, which was 47, as this age factor enhances foreign language anxiety. Even though the foreign language they had studied at school was English, none of them had attended a language class for more than a decade. Therefore, students had some basic knowledge of the language, but they had never used it. On top of that, the English lessons that all of them had received during their school years were very traditional, focusing too much on grammar and memorizing vocabulary, and not so much on communicative performance. Besides that, formal writing in English can be very formulaic and students were not familiar with its patterns. Finally, it should also be considered the fact that since Galician had been the language reinforced at schools for students of this generation, the presence of English in the curriculum was very scarce. In general, this group of students met the characteristics outlined by Harmer (2007) and Cortés (2002), as mentioned above: in spite of their motivation and discipline, there was a general sense of frustration towards being able to perform in the foreign language. Therefore, it was decided to provide support through the detailed explanation of the assessment tool so as to reduce the anxiety during the test. This would help adult learners bridge the language gap by making assessment a more accessible process.

Instrument

Writing assignments in this course were assessed through the use or the same assessment tool employed by the external examining committee who would mark their final test. The instrument used was the writing scoring rubric provided by Cambridge English Examinations for the B1- Preliminary English Test. The rubric is an analytic or partial one where different criterion (content, communicative achievement, organisation and language) are compared separately. It is also a quantitative scale which uses a numeric gradation from 0 to 5. It is a skill-focused rubric and, in spite of being used for the assessment of one task, it cannot be considered task-specific as it could be used for the assessment of many other writing tasks. Because of the Certificate's features, it is a proficiency rubric. The different criteria are described here:

1. **Content:** This focuses on how well the candidate has fulfilled the task, in other words, if they have done what they were asked to do.
2. **Communicative Achievement:** This focuses on how appropriate the writing is for the task, and whether the candidate has used the appropriate register.
3. **Organization:** This focuses on the way the candidate puts together the piece of writing, in other words, if it is logical and ordered.
4. **Language:** This focuses on vocabulary and grammar. It includes the range of language as well as how accurate it is.

Cambridge English calls these rubrics "Assessment Scales" and they specify the different levels of achievement as shown on table 2:

PROCEDURE

Before the enrolment, all the students were allocated in the level through a placement test in order to check if they had the required level to be able to pass the exam after an eight-week intensive programme. This test ensured that all the students would have a similar level of English. A writing pre-test was also conducted during the fourth week evaluate the writing level of the students at that moment and it was used as a control measurement. They were asked to write a one-hundred-word essay with the format of a letter, but with no specific explanation about the assessment tool to be used. The task was taken from a PET exam - specifically, task three of the writing paper. The results showed that the average mean of the students was 3.1 out of 5, approximately 62.3%. As mentioned before, the certificate is only granted if the student receives at least a total score above 70%. Only one student got a passing score (71.25%), while all the other students failed the pre-test. The following week, students were provided with the writing scoring rubric. The rubric and all their criteria and descriptors were fully explained by the teacher. In addition, students practiced scoring sample writing compositions with a rubric. The samples included examples of the different band levels. By the end of the sixth week, students were asked to write again a one-hundred-word letter taken from a different "task three" of the PET writing paper. The writings were examined and scored by the teacher using the same rubric. Afterwards, a comparison between results of the pre-test and post-test was carried out.

Table 3 and Table 4 show the individual performance of each of the students in the pre-test and the post-test and the classroom average performance in both tests:

Table 2. Cambridge English rubric for assessing writing performance-b1

B1	CONTENT	COMMUNICATIVE ACHIEVEMENT	ORGANISATION	LANGUAGE
5	All content is relevant to the task. Target reader is fully informed.	Uses the conventions of the communicative task to hold the target reader's attention and communicate straightforward ideas.	Text is generally well-organised and coherent, using a variety of linking words and cohesive devices.	Uses a range of everyday vocabulary appropriately, with occasional inappropriate use of less common lexis. Uses a range of simple and some complex grammatical forms with a good degree of control. Errors do not impede communication.
4	Performance shares features of Bands 3 and 5.			
3	Minor irrelevances and/or omissions may be present. Target reader is on the whole informed.	Uses the conventions of the communicative task in generally appropriate ways to communicate straightforward ideas	Text is connected and coherent, using basic linking words and a limited number of cohesive devices.	Uses everyday vocabulary generally appropriately, while occasionally overusing certain lexis. Uses simple grammatical forms with a good degree of control. While errors are noticeable, meaning can still be determined.
2	Performance shares features of Bands 1 and 3.			
1	Irrelevances and misinterpretation of task may be present. Target reader is minimally informed.	Produces text that communicates simple ideas in simple ways	Text is connected using basic, high-frequency linking words	Uses basic vocabulary reasonably appropriately. Uses simple grammatical forms with some degree of control. Errors may impede meaning at times.
0	Content is totally irrelevant. Target reader is not informed.			

Source: (UCLES, 2014)

DATA ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

The previous tables (Table 3 and Table 4) show the results obtained by each one the fourteen students in the pre-test and post-test. They show the scores obtained according to the different criteria specified in the rubric; the total average for each criterion has also been calculated. From the analysis and comparison of the data between the tables, different issues come up. We are going to focus here on the most relevant ones. In the pre-text, the criterion for *communicative achievement* was the weakest in the total average results. *Organization* was the second weakest mark. Students appeared to do slightly better when it referred to the criterion assessing *language* knowledge. These results are significant since it shows that students in general got a lower grade on a criterion non-assessing language knowledge use *per se,* but which focuses on general text coherence and communicative performance.

However, the improvement in the post-test was very noteworthy as the general average increased reaching and surpassing the passing mark of 70%. It went from 3.1 (62.3%) to 3.8 (77.7%). The second criterion *communicative achievement,* was the one which was most positively altered by the chosen

Table 3. Student's Results in the writing task Pre-test

Student	Content	Communicative Achievement	Organization	Language	Total
1	4	3	3.5	3.25	**3.4 (68.7%)**
2	2	2.5	3	3	**2.6 (52.5%)**
3	3	2	3.5	3	**2.8 (57.5%)**
4	3.5	3	3	3	**3.1 (62.5%)**
5	3.75	2	3.5	3.25	**3.1 (62.5%)**
6	3	2.5	2.5	3.5	**2.8 (57%)**
7	3.75	2.5	3	4	**3.3 (66%)**
8	3	2	3	3	**2,75 (55%)**
9	3.5	3.25	3	4	**3.3 (66%)**
10	2.5	3	3	3.5	**3 (60%)**
11	4	3	3.25	3.5	**3.43 (68.6%)**
12	3.75	3	3.5	4	**3.56 (71.25%)**
13	3.5	2.5	2.5	3	**2.8 (56%)**
14	3.75	3	2.5	3.75	**3.25 (65%)**
Average	**3.35 (67.1%)**	**2.66 (53.2%)**	**3.05 (61.07%)**	**3.4 (68%)**	**3.1 (62.3%)**

Source: (Own elaboration)

Table 4. Students' results in the writing task post- test

Student	Content	Communicative Achievement	Organization	Language	Total
1	4	4	4.5	4	**4.1 (82%)**
2	4	3.75	4.25	3.5	**3.8 (77.5%)**
3	4.5	4	4.25	4	**4.18 (83.75%)**
4	3.5	4	3	4.5	**3.75 (75%)**
5	5	3	3.5	4	**3.8 (77.5%)**
6	4	3.5	2.5	3.5	**3.37 (67.5%)**
7	4.5	4.5	4	5	**4.5 (90%)**
8	4	4.5	4	3.5	**4 (80%)**
9	4.5	4	3.75	4	**4.06(81.2%)**
10	4	3.75	4.5	4	**4.06(81.2%)**
11	3.75	4	4	3	**3.68 (73.7%)**
12	4.25	4.5	4	3.75	**4.1 (82,5%)**
13	4	4.5	3.5	3.5	**3.8 (77.5%)**
14	4.25	4.25	4	4	**4.25 (85%)**
Average	**3.9 (78.9%)**	**4.01 (80.2%)**	**3.83(76.7%)**	**3.8(77.5.4%)**	**3.8 (77.7%)**

Source: (Own elaboration)

strategy. The average mark for this criterion raised from a very low 2.66 (53.2%) up to a significant 4.01 (80.2%), becoming the highest general mark among all the different criteria. The criterion *language* also showed an improvement, but it was the one less impacted by the strategy.

But the most remarkable result of the implementation of the strategy was the total final marks of each student. In the pre-task only one of the fourteen students were able to reach the passing mark, and only with a 71.25%. The total average for the group is a failing mark of 62.3%. Even though this percentage is not far from the passing mark of 70%, it did not reflect the student's genuine efforts during the whole teaching and learning process. In the post-test the situation was reversed. All students except one reached the passing mark.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The use of rubrics for the assessment of performance is a relatively new tool that most of adult students in this group would have never been assessed with. This is due to the traditional methodologies and traditional assessment in use during their earlier education periods. As mentioned before, students in this group proved to be disciplined, motivated and eager to learn. They applied the same learning qualities towards the study and understanding of the tool, which in turn resulted in them properly understanding how to put their acquired knowledge of the language into practice. This is proved by the fact that in the pre-test only one student would have passed the written part, in the post-test thirteen of them successfully completed the task.

Globally, the students improved their results according to all the criteria referred to in the rubric. But in some criteria the improvement was more noticeable. The fact that the the *language* criterion was the one which received the best general mark in the pre-test and the lowest improvement in the post-test is the result of the traditional language teaching methodologies that these adult students had been exposed to. Students of this generation already know the grammar, or they can easily remember the rules. That is the reason why the improvement is not as significant. They were used to learning English grammar with a lot of tedious explanations and repetitive activities. They probably had memorized long lists of vocabulary translated into Spanish. But they were never given the opportunity to use the language communicatively, which is the ultimate goal of language learning. On the other hand, the criterion *Communicative achievement received* the lowest mark in the pre-test and saw the biggest improvement following the implementation of the strategy. The explanation of the rubric was very effective in improving the very skill these students had not been trained in, communication. We will discuss later that the Council of Europe stablishes that very same goal for all citizens in the CEFR.

The comparison of the results regarding these two criteria, *language* and *Communicative achievement,* should have direct pedagogical implications for the adult language classrooms. The methodologies used nowadays in language classrooms foster communication and performance. In this communicative language classrooms, grammar is taught in a way that we can define as inductive: learners are not presented with a list of grammatical rules that they have to learn by heart - contrary to what the students participating in this study had to do- but rather, the teacher provides them with examples from which the learners will have to infer the rules by themselves (López-Rama & Luque-Agulló, 2012). Younger generations should now be more familiar with this methodological model, but adult students are not. Therefore, adult language lessons should focus more on developing communicative strategies. The criterion *Organization* was also significantly improved. It focuses on the assessment of how the student puts together a piece of writing. Once students understood the formulaic structures of formal English texts, or were reminded of the elements that give any text cohesion and coherence, they were able to write more appropriate texts. Organization has to do with performance as well no so much with language knowledge. Adult language learners have certain linguistic skills, but what they lack is training in using it to communicate. While the knowledge and learning of grammar is very important, adult students are responsible enough to do that on their own though self-study. Activities in the adult foreign language classroom should present the students with realistic situations where they would have to use the language with a real purpose.

As Harmer (2007) pointed out, adult learners have two main qualities that work in favour of language learning: discipline and motivation. Adult learners are more motivated because they understand why they are learning and the also use that motivation in trying to understand how they are going to be assessed. It is true that they might have many disadvantages in the language learning process, such as the difficulty to achieve a good pronunciation, or their fear of being out of practice in taking formal exams. Nevertheless, results in the post-test proved that almost all or them were able to pass the exam. This is proof of their capability of knowing to use language to communicate effectively, which may be the result of their maturity and their eagerness to learn. In the case of this group of students, carefully attending their learning needs by helping them understand *how* they would be assessed can help them overcome some of the barriers they have.

The results proved that knowing and understanding the assessment tools lessens the anxiety of not being able to perform in a formal written examination. By allowing the students to examine the rubric to be used for the assessment of their writings, the fear of not being able to perform was significantly reduced. Once students understood what was expected of them, they were able to make better use of the knowledge they had from a communicative point of view. As it has been discussed here, the student's understanding of the rubrics helps to improve adult language learners' results. It is not meant here that this strategy works exclusively for adult language learners. Any language learner can definitely benefit from understanding how they are going to be assessed. What is argued here is that in this particular case this strategy has been effective due to their lack of previous experience with this type of assessment tools.

On the other hand, it must also be mentioned that this strategy should not only be effective for writing tasks. Performance rubrics are used for all four skills: listening, speaking, reading and writing. This study focused on writing, but there are other studies that focus on the use of rubrics for all skills. In fact, a future research on this topic should focus on adult language learners' assessment tools for all skills. This approach sheds some light on how to approach the promotion of plurilingualism, following the guidelines provided by the CEFR (Council of Europe, 2001) among adult learners. The CEFR encourages all citizens of the European Union, independently of their age, to become plurilingual:

the plurilingual approach emphasises the fact that as an individual person's experience of language in its cultural contexts expands, from the language of the home to that of society at large and then to the languages of other peoples (whether learnt at school or college, or by direct experience), he or she does not keep these languages and cultures in strictly separated mental compartments, but rather builds up a communicative competence to which all knowledge and experience of language contributes and in which languages interrelate and interact (Council of Europe, 2001, p. 6).

In the case of adult learners Spain, who have generally only been exposed to only one foreign language, they should receive support strategies in order to make plurilingualism more inclusive, so they can use them to communicate effectively. The strategy here discussed could serve an example of what can be done. By allowing the students to know the rubric which will be used for the assessment of their writings, significant better result may be obtained. This research provides evidence of the results and the improvement which can be clearly appreciated. It is undeniable that the use of rubrics is becoming a more common practice in our educational system, mainly boosted by the principles of communicative approach implemented during language lessons and the guidelines provided by the CEFR, which encourage the development of the four communicative skills: listening, speaking, reading and writing.

This case study on the use of rubrics tries to complement the previous ones because it contemplates the age factor as a significant variable. We acknowledge that the number of participants is certainly low, but the conclusions derived from it are in line with previous studies on the topic. It is nevertheless a preliminary study, as different skills as well as more students from diverse educational contexts will be taken into consideration in the future. More research is needed and encouraged in order to keep improving both the creation and design of rubrics. We believe that rubrics have to be considered language learning tools, not only assessment tools. Teachers should be encouraged to use them to engage students in their own learning, so they can improve and be aware of their strengths and weaknesses. Studies on the use of rubrics for the assessment of other skills besides writing could expand the benefits of using this type of assessment scales.

According to UNESCO (2005, p. 13), inclusive education is seen as "a process of addressing and responding to the diversity of needs of all learners through increasing participation in learning, cultures and communities, and reducing exclusion from education and from within education". UNESCO addresses the particular needs of children and specifies that it "involves changes and modifications in content, approaches, structures and strategies, with a common vision which covers all children of the appropriate age range" (2005, p. 13). We argue here that inclusive education also involves addressing the needs of adult students.

In the globalized world language teaching and learning must be inclusive in order to bridge the language gap that exists among different nations, people from social or economic backgrounds or even generations. The participants of this study were unemployed adult learners educated on a region where the teaching of foreign languages has not been effectively implemented for the last forty years. During General Franco's dictatorship in Spain (1935-75) the use of Galician language was prohibited. With the arrival of democracy, educational administrations placed all the efforts towards shifting the diglossic situation of Galician language with respect to Spanish. Because of that, during the 80s and 90s the presence of foreign language in the curriculum was very limited and the traditional methodologies used did not foster communication. UNESCO urges the educational community to find strategies that meet the needs of all students. As we have seen adult students have certain capabilities that younger ones do not, but also some disadvantages. Bearing this in mind, the authors of this study tried to find a strategy for the specific problem of these students. Even acknowledging that knowing the assessment tool can in some cases be understood as a weakness, it proved to be effective for the needs of the students. Inclusion implies making language learning more universal and accessible to all students, regardless of their educational needs, age or social background. Adult language learning can become accessible if adequate support is granted.

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KEY TERMS AND DEFINITIONS

Adult Learners: Students from the age of 18.

Analytic or Partial Rubrics: Two-dimensional rubrics with different criteria based on the student's level of mastery. In the analytical rubric, teachers will create a scale that rates the student's work, either with a quantitative value for each criterion (for example, 0-5) or with qualitative categories (for example: *Not Meeting Criteria, Needs Improvement, Satisfactory*, and/or *Exemplary).* They are normally written in a table form. Analytic rubrics are different from Holistic rubrics: The latter are one-dimensional rubrics with a single criteria used to assess students overall achievement on an activity or item based on predefined achievement levels.

Cambridge English Language Certificates: General English language certificates issued by Cambridge English that follow the level criteria from the CEFR. Currently, there are eleven certificates: Pre A1 Starters (YLE Starters); A1 Movers (YLE Movers); A2 Flyers (YLE Flyers); A2 Key for Schools (KET); A2 Key (KET); B1 Preliminary for Schools (PET); B1 Preliminary (PET); B2 First for Schools (FCE); B2 First (FCE); C1 Advanced (CAE); C2 Proficiency (CPE).

CEFR: Acronym for the Common European Framework for Languages. The CEFR was issued by the Council of Europe in order to provide guidance to describe achievements of learners of foreign languages across Europe. It categorises language performance according to different levels from lower to higher: A1/A2; B1/B2; C1/C2. It also provides guidance for language assessment.

Galicia: Bilingual region of Spain with two official languages, Spanish and Galician.

Inclusive Education: Process that ensures that each individual has an equal opportunity for educational progress.

Language Gap Bridging: Array of means or initiatives in order to make language learning a more inclusive activity by addressing the specific needs of people from diverse situations: regions, economic backgrounds, ages.

PET: Acronym for Preliminary Cambridge English test certificate (B1 level according to the CEFR). Adult students in this study aimed at obtaining this English language certificate.

Rubrics: Assessment tools which focus on performance, which can also be called Assessment Scales. There are two main types: analytic or partial rubrics, and holistic rubrics.

Chapter 11

Dealing With Language Gap in a Hungarian–English Early Childhood Classroom

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ABSTRACT

The term 'translanguaging' has been widespread in the field of Applied Linguistics in a short period of time, and just as quickly, it infiltrated in the field of Multilingual Education. Translanguaging is mostly seen as an opportunity to build on multilingual speakers' full language repertoire in the classroom in order to make sense of the world around them. At the same time, translanguaging might be seen as a threat for heritage language survival because heritage languages are forced to immerse in the mainstream language(s). The authors observed pedagogical translanguaging practices in the AraNY János Hungarian Kindergarten and School (USA) to understand how English was used in teaching the heritage language and to discover how bridging existing language gaps between speakers worked in the practices of bilingual pedagogues. The overarching aim of this study was to reveal some of the pedagogical translanguaging strategies used to deal with occurring language gaps.

INTRODUCTION

Traditionally, in the past, schools have followed a monolingual language policy of strict language separation in the school curriculum, by establishing clear boundaries between two or more languages to avoid cross-linguistic influence and code-switching, to protect and develop proficiency in minority languages. These ideologies of language separation have been highly criticised in recent years (Grosjean, 1985;

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Cook, 1999; Cummins, 2007; García, 2009; Creese and Blackledge, 2010; Li, 2011; Canagarajah, 2011; Gort, 2018) and are outdated in terms of multilingual education. A new paradigm has been taking shape due to today's fast-changing world as a result of globalization, ubiquitous technology use, and worldwide immigration. Instead of separating language systems from one another, there is a trend towards two or more languages to co-exist in the multilingual classroom (García, 2009; Canagarajah, 2011; Cenoz and Gorter, 2011, 2015). Although it is a natural linguistic phenomenon for emergent bilingual speakers to use all their language systems or language repertoires to communicate and make-meaning of the academic content (García & Wei, 2014; Paulsrud et al., 2015; García & Kleyn, 2016; Golubeva & Csillik, 2018), it is still a challenging task for pedagogues working in multilingual classrooms (Csillik, 2019b). The integration of different elements from different languages is not easily accepted neither by the field of Applied Linguistics, nor by the wider society. It is still associated with the incompetency of the language speaker who lacks a linguistic code in one language and borrows this code from another language. Some might see it as a "divergent linguistic phenomenon" that deviates from the "standard academic language" or from the socially accepted norm in language education. In spite of all these, translanguaging (García & Wei, 2014; Cenoz & Gorter, 2015, Paulsrud et al., 2015; García & Kleyn, 2016; García et al., 2017; Gort, 2018; Rabbidge, 2019) is one of the widely used concepts associated with this new trend in multilingual education. The authors previously introduced translanguaging (Csillik & Golubeva, 2019b, p. 170) as "the act of using different languages interchangeably, in order to overcome language constraints, to deliver verbal utterances or written statements effectively, and, to ultimately achieve successful communication".

Encouraging students to translanguage with their language learning peers and teachers helps multilingual students to claim some ownership in the educational process, show complete understanding of the subject area, and express individuality in shaping their identity to belong to a social minority group (Golubeva & Csillik, 2018; Csillik & Golubeva, 2019a; Csillik, 2019a in press).

Not only language learners can use translanguaging in the classroom, but also the teachers of the multilingual/multicultural setting (García et al., 2017; García & Kleyn, 2016; Paulsrud et al., 2017). By using translanguaging practices in the multilingual/multicultural classroom, teachers make students feel comfortable and welcomed while increasing the students' social-emotional well-being at the same time. Furthermore, it promotes diversity and ensures inclusion in school settings. This is especially beneficial in the case of first-generation immigrant students who are transitioning from one culture to another in a very short period of time, and by providing translanguaging practices they can easily find a close link to "home", which is extremely comforting at first in an environment where they might experience a 'cultural shock' at first (Golubeva & Csillik, 2018; Csillik & Golubeva, 2019a; Csillik, 2019a in press), or sometimes even a sense of identity loss.

The analysis of the recent scholarly papers on this new translanguaging phenomena (Csillik & Golubeva, 2019b) showed that the research in this area has mostly been dedicated to study the social and psycholinguistic aspects of 'languaging' or 'code-switching', and less is done in the fields of Foreign /Minority Language Pedagogy or Heritage Language Transmission and Maintenance. The linguistic terms, language "transmission" and "maintenance", were first used by Fishman (1991) separating passing on the heritage language to young children (language transmission) and maintaining the heritage language among adolescents and young adults after transmitting the heritage language. It is unequivocal that more should be done in investigating the multilingual classroom settings from this aspect as well.

In this chapter, the authors discuss some of the pedagogical translanguaging practices they observed in a Hungarian-English bilingual immersion pre-school classroom in the AraNY János Hungarian Kindergarten and School in New York City (USA) where they previously researched on translanguaging practices in a multilingual classroom to identify student-led and teacher-led translanguaging practices (Golubeva & Csillik, 2018). This time the authors studied the phenomenon of translanguaging in an immersion Hungarian-English bilingual program to understand how bridging existing language gaps between Hungarian (L1) speakers learning English (L2), Hungarian-English fluent bilinguals, and English (L1) speakers learning Hungarian (L2) works in practice.

Furthermore, the authors will discuss that the selection of pedagogical translanguaging strategies depend on the attitude and belief of the Hungarian-English bilingual pedagogues that can further influence the linguistic strength between Hungarian being a weaker (target) language and English being a stronger (mainstream/dominant) language or vice versa in immersion programs.

BACKGROUND

The Dynamics of Heritage Languages

Due to socio-economic and socio-political reasons the status of low-incidence heritage languages (e.g. Hungarian) in the United States is vulnerable and the possibilities for promoting the learning of such minority languages as a foreign language in the public-school systems is less desired compared to other high-incidence heritage languages (e.g. Spanish, Chinese or Arabic). It mostly depends on the speaker or the minority group's effort and motivation how these low-incidence languages can survive. Fishman's publications (1966a, 1966b, 1985b) on ethnic minority language maintenance and language shift before the Millennium have shed light on the ignorance and negligence of the American society and government toward the perseverance of non-English languages of its immigrant and native populations. Until recent years, low-incidence languages have had a peripheral place not only in the American society, but also in its multilingual classrooms. Perhaps, they were exposed to a slow decadence in the number of speakers, or worst, this decline might even have led to an irreversible language loss these low-incidence minority language groups might have suffered over time.

Here are the ten most commonly reported home languages of multilingual learners (MLL) in the United States of America according to the National Center for Education Statistics (2018) [1]: Spanish was the home language of 3.79 million MLLs (76.6%), Arabic of 129,386 MLLs (2.6%), Chinese of 104,147 (2.1%) speakers, and Vietnamese of 78,732 (1.6%) MLLs. English was the fifth most common home language for 70,014 (1.4%) MLLs who live in multilingual households or was adopted from other countries who were raised speaking another language but currently live in households where English is spoken primarily. Somali of 38,440 speakers (0.8%), Russian of 34,843 speakers (0.7%), Hmong of 33,059 speakers (0.7%), Haitian/Haitian Creole of 31,608 speakers (0.6%), and Portuguese of 28,214 speakers (0.6%) were the next most commonly reported home languages of MLLs in the fall of 2016.

In New York City during the 2016-17 school year the following top ten home languages were reported in bilingual and multilingual classrooms by the Division of English Language Learners and Student Support of the Department of Education in New York City[2]: Spanish was the home language of 27,666 MLLs (65.7%), which is four times as many as Chinese, the home language of 4,803 MLLs (11.4%), followed by Arabic of 2,351 MLLs (5.6%), Bengali of 1,679 MLLs (3,9%), Haitian/Haitian Creole of

786 MLLs (1.9%), Urdu of 773 MLLs (1.8%) and Russian of 749 MLLs (1.8%). The next most commonly reported home languages were Uzbek of 499 students (1.2%), French of 429 students (1%) and Punjabi of 213 students (0.5%), meanwhile 112 other languages remained unidentified and counted as one group of 2,124 MLLs (5.05%).

As we can see from the data presented above, the first three most commonly spoken heritage languages nationwide in the U. S. and citywide in the public schools of New York City are: Spanish, Chinese and Arabic. Hungarian is not mentioned as a significant heritage language either nationwide or citywide. So, how can such a low-incidence heritage minority language (e.g. Hungarian) survive in the "jungle" of languages found in multilingual classrooms across the United States?

It is not surprising that transmitting a low-incidence heritage language (e.g. Hungarian) in the United States, precisely in New York City, is challenging and an adventure on its own. The maintenance of a low-incidence heritage language is not just a transfer of language and literacy skills from one generation to the next, but it is rather a matter of transferring and instilling a love and admiration of one's cultural heritage in the form of the mother tongue. It is an unfamiliar process for the children of immigrants who are trying to make a bond to a low-incidence heritage language belonging to a distant land that some of them have never seen and may not be able to see ever, or any time soon. The secret to the vitality of a low-incidence heritage language through the generations is to learn to appreciate what it means to belong to a particular minority group. It is the transfer of cherished memories and heritage and the hopes of its survival in future generations.

Heritage language transmission and maintenance have been a struggle for many immigrant families, especially for the first and second generations (Nesteruk, 2010). First and second-generation children are growing up in environments that are foreign both to themselves, due to their relatively young age, and to their parents. The severity of the situation is even more intensified when children are born in mixed-marriage families. Ideally, heritage language speakers' parents reserve using the low-incidence heritage language when communicating with their children in order to feel that they still relate to the "home" through their first language (heritage language), but this is not always the case in these families. It often happens that the usage of the heritage language is not carried over to the offspring due to family dynamics that the parents of the child(ren) prefer the mainstream (dominant) language for communication in the household. Meanwhile, caregivers' attitudes towards the mainstream and heritage languages vary from household to household, it still considered to be the one of the strongest factors of heritage language transmission and maintenance (Nesteruk, 2010).

Each heritage language family has their own possible alternative to tackle language and cultural learning related questions and issues. One possible alternative that first and second-generation immigrants choose to cope in the host country is a rapid acceptance, adaptation and integration (Shaules, 2007) into the new culture where the dominant language, English, is spoken in the mainstream society. Acculturation involves the learning of the mainstream society's language and norms as soon as possible leaving behind their native language. Let's see how language transmission changes over generations. Members of the first generation go through instrumental acculturation; they speak some English but preferring to use their heritage (native) language at home. Members of the second generation speak English in school and with friends, and increasingly answer in English at home, however, they become limited bilinguals whose language of choice is English most of the time. Members of the third generation are most likely to lose the remains' of the first generation's native language due to the lack of support for it at home and in the host society (Nesteruk, 2010).

Many times the assimilation "learning process of both generations is embedded in a co-ethnic community of sufficient size and institutional diversity to slow down the cultural shift and promote partial retention of the parents' home language and norms" (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001, pp. 53-54). Another possible alternative immigrant families might choose is to live in isolation to preserve the heritage language and culture. The denial of the new culture and its influence to push the mainstream language on the heritage language to ultimately defend the minority group's heritage language and culture (Shaules, 2007) is not rare amongst first generation immigrant families. Combined institutional supports and ethnic social networks increase the probability of balanced bilingualism in the second generation (Chumak-Horbatsch, 1999). Those immigrants in the United States who have an extensive social network, have frequent opportunities to use their heritage language in the minority group, consequently, have a better chance of maintaining their heritage language even though their children tend to use English with each other (Nesteruk, 2010).

Heritage Language Schools in the United States

Heritage language schools are community-based schools, formed voluntarily and work on its own without any governmental funds from the host country to maintain the minority group's language and culture. In most cases they use compulsory government-prescribed curriculum and government-certified textbooks from the home country (Doerr & Lee, 2009). Their aim is not only to teach language but also to develop the proficiency and use of reading and writing in the heritage language. In these heritage language schools the limitations are countless: limited number of students, limited number of skilled pedagogues, limited time, space, and resources for instruction, and limited financial resources. Their budget depends on low tuition fees, collected donations, raised funds, or funds coming from tenders from the home country. Due to the extreme limitations that heritage language schools face classes are formed by immersing minority students with different language backgrounds, therefore, different language repertoires get in contact with each other.

In low-incidence heritage language immersion programs where the heritage language is the target language, it occurs regularly that L1 speakers are mixed together with L2 speakers based on their age and not their linguistic competence (Hickey, 2001) as a result of low numbers of attendees and their wide dispersal in the host country. However, the mixing of native heritage language speakers (L1) with heritage language learning English speakers (L2) in an immersion program offers both an opportunity and a challenge for all participants. While providing an opportunity for L2 learners to interact with native heritage language speakers (L1), it presents a challenge to pedagogues have to support and enrich the L1 language skills of the native speakers in a situation of language contact. Also, Hickey (2001) found that the linguistic composition of immersion programs significantly affects the frequency of heritage language usage by the L1 speakers and the bilingual speakers. However, it has less effect on the use by English (L2) speakers compared to their L1 speaking counterparts.

Bilingual or two-way immersion programs in the United States are in huge popularity since they provide interaction between L2 and L1 speakers by including both the dominant and heritage languages. Instruction through each of the two languages may be divided up to 90% in the heritage language and 10% in the dominant language. For heritage language speaking children, a speedy acquisition of English is expected compared to the dominant language speaking children whose any attempt of the heritage language is admired. Wong Fillmore (1991) discussed this problem of heritage language speakers L1 being gradually eroded as a consequence of learning English. She suggested to provide the development of mother tongue skills in early education programs before introducing English to these students. Jones (1991) observed that when primary school L1 speakers of Welsh were mixed with L2 learners, the Welsh speakers tended to accommodate to the interlanguage of the learners, rather than the L2 learners adapting to the norms of the L1 speakers. L1 minority students tended to be more motivated to acquire and switch to the higher status language than the L2 learners (struggling with their low-level competence in the lower status target language) were to learn the target language.

New Trends in Multilingual Education[3]: 'Translanguaging' as a Pedagogy

Multilinguals' ability to use multiple languages in one linguistic context is quite fascinating and only those can understand this phenomenon who can fully relate to it. Meanwhile, bilinguals share this cross-linguistic ability to step 'in-and-out' of two languages since they can never shut the L1 out in the brain while learning the L2, the degree of this behaviour depends on the speakers. They choose when and where they want to step in or out of a language and slip into another. However, this individual choice has its own limits in the language learning classroom. Baker (1997) noted that in reality the teacher and the other students influence the choice of the bilingual speakers' translanguaging practices in the classroom.

Translanguaging as a bilingual pedagogy began in the 1980s in the Welsh education system to empower the Welsh minority language against the coercive power of English. Since then, translanguaging was used as a pedagogy to describe what is happening in different translanguaging settings coming from interviews and observational data rather than detailed analyses of this interactional data (Conteh, 2018).

In a traditional way, translanguaging pedagogy is based on alternating the languages used for input and output in a systematic way (Lewis, Jones, & Baker; 2012a) to provide scaffolding and support for language learners. When language speakers are more advanced in their linguistic competence (Lewis, Jones, & Baker; 2012b) to use their languages together or separately this scaffold can be removed.

Translanguaging is also used in the multilingual classroom to increase comprehension in the context of other heritage languages (Cenoz & Gorter, 2017). Examples are reported by Lowman *et al.* (2007) in the case of English students learning Māori and by Llurda, Cots & Armengol (2013) in the case of Catalan students learning English. In both cases students' comprehension increased when they were allowed to use their first or heritage language.

The term nowadays is researched from multiple aspects but the focus of this chapter is to highlight its pedagogical translanguaging aspect. Pedagogical translanguaging or classroom translanguaging refers to instructional strategies that integrate two or more languages in the multilingual classroom. Cenoz and Gorter (2017) call it a "bi/multilingual usage in naturally occurring contexts where boundaries between languages are fluid and constantly shifting" (p. 904). They also referred to it as a "planned alternation of the languages for input and output combined with other pedagogical strategies that go across languages" (Cenoz & Gorter, 2017, p. 904).

Translanguaging in a classroom where one or more low-incidence language(s) is/are present can be beneficial since these languages are vulnerable and are constantly fighting for survival. Otheguy, García, and Reid (2015, p. 283) explain it well: "Translanguaging, then, as we shall see, provides a smoother conceptual path than previous approaches to the goal of protecting minoritized communities, their languages, and their learners and schools."

Translanguaging provides an opportunity to heritage language speakers to speak freely in a society where the dominant language is spoken and even if they insert language codes from a heritage language into the dominant language or vice versa, still, their language is being present, and their voices are being heard. The idea that the heritage language can be used freely was mentioned by Fishman (1991, p. 59) as a "*breathing space*" and the idea is that the low-incidence heritage language can 'breathe' in the school, in a space where only the heritage language is spoken. This way translanguaging stands for a way of language protection and preservation of low-incidence languages in the classroom. In the past it was easy to fulfil the idea of 'breathing spaces' because heritage languages mostly stayed in isolation and had no influence of other languages on them. But, in today's globalized world, isolation is not the case. It is challenging to create these "separate spaces" in which the minority language does not compete with the majority language (García, 2009). García and Wei (2014) posits the idea of "*translanguaging spaces*" since learning does not just take place 'in the mind', it is constructed in the spaces afforded by the particular social and cultural practices in which learners and teachers engage. In these safe spaces language learners can thrive (Conteh & Brock, 2010).

In the case of translanguaging in heritage language schools there is a biased pedagogical attitude. Some pedagogues are in favour of spontaneous translanguaging; yet, many of the pedagogues are against it. Those who see it with a negative attitude claim that the quality of the heritage language is jeopardized. As Jørgensen (2005, p. 393) points out "teachers and parents who favour bilingualism often think that children should speak both languages 'purely', without traces of the other language they know." At the same time, translanguaging takes place mostly when the multilingual speaker uses the low-incidence language and brings in the mainstream language in his/her way of communication and not the other way around. Even if it is possible to use primarily the mainstream language for communication, it hardly ever happens that the low-incidence language is brought into the dominant language (Hickey, 2001).

It is also important to mention that the attitudes of pedagogues towards translanguaging also depend on the status of the heritage language in a given mainstream society. For instance, the situation of translanguaging in the case of Spanish-English bilingual speakers in the United States, whereas Spanish is considered a high-incidence heritage language, is different from the situation of translanguaging in the case of Hungarian-English bilingual speakers, whereas Hungarian is seen as a low-incidence heritage language. From this perspective, it is more likely that the Spanish-English speakers in the United States use translanguaging with a more positive attitude, as a form of empowerment, with the hope that Spanish eventually will become the dominant language. Also, it is less likely that the Hungarian-English speaker in the United States use translanguaging with a more positive attitude since in this case the bilingual speaker is aware that Hungarian will never gain such a status that it would become dominant in the United States. Therefore, the authors hypothesis is that it is more likely that pedagogues in a low-incidence heritage language school (e.g. Hungarian heritage school) will opt for a negative attitude towards translanguaging and further towards using pedagogical translanguaging strategies.

Bridging the Language Gap

The authors of this chapter define language gap as a communication gap between L1 monolingual speakers learning L2 and L2 monolingual speakers learning L1. In their conversation they lack an understanding of each other due to a deficit in shared vocabulary or a difference in their intercultural understanding. It is possible that language gaps occur during the communication of multilingual speakers in multilingual settings (e.g. bilingual immersion program) as well where the mutual understanding of the people involved in the communication is missing. Multilingual speakers face these language gaps for two reasons. On one hand, language gaps take place when the multilingual speakers' linguistic competency and previous experiences with the languages involved in the communication differ from one another (e.g. missing vocabulary or lexical gap), or, on the other hand, when the cultural identity (values, habits, attitudes, beliefs, etc.) of the speakers are distinct from each other (e.g. missing cultural terms or cultural gap). Meanwhile, language speakers might be able to come up with strategies on their own to remedy lexical gaps during communication, finding solutions for cultural gaps is a more complex and a slow process that often requires help from someone else who is more familiar with the cultural differences behind both languages, from an intercultural mediator.

There are several strategies that language speakers use when they come across a lexical gap during communication (Munday, 2001; Jannsen, 2004; House, 2009; Darwish, 2010; Shabanirad, 2011). For example, the following list of strategies remedy the interrupted flow of communication in the case of a lexical gap: (1) *adaptation* to adjust to the language before it becomes fully intelligible, (2) *lexical borrowing* to adapt a word from one language to use it in another, (3) *calque* (loan translation) to borrow a word or a phrase from another language while translating its components and create a new lexeme in the target language, (4) *compensation* to recreate a similar effect to the one missing in the target language through means that are specific to the target language (e.g. guessing the meaning, using gestures), (5) *omission* to leave out one or more words from a clause that are nevertheless understood in the context of the remaining speech, (6) *description* to describe the missing word or phrase in the other language, (7) *equivalence* to carry the meaning or the idea from one language to another (yet it is difficult to find a corresponding word for every word in two languages), (8) *explication* to unfold or make clear the meaning, (9) *generalization* to translate a word or phrase from one language into a broader and more general term in other language, (10) *literal translation* or word-to-word translation, (11) *modulation* to use a phrase that is different in the source and target language to convey the same idea, (12) *particularization* to translate a word or phrase from one language into a narrower and more particular term in another language, (13) *substitution* to replace from one language to another without changing the meaning of the missing part, (14) *transposition* to change the sequence of words in one language to another since grammatical structures are often different in different languages, and (15) *variation* to vary pronunciation (accent), word choice (lexicon), or morphology and syntax (grammar) from one language to another since the same can be said in various ways.

Language and culture are so intimately related in the sense that the latter is part of the former, which is why "a particular language is the mirror of a particular culture" as Wei (2005, p. 56) stated previously. In this sense, multilingual learners by learning the target language are also learning the culture the target language is associated with (Csillik, 2019b). However, it is a simultaneous, long-lasting process, in which acquiring cultural competence goes beyond reaching language proficiency (Nieto, 2010; Liddicoat *et al.,* 2003; Kramsch, 2006; Byram *et al*., 2002). In this learning process multilingual learners may find that many cultural terms that exist in one language may not exist in another language. Katan (2012) classifies six categories where language learners can find lexemes that are ambivalent between cultures or are not existing: (1) environment (e.g. physical environment, ideological environment, space, climate, temporal setting, clothing, and food), (2) behaviour (e.g. greeting habits, eye-contact, eating habits), (3) capabilities, strategies and skills used to communicate (e.g. rituals, non-verbal communication, tone of voice, pitch of voice), (4) values, (5) beliefs (e.g. proverbs), and (6) identity.

Finding strategies to bridge cultural differences is not as easy as we might think due to the cultural sensitivity of the speakers. It takes a great amount of open-mindedness to mind-shift; increased cognitive empathy to learn the values, customs, belief, attitudes of other cultures, and overall to adapt the way how people think and behave according to the norms of a new culture. This cultural learning eventually leads to shifting one's cultural identity and developing multiple cultural identities. The authors strongly believe that it is not only possible to adapt multiple cultural identities, but also to create one comprehensive cultural identity that contains elements from all the cultural identities the language learner has ever encountered. As it is possible to come 'in and out' of multiple languages when multilingual leaners translanguage (García & Wei, 2014), the authors believe that it is also possible to come 'in and out' of cultural identities when multilingual learners translanguage. In this sense, multicultural students are shaped like a chameleon who can adapt to their surroundings and switch between their cultural identities to blend into different cultural contexts. Thus, the 'cultural code-switching', as Shaules (2007, p. 220) calls it, often makes multicultural students question their own identity to the point where they need to resolve the conflict of not having a stable sense of the self because of the too many shifting between multiple social and cultural frameworks. When language learners are very young, they are unable to understand these cultural differences and shifts. It is also difficult for them to face the cultural adaptation challenges; therefore, they heavily rely on their parents and teachers to help them bridge the cultural gaps they encounter.

In multilingual classes the role of the pedagogues is key in helping multilingual learners facing the language gaps mentioned above. They are not only two-way interpreters (they insure the accurate and complete flow of communication) and clarifiers (they ensure resolution of any confusion or miscommunication due to the syntax and vocabulary usage of the speaker), but also, they are cultural brokers or mediators between cultures (they share and exchange cultural information to ensure clear communication between speakers). Their role requires extremely high tolerance for differences, understanding for the relativity of values (no culture's values are better or worse than others), and expertise in cultural knowledge and language proficiency.

MAIN FOCUS OF THE CHAPTER

This chapter aims to explore more profoundly the pedagogical translanguaging practices used in a Hungarian-English bilingual immersion pre-school class by three Hungarian-English bilingual pedagogues. The main goal of this research is to understand how teachers can help to bridge existing language gaps between Hungarian (L1) speakers learning English (L2), Hungarian-English fluent bilinguals, and English (L1) speakers learning Hungarian (L2). The authors report on the case of low-incidence heritage language-and-culture teaching in the AraNY János Hungarian Kindergarten and School in New York City (USA).[4] Furthermore, the attitudes and beliefs of the three Hungarian-English bilingual pedagogues possibly influencing the outcome of this research will be under discussion as well.

Issues, Controversies, Problems

As previously introduced in this chapter, low-incidence heritage language schools (e.g. the AraNY János Hungarian Kindergarten and School in New York City) face several limitations as a result of their peripheral status in the mainstream society. Not enough governmental funds are dedicated to the maintenance of such low-incidence heritage language as Hungarian is in the United States, where the socio-economic and socio-political interest of the United States dictates a quick assimilation into the American culture for members of the Hungarian ethnic group.

The Hungarian community's best option to transmit and maintain their heritage language, culture and the Hungarian identity is to survive on its own, either alone in the family, or by their children attending Hungarian heritage language schools on the weekends, or by the two closely working together. However, there is a tendency that Hungarian descendent families move in separate directions from one another, which makes it difficult to find connections to such communities.

Creating translanguaging spaces in heritage language schools can be an opportunity for the Hungarian language to survive, but also a challenge. An opportunity for the Hungarian language to be heard and used, to be vivid, but also, by constantly being exposed to the majority language of the mainstream society, to be taken over.

Due to the peripheral, low-incidence aspect of the Hungarian language; the different efforts and attitudes of the parents towards language transmission and maintenance in the family, Hungarian descendant children come to the Hungarian heritage language school with very different linguistic competence and experiences hoping that the school will teach the Hungarian language and familiarize its culture with the children.

It is common that language gaps (both lexical and cultural) occur in immersion programs between target language native speakers, speakers who learn the target language as their second language, and fluent bilingual speakers. Working with so many children with different educational and language backgrounds prior to enrolling in the heritage language school, the pedagogues working in these settings face a challenging task. They can only deal with these challenges successfully if they implement pedagogical language practices (e.g. pedagogical translanguaging strategies) that equally help fluent bilinguals, heritage first-, and second language learners at the same time.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The method applied to study the pedagogical translanguaging practices in the Hungarian-English bilingual immersion pre-school class in the AraNY János Hungarian Kindergarten and School in New York City (USA) was classroom observation as part of the method of triangulation.

At this time the authors present only a part of their broader longitudinal research that was taken place for two years in the above-mentioned heritage language school. The authors have already reported some of their findings previously (Golubeva & Csillik, 2018), however, this research profoundly added to their previous findings about translanguaging. To ensure the validity and reliability of this study, the authors also conducted a questionnaire with parents to gain background information on the students and the families' attitudes towards their low-incidence heritage language preservation, and interviews with the teachers after each observations to gain an insight and feedback on the pedagogical translanguaging practices they chose to apply in the classroom.

Classroom observations were planned from December 2017 till May 2018. In total, thirteen observation sessions were conducted after obtaining the consents of school administration, teachers and children's parents. The data collected throughout the second half of the school year were later transcribed for further analysis and categorization. Data included the verbal utterances of the participants (students and teachers) in any of the languages spoken (Hungarian, English) in the classroom. Since the authors fluently speak both languages, no problems were encountered during the process of transcription of the spoken interactions. For the purpose of this chapter, the authors only looked at 29,013 words for analysis that came from the first seven classroom observations.

It is important to emphasize that the authors changed the names of the participants in the later transcribed data, they used fictitious names instead of the real names of the participants, this way the participants' identity will stay anonymous and unrevealed.

Context of Research

The AraNY János Hungarian Kindergarten and School is a melting pot for first, second and third generation of Hungarian immigrant families in the New York City urban and suburban areas. Many of the children attending this heritage language school come from mixed-marriage families where English is the dominant home language next to other languages spoken in the family like Spanish, Mandarin, and Vietnamese. Some children also learn a third or fourth language such as Spanish or Russian from extended relatives or from their nannies by the time they arrive at the school. The students have different Hungarian language skills and proficiency levels. Some children were born in the US and some came from various parts of the world including Hungary; however, all children are in the process of forming their Hungarian social and cultural identities (Golubeva & Csillik, 2018).

Students can start as early as from birth to 3 years old in the Bóbita Hungarian Play Group. The aim of this very early group is to develop children's Hungarian language skills. The program requires the active participation of the parents while the children learn Hungarian games, nursery rhymes and children's songs. Students can continue in the Nursery, Preschool, and Kindergarten programs between the ages of 3 to 6 following the Montessori Method that is quite popular in Hungary. In these early childhood years, it is beneficial for students to learn through sensory-motor activities, working with materials that develop their cognitive powers through direct experience: seeing, hearing, tasting, smelling, touching, and movement through Hungarian Folk Dance classes. In these groups children spend up to 3 hours weekly with two certified teachers and a teacher helper to develop social and communication skills while learning about the Hungarian culture and traditions (stories, songs, games, arts-and-crafts, etc.) (Golubeva & Csillik, 2018).

Later on, from the age of 6 till the age of 18 students can continue their studies in the Elementary, Middle, and High School as part of the Hungarian Scouts Association in New York City. The primary goal of these schools is to develop students' fluency in reading and writing in Hungarian; as well as to teach basic historical and geographical knowledge of the Republic of Hungary and the Carpathian Basin. The students use a variety of materials that include textbooks and workbooks published for the public schools in Hungary (e.g. Apáczai Kiadó). Other resources are learning materials that were developed by the Balassi Institute for learners of Hungarian as a heritage language and publications on Hungarian Heritage Studies edited and published by the Hungarian Scouts Association in Exteris (Golubeva & Csillik 2018).

The school's goal goes further beyond to just educating Hungarian descendent second and third generation immigrant children in New York City to help them preserve the Hungarian heritage language and culture. In this welcoming environment, students, parents, and teachers make true, lifelong friendships far from the mother land. Thus, the school serves not only as a learning center for young Hungarian speakers but for many as an adopted family where they belong to in the New York City area (Golubeva & Csillik, 2018).

Participants

Participants of the study attended the AraNY János Hungarian Kindergarten and School in New York City (USA) once a week for four hours on Saturday mornings. The participants of the study were pre-schoolers in the "Katica Csoport" (Ladybug Group) between the ages of 2.5 and 4. Ten children were enrolled in the "Katica Csoport" for the 2017-2018 school year. Nine participants attended the school from New York: three from Manhattan, two from Queens, four from in Brooklyn; and one participant commuted from Connecticut. Since only three participants lived in Manhattan where the school is situated, it is undoubtable that due to the long commute in the extreme weather conditions during the wintertime affected the attendance of the children.

Most children came from mixed marriage families where either the father or the mother identified themselves as Hungarian descendent, first or second-generation immigrants, marrying either an English native speaker, an English-Spanish, or English-Russian bilingual speaker. Only one child came from a household where both parents were first generation Hungarian native speakers.

Five participants had English as their dominant language (L1), learning Hungarian as their second language (L2) to preserve their Hungarian family heritage; four participants had no dominant language since they equally were fluent in English and in Hungarian, they are considered true Hungarian-English bilinguals. One of these four participants was confidently using three languages with different speakers, such as Hungarian, English, and Russian. Only one participant had Hungarian (L1) as a dominant language learning English as a second language (L2) since both parents were Hungarians and they only used Hungarian in the home.

All children were born in the USA. Out of the ten participants, three participants had older siblings also enrolled in the AraNY János Hungarian Kindergarten and School, one participant had a younger and a new-born sibling at home, and six participants had no other siblings. All participants attended the AraNY János Hungarian Kindergarten and School for the first time this year. One participant was a newcomer who was enrolled on a trial basis.

Many of students had no early literacy skills in English or in Hungarian. In New York City, universal pre-K is mandatory to attend and only has been established since 2015 for 4-year-olds. However, the children in this group have not yet turned 4-years-old by the beginning of the school year therefore they were not registered in an English-only pre-Kindergarten program at the time. Only three children were able to write their names without mistakes in Hungarian or in English learned from older siblings.

The "Katica Csoport" was run by two Hungarian-English bilingual pre-school teachers. Both teachers were first generation Hungarian immigrants graduated as nursery teachers in Hungary but had been living in New York City over thirteen years, therefore both teachers fluently spoke English. One of the teachers also had some Russian heritage language skills as her third language. Their practices were fundamentally child-centred, which meant that they all sought to use any appropriate means to meet the language needs of the children to support them in their language learning process, they used the translanguaging approach multiple times throughout the observations to comfort students and bridge language gaps during conversations.

DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

Translanguaging was observed between all participants in the following occasions: (1) constructive play: colouring/drawing, arts-and-craft (e.g. making mother's day card, making a porcupine/snowman, making a carnival mask), Play Dough, blocks; (2) games with rules: colour games, animal identification play, instrument game, etc. (3) make-believe play: acting out television/cartoon characters (e.g. The Turk and the Cows), (4) circle time: planting beans, making a bird-feeder, painting a rainbow, learning songs and poems, counting activities, (5) story time (e.g. Eric Carle: The Very Hungry Caterpillar), and (6) snack time.

The data revealed multiple pedagogical translanguaging practice that the three Hungarian-English bilingual pedagogues used in this Hungarian-English immersion pre-school class to help to bridge existing language gaps between Hungarian (L1) speakers learning English (L2), Hungarian-English bilinguals, and English (L1) speakers learning Hungarian (L2) or even amongst themselves. Let's see some of these pedagogical translanguaging practices as examples how they helped the speakers bridge occurring language gaps in their conversations.

In the first example (Table 1) the teacher used the children's background knowledge to come across and tackle the language gap (e.g. "What colour are the stars usually when we look up the sky? How do they shine? In what colour?"). The Hungarian-English bilingual child right away said its Hungarian name "kék" [keik] while the Hungarian (L1) speakers learning English (L2) said its English name "blue" and later repeated it in the L1 "kék". The English (L1) speaker learning Hungarian (L2) used intersentential code-switching and said, "I can say "kík" [ki:k]." with an English accent on the Hungarian word "kék". The teacher also used multiple guided questions (e.g. "Are the stars shining blue on you, Princess?", "What's dad's favourite colour?", "And how do we say that in Hungarian?") to teach the word "kék"/"blue".

The following example (Table 2) shows how teachers help to fill up the cultural gap since the animal children were making is very different in the Hungarian and American culture. The animal in question is referred as "sündisznó"/"hedgehog" in Hungarian, but "porcupine" in English which means "tarajos sül" in Hungarian. The porcupine and hedgehog are prickly mammals. They are often confused because they both have sharp, needle-like quills on their body. However, that's about the only similarity between

Table 1. Free time drawing/coloring (January 20, 2018)

Transcription	Authors' Translation
Alma: Mi van Domokos, min gondolkozol, hogy milyen színű legyen a …? A csillagok milyen színűek általában amikor felnézünk az égre? Hogy ragyognak? Milyen színben? **Lina:** Kék. **Alma:** Kékben ragyognak neked a csillagok, Királykisasszony? Amikor mész haza este, Apával nézzétek meg a csillagokat. Szépen színeztél, Gina, nagyon ügyes vagy. Mi Apának a kedvenc színe? **Domokos:** *Blue.* **Alma:** És azt hogy mondjuk magyarul? **Lina:** Kék. **Domokos:** Kék. **Gina:** *I can say* "kík". [5] **Alma:** Úgy mondjuk, hogy "kék".	**Alma:** What's up, Domokos, what are you thinking of? What colour should be the …? What colour are the stars usually when we look up on the sky? How do they shine? In what colour? **Lina:** Blue. **Alma:** Are the stars shining blue on you, Princess? When you go home tonight, look at the stars with your dad. You did colour nicely, Gina, you're very clever. What's dad's favourite colour? **Domokos:** *Blue.* **Alma:** And how do we say that in Hungarian? **Lina:** Blue. **Domokos:** Blue. **Gina:** *I can say* "[ki:k]". **Alma:** We say that as "[keik]".

Source: (Own elaboration)

the two animals. The gap between these two occurs due to the differences in their physical features and their habitat that results in a cultural gap. A Hungarian (L1) child might have never seen a porcupine since only hedgehogs live in Hungary but the English (L1) child might have seen both animals but unaware that porcupines do not live in the territory of Hungary. The teachers help the students bridge this cultural gap by using explication of where the animal lives and how it looks like (e.g. "That is a porcupine that has huge quills.", "This is a porcupine. It's a kind of American porcupine who has a huge…."). One of the teachers also come across a lexical gap not knowing the English equivalent of "tüske"/"quill", but the other teacher helped her out bridging this gap by offering linguistic borrowing (e.g. "It has quills.").

The next example (Table 3) shows how teachers' belief and attitude alter from one another in relation to identifying a language gap and in the way how they offer different alternatives to tackle it. The difference in the strategy of handling the language gap between the two teachers came from the difference in what each one of them saw as a gap. One teacher offered to use the Hungarian words, "kirakó" (n) and "kirakózni" (v), in the conversation while the other teacher relied on the loanword, "puzzle" (n), and used "puzzle"-*ozni* (v) as a calque adding the English word a Hungarian suffix. Regardless that the Hungarian word was available for the teacher to use it since the other teacher brought it into the conversation, the teacher kept the loanword and calque due to the fact that the word "puzzle" has become well-known in Hungarian and accepted socially.

Table 2. Instruction time: Making a porcupine from apples and spaghetti (January 20, 2018)

Transcription	Authors' Translation
Lina: Nézd, nézd. Disznó, ez disznó. **Evelyn:** Az mi? **Alma:** Hallottad mit mondott? Azt mondta, "Az mi?" **Ilona:** Az egy sündisznó, aminek nagy a tüskéje. **Alma:** Ez egy *porcupine*. Ez egy amerikai fajta sündisznó amelyiknek ilyen nagy a… **Ilona:** Tüskéje van neki. Nagyon ügyesek vagytok ma. **Gina:** *Spaghetti. Spaghetti.* **(…)** **Gina:** *Porcupine. Looks like a Christmas tree*. **Alma:** Tényleg úgy néz ki, mint egy karácsonyfa? De klassz! **Ilona:** Bármit lehet benne látni. **Alma:** Nagyon szép.	**Lina:** Look, look. Pig, it's a pig. **Evelyn:** What's that? **Alma:** Did you hear what she said? She said, "Az mi?" **Ilona:** That is a porcupine that has huge quills. **Alma:** This is a *porcupine*. It's a kind of American porcupine who has a huge… **Ilona:** It has quills. You are so good today. **Gina:** *Spaghetti. Spaghetti.* **(…)** **Gina:** *Porcupine. Looks like a Christmas tree.* **Alma:** It really looks like a Christmas tree? Wow! **Ilona:** Anything can be seen in it. **Alma:** So pretty.

Source: (Own elaboration)

Table 3. Free time. Coloring/playing with puzzles (January 27, 2018)

Transcription	Authors' Translation
Alma: Hát szia! Szeretnél *puzzle*-ozni vagy szinezni szeretnél? **Edit:** Kirakóznál? **Alma:** Kirakózni vagy szinezni szeretnél? Gyere megmutatom, mit szinezünk. Békát. Ezt szeretnéd vagy a *puzzle*-t? **Parent:** A *puzzle*-t nagyon szereti. **Alma:** Melyiket szeretnéd? Mutass az asztalra! *Puzzle*-t?	**Alma:** Hi! Do you want to do a *puzzle* or you rather colour? **Edit:** Do a puzzle? **Alma:** Do you want to do a puzzle or colour? Come, I'll show you what we are colouring. A frog. Do you want to do this or the *puzzle*? **Parent:** She loves the *puzzle* very much. **Alma:** Which one do you want? Point to the table! The *puzzle*?

Source: (Own elaboration)

The next example (Table 4) shows that the teacher offers co-languaging as a pedagogical translanguaging practice to help the student understand the language gap. This English (L1) speaker learning Hungarian (L2) did understand the word "menjünk" in Hungarian (probably has heard it many times in the home substituting "Let's go!") and associated it right away with 'going home'. Instead, the teacher asked to go and wash hands after they finished making the children's bird feeders. Since they finished the task it had more relevant meaning to the child to 'go home' in the context. The teacher's strategy was co-languaging and translating all that was being said before into English.

The same co-languaging strategy is used in the next example (Table 5) where the teacher manages student behaviour. Here, it is essential to mention that using co-languaging often as a strategy to tackle misunderstanding might lead to a mistake on the part of the teacher impacting students' language learning. English (L1) speakers learning Hungarian (L2) might not make any effort to listen to the Hungarian (L2) language since the teacher repeats the communication in English (L1). They might know already after a while that they will hear the translated English (L1) equivalent of what is being said right after the L2. They might not only lose focus, but also eventually their motivation.

In this next example (Table 6) we can see how rhyming words might possibly cause a language gap. The teacher faces a language gap based on the misunderstanding of what was being said. She believes that the child is making a "train" that rhymes with "crane" in English that the student originally verbalized but the teacher did not hear it properly. The other teacher also faced a lexical gap since she had a missing lexeme in Hungarian and filled it up with modulation (another Hungarian word). "Markoló" is also a type of construction vehicle in Hungarian like "daru" is; however, the child used "crane" on the

Table 4. Instruction time: Making a bird feeder (January 27, 2018)

Transcription	Authors' Translation
Alma: Na menjünk kezet mosni. **Edit:** Mit csinálsz? Még nem megyünk haza. **Alma:** Lina, még nem megyünk haza, tedd vissza a kabátodat. Evelyn, senki nem mondja. *We are not going home. Can you put your jacket back on the chair and push it in*? Ilona néni *asked you to go wash your hand. No, not with the pony. Can I have the pony, please?* **Edit:** Gina, Linda, gyertek, menjünk kezetmosni.	**Alma:** Let's go and wash hands. **Edit:** What are you doing? We are not going home yet. **Alma:** Lina, we are not going home yet, put your jacket back. Emily, no one says it. *We are not going home. Can you put your jacket back on the chair and push it in?* Ms. Ilona *asked you to go wash your hand. No, not with the pony. Can I have the pony, please?* **Edit:** Gina, Linda, come on, let's go and wash hands.

Source: (Own elaboration)

Table 5. Instruction time: Making a snowman (February 3, 2018)

Transcription	Authors' Translation
Alma: Gyertek, lecsücsülünk az asztalhoz de nem nyúltok semmihez. Ella, NEM NYÚLUNK SEMMIHEZ! Nem nyúlunk semmihez. Alma azt mondta, hogy lecsücsülünk az asztalhoz. *Everybody, sit down, but do not touch anything. Just sit down, ok?* **Lina:** Én nem csináltam. **Alma:** Nem nyúlunk hozzá. Azt mondta az Alma, hogy nem nyúlunk hozzá. **Ella:** Nem.	**Alma:** Come, we sit down at the table, but we don't touch anything. Ella, DON'T TOUCH ANYTHING! We don't touch anything. Alma said that we sit down at the table. *Everybody, sit down, but do not touch anything. Just sit down, ok?* **Lina:** I did not do. **Alma:** Don't touch. Alma said that we don't touch it. **Ella:** No.

Source: (Own elaboration)

first place that literally means “daru”. In this same conversation we also see another child asking the meaning of “volcano” and the teacher not only uses literal translation again, but she also uses this opportunity to teach the word in context when she explains what comes out of the volcano.

In the next conversation excerpt (Table 7) teachers use their creative side to invent a new word that does not exist in Hungarian. In the process of making a carnival mask children were using glitters stored in an object that looked identical to a salt and pepper shaker. However, teachers instead of using the Hungarian word “csillámszóró” that would come from the literal translation of “glitter”/“csillám” and “shaker”/“szóró” melted together in one word, they invented a new word coming from the English “Shake ‘N Bake”. They used the cultural relevance of this American cooking product (breadcrumb) referring to the action of “shake it and bake it” meaning something is getting immediately done; since teachers encouraged student to just shake the glitters on the masks and their carnival masks will be ready to be worn.

In the next example (Table 8) the teacher uses the scaffolding strategy to teach the Hungarian language to the English (L1) speakers learning Hungarian (L2). The teacher is bridging the language gap due to the vast number of lexical gaps the child has by using constant repetition, simplified questioning, extended wait-time, background knowledge, and involving other children as example givers in the conversation. The student repeated words and phrases in Hungarian that she caught from the example sentences, but she was unable to grasp the meaning of what she was repeating. It did not make sense to her since there was no context provided with the new vocabulary. The student used “kutya” meaning “dog” in the sentence “I have a kutya at home.” because that was probably one of the few words she knew in Hungarian, but she filled up all the unknown words from her English repertoire. Instead of saying “Van egy kutyám otthon.” she translanguaged and used codes from English and Hungarian in one sentence. In the rest of the

Table 6. Free constructive play time: Playing with blocks (February 3, 2018)

Transcription	Authors’ Translation
Alma: Zoran, te mit építesz? **Zoran:** *A crane*. **Alma:** Vonatot? **Edit:** Nem, ő egy markolót. **Alma:** Ja, egy “*crane*”-t. Darut. **Domokos:** Mi magyarul a “*volcano*”? **Alma:** “Vulkán.” Mi van a vulkánokkal? **Domokos:** Nagyon meleg. **Alma:** Így van. Tudod, hogy mi jön ki belőle, Domokos? Mert az a forró tűz meg tud téged égetni, ami kijön a vulkán pocakjából, a gyomrából, a vulkán mélyéből.	**Alma:** Zoran, what are you making? **Zoran:** *A crane*. **Alma:** A train? **Edit:** No, he is making an excavator. **Alma:** Oh, a *crane*. A crane. **Domokos:** What is “*volcano*” called in Hungarian? **Alma:** “Vulkán”. What’s with the volcanos? **Domokos:** Very hot. **Alma:** That’s right. Do you know what comes out of it, Domokos? Because that boiling fire can burn you that comes out of the volcano’s belly, from its stomach, from the depths of the volcano.

Source: (Own elaboration)

Table 7. Instruction time: Making a carnival mask (February 10, 2018)

Transcription	Authors’ Translation
Alma: Neki nincsen olyan *shakey-bakey*-je. Már beragasztottam. **Ilona:** Itt van a *shakey-bakey*. Neki is oda lehet adni. Szórjad. **Alma:** Nézd csak, cserélhettek színt. Itt van, Zoran. **Edit:** Gina, szórjál mostmár rá, mert meg fog száradni a ragasztód. Szórjad rá még mielőtt megszárad teljesen.	**Alma:** He does not have that *shakey-bakey*. I have already glued it. **Ilona:** Here is the *shakey-bakey*. Pass it onto him, please. Sprinkle. **Alma:** Look, you can switch colours. Here you go, Zoran. **Edit:** Gina, sprinkle now because your glue will dry out. Sprinkle before it dries completely.

Source: (Own elaboration)

Table 8. Circle time conversation (March 10, 2018)

Transcription	Authors' Translation
Alma: Evelyn, *do you need to go to the bathroom*? *Nope*? **Evelyn:** *I want to wash hands*. **Alma:** *We are gonna wash hands after the dance, okay*? **Evelyn:** *Okay*. **Alma:** Megmossuk a kezünket a tánc után. **Evelyn:** *And then we'll get snack*. **Alma:** Igen, utána eszünk *snack*-et. Megpróbálod magyarul, Evelyn? Alma segít neked, jó? **Evelyn:** Jó. **Alma:** Mondjad akkor. Mondjad magyarul. **Evelyn:** Magyarul. **Alma:** Mondjad te amit szeretnél mondani magyarul. Nehéz neked mondani magyarul? Álmos vagy? **Evelyn:** Álmos vagy. **Alma:** Én kérdezlek téged. Mond, hogy "Álmos vagyok". **Evelyn:** *I have a kutya at home*. **Alma:** Van kutyád? Mi a neve? **Evelyn:** Mi a neve? **Alma:** Nem fogom neked most mondani. Mi a neve a kutyádnak? Téged hogy hívnak? Hogy hívnak? **Evelyn:** Hogy hívnak? **Alma:** Hogy hívnak? *What's your name*? **Evelyn:** Emily. **Alma:** *And what is your dog's name*? Hogy hívják a kutyádat? **Evelyn:** Willie. **Alma:** Engem Almának hívnak. Hogy hívnak? **Evelyn:** *You are Alma*. **Alma:** Hogy hívnak? Mond meg neki téged hogy hívnak. Nem mondod meg a nevedet? Szupertitkos? Téged hogy hívnak? **Domokos:** Domokos. **Alma:** Téged hogy hívnak? **Zoran:** Zoran. **Alma:** Téged hogy hívnak? **Evelyn:** Evelyn. **Alma:** Látod így kell kérdezni, hogy "Téged hogy hívnak?" **Edit:** Edit. **Alma:** Téged hogy hívnak? **Linda:** Linda. **Alma:** Engem meg Almának hívnak.	**Alma**: Evelyn, *do you need to go to the bathroom*? *Nope*? **Evelyn:** *I want to wash hands*. **Alma:** *We are gonna wash hands after the dance, okay*? **Evelyn:** *Okay*. **Alma:** We'll wash our hands after the dance. **Evelyn:** *And then we'll get snack*. **Alma:** Yes, we'll eat snack after. Can you try it in Hungarian, Evelyn? Alma will help you, okay? **Evelyn:** Okay. **Alma:** Say it in Hungarian then. Say it in Hungarian. **Evelyn:** In Hungarian. **Alma:** Say what you want to say in Hungarian. Is it hard for you to say it in Hungarian? Are you sleepy? **Evelyn:** You are sleepy. **Alma:** I ask you. Say, "Álmos vagyok". **Evelyn:** *I have a dog at home*. **Alma:** Do you have a dog? What's his name? **Evelyn:** Mia neve? **Alma:** I won't tell you now. What's your dog's name? What's your name? **Evelyn:** Hogy hívnak? **Alma:** Hogy hívnak? *What's your name*? **Evelyn:** Emily. **Alma:** *And what is your dog's name*? What's your dog's name? **Evelyn:** Willie. **Alma:** My name is Alma. What's your name? **Evelyn:** *You are Alma*. **Alma:** What's your name? Tell her what your name is. Why don't you say your name? Is it top secret? What's your name? **Domokos:** Domokos. **Alma:** What's your name? **Zoran:** Zoran. **Alma:** What's your name? **Evelyn:** Evelyn. **Alma:** Do you see, that's how you ask, "Téged hogy hívnak?" **Edit:** Edit. **Alma:** What's your name? **Linda:** Linda. **Alma:** And my name is Alma.

Source: (Own elaboration)

conversation, we can see that this student could only understand what was being said when the teacher co-languaged or repeated the Hungarian sentences in English. That leads us back to the concept that we previously suggested: Hungarian (L2) learners lacked motivation and effort since they knew they will get the English equivalents of what was being said right after it was said.

The next two example conversations (Table 9 and Table 10) reveal multiple lexical gaps because the English words do not exist in Hungarian (e.g. goodie bag, bagel, muffin) due to the existing cultural differences between these two cultures. Therefore, the bilingual speaker borrows them from English to bridge the cultural gap this way. Nowadays "bagel" and "muffin" are words that are accepted and wildly used in Hungarian, but a "goodie bag" is a very special American treat for those who attend a birthday party and it does not exist in Hungarian. In Hungary this custom does not exist; therefore, no lexeme is found in Hungarian for it. And if we try to translate it, who would even call a "goodie bag" to a “nyalánkságokkal teli zacskó”? We could call it a “ajándékcsomag” (giftbag), but with this word the semantic aspect of “goodies=sweets” would lose its meaning that it contains sweet treats instead of any kind of gift if we consider “goodie=gift”. The best option is to leave it as it is in English.

Other times when the speaker faces lexical gaps (e.g. “jumping caste”, “lollypop”) the teacher reinforces the usage of Hungarian language by constantly asking questions about what was being said and if the speaker comes through a language gap, she provides the literal translation to bridge that gap. In the case of “watermelon” the situation is different. Again, we do not use the literal translation of this word since in Hungarian ““watermelon” would be “vizidinnye” that Hungarians do not say, but “watermelon” means “görögdinnye” in Hungarian where “görög” stands for “Greek” and “dinnye” for “melon”.

This data absolutely coincides with previous studies on the field (Jones, 1991; Wong Fillmore (1991); Hickey, 2001; Lowman et al., 2007; Llurda, Cots, and Armengol, 2013). Furthermore, our data supports the previously found data (Golubeva & Csillik, 2018) on the reasons for teacher-led translanguaging in the classroom, such as, (1) convey information and reinforce meaning; (2) create translanguaging spaces when asking for the meaning of the world either in Hungarian or in English; (3) honour and develop multilingual identities through translanguaging in the classroom; (4) comfort a child in order to provide more support; and (5) capture students attention/correct unwanted behaviour when it was urgent (Golubeva & Csillik, 2018, p. 104).

Additionally, the examples have revealed how the attitudes of the three pedagogues sometimes encouraged or other times discouraged language learners translanguaging to tackle occurring language gaps in the classroom. Further, it was also revealed that when teachers used way many occasions to co-language in the classroom and translate from L1 to L2, the English (L1) speakers learning Hungarian (L2) seemed not to make any effort to listen to the Hungarian (L2) language since it became a habit after a while that the teacher repeated the communication in English (L1). They already knew after a while that they will hear the translated English (L1) equivalent of what was being said anyways. They not only lost focus easily.

Table 9. Snack time conversation (March 10, 2018)

Transcription	Authors’ Translation
Ilona: És mi lesz a szülinapodon? Mit fogtok csinálni? **Lina:** *Jumping castle*-t. **Ilona:** Az magyarul micsoda? Ugrálóvár. Megyek akkor ugrálóvárazni. És mit szeretnél kapni születésnapodra? **Lina:** Ö, egy amulett töled. Amulettet. Egy világos amulettet. **Ilona:** Amulettet? Az micsoda? Az nem tudom, hogy micsoda. **Lina:** Nekem már van. Csak egy. **Ilona:** Kell még egy neked? **Lina:** Kettő. **Ilona:** És még mi lesz a szülinapodon? **Lina:** Egy, egy… **Ilona:** Azt tisztáztuk, hogy lesz ugrálóvárad. És még mi lesz a szülinapodon? **Lina:** *Goodie-bag. Goodie-bag*. **Ilona:** Magyarul fogod elmondani. **Lina:** Egy, egy… nem tudom. **Alma:** Csomag. **Lina:** Csomag. **Ilona:** A bag az csomag. És mi lesz benne? Meglepetés? Az jó amikor meglepetést kapunk?	**Ilona:** And what will be on your birthday? What will you be doing? **Lina:** *Jumping castle*. **Ilona:** What’s that in Hungarian? “Ugrálóvár”. I’ll go to jumping caste. And what will you like to get for your birthday? **Lina:** Hm, an amulet from you. An amulet. A light amulet. **Ilona:** An amulet? What’s that? I don’t know what that is. **Lina:** I have already. But only one. **Ilona:** Do you need another one? **Lina:** Two. **Ilona:** And what else will there be on your birthday? **Lina:** A, a… **Ilona:** We confirmed that you’ll have a jumping castle. What else will you have? **Lina:** *Goodie-bag. Goodie-bag*. **Ilona:** You’ll say it in Hungarian. **Lina:** A, a… I don’t know. **Alma:** Package. **Lina:** Package. **Ilona:** Bag means package. And what’s going to be in it? Surprise? Is it good when we get a surprise?

Source: (Own elaboration)

Table 10. Story time: Eric Carl - The Very Hungry Caterpillar (April 7, 2018)

Transcription	Authors' Translation
Lina: Ez az Erikáé, nagyon *special* neki. **Alma:** Tényleg? És ezt odaadta neked most? Nagyon szép volt az Erikától, hogy ezt odaadta neked. Na, elolvassuk? Szeretnétek elolvasni "A Telhetetlen Hernyócskát"? **Lujza:** És én ezt tudom olvasni egyedül. **Alma:** Hát te nagyon ügyes vagy. **Lujza:** Én tudom olvasni egyedül. **Lina:** De az magyar. És én eltudom olvasni. **Alma:** Na, akkor olvasd el nekünk. **Lina:** "*The Hungry Caterpillar.*" **Alma:** De most magyarul mond, angolul mondtad. Mi a címe? **Edit:** "A Telhetetlen Hernyócska." **Lina:** Oda kinnt állt egy kis tojás. Abban lakott egy hernyó. **Alma:** Egy meleg nyári napon… **Lina:** Egy meleg nyári napon kibújt egy éhes, termetis hernyócska. **Alma:** Hétfőn megevett… Mit evett meg hétfőn? **Lina:** Kettő *strawberry*-t. **Alma:** Epret. Ezt tudod mikor ette? **Lina:** Nem. **Alma:** Szerintem szombaton. **Lina:** Egy csokitortát, egy jégkrémet, egy *bagel*-olt, meg ezt. **Edit:** Savanyúuborkát. **Lina:** Savanyúuborkát. Egy sajtot. Egy kolbászát. **Alma:** Ú, de jó neki. **Lina:** Egy *lolly-pop*-ot. **Alma:** Az mi az a *lolly-pop* magyarul? "Nyalóka." **Lina:** Egy nyalókát. Egy kisebb ilyet. **Alma:** Mi ez? **Edit:** Egy pite. **Alma:** Meggyespitét. Ú, de finom nyáron a meggyespite. **Lina:** Te is akarsz sütni ezt? **Alma:** Igen, én szoktam sütni. **Edit:** És ez? Ez milye? **Lina:** Kolbásza. **Alma:** Mit evett még? Dinnyét. Milyen dinnye az? **Lina:** *Muffin*. **Alma:** *Muffin* és utána mi jön? **Lina:** Egy *watermelon*-t. **Alma:** Mit evett? "Dinnyét". **Lina:** Dinnye. **Alma:** Görögdinnye. **Lina:** Utána nem volt éhes.	**Lina:** This is Erika's, it's very *special* for her. **Alma:** Really? And she gave it to you now? That was very nice of Erika that she gave it to you. So, should we read it? Would you like to read "The Very Hungry Caterpillar"? **Lujza:** And I can read this on my own. **Alma:** Well, you are so clever. **Lujza:** I can read it alone. **Lina:** But that is Hungarian. And I can read it. **Alma:** Then read it for us. **Lina:** "*The Hungry Caterpillar*." **Alma:** But tell us in Hungarian now, you said it in English. What's the title? **Edit:** "The Very Hungry Caterpillar." **Lina:** A little egg was laying outside. Inside the egg was a tiny caterpillar. **Alma:** On a warm summer day… **Lina:** On a warm summer day, out of the egg came out a tiny, very hungry caterpillar. **Alma:** On Monday he ate… What did he eat on Monday? **Lina:** Two *strawberries*. **Alma:** Strawberry. Do you know when he ate that? **Lina:** No. **Alma:** I believe it was on Saturday. **Lina:** A chocolate cake, an ice-cream, a *bagel* and this. **Edit:** A pickle. **Lina:** A pickle. A cheese. A sausage. **Alma:** Wow, it's so good for him. **Lina:** A *lolly-pop*. **Alma:** What's a *lolly-pop* in Hungarian? "Nyalóka." **Lina:** A lolly-pop. A smaller of this. **Alma:** What's this? **Edit:** A pie. **Alma:** A cherry pie. Wow, the cherry pie is so delicious in the summer. **Lina:** Do you want to bake this as well? **Alma:** Yes, I usually bake that. **Edit:** And this? How is that for him? **Lina:** His sausage. **Alma:** What else did he eat? Melon. What kind of melon is that? **Lina:** *Muffin*. **Alma:** *Muffin* and what comes after? **Lina:** A *watermelon*. **Alma:** What did he eat? Melon. **Lina:** Melon. **Alma:** Watermelon. **Lina:** Then he was not hungry.

Source: (Own elaboration)

Overall, teachers and students naturally moved between the English and Hungarian languages to teach and learn due to the numerous opportunities this immersion program offered to translanguage. Through the pedagogical translanguaging practices we discovered, teachers were not only able to familiarize Hungarian as a low-incidence heritage language and acquaint the Hungarian culture with the students, but also, they helped children to construct and constantly alter their socio-cultural identities and values during their conversations.

SOLUTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The authors' solution in dealing with the above-mentioned issues and problems is to familiarize teachers working in multilingual settings with pedagogical translanguaging strategies through professional developments, continued education in-service courses, conferences, and through discussion panels. More findings of future and current research are necessary from various multilingual settings, so educators can hear about it, learn about it, and eventually follow this new approach filtering in today's classrooms. It is every teacher's responsibility to support multilingual learners when they come across challenges, such as lexical or cultural gaps, to be flexible when using linguistic repertoires available to the learners, to foster collaboration, meaning making, and equity in language learning classrooms to provide the best access possible for all language learners. The authors have no doubt that teachers will rise to the challenges and responsibilities of the future and they expect a positive outcome of the new strategies implemented.

In addition, the authors recommend five goals for low-incidence heritage language schools dealing with students with diverse linguistic competence and previous experiences: 1) promote the strength and value of language(s) and linguistic diversity, 2) emphasize on human rights and respect for those who speak a different language than the mainstream, 3) accept alternative language choices for people, 4) stand by social justice and equality for all people, and 5) emphasize equal distribution of power and income among all languages in the classroom.

FUTURE RESEARCH DIRECTIONS

Through translanguaging practices multilingual learners can face language gaps, show their linguistic creativity, their ability to play with language and break the linguistic conventional norms and rules accepted by homogeneous societies, and to select various features or codes from their language repertoire shaped by the knowledge of two or more languages and cultures to let language itself flourish to convey the most accurate meaning of the "here and now".

There are clearly a lot that should be done in the future, academically and in terms of advocacy to promote pedagogical translanguaging strategies, to ensure that there is a mutual understanding between the participants of certain conversations. There is more to be done with supporting bi-, and multilingual speakers of non-standard, non-privileged languages (e.g. Hungarian) and to make sure they often have a voice and they are always being heard. There is a long way to go in this direction of change, which will be only possible to happen if we leave traditional concepts and boundaries behind to develop new perspectives with the holistic understanding of the phenomena in question in mind.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, the authors have discussed the dynamics of heritage language and the status of heritage language schools in the United States, followed by listing some practical linguistic strategies how to bridge the possibly occurring language gaps in every day conversations. The authors further introduced the pedagogical translanguaging strategies Hungarian-English bilingual pedagogues selected to use in a linguistically diverse Hungarian-English immersion program in New York City to support language learners (Hungarian (L1) speakers learning English (L2), Hungarian-English fluent bilinguals, and

English (L1) speakers learning Hungarian (L2)) coming across language and cultural gaps due to lack of their lexical or cultural knowledge in linguistic contexts.

The authors showed several examples in this chapter how to bridge suddenly occurring language (lexical and culture) gaps during communication with some of the most commonly used linguistic strategies, such as, (1) adaptation, (2) lexical borrowing, (3) calque (loan translation), (4) compensation, (5) omission, (6) description, (7) equivalence, (8) explication, (9) generalization, (10) literal translation or word-to-word translation, (11) modulation, (12) particularization, (13) substitution, (14) transposition, and (15) variation.

The authors' theory of translanguaging posits that bi-, and multilingual learners possess a free will to choose elements from their language repertoires depending on the "here-and-now" when they communicate. The linguistic system that bi-, and multi-lingual speakers have differs person to person the same way as language learners' linguistic experiences and abilities to 'language' and 'languaging' also differ person to person. The success of the communication between two individual depends partially on the choices that the language users make about what features of their language repertoire (shaped by one's own life experiences of where they have lived before and what languages they have come across prior to the given space and time of their communication) they want to include, partially on the language repertoire of the conversing peer and what features they wish to include as well in the communication based on the linguistic abilities of the language users', and on the given space and time in which the conversation takes place. In this sense, occurring discrepancies between different language users due to a division between the speakers different linguistic or cultural background is a natural phenomenon that any language user meets who engages in meaningful conversations.

Teachers have an exemplary and essential role in the translanguaging process in general and in heritage language schools, such as in the one we introduced in this chapter, to make an impact on our future generation of multilingual and multicultural citizens. They demonstrated that regardless their different belief and attitude towards heritage language preservation, language learning, and translanguaging, their effort to create a risk- and stress-free, safe environment in which they involve the heritage language, they strengthen the children's sense of their heritage, their cultural identity, their connectedness, and ultimately their sense of "being-in-the-world-together".

The analysis of the data revealed in this chapter that translanguaging has a strong pedagogical aspect that can scaffold learning, protect and develop proficiency in heritage languages, and help to construct cultural and social identities.

It is still necessary to research, develop, and spread pedagogical translanguaging strategies in multilingual educational settings around the world. We are just at the beginning of making changes in language practices to create more translanguaging spaces in various social contexts in the future. We need to stay optimistic and hope that more and more pedagogical translanguaging strategies will appear on the field.

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KEY TERMS AND DEFINITIONS

Bilingual/Two-Way Immersion Program: A language learning program, popular in the United States of America, where two languages are used for classroom instruction where L1 is the students' first language and L2 is the students' second language or the target language to be acquired through peer/teacher interaction while integrating both students of the minority language and students from the majority language in the same classroom. The ultimate goal of this program is to reach academic excellence and create successful bilingual/bicultural language speakers.

Code-Switching: The practice of alternating or switching between two or more languages in a given communication for various reasons (e.g., missing word in one language, better fitting word in another language, strong cultural attachment, time saving to use shorter word[s], sounding fancier, leaving others out of the conversation, etc.), between interlocutors who belong to the same bilingual culture.

Heritage Language: A low- or high-incidence language spoken by an ethnic group in a given population of a social context regardless that this heritage language might be a dominant language of another given population in another social context.

Language Gap: A communication gap found in bilingual immersion programs where L1 monolingual and L2 monolingual speakers lack an understanding of each other due to a deficit in shared vocabulary or a difference in their intercultural understanding.

Mainstream/Dominant Language: The dominant language spoken by the majority of the population in a given population of a social context.

Multilingual Education: The use of two or more languages for learning and teaching in an educational setting to develop content area knowledge and literacy skills in two or more languages.

Pedagogical Translanguaging Strategies: A set of language teaching strategies in multilingual classrooms where all language repertoires are presented in order to promote multiple language development and learning simultaneously.

Translanguaging: The act of using different languages interchangeably, in order to overcome language constraints, to deliver verbal utterances or written statements effectively, and, to ultimately achieve successful communication.

ENDNOTES

1 See U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, EDFacts file 141, Data Group 678, extracted October 18, 2018; and Common Core of Data (CCD), "State Nonfis-

cal Survey of Public Elementary and Secondary Education," 2016–17. See Digest of Education Statistics 2018, table 204.27. Retrieved on May 25, 2019 from https://nces.ed.gov/programs/digest/d18/tables/dt18_204.27.asp.

[2] See Division of English Language Learners and Student Support, English Language Learner Demographics Report for the 2016-17 School Year, New York City Department of Education. Retrieved on May 25, 2019 from https://infohub.nyced.org/docs/default-source/default-document-library/2016-17-demographic-report-v10_remediated.pdf.

[3] The authors understand that bilinguals are speakers of two languages exclusively and that multilinguals are speakers of two or more languages. Multilingualism is a broader term for those who speak more than two languages without specifying exactly how many languages are spoken by the speaker. Therefore, in this sense, the authors understand that bilingualism is part of multilingualism, however, due to the research the authors carried out in a bilingual classroom, the authors will be using the term "bilingualism" and "multilingualism" respectfully but not interchangeably.

[4] See more about the structure and context of this heritage language school in Golubeva & Csillik, 2018.

[5] It is important to note that for those who did not speak Hungarian from their birth it is very difficult to make difference between [í] and [é] sounds.

Chapter 12
An Approach for Providing LGBTI+ Education and Bridging the Language Gap:
Integrating ESoPC into EFL Teacher Training

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ABSTRACT

Intercultural education is acquiring great importance in today's education; among its considered elements, it is also starting to address gender/sexual identity as a way to counterattack prejudices and intolerant attitudes towards LGTBI+ people. However, it is still necessary to reconsider how to deal with these concepts from teacher training in an effective way so as to prepare these professionals to develop their work in an inclusive way. Teachers of English as a Foreign Language are ideal for addressing such concepts as the area allows relationships with several dimensions of life (e.g., literature, art, television). These teachers have to face the necessity to include LGTBI+ in their teaching practice, and to fight the language gap caused by social and economic disparities. This chapter revises how including the ESoPC approach in English teacher training helps integrate LGBTI+ issues to educate future generations in respect towards gender/sexual diversity and bridge the language gap.

AN INTRODUCTION TO SEXUAL IDENTITY AND GENDER IN EDUCATION

Education constitutes a great tool for self-creation and self-discovery as it provides students of all educational stages with opportunities to face social and cultural issues as well as to reflect on their own personal identities. In this light, it is true that the first years of an individual's life are decisive for their future development as it is when areas like language and cognition, as well as the physical, social and

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sexual aspects of the person, experience their very first formation. Against what is commonly thought, the sexual component of personal identity is conceived as a fundamental aspect for the integral development of the child since the first years as it influences significantly their potential healthy personality that will be reflected in their potential responsible sexual behavior. Bearing this in mind, and as Araujo (2015) points out, initial education plays a central role as in the acquisition of sexual identity as it is during this stage when its basis is settled.

Sexual identity goes hand in hand with *gender*, a relatively new construct with multiple definitions that agree on its "cultural constructedness" (Riley, & Pearce, 2018). According to the New Oxford Dictionary of English, "gender" can be understood as the state of being male or female which is normally used with reference to sociocultural differences rather than biological (Pearsall, 2001), a "performative" concept as the American philosopher and gender theorist Butler indicates (1990, p. xv). As social and cultural beings, it seems clear the relation between sexual identity and gender. However, when it comes to research on education, and despite the fact that the conclusions have not always been the most satisfactory, gender has occupied a remarkable position for the two last decades (Blossfeld, Skopek, Triventi, & Buchholz, 2015; Buchmann, DiPrete, & McDaniel, 2008; Dillabough, & Arnot, 2000). It must be highlighted, however, that the diversity of sexual identities has not been addressed in depth yet.

Although sexual diversity is usually present at schools, it is commonly misunderstood. Meyer highlights some of the myths and misconceptions about sexual and gender diversity:

- When talking about sexual or gender diversity, it really just means teaching about homosexuality.
- Learning about gender and sexuality isn't for education professional and youth workers – particularly those in elementary education.
- Teaching about gender and sexual diversity is controversial and should be avoided in schools.
- Some religions teach that homosexuality is wrong, so schools shouldn't talk about sexual diversity as it may violate some students' religious or cultural beliefs. (2010, p. 3)

At this respect, Britzman (2005, p. 65) claims that sexuality should not be understood as an isolated topic, but as the conditions for the adventure of creating ideas, theorizing the questions of love and the loss of love, and advising the great issues linked to our sexuality.

Moving back to what has been firstly discussed about the potential of education for students' self-creation and self-discovery, as well as its role regarding social and cultural issues, intercultural education (IE) arises. IE is acquiring more and more importance in our current globalized society, as linguistic, cultural, ethnic and racial diversity –among others– are to be celebrated as elements that enrich our world. Cushner offers a simple definition of what this type of education is about, explaining that it "recognizes that a genuine understanding of cultural differences and similarities is necessary in order to build a foundation for working collaboratively with other" and that "a pluralistic society can be an opportunity for majority and minority groups to learn from and with one another" (1998, p. 4). In this sense, gender and sexual identity (and diversity) need to be addressed in the classroom if intercultural understanding really wants to be achieved. Moreover, it is also a way to fight back social prejudices and hateful and intolerant attitudes towards the LGBTI+ community.

As Nelson affirms, "even when school rhetoric promotes diversity, and even when students express strong interest in talking about sexual diversity, it can be challenging to create queer discursive spaces in which the silencing discourses of heteronormativity can be countered" (2006, p. 5) This is closely related to Foucault (1990, p. 44) approach, who stated that it is recurrent the belief that humanity is the same that heterosexuality. Teachers are thus key in the process of education for inclusion and respectful attitudes, and they need to be prepared for such a task. For this reason, it seems necessary to reconsider how to deal with these concepts from teacher training in an effective way so these professionals can develop their teaching task in a really comprehensive way. Teachers of English as a Foreign Language (EFL) especially constitute an ideal population for addressing these concepts, as this subject allows relationships with several perspectives as literature, music, art, television and cinema.

EFL teachers also have another challenging task to face. Despite efforts of national and international educational bodies, economic and social disparities are making hard for low-social groups to access to language learning. Consequently, these individuals are doomed to a lack of linguistic proficiency. This phenomenon, which has been defined as the language gap (Johnson, 2015; Gómez, & Huertas, 2019), must be tackled with urgency.

English for and Social Purposes and Cooperation (ESoPC), term coined by Huertas and Gómez (2018b), refers to the teaching and learning EFL in any area of life so as to acquiring or reinforcing the linguistic and communicative competences as well as to developing awareness towards certain key social factors related to civic values and cooperation. ESoPC's deliberate promotion of authentic language use and preoccupation with students' intercultural awareness (Huertas, 2018) makes it an interesting solution for bridging the language gap. Moreover, as this approach is explicitly concerned with social and civic issues, LGBTI+ identities and sexual/gender diversity appear as perfect areas to be addressed to fight against social prejudices and intolerant behaviors.

Bearing in mind all the aforementioned, this chapter aims to analyze how including an ESoPC-based addressing of LGBTI+ identities and diversity in EFL teacher training can contribute (a) to prepare teachers to become fully prepared for bridging the language gap, and (b) to make them ready to educate future generations in respect and tolerance towards gender and sexual diversity.

THE LGBTI+ MOVEMENT IN EDUCATION

The LGBTI+ rights revolution has experienced a rapid emergence never seen before. Originally referred as LGBT (and later extended to LGBTQ, LGBTI and LGBTI+), its origins lead back to the Stonewall Riots in New York City in 1969, encouraged by the increasing racial and sexual order in US society and the consequent police oppression (Wolf, 2009). This rebellion entailed a turning point in the fight for LGBT civil rights around the world and since then, the movement has continued to grow facing many hardships (i.e., HIV/AIDS crisis of the 1980s, fights for the decriminalization of homosexual practices during the 1990s and 2000s –and even nowadays–, and the gay conversion therapies proliferating in the 2010s) that still make necessary the inclusion of LGBTI+ debates on political agendas.

There is a heated debate, not exempt from ideological and political intentionality, about whether sexuality needs to be undertaken from education and, if so, when. According to the World Health Organization (WHO), "within schools, there is strong evidence for the importance of promoting sexual health through comprehensive education on sexuality, sex and relationships. Such work should begin before young people are sexually active and it must offer choices" (2010, p. 24). Furthermore, they add the following:

An additional advantage of starting early is that children find the subjects less embarrassing early on, and if they are already familiar with them, they will find them less difficult to handle when they reach puberty. Even more important is the fact that children need to be prepared to deal with sexuality issues before they encounter them […]. Children and adolescents also need to learn about sexual behaviour well before they actually start having sexual relationships, which is usually between age 14 and 18 in almost all European countries. This helps them to make informed decisions later on. Therefore, sexuality education (understood in a holistic way) now starts at primary-school level, and sometimes in kindergarten, in many European countries (WHO, 2013, p. 35).

However, scientific literature is not that profuse when it comes to sexual diversity in education. Renn (2010) provides an interesting and extensive analysis of existing studies addressing LGBTI+ and queer issues in higher education, arguing that much of this writing lacks theoretical deepness. Nevertheless, this author highlights key points in the previous literature on the topic and suggests which fields should be given attention so that LGBTI+ matter is rigorously addressed from education. On the one hand, LGBTI+/queer scholarship has experienced a slow but progressive evolution from pre-1970s' conceptions of homosexuality as a deviance and disease that "should be avoided in the schools by firing teachers who demonstrated homosexual traits" (Renn, 2010, p. 133), to the creation of the first gay student associations motivated by the Stonewall Riots (Dilley, 2002). Under these circumstances, "campus activism" began to gain momentum which, along with non-college-educated leaders of the LGBTI+ rights movement, got off the ground for the contemporary movement, its agenda included trying to demonstrate the "normalcy" of the community and achieve visibility of LGBTI+ people's identities and experiences (Jones, 2009; Love, Bock, Jannarone, & Richardson, 2005). Later in her work, Renn (2010) sets the path for new directions in the LGBTI+ research in higher education pointing out five main aspects: firstly, it is necessary to carry out effective studies on queer theory and issues as a first step to advances in education; secondly, it is fundamental to develop studies on LGBTI+ people in all educational stages (even in elementary education as indicated previously); thirdly, globalization and internationalization have a huge potential in this field as they can help make a connection with race, cultural, class, or religious identities (see also Coloma, 2006; Mayo, 2007); fourthly, it is imperative to implement queer theory in post-secondary education curricula (see also Kumashiro, 2001, 2002; Pinar, 1998); finally, the author claims that the integration of LGBTI+ and queer issues in teacher training is also key:

LGBT issues could provide a meaningful point of connection between teacher educators and higher education scholars, although overcoming the history and ongoing culture of discrimination against LGBT teachers and administrators in public schools—and LGBT professors—could be a necessary first step in this project (Renn, 2010, p. 138).

This chapter focuses on this last aspect.

LGBTI+ Issues in Teacher Training

Schools need to educate on diversity approaching different sexual and gender identities other than the heterosexual (McCarty-Caplan, 2013). However, sexual education, LGBTI+ diversity and other related elements are not commonly included in teacher training syllabuses. Their inclusion, as Hipólito and Téllez (2019) and García-Cano and Hinojosa (2016) point, depends on the knowledge and interest of the educators. The reason for this is the common misconception regarding teachers' skills to teach about sexuality and sexual diversity: being a sexual being seems to be enough to teach about sexuality, but it is not. On the contrary, proper training on these issues is necessary in order to fight heteronormativity and heteropatriarchy (Butler, 1990; Rich, 1980). All this situation can be translated into a reality where LGBTI+ and queer issues are full of myths and misconstructions about sexual-affective identities that, in the end, are a way of (maybe unconscious) discrimination.

Regarding misconceptions towards LGBTI+ education in teacher training, Mateos and García (2019) use the exclusion of HIV/AIDS from teacher-training curricula to exemplify such myths and wrong ideas – they point at its relation with blood, sexual relations and drugs as the main reasons not to include it. These authors present several arguments in favor of including HIV/AIDS as one of the contents in teacher education, namely: (i) some hygiene and prevention standards are supported by daily situations that need to be addressed from early education: (ii) prevention for health problems need to start before the problem arises (WHO, 2013); (iii) HIV infection is present in both heterosexuals and LGBTI+s; and (iv) HIV and AIDS can help dig in other contents related to sexual education not only concerning STDs but also sexual freedom and diversity.

Taking into consideration the need for LGBTI+ issues provision in teacher education, some proposals have been made in this field. Bejarano and Martínez (2019) present the use of "creative tales" as tools for inclusion and equality in elementary education and kindergarten. The authors proposed the design of these tales considering four categories: educational inclusion (addressing students' different interests, capacities and needs), sexual orientation (covering the entire LGBTI+ spectrum), gender-neutral language (as tales were written in Spanish, where gender is distinguished in nouns, pronouns and adjectives), and equality.

Another proposal carried out by Hipólito and Téllez (2019) focuses on social educators' training. The idea, which could be adapted to any other fields and stage of education, implied creating syllabuses including contents such as the history of the LGBTI+ movement, fundamental concepts (biological sex, gender identity and sexual orientation, among others), the queer theory, LGBTI+phobia, and sexually transmitted disease (STD) prevention. These are just two examples of how the inclusion of sexual/gender diversity in teacher training can help fight back social prejudices and hateful and intolerant attitudes towards the LGTBI+ community. What is true is that it is urgent to establish an international regulation that guarantees people's rights in relation to sexual and gender identity (The Yogyakarta Principles, 2017) and teachers can play a key role in such a task.

LGBTI+ Issues in EFL

Scientific literature is profuse when analyzing the inclusion of LGTBI+ issues in general education (Moreno, 2018), as well as in specific areas or subjects – such as Spanish literature (Cobb, 2013) and science (Fifield, & Letts, 2019) – and it even reveals specific European projects aiming at identifying the best pedagogic approaches that facilitate support for LGTBI+ (Hafford-Letchfield et al., 2019).

When it comes to foreign language learning/teaching, we must refer to the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* or CEFR (Council of Europe, 2001, 2018) which, besides communicative competence in the target language, also points at another set of students' competences that need to be taken into account when learning languages. A competence can be seen as the combination of knowledge, skills and personal attitudes thus, when talking about the competences needed to master a language, aspects like self-image, identity and social awareness of others need to be considered (Rondón, 2012), and, considering that communication is affected by the speaker's selfhood factors, sexual/gender diversity can also have its place in language classroom.

EFL is a way to personal expression and as such it can serve as a means to convey meanings about one's self. The main problem, as disclosed by Rondón (2012), is that students keep on regarding EFL from an instrumental prism, as a set of grammatical and lexical elements that works like any other content subject, and not as a possibility to discover and express themselves and to interact and know others. EFL however is a perfect environment for the inclusion of LGTBI+ issues and sexual/gender diversity for the following reasons (Byram, Gribkova, & Starkey, 2002; Ferris, & Hedgcock, 2005):

- EFL, by using writing or speaking tasks, allows personal expression and because of that, it can help students express themselves openly.
- EFL, when seen beyond its instrumental vision, can provide learners with cultural knowledge of multiple issues like the LGTBI+ movement and its struggles (also favoring other competences rather than the linguistic/communicative one).
- EFL's need for interaction can help develop social awareness and understanding to react against stereotypes towards certain groups of society like the LGTBI+ community.
- The international dimension of EFL permits an understanding of global issues such as those affecting the LGTBI+ community.

EFL Teacher Training in the Provision of LGBTI+ Education

Having the potential of EFL for LGTBI+ education in mind, it seems relevant to reflect on EFL teacher training. Rondón (2012) acknowledges the general resistance from educators, directors and students (even LGBTI+s); the author also points that this environment implies that "LGBT students are constantly assessing and self-monitoring their words to avoid accidental disclosure of their identity" (2012, p. 89) and it is for that EFL teacher training centers need to start approaching sexual/gender diversity. The main reasons can be summarized as follows:

- Students have to be taught how not to avoid self-expression of sexual/gender diversity in the EFL classroom.
- EFL materials, which tend to invisibilize LGBTI+ diversity (Goldstein, 2015), need to be properly designed and teachers need to know how to do it in order to achieve a really inclusive integration of sexual/gender diversity in the language classroom.
- The conception of the EFL classroom must be changed and, for that, teachers need to be provided by training centers with plenty of resources and ideas to integrate into their teaching task (e.g., cinema, music, television and literature can be brought into the classroom to present different expressions of LGBTI+ diversity).
- In-training and in-service EFL teachers need to change their own perceptions about the LGBTI+ topic that are translated into prejudices and harmful stereotypes such as LGBTI+phobia and STD stigmas –and what Rondón defines as "the pathologizing discourse" (that is, HIV/AIDS-related misconceptions) (2012, p. 88)

For all the aforementioned aspects, EFL teacher training centers need to reconsider the way they instruct educator so that a really inclusive integration of the LGBTI+ topic into the classroom is accomplished. In this sense, new EFL teaching approaches need to be explored.

INTRODUCING ESoPC: AN EFL TEACHING APPROACH FOR THE 21ST CENTURY

At the beginning of the 21st century, the British linguist Rod Ellis elaborated a series of principles that need to constitute the basis for any language learning and teaching process. The second principle focuses on the importance of pragmatic meaning of the elements of the language being learnt (Ellis, 2006); in other words, the tasks in which the target language is presented to students need to be context-inserted, with non-linguistic topics such as cultural values or social issues as tools to activate language use. Engaging learners in this kind activities is motivating, and by being motivated, a higher level of language proficiency (Ellis, 2008) and of sociocultural awareness will take place.

Taking this into account, and complementing the English for Specific Purposes (Robinson, 2000) model of the second half of the 20th century, Huertas and Gómez (2018a, 2018b) developed a new EFL approach: *English for and Social Purposes and Cooperation* (ESoPC). This approach:

aims at encouraging learners to think critically and challenge common assumptions in order to develop their English language level while increasing their social awareness. Encouraging students to consider both local and global issues from a social perspective will foster meaningful interaction contexts, so that motivation will increase (Huertas, & Gómez, 2018a, p. 76).

ESoPC essential objective is the development and use of material resources that, by addressing topics with social impact, such as gender, solidarity, animal abuse, immigration and refugees' crisis, among many others, contribute to a meaningful and cooperative learning process and, ultimately, improve EFL teaching (Huertas, 2018). In this sense, there are five key aspects linked to the ESoPC concept:

- Creation of EFL resources combining linguistic and non-linguistic contents, understanding the latter as social and cultural topics.
- Development of transversal competences such as tolerance, leadership, team-work, cooperation, critical thinking and problem- solving, among others.
- Use of active methodologies that optimize the quality of the EFL teaching and learning process.
- Improvement of students' social and personal dimension and autonomy by empowering social competences and skills.
- Creation of synergies between students, teachers, NGOs and institutions through the use of English, aiming at enhancing social awareness and implication. (Huertas, 2018, p. 13)

From these five aspects, ESoPC arises as an EFL teaching approach whose potential for 21st-century language learners is unequaled. Such potential can be understood referring to the eight fundamental criteria for the design and elaboration of ESoPC materials (which I would venture to define as the pillars of the approach), presented in the following table (Table 1):

Dealing with LGBTI+ Issues from ESoPC

The social and cultural nature of ESoPC makes it a perfect approach for tackling LGTBI+ diversity, an issue that, as mentioned in previous sections, needs to be given the importance it deserves. The ESoPC approach is concerned social responsibility and awareness, and we cannot deny the relevance of the

Table 1. Pillars of ESoPC

Pillar	Definition
Authentic language use	• ESoPC allows learners to access the spoken and written language used by native speakers of English in real communicative situations. Thanks to this, students are allowed to get in touch with social issues directly, becoming more culturally aware. • ESoPC promotes the use of real-life sources of information such as social networks and social media.
Meaningful learning	• Opposed to root learning, ESoPC favors a learning process in which contents can be connected to previous learning (Novak, 2010) and, more importantly, applied to real-life situations. • ESoPC allows the progressive organization of concepts in networks of meaning and a better understanding.
"Learn to learn" (LTL) competence and autonomous learning	• ESoPC encourages students in the management of their own learning process by, among other initiatives, teaching them how to find, select, use and create information from real-life sources. • ESoPC teachers are responsible for boosting their students' LTL competences by: (i) solving doubts individually and collectively; (ii) fostering collaborative work and active participation; (iii) giving feedback of activities before and once they have been finished; (iv) providing scaffolding and support; and (v) providing students with private and individual information about their performance (Huertas, 2018, based on Cabero, 2001).
Cooperative learning	• ESoPC fosters a way of learning in which students, by working together, sharing ideas, taking decisions, interacting with each other, and putting into practice their interpersonal competences, are able to create a shared, final product. • By using cooperative learning, ESoPC is guaranteed interactivity (Gómez, 2018), key element for language learning and authentic language use.
Critical thinking	• ESoPC allows learners both analyze and understand social issues that characterize reality. • ESoPC also permits questioning of ideas normally considered as correct and, consequently, fighting back prejudices and intolerances.
Revised Bloom's taxonomy	• ESoPC's implementation supports the development of the different mental processes necessary for meaningful learning to occur in the learning process. • These processes, presented in the revised Bloom's Taxonomy (Anderson, & Krathwohl, 2001), include Lower Order Thinking Skills or LOTS (remember, understand and apply) and Higher Order thinking skills or HOTS (analyze, evaluate and create).
LKT and TEP use	• ESoPC is likely to include ICT and, especially, LKT (Huertas, 2017) and TEP (Reig, 2012). • LKT and TEP use in ESoPC provides students with real possibilities to become global and digital citizens.
Multiple assessment techniques	• ESoPC pays special attention to formative assessment as valuing outcomes' achievement cannot be carried out by means of tests and exams only. • In ESoPC, social and cultural issues are as important as the language itself, so this type of assessment allows the teacher to evaluate students' process of language learning and the progression of awareness (Palacios, 2018).

Source: Own elaboration

LGTBI+ community (including their rights and fights) in today's society; in this sense, and given the unfortunate reality, there are several social issues linked to LGBTI+ that entail a work gap for ESoPC, such as HIV/AIDS misconceptions, the debate around homosexual marriage, criminalization of homosexual practices, gay conversion therapies, problems around parenting, political anti-gay propaganda, transgender discrimination, generalized violence towards the community and violence as reprisal for public same-sex affection demonstrations, school bullying based on sexual orientation or gender identity, and micro-LGBTI+phobias, among many others from an extensive list.

LGTBI+ diversity and issues meet all the pillars of ESoPC (see Table 1) and its appropriacy for as a topic for the approach can be understood as presented in the following table (Table 2):

Table 2. Appropriacy of the LGTBI+ topic for ESoPC

Pillars of ESoPC	Connection with the LGTBI+ topic
Authentic language use	• The LGTBI+ topic allows multiple debates in which learners can make authentic use of the language. • There is an extensive set of contents related with LGTBI+ issues that can be used and integrated into ESoPC: movies (Jennie Livingston's *Paris Is Burning*), TV shows (Dustin Lance Black's *When We Rise*), novels (David Ebershoff's *The Danish Girl*).
Meaningful learning	• LGTBI+ contents can be presented as linked to students' previous knowledge so as to facilitate their learning process. • Whenever a topic is to be presented, teachers need to make sure learners offer their insights about any other related issues. Furthermore, real-life-based situations need to be created to help students see the usefulness of subject matter at stake.
LTL competence and autonomous learning	• The LGTBI+ topic has become a heated debate and, in this sense, loads of information can be found on the internet regarding it. Among the multiple platforms or websites, we can find online, social networks may provide an extensive variety of expressions of individuals from all over the world that can be analyzed. • The microblogging tool *Twitter* allows quick and simple information searches thanks to the use of *hashtags* or organizers (González, 2018). • Additionally, ESoPC teachers need to solve individual and group doubts, give feedback and support during and after tasks and provide learners with private and individual information about their performance.
Cooperative learning	• The LGTBI+ topic is ideal to be presented in the form of cooperative tasks where students need to work together, share their viewpoints, ideas and knowledge and, in the end, interact with each other (e.g., a class debate, or a service-learning activity in which they have, for instance, to organize a campaign in defense of LGTBI+ rights). • By using cooperative activities, interaction, key to EFL learning, and the development of the different language skills are assured.
Critical thinking	• In ESoPC, learners are asked to critically analyze the issues around the LGTBI+ community. • ESoPC activities on the LGTBI+ topic require students to question common ideas and beliefs and determine whether they are prejudices towards LGTBI+s. Furthermore, they are asked to fight hateful and intolerant attitudes in order to contribute to their roles as global citizens and social agents.
Revised Bloom's taxonomy	• ESoPC activities are to be organized and implemented with a gradual progression according to their level of difficulty and cognitive demand. • Following a logical path, tasks need to focus firstly on students' understanding of the topic at stake and later on their ability to create improvements and contribute to society.
LKT and TEP use	• The internet offers loads of information on LGTBI+ issues. In this sense, there are several LKT tools whose use ESoPC teachers can encourage, such as *Storify*, a web-content management tool with which learners can create their own story on the proposed topic by collecting and adding information from social networks (González, 2018) • The use of TEP can be guaranteed by the provision of activities in which students are required to design global initiatives through the use of social networks (Huertas, 2018): for example, they can be asked to create a campaign to promote, for example, the decriminalization of homosexual practices in certain countries using websites like Change.org, or even to organize crowdfunding campaign to raise money for HIV/AIDS research in platforms such as Causes.com.
Multiple assessment techniques	• Considering the variety of tasks that can be proposed, multiple ways of assessment are required to evaluate both language and social learning; a holistic evaluation is likely to be developed when integrating a social issue in the language classroom. • Formative assessment is yet the most useful and desired: the proposed interactive activities allow teachers to evaluate students' learning process. Besides, self-assessment is guaranteed considering that students are being constantly encouraged to put their LTL competence into practice.

Source: Own elaboration

Integrating LGBTI+-Focused ESoPC in EFL Teacher Training

Bearing in mind the appropriacy of the LGBTI+ topic for ESoPC and the need to approach sexual/gender diversity form every stage and field of education, it seems clear that training centers need to re-consider the training of the future EFL professionals; in this sense, a triple task is to be carried out: (a) training centers needs to train EFL teachers on LGBTI+ diversity; (b) training centers need to train EFL teachers on the ESoPC; and (c) training centers need to train EFL teachers on how to integrate the LGBTI+ topic in ESoPC. The pertinence of such tasks is easily understood bearing one premise in mind: if teachers are going to be required to train future generations, then they need to have the knowledge, skills and attitudes for such purposes (Kelly, 2012).

As discussed in previous sections, there is a necessity to change the conception of the EFL classroom and, for that, teachers need to be properly trained in the understanding and implementation of ESoPC, with a special focus on:

- The importance of the intercultural communicative competence, the potential of the CEFR for the design of the EFL classroom objectives, and the necessity to integrate the four communicative skills in the ESoPC context in a real-life-based way (Huertas, & Palacios, 2018).
- The power of cooperative tasks and the Multiple Intelligences theory (Gardner, 1983) for both integrating social issues into the classroom and developing students' social and cultural awareness (Gómez, & Huertas, 2018; Gómez, 2018).
- The potential of big data, LKT and TEP for ESoPC (González, 2018), and importance of combining different types –self-, peer-, formative and holistic– and instruments –oral and written tests– of assessment (Palacios, 2018).
- The usefulness of the ESoPC teacher's guide as a fundamental resource as it offers guidelines and principles to develop the ESoPC practice (Hilinger, & Merino, 2018).

In addition, by integrating the LGBTI+ topic through ESoPC in their training process, EFL teachers can become aware of LGBTI+ issues, which, hopefully, will also have an impact on their teaching practice.

Ultimately, training teacher on how to present the LGBTI+ topic in ESoPC can help integrate a real-world mode in the EFL classroom, which, according to Rondón (2012), will help avoid the "Discourse of Vulnerability" (Rondón, 2012, p. 83) and counterattack social prejudices and intolerant behaviors against LGBTI+ diversity.

THE LANGUAGE GAP PHENOMENON

The 21st-century society is increasingly requiring citizens to be linguistically and communicatively competence in order to able to take part in today's world of today. With that objective in mind, educational institutions are making efforts to guarantee the access to a quality language education; however, the growing disparities between countries and social groups are contributing to the expansion of the language gap phenomenon (Johnson, 2015). Studies on this area (e.g., Hoff, 2003; Tsiplakides, 2018; Weisleder, & Fernald, 2013)) claim that the language environment of learners from low socioeconomic status provides them with a small amount of linguistic elements (i.e., vocabulary, structures, culture-related aspects of the language), which is what causes the disparities with other social groups as they do have neither the same opportunities nor the resources to learn a language, provoking ultimately, the so-called language gap.

Unfortunately, as this is phenomenon has been recently identified, there are few studies analyzing its causes in depth and yet fewer investigations on how to bridge such a concerning issue. There is, though, a clear line of action to solve this problem: it is necessary to put aside elitist conceptions of what education and language learning are about and come up with new ideas, approaches and policies to deal with language-access disparities. To accomplish such a complex and ambitious objective, EFL teachers play a very important role as it is their responsibility to contribute to the optimization of the language learning and teaching process.

ESoPC in EFL Teacher Training as a Bridge for the Language Gap

Huertas points at the necessity to see teachers as agents for social transformation (2018). It is then crucial to change the way they are seen as mere consumers of educational resources and transmitters of content in order to promote positive cultural representations and help, as far as possible, to create new social models that reflect the diversity of the world. As already discussed, ESoPC sees in the language a communication tool that can help speakers in as many fields in their lives as topics can be treated in the classroom, allows a reinterpretation and transformation of the learning and teaching of English where students can feel more motivated as they can purposefully learn and employ the language and, ultimately, can serve as a bridge for the language gap.

The promotion of an effective communicative environment, in which quality of input is given importance over quantity, has been identified as one of the keys to solve language-access disparities (Cartmill et al., 2013; Goldin-Meadow et al., 2014; Unsworth, 2016). At this respect, ESoPC's characteristics (see Table 1) are ideal to promote an adequate climate for communication as it can be seen in Table 3:

The disparities that cause the language gap can also be linked to issues regarding LGBTI+ diversity as both elements are social aspects that can be tackled from ESoPC. It is, however, ESoPC's deliberate promotion of authentic language use the most important reason why it a perfect solution for bridging the language gap at the same time the LGBTI+ topic is addressed. Besides, its close link to intercultural competence –which can be empowered by promoting the LGBTI+ topic– can help overcome the socio-economic disparities that maintain the language gap phenomenon (O'Dowd, 2018).

For all the reasons mentioned before, it is imperative for EFL teacher training centers to start considering the benefits of the ESoPC as an approach for language learning in the 21st century; furthermore, the phenomenon of the language gap as well as the variety of problems linked to the LGBTI+ community need to become keys in teacher-training syllabuses.

CONCLUSION

IE is becoming more and more important as diversity is increasingly considered as a symbol of cultural richness. Along with the linguistic, cultural, ethnic and racial dimensions of diversity, gender and sexual identity also deserve to be addressed in the classroom as a way to fight back social prejudices and hateful and intolerant attitudes that exist in society. EFL teachers constitute an ideal population to undertake such concepts due to the multidisciplinary nature of the area.

Table 3. ESoPC as a bridge for the language gap

Pillars of ESoPC	Role of ESoPC as a Language Gap Bridge
Authentic language use	It implies a real-life-based use of the language which can motivate learners at the same time it improves their knowledge of social issues. Motivation is key to language learning.
Meaningful learning	Linguistic contents, presented from a social and cultural perspective, can connect with students' background knowledge, allowing meaningfulness of the learning process.
LTL competence and autonomous learning	By providing students with resources to take over their learning process, ESoPC can fight against the lack of resources that makes individuals affected by the language gap partly overcome their situation.
Cooperative learning	By working together, students affected by the language gap can cooperate to figure out ways in which they can overcome their situation. Besides, such activity is eminently a social initiative directed to the improvement of low-social-status groups.
Critical thinking	ESoPC can also be directed to making students aware of their own situation and the causes that have led them to be affected by the language gap phenomenon.
Revised Bloom's taxonomy	By implementing the revised Bloom's Taxonomy, ESoPC can facilitate the language learning process of individuals affected by the language gap in ways that would not be possible in any other way: LOTS and HOTS constitute an effective way to organize the learning of any subject (Anderson, & Krathwohl, 2001).
LKT and TEP use	Technologies can be used aiming at generating social movements by creating collaboration networks (Pinto, Díaz, & Alfaro, 2016) that, in the end, can work as a bridge for the language gap.
Multiple assessment techniques	There are specific assessment techniques (e.g., self-assessment) that can help learners become aware of their own situation as individuals affected by the language gap phenomenon.

Source: Own elaboration

Starting from that assertion, this chapter has revised the pertinence of including the ESoPC approach in EFL teacher training for a double task: (a) to integrate the LGBTI+ topic in the classroom in order to educate future generations in respect and tolerance towards gender and sexual diversity; and (b) to bridge the language gap. Furthermore, it has analyzed how both premises can be combined to economize and optimize efforts. In this sense, the author believes this chapter has achieved the goals set at the beginning as it has provided enough information for understanding the potential of the ESoPC approach for bridging language gap and training EFL teachers in LGBTI+ issues. Firstly, background information about the development of the LGBTI+ movement – and its presence in education and teacher training – has been presented to clarify why there is still a need to fight for LGBTI+s rights; secondly, the ESoPC approach has been introduced as an ideal EFL teaching approach for educating 21st-century citizens in developing social and cultural awareness; thirdly, it has been analyzed how LGBTI+s issues are a perfect topic to address from ESoPC as well as the need for teacher training centers to integrate such issues into their syllabuses; finally, the possibilities of ESoPC for bridging the language gap have been addressed.

By paying attention to methodologies such as cooperative work, problem-solving and intercultural awareness and aiming at improving students' personal and social development and autonomy through EFL learning, ESoPC contributes, as already shown, to the promotion of local and global issues from a social and cultural perspective –as it can be the case of the LGBTI+ topic–, and, ultimately, helps bridge the language gap. It is then necessary for training centers to reconsider the way they educate EFL teacher by taking into account innovative and effective approaches such as ESoPC, which can help improve the 21st-century world.

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KEY TERMS AND DEFINITIONS

Authentic Language Use: A key to language learning that implies the use of the target language in a purposeful way in order to make the learning process meaningful and effective, and to achieve positive outcomes.

CEFR: A set of guidelines that explains how foreign language learners learn and should learn in the European context.

ESoPC: An EFL learning and teaching approach focused on improving social awareness of the issues of the 21st-century world.

Intercultural Education: An area of research, study and educational implementation focused on raising awareness of different cultures, their differences and similarities.

Language Gap: A phenomenon characterized by the lack of language proficiency and language accessibility of certain groups of the world's population due to social and economic disparities.

LGBTI+: A term used to refer to the community formed by lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, transsexual, intersexual and any other individuals whose sexual and/or gender identity differs from the cis-heterosexual.

Queer Theory: A field of critical theory focused on the branches of queer and women's studies that emerged in the early 1990s.

Chapter 13
Beyond the English Divide in South Korea

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ABSTRACT

The knowledge of English in South Korea is considered to be an important asset, such that it is an indispensable skill when applying for admission into the top universities in the country or finding good jobs. The investment of families in making sure their offspring learn the language has been consistently increasing in recent years. However, not all families have access to the same private resources, thus creating a division (also known as 'English Divide') between the richer families, who can provide their children with good private education, and poorer families, who cannot do it. This chapter provides a detailed account of the current economic situation of South Korea, emphasizing the importance given to English education. Moreover, the authors outline the work done by nonprofit organizations (such as Beyond the English Divide) to stop this English Divide.

INTRODUCTION

While South Korea traditionally has been considered a country with relatively strong monolingualism, since the 80s, the situation is rapidly changing. Nowadays, English is seen as an important key for success, and the lack of English skills is considered an important handicap in the competitive Korean society (Park, 2009). The importance given to English education has been fostered by the Korean government, which pushed its citizens to be more proficient in English to gain international recognition, more openness, competitiveness, and economic stability in the global economy (e.g., Kim, 2000; Park, 2009). For example, through the 6th National Curricula, English education was implemented obligatorily in 1995 for middle schools and in 1996 for high schools, and all the curricula was changed moving from a pedagogical approach focused on grammatical knowledge and accuracy towards focusing on communicative

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language use and fluency (e.g., Kwon, 2000; Shin, 2007). In addition, since 1997 (in the 7th National Curricula), mandatory English language education has been implemented beginning in the third grade in elementary school (Jung & Norton 2002; Lee, 2004; Song, 2013).

The emphasis on English education for Korea's development has not only affected primary/secondary education, but it is also reflected in its growing importance in higher education and the job market. Since the late 90s, most universities require students to take an English test as part of their Korean SAT (entrance exam). Moreover, as a graduation requirement, students need to achieve a certain score on standardized English tests such as TOEFL (Test of English as a Foreign Language) or TOEIC (Test of English for International Communication), produced and administered by the Educational Testing Service of the U.S., for graduation – and those minimum scores have risen over the years (Park, 2009). Furthermore, English skills have become an important criterion for decisions regarding employment in the white-collar job market, such that even jobs that normally would not require English knowledge still test candidates on their skills during the interview process (Choi, 2002; McTague, 1990; Song, 2011) and even during their career (Choi, 2002). In fact, over 90% of workers in large, private manufacturing and exporting industries are continuously required to take English tests throughout their working career (Choi, 2002).

Thus, having high English proficiency offers significant advantages in entering top universities, landing high-paying jobs, and in future promotions, thereby widening the economic disparity prospects between the rich who can boost their English training and the poor in the country who cannot. Since the introduction of English as an elementary school subject, the private English education market has continued growing, with parents trying to give their children the best chances of having a good future. In recent years, English private after-school academies suppose an estimated $3.3 billion market (Park & Abelmann, 2004), and the competition for entering English-only kindergartens (*yeongeo yuchiwon*) with native-speaker staff (often twice or three times more expensive than regular kindergartens) is also thriving (Park, 2009).

This is an example of how economic conditions closely intersect with the issue of English in Korea (Park & Abelmann, 2004; Shin, 2016). Those members of the Korean society who have more resources can send their children to costly English-only kindergartens or abroad, which in turn provide the offspring with better chances at securing better jobs (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). This socioeconomic division between the rich and the poor in the society and its relation to the knowledge of English is known as the "English divide" [1]. Nonprofit corporations such as Teach North Korean Refugees (TNKR http://teachnorthkoreanrefugees.org/), Helping Others Prosper through English (HOPE http://alwayshope.or.kr/aboutus_eng.php), and Beyond the English Divide Inc (https://beyondtheenglishdivide.com/, which forms part of Beyond Inc.) have emerged in an attempt to provide opportunities to foster English acquisition for children from households with limited resources. These nonprofits aim for a level playing field, attempting to ensure equal opportunities by helping children from underprivileged, low-income families (including children from orphanages) find ways to learn and speak English at no extra cost to the parents.

In this book chapter, the importance of knowing English in the Korean society and the role of nonprofit corporations to fight this socioeconomic division will be discussed (with special emphasis on the work done by Beyond the English Divide Inc). First, the chapter provides an overview of the economic situation in South Korea, drawing data from Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD, https://data.oecd.org/) and Statistics Korea (http://kostat.go.kr/portal/eng/index.action). By discussing some economic parameters, such as the real gross domestic product (GDP) or the country's average expenditure in education, this section provides direct evidence of the English divide concept described earlier. Next, the chapter outlines the work done by the South Korean government (specifically in the city of Seoul) to provide more egalitarian access to after-school education for all the members of the society. This section reviews the information provided by the council for the Education, Women & Children (Seoul Metropolitan Government, 2019), as well as discussing the work done by the above-mentioned nonprofit organizations in the country to provide underprivileged families with free English education for their offspring. The chapter ends by using information gathered through extensive personal interviews with Junhaeng (Broce) Lee, CEO of Beyond the English Divide Inc, as well as other administrators, to outline the role and type of work done by this organization to tackle the issue posed by this so-called English divide, as an example of the work performed by nonprofit organizations to address the root causes of poverty and low-income mobility, rather than simply identifying the effects.

The main purpose of this chapter, then, is to provide a qualitative description of what "English divide" means in the Korean society and to highlight some of the work that is done, mostly by nonprofit organizations such as Beyond the English Divide, Inc., to put an end to this vicious cycle of poverty.

Background: South Korea in Perspective

Understanding the importance of English in South Korea requires understanding the socioeconomic situation of the country with respect to other countries in similar economic conditions. In this section, the current situation of South Korea is cast in the light of a global perspective, including discussion of some key background aspects. First, the real gross domestic product (GDP) per capita of three countries of the OECD is compared for the international reader to understand the economic position of South Korea within the global market. Second, a more detailed perspective of South Korea's economy is provided, by discussing the share of households by income size. While the GDP per capita findings provide an average perspective of the country, this data shows the distribution of the income within the society. Third, the chapter continues explaining the socioeconomic situation of South Korea by comparing the disposable income inequality index and the number of generations needed to overcome poverty, two economic measures employed in the literature to understand the difference in a society between the rich and the poor and how hard it would be for the poorer members to overcome their poverty. However, the principal aim of this section is to provide qualitative data to show how the English divide impacts South Korea. For that reason, the section ends with a discussion on the average monthly private education expenditures per student and the share of students by size of private education expenditures' data, which both indicate how much families spend on their offspring's private education and how this distribution is bimodal, with some families spending a significant amount of money, while others cannot afford the expenditure.

South Korea has been a member of the OECD since 1996. The OECD is an intergovernmental economic organization based in Paris (France) which was founded in 1961 to stimulate economic progress and world trade among its members (which currently includes 36 mostly advanced countries). Periodically, the OECD publishes different economic statistics, such as the members' index of poverty and inequality. Using these data, together with some of the economic data reported by the Statistics Korea, a central organization for statistics under the Ministry of Strategy and Finance, allows us to understand the economic impact of studying English in South Korea.

Since the 70s, the earliest data point reported for Korea in the OECD database, the Korean standard of living has steadily improved. Figure 1 plots the GDP per capita of Spain, South Korea, the United States (U.S.) and the average value of all the OECD member countries. The GDP of a country represents the expenditure on final goods and services minus imports, all measured in U.S. dollars at current prices.

Figure 1 provides the GDP data per capita at purchasing power parity (PPP), which allows us to properly compare differences in living standards between nations. Apart from the OECD average, the U.S. has been included as well, because the U.S. has been the economic benchmark to match post-WWII. Spain is also reported due to the similarities between South Korea and Spain in terms of population (approximately 51.5 and 46.7 million, respectively) and in terms of real GDP per capita (as seen in Figure 1). In this Figure, the y-axis represents the log-scaled real GDP per capita in US dollars, representing the large range of values in equal intervals increased by a factor of the base of the logarithm. The x-axis shows values for each individual year from 1970 to 2018. Thus, Figure 1 visually represents how the economy of the three countries (as well as the average for the OECD countries) has changed over time in approximately 50 years. This Figure allows comparison of the current economic situation of South Korea and to understand the evolution of the country over time.

Figure 1 clearly shows how both South Korea and Spain's economies have continued growing over the last 50 years yet still remain below the average of the other OECD countries. However, while this steady growth in real GDP per capita can be seen clearly in Figure 1, it is important to recognize that the improvement in living standards is not equally shared among all members of the population. It is also worth noting that Korea's progress toward equality with the most advanced economies—in particular with respect to the U.S.—was rather fast, but it slowed noticeably after the 1997 Asian financial crisis (Yamazawa, 1998). In turn, Korea's economic engine of growth largely followed in sync with the recovery of the U.S. after the 2008 global financial recession while other OECD economies (like Spain) went through a lost decade with barely no improvement in real GDP per capita.

Figure 1. GDP per capita in U.S. dollars at purchasing Power Parity (Inflation-Adjusted) for South Korea, Spain, the United States and the average of the OECD countries (data downloaded and modified from OECD, 2019a)
Source: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD, 2019a)

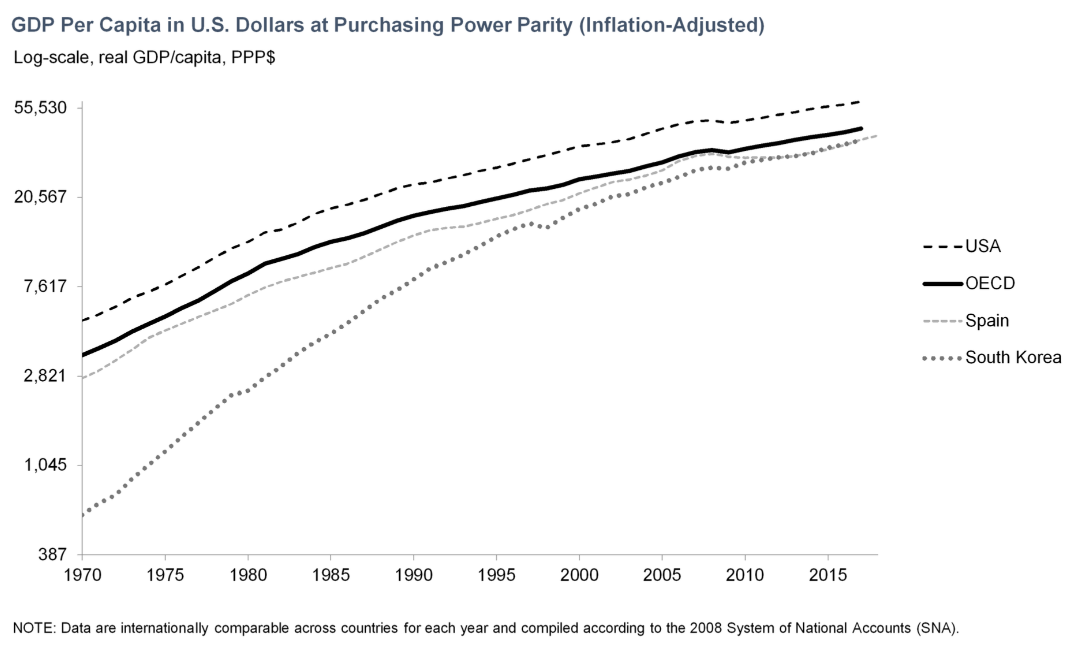


Figure 2. South Korean distribution of yearly salaries as reported in the Survey of Household Finances and Living Conditions (SFLC) in 2017

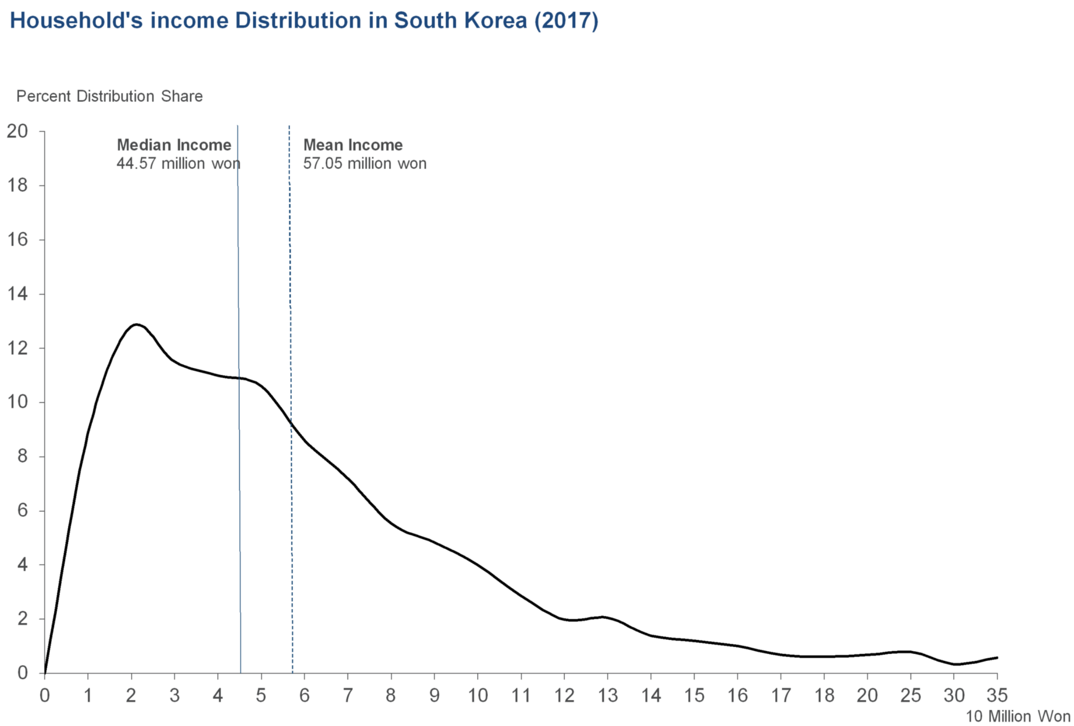


Figure 2 represents the share of households by income size, as reported by the Statistics Korea Organization. In this Figure, the y-axis represents the percentage of distribution share for South Korean households, while the x-axis shows the amount of income in Korean won. The Figure also represents the median (midpoint in the distribution) and the mean (average) income in 2017, indicating at which point the distribution is more frequent, that is, which income is more frequently reported among South Korean households. The closer these lines are to the left of the distribution, the lower the income of the average household is in South Korea.

In Figure 2, it can easily be observed that households with an annual income between 10 and 30 million won (roughly 8,600 to 25,900 U.S. dollars) occupies the highest share at 24.5% of the population. This means that about a quarter of the population lives with less than 2.000 U.S. dollars per month, a salary that they need to invest on groceries, transportation, rent and, hopefully, the education (including private education) of the members of the family. Note that all the conversions of won to U.S. dollars have been made following the current exchange rate (March, 2019). Figure 1, thus, shows the improving living standards in South Korea over the last 50 years. However, as shown in Figure 2, not everybody has equal share in the country's prosperity. While the majority of the society lives with less than 2,000 U.S. dollars a month, there is still a large population with a much larger income. That is, there is a clear division between the rich and the poor in the society. This income inequality can also be measured by other means. When comparing the disposable income inequality among the three countries compared in this section (South Korea, Spain, the U.S., as well as for the average of the OECD countries), a conventional measure of income inequality is the Gini coefficient, as represented in Figure 3.

Figure 3. Gini coefficient of disposable income inequality in 2014, 2010 and 2007, considering the total population of each country (OECD, 2019b)
Source: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD, 2019b)

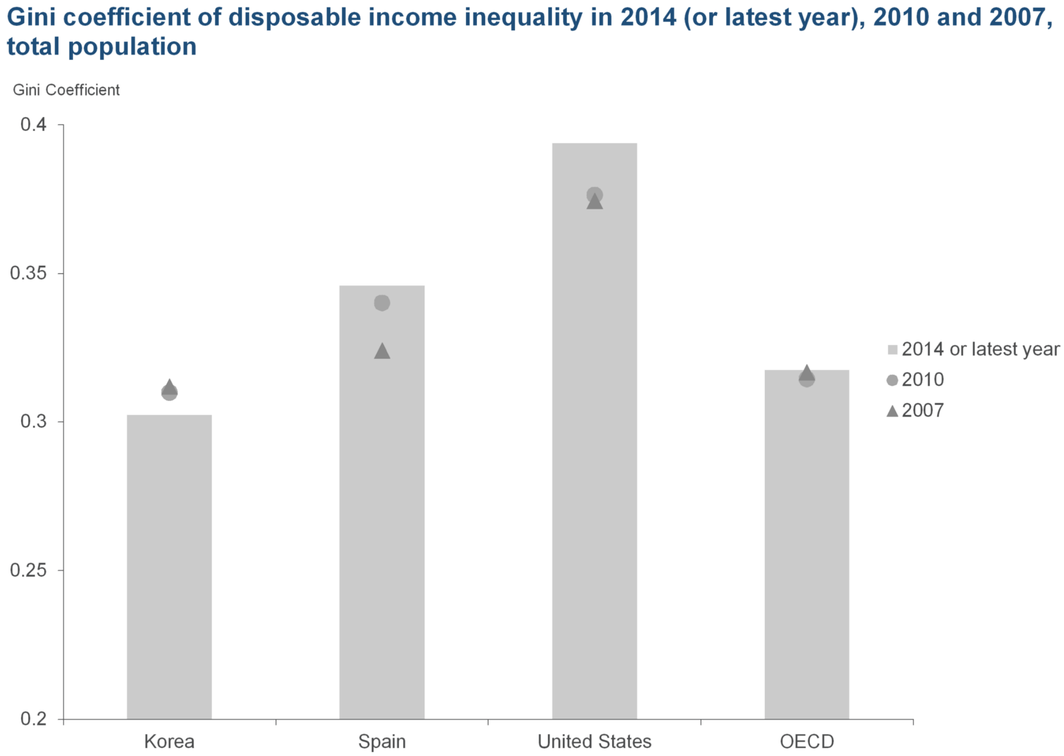


Figure 3, thus, represents the Gini coefficient of disposable income inequality in 2014, 2010 and 2007 for the three countries compared in this section, as well as for the average of the OECD countries. The Gini coefficient is one of the most commonly used measures of inequality, as it compares (in this case) how equal is the distribution of the income among households, that is, whether all households receive the same or comparable income. The values of this coefficient range from 0 in the case of "perfect equality" (each person receives the same income) and 1 in the case of "perfect inequality" (all income goes to the person with the highest income). Thus, this index represents the distance between the actual distribution of income and the equal distribution of the income among the population of each country. The y-axis in Figure 3 represents the Gini coefficient calculated for 2014, 2010, and 2007. Thus, the lower the bars in the graph, the more equal the distribution of the income among households is in each country.

As can be seen in Figure 3, while Korea's inequality is less pronounced that that found in either Spain or the U.S. (and it is the only country in which the trend of this coefficient is improving with time, that is, the bar is lower for 2014 as compared to the previous years), it still supposes a fairly high amount of inequality between the poor and the rich -- the value has yet to reach 0 before an egalitarian distribution has been achieved. Therefore, this difference between the poor and the rich may still have a direct impact on the future of underprivileged children.

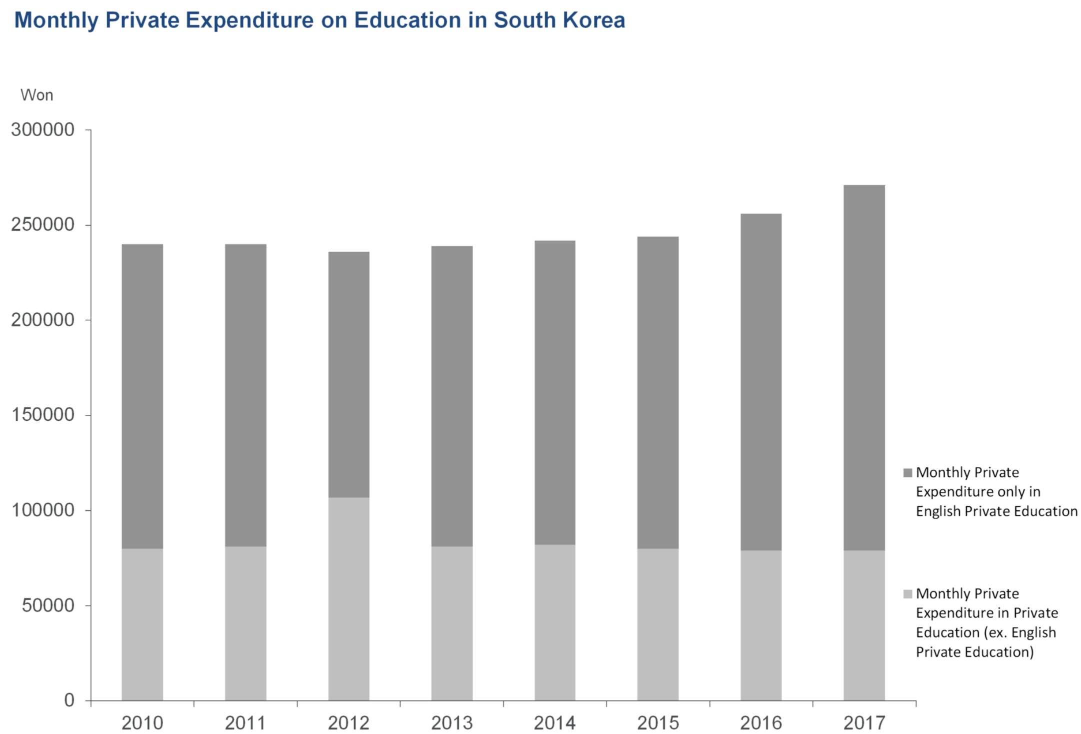
However, it needs to be recognized that today's inequality—the differences between the rich and the poor—also has the potential to impact the future prospects of today's underprivileged children. One way to understand how challenging the current environment is for the descendants of these poor families is with a measure of the expected number of generations that would take for them to reach the average income level of the country. In the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (2018), *A Broken Social Elevator? How to Promote Social Mobility*, the OECD published the results of a study on the expected number of generations that it would take for the offspring from a family at the bottom 10% income of the countries to reach the mean disposable income of their country. In their report, the OECD explores factors such as income, earnings, health, education, or occupation to make predictions regarding the inequality measures such as the number of generations needed to reach the average income level of each country. As the results of this study indicate, on average, it would take 4.5 generations for a poor child in the OECD region to reach the average income level of the country, while in South Korea, it would take 5 generations. The income inequality and the low income (and social) mobility revealed by Figure 3, as well as these numbers, illustrate the uphill battle of today's underprivileged children in Korea. Hence, the inaccessibility to private education, particularly to English language private education, is destined to limit this generation of children.

As can be observed in the data presented so far, the poorer families in South Korea face the challenge of surviving in a competitive society with very limited resources to invest in the education of their offspring. That is, while being on the poorer side of income distribution, they still need to invest as much as other families to give their children an opportunity in life. Their limitations are more evident when the average private expenditure in private education is studied (only considering after school programs) by households across countries and how sizeable it is in South Korea. As noted in the introduction, South Korea is a country that places significant importance in education and, in recent years, the emphasis has been on developing a pool of skilled workers that make the country more integrated with the rest of the world—internationally recognized, open, competitive, and economically stable. In such an environment, the lack of knowledge of English is seen as a handicap in the competitive Korean society (Park, 2009).

It is not surprising, then, that Korean families are investing as much as they can to increase their children's chances to enter into a prestigious university and find a good job after completing their degree. As can be seen in Figure 4, Korean families have been steadily investing in their children's after school private education, with sizeable amounts devoted to private English language education.[2] The general private education expenditures include different types of courses, such as mathematics, sciences, Korean language, or music. In Figure 4, the y-axis represents the average monthly investment in private education in Korean won, while the x-axis represents the last 7 years. Importantly, this graph provides two types of information, that is, the total expenditure on private education (represented by the total bars) and the amount invested only in English education (represented by the darker grey in the bars). Thus, the lower the bars, the less investment has been spent on that given year on private education (and, correspondingly, on English private education).

Putting in perspective the information illustrated in Figure 4, it is possible to observe that the average expenditure in 2017 on private education was 271,000 won monthly. For a family with two children, this would equal to 542,000 won each month. If this were one of the families that only receive a monthly salary of approximately 830,000 won, on the lower end of the salary scale, this would mean that they had to invest more than half of their salary only in after-school private education for their two children. As can be seen in the distribution of salaries, Figure 2, households with an annual income between 10 and 30 million won form the majority of the population. This means that these families are receiving

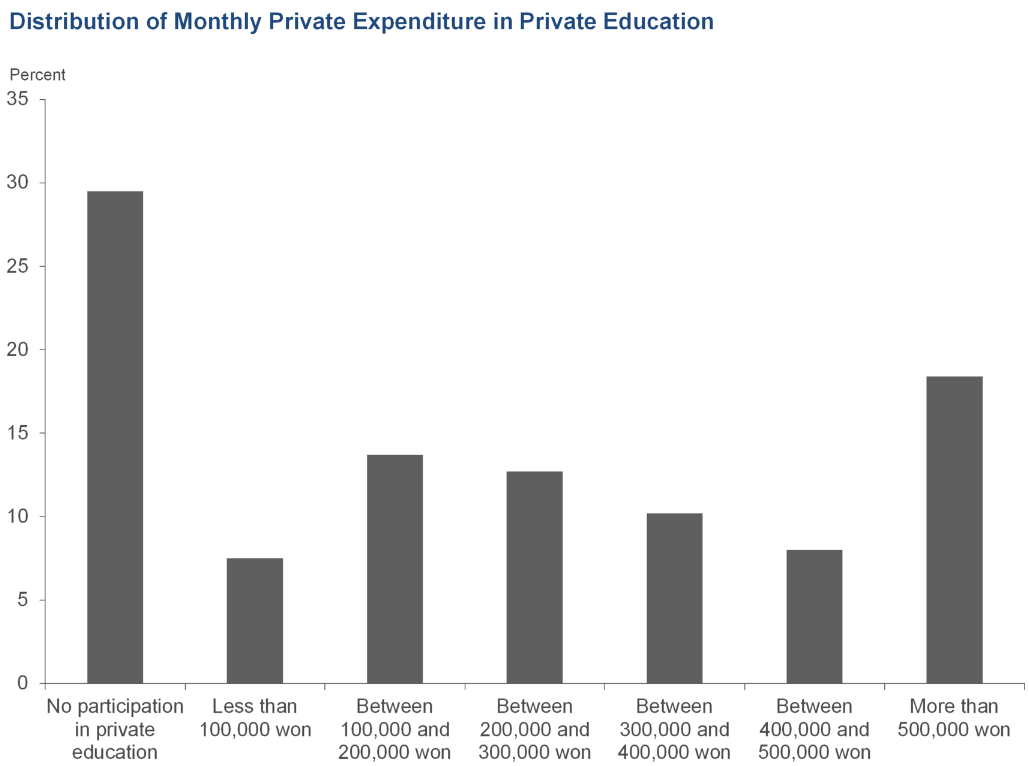
Figure 4. Average monthly private education expenditures per student in won as reported in the Survey of Household Finances and Living Conditions (SFLC) in 2018
Source: Statistics Korea Organization (2018)



a monthly salary ranging from of 830,000 and 2,500,000 won. For these specific families, spending 542,000 won each month on private education for their two children may be a burden that they cannot take, as they would still need to invest money in other, perhaps more urgent, matters, such as health, groceries, and housing. To better understand whether these predictions are true (that is, whether it is true that poorer families may not be able to invest as much on private education as other families), it is important to look at how much households invest in private education, represented in Figure 5. This Figure shows in the y-axis the percentage of the population that spends the different amounts of money in private education represented in the x-axis. All of these data represented the families with children in primary, middle, and high school.

When observing Figure 5, its bimodal distribution is evident, that is, this Figure clearly shows how the distribution of private expenditures in English education varies considerably in two groups. On the one hand, there is a great share of the population who cannot participate in private education (almost 30% of the children in primary, middle, and high school). On the other hand, there is a substantial fraction of the population who are spending more than 500,000 won (almost twice the mean) on private English language education (18.4%). The data are even more revealing when exploring in detail how much money this top 18.4% of the population is spending on private education. In 2015 alone, South Korean parents spent 3.2 trillion won (2.9 billion U.S. dollars) on private education programs for their

Figure 5. Share of students by size of private education expenditures as reported in the Survey of Household Finances and Living Conditions (SFLC) in 2018
Source: Statistics Korea Organization (2018)



preschool children, which means that they spend at least 2,000 U.S. dollars on private kindergartens (Yeo, 2015). Poor families simply cannot afford within their budget to support two school age children with the same expending level afforded by the families that are spending the most.

Thus, Figure 5 is a clear visual representation of the issue addressed by the English Divide in South Korea discussed in the introduction of this chapter. Those members of the Korean society who have more resources can spend more on their children's private education, which in turn provides them with better opportunities to secure better living situations and jobs in the future (as argued by Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990, among others). In this sense, both parents and children are locked in a poverty trap related to education (particularly English) because the poorer students do have less resources to learn English properly and, thus, less chances to secure admission to a prestigious university and/or to find adequate employment down the road.

While the South Korean government is working towards developing programs to end this inegalitarian situation (which will be outlined in the next section), nonprofit organizations and corporations have emerged to level the playing field by creating opportunities to reverse the educational gap by helping children from underprivileged, low-income families (including children from orphanages) find ways to access after school education alternatives. This includes nonprofit corporations such as Beyond the English Divide, which help these children learn and speak English at no extra cost for their parents.

THE EMERGENCE OF NONPROFIT ORGANIZATIONS IN SOUTH KOREA

Nonprofit Organizations in South Korea

The South Korean government is aware of the existence of a poverty gap in the country and is working towards implementing measures to put an end to this situation. The city of Seoul is an example of these measures. The Seoul Metropolitan Government has established the Council for the Education, Women & Children (Seoul Metropolitan Government, 2019), with the aim to create a more egalitarian society, focusing on the groups that may be more at risk presently. This council addresses some of the issues these groups face, by providing them with the necessary information and by developing programs to try to put an end to this poverty cycle.

When looking specifically at the types of programs the Council for the Education, Women & Children is developing to help underprivileged children, these projects can be divided into five main categories: (1) projects for improving competence; (2) projects for improving counseling and protection; (3) programs for school dropouts; (4) child welfare; and (5) children's rights. The projects designed for improving competence aim to induce healthy activities, such as creative experience programs and diverse activity infrastructures, for the youth to help them grow into productive citizens (for example, by expanding youth facilities and improving facility operations). Programs designed to improve the counseling system for children and teens aim to resolve the problems that children and teens may face and to create a preventative and protective environment for high-risk teens, such as runaway teenagers (for example, by supporting underprivileged teenagers studying in life long educational centers with late-night snacks and cultural events). The programs for school dropouts and child welfare aim to investigate the reasons some children drop out of school, attempting to find a solution for them, including executing child welfare policies for children who are not properly cared for by their parents. Finally, the Seoul Metropolitan Government is implementing a comprehensive human rights plan and increasing both children and teens' participations in related policies that affect them directly (Seoul Metropolitan Government, 2019).

Not only the government, but also other public and private institutions such as universities, are working towards creating programs to put an end to the division between the poor and the rich in the country (Seoul Metropolitan Government, 2019). Most universities in the country offer volunteering programs that their students can join to gain experience (for example helping in the countryside, with the elderly, or in hospitals; for an example, see the programs offered by Sungkyunkwan University: https://www.skku.edu/eng/CampusLife/activities/SocialVolunteer.do). There are even some universities that do have a requirement for graduation that requires students to complete a certain number of volunteer hours (Seoul Metropolitan Government, 2019). Thus, volunteering work and helping those is need seems to be inherent in the society. While all these measures do have a direct, positive impact on underprivileged children, none of them seems to be directly addressing the English divide problem described in the introductory sections. Until this moment, this gap has been filled with the work of nonprofit organizations such as Teach North Korean Refugees (TNKR), Helping Others Prosper through English (HOPE), and Beyond the English Divide (BtED). Each one of these organizations, however, does have a slightly different approach to work towards ending the English divide in South Korea. On the one hand, TNKR focuses on teaching English to adult North Korean Refugees, although recently the program has started a program to teach younger refugees also. On the other hand, HOPE and Beyond the English divide (which will be described in more detail in the following section) try to address the problem of unequal access to English language and other educational opportunities for children in Seoul, specifically those from orphanages or from low-income or disadvantaged families. [3]

While these three organizations make an enormous effort to end the English Divide in South Korea with their limited resources, they face some difficult challenges to overcome at times. In the next section, the work done by Beyond the English Divide is highlighted as an example of how South Korea is working towards ending this injustice and the type of challenges that these nonprofit organizations face in their daily work.

The Beyond the English Divide Nonprofit Corporation as a Solution to a Problem

While the economy in South Korea has continued increasing steadily over the last 50 years, as discussed in the Introductory sections, the economic disparity between the rich and the poor in the society continues to be striking. One aspect where this difference is particularly notable relies on the investment in private education, particularly in the case of English private education. While this aspect would not be so critical in certain contexts, it is in the case of South Korea, a country that places great importance on education, such that children with better knowledge of English can access better universities which, in turn, lead them to find better jobs later in life (Choi, 2002; McTague, 1990; Park, 2009; Song, 2011). Thus, not knowing English is considered a handicap in the community, also referred to as English divide. The South Korean government has established certain programs, such as the Council for the Education, Women & Children (Seoul Metropolitan Government, 2019), with the aim to create a more egalitarian society, a work that is followed by the volunteering opportunities fostered by universities. However, the measures proposed so far do not specifically address the English divide discussed in the introductory sections. This is where nonprofit organizations such as Beyond the English Divide, TNKR or HOPE come into play. The next section outlines the work done by Beyond the English Divide, as an example of how members of society attempt to put an end to this English divide. All the information provided regarding the organization and the challenges it faces has been gathered through extensive personal interviews with Junhaeng (Bruce) Lee, Beyond the English Divide Inc's CEO and the other administrators of Beyond the English Divide.

Origins, Status and Actions

Beyond the English Divide is a nonprofit corporation determined to narrow the English Divide in South Korea. It was originally established in September of 2017 by Junhaeng (Bruce) Lee, who witnessed first-hand the effects of the English Divide in the Korean society and wanted to do everything he could to ensure equal opportunities for children from underprivileged, low-income families or orphanages to find ways to learn English at no extra cost for them or their families. The beginnings were challenging, as he had to work to gain the trust of the centers where he wanted to offer the groups' volunteering sessions, recruit volunteers who could teach English to the children, and develop Beyond the English Divide's own teaching curricula, all of it with only his own time and personal resources. However, he managed to achieve his goals, despite all the problems he had to face.

Since its inception, Beyond the English Divide has been steadily growing and consolidating within the community. Today, after being officially incorporated (see below), the group of five board members, including Bruce, meet regularly to make decisions on the progress and vital changes needed to make Beyond continue growing. Moreover, the organization counts on the inestimable help of a group of dedicated administrators. On the one hand, 6 Korean university students (at times, the organization had up to 8 volunteers) complete management tasks such as fundraising, reaching new centers, and expanding to other regions of Korea. On the other hand, a group of foreigner administrators handles the development of the organization's own teaching curricula to make sure it meets the needs of the students, recruiting, and public relationships through the use of different social platforms. Considering those members who are not physically present at the moment in South Korea but are still involved in the organization and help it grow, Beyond the English Divide is supported by a diverse group of approximately 70 talented volunteers who come from all backgrounds (professionals, students, etc.) and from very different parts of the world.

Since January 2019, Beyond the English Divide has been incorporated, which means that it has been recognized officially by the Korean government as a legal entity and qualifies for certain governmental subsidies, such as the possibility to apply for tax exemption or sue others as a legal entity. As an incorporated organization, it forms part of a larger organization, named Beyond Inc, which includes a second nonprofit organization, 'Beyond Career Mentorship.' Beyond Career Mentorship tries to help university students connect with mentors who can help them find their future careers. Both 'Beyond the English Divide' and 'Beyond Career Mentorship' had been successfully registered as official nonprofit organizations since 2017 and were merged and incorporated into Beyond Inc., in 2019. Beyond Inc. was approved by the Seoul Metropolitan City Mayor and now falls under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family in South Korea. Without the support received from 강북, 서초, and 강남 Volunteering offices, nothing of what Beyond has done could have been accomplished, as they have helped Beyond the English Divide in all the steps it has given, from helping find underprivileged children to helping the organization register on the 1365 Volunteer Website (see below)).

This volunteer-based organization in Seoul, South Korea, currently works in six volunteer learning centers located throughout Seoul, including educational welfare centers (용산교육복지센터 *Yongsan educational welfare center*), youth centers (such as 강북구 청소년수련관 *Gang-buk District Youth Training Center*), child community centers (such as 병점지역아동센터 *Byeongjeom Child Community Center*, 구로파랑새나눔터공부방 지역아동센터 *Guro Child Community Center*, and 돌산지역아동센터 *Dolsan Child Community Center*) and orphanages (such as 영락보린원 *Yongrak Orphanage*). While originally based in Seoul, the organization is starting to branch out to reach more centers and underprivileged children all over the country. Right now, Beyond the English Divide offers its services in the Seoul metropolitan area, as well as in Suwon, Gyeonggi-do province, where the 병점지역아동센터 (*Byeongjeom Child Community Center*) is located. The management team is working towards establishing a strong community within the Seoul metropolitan area and making contacts within the international communities of other cities in the country (such as Busan, Gwangju, Daegu and Daejeon) to further expand the reach of the organization. So far, Beyond the English Divide has reached and helps around 100 children in all the centers where it volunteers, with some centers hosting up to 30 children at once.

Volunteering sessions are held mostly on Saturdays, due to volunteers' availability, and normally last for about two hours, where the volunteers focus on both completing different activities with the children in English and on creating bonds with them (one of the most important aspects of the program, as will be discussed in the next sections). Although continuously growing, Beyond the English Divide still faces some common problems among nonprofit organizations in the country: The challenges associated with teaching underprivileged children, and the nomadic nature of the expat community in South Korea, as will be discussed next.

Challenges Associated with Teaching Underprivileged Children and Solutions

One of the most unique aspects of Beyond the English Divide is that it welcomes all volunteers, independently of their country of origin, with the only requirement that they should be at least high-intermediate learners of English (as established after a personal interview with the current CEO of the organization). Since English was identified as a means to acquire social mobility and cultural capital (Jeon, 2009; J.K. Park, 2009; J.S.Y. Park, 2009), the South Korean government has established very strict requirements for those foreigners intending to secure a job in the country teaching English. The visa needed to teach English in Korea (E-2) is available for those who are 'citizens of a country where English is the primary language (USA, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, England, Ireland and South Africa only)' (Ministry of Justice of the Republic of Korea, 2006).

Some of the other nonprofit organizations working on teaching underprivileged communities (such as HOPE or TNKR) also favor this same rule, and prefer recruiting native speakers as volunteers (this requirement can be found in the description of the type of volunteers they are recruiting). However, this decision limits their pool of potential candidates considerably. On the one hand, being a native speaker of English does not necessarily imply knowing how to convey effectively what one knows. In fact, current research has pointed out the value in someone who is not a native speaker teaching a language, because a learner knows the pitfalls that a native speaker might not see as complicated and has already explored some teaching techniques that may work in the long-term learning process (for a review, see Phillipson, 1992; Viáfara, 2016). On the other hand, this homogeneity in the volunteer corps denies the children the opportunity to know and interact with persons of diverse backgrounds, with whom they can create deep bonds and with whom they can understand their own reality.

The importance of variety is central when teaching underprivileged children. Beyond the English Divide attempts to help all the underprivileged children it can reach. As a result, in each of the centers where the organization teaches, volunteers find several challenges they need to face, such as children with very different levels of proficiency and children who may be facing challenges other than poverty (e.g., learning disabilities, abandonment issues, etc.), some of which are unknown to the volunteers initially. One characteristic of some of the underprivileged children that attend these centers is that they belong to poor, multicultural families, in which one of their progenitors is originally from a country considered to be poorer than South Korea, such as some of the southeast Asian countries. Living in one of the most homogeneous societies in today's world (Lee, Kim, & Lee, 2015), these children sometimes feel they are "outliers" in their own country. Creating bonds with such a diverse group of people helps them realize that what makes them different is actually something to be thankful for.

In order to face some of the challenges mentioned above, Beyond the English Divide has decided to follow a "non-traditional" approach to teaching these children English, in which "bonding" with the children is valued as much as completing all the activities for the day. Thus, Beyond the English Divide is currently working toward creating its own curriculum, which includes innovative methods of learning such as gamification. The main idea of gamification consists in including typical elements of game playing (e.g. point scoring or competitions with others) to the process of learning (for a detailed review, see Çeker & Özdaml, 2017). For example, when teaching the present tense, the teacher could have two possible options (of course, many other activities and methodologies could be implemented). On the one hand, it is possible to teach the present tense by explaining the grammar and asking students to complete some fill-in-the-blank activities. On the other hand, the teacher could explain the grammar, divide the group into two smaller groups and give each group a series of cards with subjects, verbs, and objects, and tell the students that the first group to arrange the cards to create meaningful sentences is the winner. This is the reason why Beyond the English Divide has decided to follow an approach in which the students have an active role in their own learning process (for example, through the use of vocabulary cards or games). This approach is a really useful way to make students more engaged and to help them feel more comfortable using the second language (Buckley & Doyle, 2017).

Moreover, another strategy implemented is the use of both worksheets and games, focusing on the vocabulary and grammar of one specific topic (e.g., "Thanksgiving" for November), to help motivate the children without making the lessons particularly challenging. Moreover, the sessions include at least one ice-breaker game. These games help students relax physically, gain motivation, bond together (and with the volunteers), and become willing to participate in the learning process (all these benefits have been attested through extensive research, for a review see Gordon, Haas, & Michelson, 2017). Even though this is still a work in progress (thanks to the effort made by the Education Team), these handouts, activities, and games are used as a way to interact with and teach the children.

Beyond the English Divide and the Nomadic Nature of the Expat Community in South Korea

In the context of trying to provide underprivileged children with the chance to access free English education, which requires the collaboration of unpaid volunteers, a specific challenge that the organization is faced with is the nomadic nature of the expat community in South Korea and its impact on the number of volunteers who can commit for a considerable amount of time. This section discusses its characteristics as well the measures taken to find a flow of long-term volunteers.

As of November 2018, the population of South Korea was 51.42 million persons, of which only 2.9% of the total population is considered to be foreigners with legal status in the country (Statistics Korea Organization, 2017). However, this foreign population seems to be nomadic in nature. As of May, 2013 (latest statistics available), foreigners staying in the country for 1 year to less than 5 years accounted for 56.4 percent of total foreign legal immigration. Most of the other foreigners reported in the census are staying in the country for less than 3 months (Statistics Korea Organization, 2013). While most of the more permanent residents in the country are here with working visas (teaching, business, etc.) or as the spouses of a Korean citizen, most of the short-term visitors are in the country as either general tourists (thus, not particularly interested in volunteering in this specific situation) or study-abroad students. Therefore, recruiting volunteers to teach English to underprivileged children for Beyond the English Divide for the long-run (with the hopes of creating a continuing group of volunteers) is not an easy task, as most of these volunteers are expected to leave in the short-term.

To address this issue, Beyond the English Divide is currently trying to develop new recruiting campaigns, targeting the more long-term resident foreigners in the country. The organization is looking for passionate individuals who want to experience a life-enriching opportunity by dedicating their time to a worthwhile cause, at the same time looking for those individuals who are willing to commit their time in the long-term, and not just for a couple of months. Currently, the organization is recruiting volunteers with the use of advertisements on its webpage, as well as in different social media (such as Facebook and

Instagram). Nonetheless, the results are still not satisfactory, as most of the volunteers who signed up after seeing these ads are students who plan to return to their countries after completing their programs.

Among the new measures taken by the organization to help with the recruitment process was to change the status of the organization from "registered" by the National Tax Service Republic of Korea, to "incorporated". As mentioned earlier, this process implies that now the organization can work as an independent legal entity, and it can provide volunteers and monetary donors with some personal benefits that may be more attractive to them personally (for example, tax exemptions on the money donated to Beyond the English Divide). Beyond the English Divide was incorporated into Beyond Inc, opened its own bank account, and is officially recognized in the state's records. All these minor details add legitimacy to the organization and its mission, creating solid trust factors for the community and potential donors. While this specific measure may not have a direct impact on the likelihood of recruiting more volunteers, it does provide specific benefits to Beyond the English Divide's economic donors. As any other nonprofit organization, Beyond the English Divide depends mostly on donations from anonymous people. For a relatively new nonprofit organization such as Beyond the English Divide, fundraising is so much more than raising funds. With the money these organizations receive from fundraising, they can not only prove they are reaching as many people as possible (upgrading their website, creating newsletters or designing a social media strategy), but also that they are providing the children with better, more personalized class materials, presents, food, etc.

Other measures have been undertaken by Beyond the English Divide to try to achieve a more consistent flow of volunteers among the foreigner population who aims to stay in South Korea for the long-term. One of the main measures has been to register the organization in the 1365 Volunteer Website (the approval process is still undergoing at the moment in which this chapter was submitted for publication). The 1365 Volunteer Website is managed by South Korea's Ministry of the Interior and Safety (Ministry of the Interior and Safety, 2019) whose main purpose is to regulate all volunteering work being done in the country. This system is beneficial for both nonprofit organizations and for individual volunteers, both Korean and foreigners. On the one hand, nonprofit organizations can register and advertise their volunteering opportunities, thus reaching a larger population of interested volunteers. On the other hand, once individuals register on the webpage, they can officially keep track of their volunteering hours and receive an official certificate issued by the Ministry stating the work and hours they have invested in volunteering in South Korea. Once volunteers receive this certificate, they can use it to obtain certain benefits from the government. For example, Korean university students can use these "volunteering hours" to either improve their curriculum vitae or to fulfill the volunteering hours requirement that some universities have for graduation. And foreigner citizens can use this certificate to prove the volunteering points needed in the point system to obtain the F2-7 Long-Term Residency visa (Ministry of Labor, 2019).

While the nomadic nature of foreign residents in South Korea is a difficult problem to overcome, nonprofit organizations in the country such as the one discussed in this chapter have found the means to reach those expatriates interested in relocating in the country for the long-term. However, more work is needed to make sure nonprofit corporations such as Beyond the English Divide have a consistent, reliable group of volunteers interested in helping the underprivileged children.

CONCLUSION

While in most contexts knowing English is seen as an asset, that is, it is considered worthy of praise and reward, in South Korea knowing English is much more. For example, knowing English in South Korea is directly correlated with having better chances at being accepted into a prestigious university, finding better-paid jobs after graduation and, later in life, getting promotions in the work place (Choi, 2002; McTague, 1990; Park, 2009; Song, 2011).

After reviewing some economic parameters such as the real GDP per capita, the Gini inequality index and the average private expenditure in private education (among others), the existence of this English divide between the rich and the poor in the Korean society, there is no doubt of the existence of this phenomenon. While the rich can afford sending their offspring to expensive English institutes (or even abroad), the poor members of the society find themselves in a cycle of poverty, aggravated by their lack of resources to access after-school private English education. However, it is important to realize that the solution to the problem starts with giving all children, including underprivileged children, the same opportunities to access a decent English education to address the root causes behind poverty and low-income mobility rather than just its effects in the country.

Different measures have been undertaken by the Korean government (such as the creation of the Council for the Education, Women & Children (Seoul Metropolitan Government, 2019)) and universities (by establishing volunteering programs for their students), with the aim to create a more egalitarian society, in which the more at-risk groups are targeted. However, none of the measures implemented so far directly address the issue posed by the so-called English divide. This is the specific problem that the work of non-profit organizations such as TNKR, HOPE or Beyond the English Divide tries to solve. However, as the volunteers themselves describe the situation, “”Volunteering is, indeed, just a band-aid solution. But it is the solution we have in our own hands.”” (Dunbar, 2019)

In this context, the actions taken by the Beyond the English Divide presented in this book chapter can be used as a starting point for understanding the current situation in South Korea, the role played by the knowledge of English in understanding part of the division of economic inequality within the society, and the challenges associated with running this type of nonprofit corporation. However, this chapter is just a first step towards fully understanding the ramifications of the English divide problem and the validity of the solutions implemented so far. While this chapter presents a purely qualitative study reporting the work done by Junhaeng Lee and the rest of the Beyond the English Divide’s administrators, a quantitative study needs to be done to quantify the gains obtained through the work of this (and other) organizations to end with this cycle of poverty.

In any case, the work done by this organization, as described in this chapter, aims to give more attention to this problem and inspire similar initiatives both within and outside of South Korea.

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KEY TERMS AND DEFINITIONS

Child Community Center: In South Korea, it is considered to be a place where children can go after school to be fed and receive private, free education (offered by volunteers) without any cost to their families and while their caretakers are still at work.

Educational Welfare Center: In South Korea, it is considered to be a place where anybody in need can go to receive help (from legal advice, to food or child care service) without any cost to the person in need.

English Divide: A social division created within a society due to the lack of access to English by some of the members of the population. While the richer members can access this education and receive future benefits from it, the poorer cannot access it, and so their prospects of improving their quality of life in the future are reduced.

Expat: Short for expatriate. Group of foreigners in a given country who had to relocate to the new country due to financial, work, or family reasons.

Incorporation: Status of an organization or organism after following all the legal steps to become a legal entity. After being incorporated, the organization receives benefits from the government (like subsidies or tax exemptions) and can follow all legal procedures as a legal entity.

Nonprofit: An organization, group or entity that is dedicated to furthering a particular social cause or advocating for a shared point of view without looking to obtain personal profits.

Underprivileged: Pertaining to a group or social class economically below the average of the country where this person/group lives. They normally do not have access to the same resources as some of their peers, which ends up affecting their prospects of improving their quality of life in the future.

Volunteering: The action of offering one's free time with the aim of helping other and without looking for a financial retribution.

Youth Center: A place where young people (but not limited to young people) can meet and participate in a variety of activities, including sport activities, educative, or religious activities.

ENDNOTES

1 Whenever this term is used in capital letters, it refers to the nonprofit corporation "Beyond the English Divide." Otherwise, it refers to the socioeconomic problem associated with the lack of access to English private education by a sector of the Korean society.

2 When interpreting this graph take into account that the amounts represented are by student, which would multiply in the case of families with more than one child and that it only represents the average, as private education of older students, in high school for example, is more expensive than that for younger students.

3 While there may be other nonprofit organizations based in South Korea that teach English to underprivileged children, the three mentioned in this chapter are the only ones which are legally registered as nonprofit corporations/organizations at the time in which this chapter was submitted for publication.

Chapter 14
The Spelling Gap in English:
Economy of Rules and Resolution of Puzzles

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ABSTRACT

Spelling is a major item on the topic of language gap. Since the 1950s, English spelling has been an attraction to scholars. What this implies is that there is need for increased research on rules of spelling in the language. This chapter examines how the rule for choosing between -tion and -sion works in a bid to render it more economical as one way of bridging the language gap. Specifically, it is demonstrated that base-words that take the t-form have a smaller set of conditions that can more easily be mastered than do those that take the s-form, thus forestalling the latter.

INTRODUCTION

In his essay *How to bridge the language gap* on the online forum everyday-democracy.org, Elenes (n.d.) points out that "[m]any kinds of people make up a community, and often times a significant proportion of the population speak a language other than English," that is, as English is generally considered to be a global lingua franca. In terms of the languages and/or dialects that people speak, Elenes's use of the word "kinds" can be taken to mean the presence, in a given society, of people with different levels of competence in the language skills. Elenes also points out that "[f]or a community dialogue to be inclusive, it's important to offer interpretation services." Such services are required, not only when people can neither speak nor understand the language in use, but also when people can only do so at a (very) low skill level. Offering such services is one way of bridging the language gap.

Apart from listening and speaking which can take place either in a face-to-face speech act situation or in a telephone conversation (with great distances between), reading and writing are essential for effective communication in a world of great distances between people who need to share ideas, with the advantage of writing over speaking being that ideas can more adequately be coordinated, given the possibility of ed-

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iting. In other words, if anything, all four essential language skills are to be taken seriously. The idea of a language gap is now all too common – see Johnson & Zentella (2017) and relevant citations there. Strauss (2013) states that "[w]e hear a lot about how children from low-income families often enter school with a 'word gap,' meaning they have heard and know[n] fewer words than their more affluent peers, a reality that puts them at a disadvantage from the very beginning of their education." In the case of reading and writing, therefore, appropriate spelling is required, other aspects of writing aside. Thus, although it might controversially be asked, as in Woods (2004), if society should place so much value on correct spelling, users of English around the world generally agree that appropriate spelling is important for appropriate written communication and/or correspondence. Poor spelling typically reflects a lack of writing skills. Bilchik & Cole (2012, p. 124), for instance, state that "on the topic of written communications, be aware that how you write reflects on you. Poor spelling and grammar can quickly spoil a professional image." Richards (2002, p. 186) also points out that "it is easy to spoil a piece of written work with poor spelling [and that] some people will not take what you have written seriously if you haven't spelled it correctly." What this means is that poor spelling which, as we see in the next few paragraphs, is all too common among users of English – natives and non-natives, is a major contributor to the language gap, in this case, a spelling gap.

The much attention paid to the existence of a word gap for many children of school-going age is suggestive of the need for proper language policy and political will. But this alone will not be adequate enough, as the nitty-gritty of any given language involves the entirety of its grammar and orthography. Following the case made by Taylor (1981), therefore, that English spelling is not as unsystematic as many would see it to be, Achiri-Taboh (2018b) has demonstrated the need for increased research on issues of English spelling, for example, and shown (p. 42) that users of English are generally good at following spelling rules when such rules are readily available. An increase in research is necessary, if effective bridging of the language gap is to be achieved, as the use of words in writing is not enough if there is no proper and convenient way of spelling them correctly. In this chapter, therefore, the author takes on the issue of English spelling as a problem that is intrinsic to the concept of "language gap." Specifically, the author seeks to show that effective research on English spelling can be profitable in bridging the language gap by enabling English spellers generally to spell better.

English spelling has been in the spotlight since the 8th century. This is because it is not so easy a thing to grapple with. In LearningExpress (2006, p. 15), for example, it is pointed out that

[in] the English language, if you simply wrote words the way they sound, you'd come up with some very peculiar spellings. If you tried to sound out every word and pronounce it exactly the way it's written, you'd come up with some pretty odd pronunciations too.

Flare-up of anger like in the epigraph that precedes this introduction by Andrew Carnegie in the early 20th Century, as cited by Gauld & Lubin (2016), is totally expected in this situation, not least because English has since been such a widely used language on a daily basis as an international lingua franca. Thus, the question is often triggered why English words do not always get written the way they are spoken, with the effect that English spelling has been at the center of scholarly debates since the 1950s. For example, see West (1955; 1965), with a recent surge among scholars, including Carney (1994), Upward & Davidson (2011), Crystal (2012), Ekundayo (2014), Farlex International (2017), and Achiri-Taboh (2018a; 2018b). From the epigraph, it is clear that even the spelling of *weird* is undeniably weird, to say the least, talk less of those like *enough*, *queue* and *yacht*, whose reading (i.e., pronunciation) as /eˈnaʊg^{h}/, /ˈkwe.we/, and /jætʃ/ by (fresh) learners at first meeting leaves only experienced language teachers to guess what the phonetically camouflaged (or poorly pronounced) words are.[1] Imagine the different vowels in the verb *read* and its simple past tense form *read* and the adjective *ready*, all spelled in the same weird fashion. Upward & Davidson state that "few languages are riddled with as many spelling inconsistencies and irregularities as English," and question "why [there is] such dissonance between the sounds of English and the spelling used to represent them." They then point out that "the answer lies in the history of the language itself," as they seek to outline such history in their book, *The History of English Spelling* – also see Allen (2002), Huddleston & Pullum (2005), and Seely (2005). Thus, although according to Crystal (2005, p. 214), the English language is about 75% regular, "the about 25% of irregularity is 25% too much for a language so widely dependent upon on a daily basis (Achiri-Taboh, 2018b, p. 42)." In other words, although Crystal notes that "the 400 or so irregular spellings are largely among the most frequently used words in the language, and this promotes a strong impression of irregularity," "400 regularly used irregularly spelled words certainly constitute a serious menace to users (Achiri-Taboh, 2018b, p. 42)."

It is generally agreed that the problem with English spelling lies in the rich and complex history of the language.[2] Seely (2005, p. 209) sums it up by saying that,

[i]n all this richness of vocabulary and linguistic vitality there has never been a consistent attempt to reform the whole spelling system.[3] So we are stuck with a spelling system that is far from ideal and the best we can do is to device workable strategies to help us spell better… There are ways of getting a grip on spelling generally and there are specific rules which can be learned.

In 1965, Michael West pointed out that English spelling is a major problem even to native speakers, and as one can imagine, this assessment stands correct to this day. What this means is that existing spelling rules are not as many enough to coincide with the demand from words that need specific spelling rules to help spellers spell properly. In other words, there are many strangely spelled words in English not covered by spelling rules. As Adams-Gordon (2010, p. 12) points out, "the greatest force which impedes the learning of spelling is a lack of interest or presence of undesirable attitudes towards instruction." As Achiri-Taboh (2018b, p. 41) in turn points out, "such a force may set in and afflict the learning of spelling once there are no rules to mitigate the yoke of memorization." Thus, in his article on this matter, Achiri-Taboh (2018a) has examined the two main orthographic forms of the noun formation suffix "shun," namely, -*tion* and -*sion*, supposedly used in complementary distribution on words that take the suffix, and established a *base*-word based (BWB) rule for choosing between them in the spelling of any given *shun*-word, by means of clues on the endings of their *base*-words.[4]

Besides having as many as seven conditions for choosing -*sion*, the BWB rule is characterized by several exceptions to the individual conditions. This two-fold problem alone makes the rule cumbersome enough to be an economical or easy-to-apply rule in English spelling. In this chapter, more specifically, therefore, the author examines how this synchronic rule works, in a bid to render it a more economical rule that rather dictates conditions for the use of -*tion* than -*sion*. He demonstrates that *base*-words that take -*tion* have a smaller set of conditions that can more easily be mastered than do those that take -*sion*, thus forestalling the latter. In the section that follows, the BWB rule is outlined as it stands, and the problem with it put into perspective. *Shun-words* that take the *t*-form are then characterized in a bid to spell out the conditions that inform the use of the *t*-form in view of the possibility that such conditions are fewer in number, since this would render the present formulation uneconomical and redundant. The chapter then ends with a consideration of non-derived *shun*-words.

THE PROBLEM WITH THE BWB RULE

As suggested already, while the BWB rule is meant to enable users of English spell *shun*-words more accurately, its sheer number of conditions – seven in all, in addition to several exceptions to each individual condition implies that the rule is not as economical enough as to accommodate as many a user as are those who face problems with the spelling of *shun*-words on a daily basis around the world. To get into the nature of the problem and see how it can be fixed for the rule to be more economical, let us start by considering it adapted here as (1).

1. Use the *t*-form on the *base*-word, except
   a. when the word ends with a *d*(*e*) [drop *d*(*e*) and add -*sion*] (cf. *expand/expansion*, *extend/extension*, *intend/intension*, *collide/collision*, *conclude/conclusion*, and *corrode/corrosion*; with exceptions like *attend/attention*, *commend/commendation*, and *contend/contention*), or
   b. with any of the syllables -*fuse*, -*vert* [drop final *se/t* and add -*sion*] (cf. *confuse/confusion*, *diffuse/diffusion*, *effuse/effusion*, *avert/aversion*, *convert/conversion*, *invert/inversion*, *subvert/subversion*), or
   c. the syllable -*pel*, [change [e] to [u] and add -*sion*] (cf. *compel/compulsion*, *expel/expulsion*, *impel/impulsion*, and *repel/repulsion*; with exceptions like *convulse* whose final syllable is not initiated by *p*, but still yields *convulsion*); or
   d. when the word is a disyllabic word that ends with the syllable -C+*ise* (C = any consonant) [drop final *se* and add -*sion*] (cf. *concise/concision*, *incise/incision*, *precise/precision*, *revise/revision*), or
   e. a word that ends with the **stressed** final syllable -*mit* [change *t* to *s* and add -*sion*] (cf. *admit/admission*, *commit/commission*, and *remit/remission*), or
   f. the **stressed** final syllable -*cede*/-*ceed* [maintain a single inter-consonantal *e*, change *d*(*e*) to *s* and add –*sion* (note that this can simply be stated: change the final *de/ed* to *s* and add –*sion*)] (cf. *concede/concession*, *proceed/procession*, *precede/precession*, *secede/secession*, *succeed/succession*), or
   g. when the word ends with a double-*s* [drop the final *s* and add -*sion*] (cf. *compress/compression*, *express/expression*, *impress/impression*, *profess/profession*).

For all intends and purposes, establishing a link between each of the seven conditions in (1) and -*sion* is not a problem for spellers who write regularly and so have the chance to put the rule into practice and master it (as ancient wisdom holds that practice makes perfect), thus, rendering its application a given. However, for spellers who do not write regularly, the sheer number of conditions still leaves them with a considerable amount of difficulty, since they have to apply the rule only once in a while, and so, as with any other (spelling) rule not regularly applied, they have to recall, each time, both the fact that it even exists and its application. This actually leaves a vast spelling gap between the latter group and the former. Besides, even those who write regularly but who do not make regular use of (assorted) *shun*-words would also find the rule (very) difficult to apply once they encounter them.

With regards to the individual conditions, let us consider, for example, (1a) that deals with *base*-words that end with either -*nd* or -*de*. For those that end with -*nd*, the condition states that -*sion* (as opposed to -*tion*) is added with the consonant sound segment /d/ changing to /t/ due to an alveolar-effect that is triggered by the presence of a preceding alveolar nasal (although it only features phonetically) – consider the change in pairs like *comprehend/comprehension* /tʃᵊn/, *expand/expansion*, *extend/extension*, *intend/intension*, and *pretend/pretension*. The problem here is with the exceptions – *shun*-words whose *base*-words end the same (i.e., with -*nd*) but which unexpectedly take -*tion* as in *attend/attention* /tʃᵊn/ and *contend/contention*. With the same affricate, /tʃ/, in words like *attention* and *contention* perceived in the same way as in words like *comprehension* and *intension*, there has to be an obvious reason for this variation in spelling and, indeed, all the other variations described in Achiri-Taboh (2018a) as exceptions (for the interest of the speller), a reason that amounts to a more effective way of predicting the spelling of *shun*-words. The need for this becomes even more compelling if we consider that the word *pretension* (with -*sion*) is also acceptable in (current) English usage as *pretention* (with -*tion*) as a variant of the spelling, an issue that is taken on later below.

It is probably due to such (obvious) difficulties that, as point out in Achiri-Taboh (2018a, p. 37), "current English grammar textbooks have generally not discussed rules for the spelling of *shun*-words." For example, in Shepheard's (2001) *English Grammar*, where whole chapters are dedicated to affixation and spelling (pp. 171-90 and 209-15), a treatment of "shun" is conspicuously absent. However, as the case is made in Achiri-Taboh (2018b, p. 42), there is a burning need for increased research on rules of English spelling. The case of "shun" is compelling, not least because it involves a variation in spelling for seemingly arbitrary non-phonological reasons.

Note with close inspection of the BWB rule, as it is, that the latter is dependent upon how extensive the *base*-word of any given derived *shun*-word can morpho-phonologically, prosodically, semantically, and otherwise be characterized and classified to take either the *t*-spelling or the *s*-spelling. In other words, the use of one spelling as opposed to the other is dependent upon whether the *base*-word has the required characteristics for it. Thus, there is the possibility that a given word is acceptable in both spellings provided its *base*-word meets both sets of requirements. If *shun*-words generally take only one of the two spellings each, it must therefore be so because only one set of requirements is usually met, and providing a reason for the use of one spelling as opposed to the other would be to describe the relevant features on both sides to see which requirements are met. This reasoning allows us to conclude that the BWB rule only generates exceptions artificially because of our sheer inability to fully characterize the *base*-words and classify them to either take -*tion* or -*sion*. As indicated earlier, the aim here is to attempt proposing a simplified BWB rule that focusses on where to use -*tion* (rather than -*sion*) with fewer conditions and without exceptions.

CONDITIONS AND ANALYSES

As it stands, all seven conditions in the formulation in (1) are solely characteristic of *base*-words that take the *s*-form. This, in itself, is not a problem, since knowledge of one set of conditions forestalls knowledge of the other and so suffices to guide the speller, presupposing that, with adequate characterization, the two forms are in complementary distribution. The problem, however, is the possibility that conditions for the use of the *t*-form are fewer, since this would render the present formulation uneconomical, regarding the minimalist spirit of keeping rules to the barest minimum (Chomsky, 1993; 1995). Since the conditions for the use of the *t*-form are not spelled out in that formulation, it is possible to blame this lack on the large number of conditions for the use of the *s*-form which the speller is brought to bear with. Spelling out the conditions for the use of the *t*-form would normally obviate some of those for the use of the *s*-form. Should the conditions for -*tion* be fewer, those for -*sion* can be reduced to nothing, amounting to anything other than what the former are, and simply calling on the speller to employ -*sion* if none of the fewer conditions for -*tion* is met. A careful study of over 2800 *shun*-words spelled with -*tion* by means of wordplays.com reveals that every relevant *base*-word displays (at least) one of three main conditions which are now discussed below.

Epenthesis

This has to do with the addition of one or more sound segments to a *base*-word before the suffix, usually a vowel (i.e., "anaptyxis") as in (2) below.

2. *commend/commendation*, *compete/competition*, *consider/consideration converse/conversation*, *convoke/convocation*, *degrade/degradation*, *derive/derivation*, *exalt/exaltation*, *examine/examination*, *improvise/improvisation*, *pose/position*, *pronounce/pronunciation*, *render/rendition*

Note the case of *render/rendition* where we can assume, provisionally, that the weak final vowel of *render* allows for *rend<u>i</u>tion* instead of "*rende<u>ra</u>tion*" as is the case with *consider/conside<u>ra</u>tion*. However, since words like *consider* also take a weak final vowel, the choice of *rendition* over *renderation* can be a result of some diachronic development returned to later.

There is also the frequent case of consonant addition (i.e., "excrescence"), the consonant of which may then be suppressed orthographically if it is /t/, as in (3).

3. *abstain/abstention* /æbˈsten.*t*ʃᵊn/, *assume/assumption*, *convene*/(*convent*)*convention* /kənˈven*t*.ʃᵊn/, *detain/detention*, *join/junction*, *destroy/destruction*, *redeem/redemption*, *retain/retention*, *satisfy/satisfaction*, *sustain/sustention*

Finally, we have a combination of the two as in (4).

4. *acquire/acquisition*, *cease/cessation*, *condemn/condemnation*, *declare/declaration*, *explore/exploration*, *imply/implication*, *personify/personification*

Note the difference between *cease/cessation* /sesˈeɪ.ʃᵊn/ with epenthesis and *secede/secession* /sesˈeʃ.ən/ without epenthesis to which the author returns later in (10) as a case of double-*s base*-words.

Final Voiceless Consonant Drop

As would become clearer later, dropping (a segment) implies that a gap is created. *Base*-words that display this condition are made up mainly of final-*t*(*e*) words as in (5) below – observe the gap in /ænˌtɪs.ɪˈpeɪ.ʃᵊn/ as opposed to the illicit /ænˌtɪs.ɪˈpeɪ.*t*ʃᵊn/, for example.

5. *anticipate/anticipation*, *attract/attraction*, *complicate/complication*, *congregate/congregation*, *contribute/contribution*, *correct/correction*, *create/creation*, *desert/desertion*, *dictate/dictation*, *exert/exertion*, *fruit/fruition*, *ignite/ignition*, *insert/insertion*, *intercept/interception*, *intuit/intuition*, *predicate/predication*, *rate/ration*, *rotate/rotation*, *sedate/sedation*, *situate/situation*, *state/station*

Note the importance of consonant voicelessness here. Thus, contrast the pairs of examples in (5) with those like *abrade/abrasion*, *divide/division*, *elude/elusion*, *fuse/fusion*, *incise/incision*, and *revise/revision* where the dropped final consonant of the *base*-word is voiced and as such rather requires -*sion*. Also observe that many words in (5) pattern as though they involve epenthesis/anaptyxis, as their *base*-words end with -*ate*, and so require -*tion*.

Given the long and convoluted history of English spelling (see Allen, 2002; Huddleston & Pullum, 2005; Seely, 2005; Upward & Davidson, 2011 among others), we have to expect cases of deviance of some sort. Thus, in the case of *convulsion* whose *base*-word *convulse* ends with a voiceless consonant that drops, we can assume that the unexpected use of -*sion* follows from its pronunciation that patterns with examples like *compulsion*, *expulsion*, and *impulsion* whose *base*-words that end with -*pel* display no final consonant drop and thus require -*sion*. The list in (5) includes the examples *desert*/desertion, *exert/exertion*, and *insert/insertion* on which the author bases his discussion of one of two other sets of examples as in the following subsections that should also form part of the group, but do not seem to do so, thus looking like exceptions.

Base-Words That End With -vert

This section deals with the examples noted in Achiri-Taboh (2018a, p. 40) as being those whose *base*-words end with the stressed syllable -*vert*. Although they exhibit a final voiceless consonant drop in the addition of the suffix, the latter is rather spelled with *s* as can be seen in (6).

6. *avert/aversion*, *convert/conversion*, *divert/diversion*, *evert/eversion*, *extravert/extraversion*, *extrovert/extroversion*, *introvert/introversion*, *invert/inversion*, *obvert/obversion*, *revert/reversion*, *pervert/perversion*, *subvert/subversion*

The difference between the derivatives in (6) that are not spelled with the *t*-form and those in pairs like *desert*/desertion, *exert/exertion*, and *insert/insertion* that are is that the final syllables of the *base*-words of the former begin with (the voiced labio-dental) /v/. Intriguing as it is – not sharing a morpheme boundary with the suffix, the presence of /v/ seems to be the defining factor in the exclusion of the relevant examples from being spelled with -*tion*. To be specific, the final consonant drop should not be preceded by a pre-vocalic /v/, if -*tion* should be used. Since the use of -*sion* here is consistent with it, there must be an account of how it affects the addition of “shun.” Note that we can neither attribute it to the voice quality of /v/, since the voiced pre-vocalic /z/ of examples like *desert* and *exert* does not generate the effect, nor can we to the stressing of the final *base*-word syllable, since the suffix, in all its orthographic forms, is always preceded by a stressed syllable.[5] Given the need for such an account here (for the sake of spellers), a failure to render it stands as a weakness, and for the time being, spellers simply have to beware of final-*t* *base*-words that end with the stressed syllable -*vert*.

Base-Words That End With Double-s

Let us start here by considering the examples in (7).

7. *compress/compression*, *confess/confession*, depress/depression, *digress/digression*, *discuss/discussion*, *express/expression*, *impress/impression*, *profess/profession*, *progress/progression*, *retrogress/retrogression*, *suppress/suppression*

The logic here is that the final voiceless /s/ of the *base*-word drops, translating orthographically into the dropping of the second *s*. This is then seen as a case of final voiceless consonant drop for which we expect the suffix to be spelled -*tion*. The use of -*sion* instead, can then be understood, if we assume that it follows orthographically from the preceding *s*, and learners and other spellers have to beware that *base*-words that end with double-*s* essentially take the *s*-form. This account also shows that, as Maddox (2010) points out, "'ssion' is not a valid spelling of 'shun.' [That is, in] a word like *succession*, for example, the first *s* belongs to the second syllable: suc-ces-sion."

Final Consonant Substitution

The third paradigm includes *base*-words that exhibit final consonant substitution (or change, according to Achiri-Taboh, 2018a) before adding the suffix. As the terms imply, the difference between final consonant substitution which is discussed in this section in three subsets and the case of final consonant drop discussed earlier (see the examples in (5) above) is that, in the former, no gap is created.

Substitution by a Vowel

Here, a particular case in point is that of /v/ that is substituted by the vowel [u] as shown in the pairs in (8), perhaps following the historic relationship involving *u*, *v*, and *w* in the classical Latin alphabet ("All things UVW," n.d.).[6]

8. *absolve/absolution*, *convolve/convolution*, *devolve/devolution*, *evolve/evolution*, *resolve/resolution*, *revolve/revolution*, *solve/solution*

We have seen *render/rendition* as a case of epenthesis/anaptyxis. As suggested earlier, however, it might actually be analyzed as a case of final consonant substitution instead, if we go back diachronically to look at *render* etymologically as Old French or Anglo-French *rendre* (COBUILD, 2019) / (Merriam Webster, 2019) with a final -*re* (rather than -*er*) as in British English *centre*. Thus, the final /r/ is substituted by /ɪ/ as in *render* (i.e., *render*)/*rendition*.

Orthographically Marked Substitution by a Consonant

Here, one or two final consonants are phonetically substituted by a ((near) corresponding) voiceless consonant and orthographically marked as in (9).

9. *absorb/absorption*, *conceive/conception*, *convince/conviction*, *deceive/deception*, *describe/description*, *introduce/introduction*, *perceive/perception*, *produce/production*, *receive/reception*

Note that cases like *destroy/destruction* and *satisfy/satisfaction* treated in (3) as cases of epenthesis (i.e., excrescence) might as well be seen as cases of final consonant substitution if we assume that the *base*-word ends with a consonant.

However, there are two sets of examples as in (10) and (11) below that should form part of the paradigm in (9) where final consonant substitution requires *-tion*, rather than *-sion*, and therefore look like exceptions.

10. *accede/accession*, *concede/concession*, *precede/precession*, *proceed/procession*, *secede/secession*, *succeed/succession*
11. *admit/admission*, *commit/commission*, *demit/demission*, *emit/emission*, *intermit/intermission*, *intromit/intromission*, *manumit/manumission*, *omit/omission*, *permit/permission*, *pretermit/pretermission*, *remit/remission*, *submit/submission*, *transmit/transmission*,

It might be thought that the final consonant of the *base*-word here is dropped/deleted as in (5) earlier, rather than substituted. But if this was the case, we would not be able to account for the use of *-sion* in (11) where the final consonant of the *base*-word is voiceless, since dropping it would require the use of *-tion*. Observe that that final consonant is actually substituted by /s/ as diagnosed in pairs like *accede/accessible* /əkˈses.ə.bl̩/ and *admit/admissible* /ədˈmɪs.ɪ.bl̩/ where the /s/ sound occurs doubled at morpheme boundary, the first one actually heard on the stressed second syllable of the root morpheme and therefore belongs there. Thus, the resulting *shun*-word should be spelled with *-tion*. However, as pointed out for the cases in (7) whose *base*-words end with a double-*s*, *-sion* may then be said to be used in (10-11), if we assume that it follows orthographically from the preceding *s*. But it is possible to also look at it with respect to the consonant doubling rule. Thus, since the final syllable of the *base*-words in (10-11) is stressed, and given that, with substitution, the vowel becomes (or remains) short and the syllable closed, the consonant doubling rule then applies with the addition of the suffix. The difference between *-ible* and "shun" is that the latter begins with a consonant. To now explain why the *base*-words in (10-11) take *-sion*, we can assume that, while *-ible* simply merges, the final substitute-*s* of the *base*-word undergoes final consonant drop before "shun" is then merged as *-sion*.

Besides, actual evidence of such substitution comes from the behavior of *base*-word final consonants. Specifically, observed that, when a final voiced consonant is dropped (as opposed to being substituted) before "shun" as in examples like those enlisted in the paragraph after (5) above repeated here in (12), the suffix is pronounced /ʒᵊn/ (rather than /ʃᵊn/) and spelled *-sion*.

12. *abrade/abrasion*, *collide/collision*, *conclude/conclusion*, *corrode/corrosion*, *deride/derision*, *divide/division*, *elide/elision*, *elude/elusion*, *evade/evasion*, *extrude/extrusion*, *fuse/fusion*, *incise/incision*, *include/inclusion*, *invade/invasion*, *persuade/persuasion*, protrude/protrusion, *provide/provide*, *reclude/reclusion*, *revise/revision*

A reasonable guess here is that the voice feature of the consonant segment does not delete with the latter, and so is inherited by /ʃ/ at morpheme boundary (i.e., in substitution, the voice feature is substituted alongside its host segment) – compare *vibrate/vibration* (/vaɪˈbreɪ.ʃᵊn/) where the voiceless final /t/ is dropped, *abrade/abrasion* (/əˈbreɪ.ʒᵊn/) where the voiced final /d/ is dropped (but not with its voice quality), and *absorb/absorption* (/əbˈzɔːp.ʃᵊn/) where the voiced final /b/ is substituted (together with its voice feature). Also compare *elusion* (from *elude*) and *solution* (from *solve*). Thus, the fact that "shun" in cases like *concede/concession* (and *admit/admission*) is pronounced with /ʃ/ rather than /ʒ/, indicates that the final consonant of their *base*-words is actually substituted rather than dropped.[7]

Non-Orthographically Marked Substitution by a Consonant

In this case, as shown in (13) below, the substitute sound segment is (pronounced but) not marked orthographically.[8]

13. *attend/attention* /əˈten.*t*ʃᵊn/, *circumvent/circumvention*, *congest/congestion*, *contend/contention*, *distend/distention*, *exhaust/exhaustion*, *intend/intention*, *pretend/pretention*, *recognize/*(*recognish*) *recognition* /ˌrek.əgˈnɪʃ.ᵊn/, (Latin) *subvenire/subvention*

Like in the previous section, however, the paradigm in (13) projects a set of *base*-words whose behavior towards the use of "shun" constitutes a puzzle.

14. *apprehend/apprehension* /ˌæp.rɪˈhen.*t*ʃən/, *ascend/ascension*, *comprehend/comprehension*, *expand/expansion*, *distend/distension*, *extend/extension*, *intend/intension*, *pretend/pretension*, *reprehend/reprehension*, *suspend/suspension*

Notice that the final /d/ of the *base*-words in (14) is substituted (by /t/) and the resulting *shun*-words should be spelled with -*tion*, compared to examples like *attention* and *contention* in (13) with which they share a common *base*-word ending, namely, -*nd*.[9]

An important observation, however, is that, as noted earlier, some of these words accept both spellings in current usage – consider *distention/distension*, *intention/intension* and *pretention/pretension*. Although dictionaries generally do not carry *pretention* (with -*tion*), software spell-checks equally do not reject it. Besides, its adjectival counterpart *pretentious* features with *t* although also pronounced with /ʃə/, indicating that the *t*-spelling is conceptually acceptable – compare *pretention/pretentious* and *contention/contentious*. As for *intention/intension*, both spellings are found in dictionaries. See, for example, the New Lexicon Webster's Encyclopaedic Dictionary (NLWED) of the English Language (1992, Deluxe Edition), with two definitions for the two entries expressing the same (basic) sense – both entries are used (for example, in logic) to name what a concept stands for. With *distention/distension*, NLWED carries *distention* (with -*tion*) but not *distension* (with -*sion*), while Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary (CALD) 2nd Edition rather carries *distension* (with -*sion*) but not *distention* (with -*tion*), with both dictionaries attributing it the same sense. Note that we cannot assume that examples like *attention* and *contention* take -*tion* because the final /d/ of their *base*-words is substituted by /t/, since as we have seen, substitution in itself requires the use of -*tion*. Thus, since the prediction is that the examples in (14) with the same conditions are actually licit with -*sion*, we can assume that whatever accounts for the -*sion* spelling is extraneous to such words. A failure to figure this out at this time is another weakness in the present study, and spellers simply have to beware, in the meantime, of final-*nd base*-words with examples typically accepted in dictionaries with -*tion* limited to (probably) just two, namely, *attention* and *contention*. The rest are spelled with -*sion*, with *distension*, *intension*, and *pretension* also acceptable as *distention*, *intention*, and *pretention*.

SUMMARY

To summarize, with the three main conditions displayed by *base*-words that take -*tion* exemplified in this study, albeit with attempted explanations for seemingly non-conforming examples, a more economical BWB rule emerges as in (15) – for pedagogical reasons, parenthetical notes are presented on areas of seeming exceptions (discussed in the study so far), some of which require further investigation.

15. Spell a *shun*-word with -*tion*, if its *base*-word exhibits
    a. epenthesis; or
    b. final voiceless consonant drop (except after /s/ (cf. (7)) and a pre-vocalic /v/ (cf. (6)), and when the word patterns like those whose *base*-words exhibit no final consonant drop (cf. *convulsion*)); or
    c. final consonant substitution (except by /s/ (cf. (10-11)); and except when the *base*-word ends with -*nd* where only *attend*, *contend*, and *intend* take -*tion* (cf. (14)).

The difficulty that might be faced at the beginning with applying this (modified) rule is with figuring out the presence/absence of any of the three conditions in relevant words of some specification, let alone that some words meet the conditions at all, but puzzlingly behave otherwise due to other conditions. An example is how to figure out that a final consonant drop is involved in deriving words like *invention* and *interception* whose *base*-words already end with *t* (i.e., /t/), or epenthesis in words like *convention* and final consonant substitution in words like *subvention*/*contention* where the phonetic additive/substitute is not orthographically marked, or the absence of epenthesis in words like *abrasion* that pattern as though the reverse is true. An even more familiar but sinister-looking problem (also with the previous formulation in (1)) is picking out the *base*-word in words like *contention*/*convention* (i.e., *contend*/*convene* and not *contain*/*convent*) to know which condition is in place. However, as said before, once spellers get used to the idea of picking out *base*-words and considering their endings vis-à-vis the changes in the relevant derivatives, especially with the help of a trained/experienced English teacher, it becomes easy figuring out the presence/absence of any of the conditions, following Pinker's (1999) Words-and-Rules Theory.

NON-DERIVED WORDS

As observed in Achiri-Taboh (2018a, p. 41), the noun formation suffix "shun" also regularly features as part of simple non-derived words, also typically spelled either as -*tion* or -*sion*, such that the same question is raised with respect to where to use one as opposed to the other. There, he suggests checking for patterns similar to those illustrated for the use of -*sion* outlined in (1). Here, the author suggests the same, except that the patterns have to be similar to those illustrating the use of -*tion* instead. Thus, the words *auction*, *diction*, *diminution*, *duration*, *fiction*, *portion*, and *sanction* pattern like those in (5) whose *base*-words exhibit a final voiceless consonant drop; *condition*, *nation*, *perdition*, and *sedition* pattern like those in (2) that exhibit epenthesis (i.e., anaptyxis); *mention* patterns like those in (13) whose *base*-words exhibit a final consonant substitution; and *absolution* and *involution* pattern like those in (8) in whose base-words the final /v/ is substituted by /u/.

There are, of course, some that do not seem to fit within specific patterns. For example, in pairs like *mention/pension* and *portion/torsion*, "shun" is spelled in the two different forms whereas, in each pair, the preceding syllables end the same. Also, the word *occasion* which clearly patterns like those in (2) whose *base*-words exhibit epenthesis rather takes -*sion*, although it might also be said that it patterns like the examples in (12). Thus, the author agrees with Achiri-Taboh (2018a) that non-derived *shun*-words seem to be largely unruly, and simply have to be mastered individually, for the most part, and written the way they have been in the long and convoluted history of English spelling.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has reconsidered Achiri-Taboh's (2018a) BWB rule that formalizes the debate on the spelling of the noun formation suffix "shun," in a bid to render the rule more economical and thus friendlier to English spellers as a contribution to the topic of bridging the language gap. As an aspect of writing, spelling is certainly a major factor on the topic, since the obvious problem with English spelling necessarily implies that there is a spelling gap. Since the 1950s, English spelling has been an attraction to scholarly debates, as it is a major problem even to native speakers. As it remains a problem to English spellers to this day, it is clear that existing spelling rules are not yet doing enough, and as Achiri-Taboh (2018b) avows, there is need for increased research on rules of spelling words in the language. In this respect, he has examined the two main orthographic forms of "shun," namely, -*tion* and -*sion*, supposedly used in complementary distribution, and established a *base*-word based (BWB) rule for choosing between them in the spelling of any given shun-word, by means of clues on the endings of their *base*-words. However, besides having as many as seven conditions for choosing -*sion*, this synchronic rule is characterized by several exceptions to the individual conditions. This two-fold problem alone makes the rule cumbersome enough to be an economical or easy-to-apply rule in English spelling.

By rather suggesting three conditions to use -*tion* in this chapter, down from the seven to use -*sion*, the author has rendered the rule a more economical one. Specifically, he has demonstrated that *base*-words that take the *t*-form have a smaller set of conditions that can more easily be mastered than do those that take the *s*-form, thus forestalling the latter. As it is arguably true that the greatest force that impedes the learning of spelling is a lack of interest or the presence of undesirable attitudes towards instruction, rendering spelling rules easier to follow is one main way of bridging the language gap, since more users of the language get to spell more accurately and therefore write more intelligibly. With about 400 regularly used irregularly spelled English words including words with the suffix "shun," all of which certainly constitute a serious menace on a daily basis to users of English around the world, the author hopes to have made a modest contribution to lessening the burden of English spelling and bridging the language gap, especially with English being the present day global lingua franca. Specifically, this chapter has demonstrated that the language gap can be narrowed significantly, if more economical rules are made readily available to inform language users on more appropriate ways of using language.

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KEY TERMS AND DEFINITIONS

Autography: The act of writing something in one's own handwriting.

Communication Gap: A failure to convey and/or understand the information, intent, or meaning of another, especially between individuals of different perception.

Derivation: The process of deriving (i.e., forming) a word or a construction by adding and/or subtracting one or more affixes or words to another word or construction.

Digraph: A pair of letters that represent a single sound the "ph" of *digraph* or "gm" of *diaphragm*.

Homograph: A word which has the same spelling as another but differs in derivation and meaning or pronunciation.

Morphology: The study of a morpheme (i.e., the smallest meaning unit of language) and the rules by which it combines with other morphemes to form words; a morpheme affixes to another morpheme, thus called an affix, at the beginning as a prefix, in the middle as an infix, or at the end as a suffix.

Pronunciation: The act or manner of pronouncing words, sounds, or letters, or the correct way of pronouncing a word, sound, or letter in a given language.

ENDNOTES

1 If the spelling of *weird* was conceived (in the absence of any spelling rule) to be a combination of orthographic material from two other words, namely, the *we* of the plural 1st person personal pronoun and the *ir* of *shirt*/*skirt*/*third*, albeit with the latter pronounced more weakly as /ə/ (rather than /ɜː/), then it is doubtful how spellers are expected to know (that the spelling is not "wierd"), and we are only left to see what a complicated spelling system there is for English.

2 Thus, it can actually be said that English is a victim of its own success in becoming a global lingua franca, as "words came into [the language] from many other languages and many retained their original spelling but changed their pronunciation. Other imports came from languages with a different writing system and were written down by travelers and merchants in the best way they could" (Seely, 2005, p. 209).

3 True to Seely's claim, Gauld & Lubin (2016) point out that America almost fixed the English language many years ago, with some very smart and powerful people on board, but the campaign fizzled out. As it goes, the movement took off in 1876 when the American Philological Association proposed 11 new spellings, namely, *ar*, *catalog*, *definit*, *gard*, *giv*, *hav*, *infinit*, *liv*, *tho*, *thru*, and *wisht*. Within years some states and even Congress debated, adopting simplified spelling standards, and the pioneering Chicago Tribune went ahead to use them. In the late 1880s, the Association came out with a full 3,500 recommended changes. The movement peaked in 1906 with the formation of the Simplified Spelling Board, funded by steel baron Andrew Carnegie and supported by the likes of Charles Darwin, Mark Twain, US President Theodore Roosevelt, Oxford English Dictionary editor Sir James A. H. Murray, and Melvil Dewey of the Dewey Decimal System. Carnegie had high hopes, and as it was reported in the Times, "Mr. Carnegie has long been convinced that English might be made the world language of the future, and thus one of the influences leading to universal peace; and he believes that the chief obstacle to its speedy adoption is to be found in its contradictory and difficult spelling." After those heady early days, however, the movement lost steam. In government, Congress blocked Roosevelt's push to adopt spelling reform. In media, major East Coast papers held out even as many newspapers around the country adopted the reforms. In 1915, Carnegie wrote to the Board in disappointment, saying "I see no change in New York and I am getting very tired indeed, of sinking twenty-five thousand dollars a year for nothing here in the East." The magnate funded the Board through his death in 1919 but left no money for it in his will. The Chicago Tribune expanded its use of simplified spelling under publisher Col. Robert H. McCormick, but the newspaper ceded ground after he died. As spelling reform enthusiast Cornell Kimball writes, "The list of simplified spellings was shortened bit by bit during the late 1950s and 1960s. They used 'tho' [for *though*] and 'thru' [for *through*] until 1975, when they basically stopped using simplified spellings. The newspaper continued to use the '-log' for '-logue' spellings for a while after that, but then went back to the '-logue' forms."

4 As pointed out in Achiri-Taboh (2018a, p. 36) and Achiri-Taboh (2018b, p. 38), although other spellings of *shun* are available, namely, *-cian* (for professions: *beautician*, *musician*, and *physician*), *-sian* (for origins or nationality: *Asian*, *Caucasian*), *-tian* (also for origin or nationality: *Lilliputian, Venetian* (but note US *dietitian* as a profession)), and some arbitrary ones including *-xion* (*complexion*, *connexion*, *crucifixion*), *-cion* (*coercion*, *suspicion*), *-shion* (*cushion*, *fashion*), and *-cean* (*crustacean*, *ocean*), those that name professions and origins are usually straightforwardly predictable, and the arbitrary ones are fewer, and learners and other users of English can easily

learn them by heart, and as Harnew (2007) points out, *cushion* and *fashion* are the only two common English words with the ending spelled -*shion*.

5 Also note, of course, that *base*-words to which the suffix is added in the formation of *shun*-words are generally transitive verbs which, in turn, generally end with a stressed syllable, and in cases where epenthesis is required, the stress is transferred to the epenthetic syllable preceding the suffix.

6 For a long time, *v* doubled as *u*, the latter later emerging as an allograph of *v*, with a distinction only made in the 1500-1600s with the influence of Italian printers like Lazare Zetzner. Thus, *w* emerged as double-*u* (as in English) or double-*v* (as in French).

7 This account predicts that the use of /ʒ/ in pronouncing a word like *equation* /ɪˈkweɪ.ʒᵊn/ (whose *base*-word ends with the voiceless consonant /t/) is only at surface level (also note *occasion*), based on patterning with the word *persuasion* /pəˈsweɪ.ʒᵊn/ whose own *base*-word ends with the voiced /d/ - observe that words like *evacuation* /ɪˌvæk.juˈeɪ.ʃᵊn/ and *situation* /ˌsɪt.juˈeɪ.ʃᵊn/ actually do not pattern like *persuasion*. Achiri-Taboh (2018a, p. 41, fn. 4) notes that /ʒᵊn/ is typically used after a high vowel like [i/e/i:/eɪ] and mostly reserved for the -*sion* spelling, with rare sightings of it on -*tion* as in *equation*, but that this needs proper investigation to establish a concrete rule. The present analysis thus establishes the rule: pronounce "shun" /ʒᵊn/ if a voiced *base*-word final consonant is dropped. The claim that /ʒ/ only surfaces in *equation* thanks to patterning is consistent with the fact that the use of /ʒ/ for -*tion* is rare.

8 In cases like *circumvention* and *indention* whose *base*-words end with /t/, the latter seems to be maintained. However, it is substituted like the final consonants of the *base*-words of examples like *attention* and *exhaustion*, though vacuously. As the pronunciation of *recognition* indicates (cf. Cambridge Advance Learner's Dictionary (CALD) 2nd Edition, 1059), the final /z/ of the *base*-word *recognize* is substituted by /ʃ/ which is then suppressed since 'shun' begins with /ʃ/ – notice from the previous subsection that were it a case of consonant drop, 'shun' would be spelled -*sion* and pronounced /ʒᵊn/ since /z/ is voiced. The opposite holds with *publication* where it is the final /ʃ/ of *publish* that is substituted, followed by epenthesis.

9 Also note that, like the examples in (3), and unlike those in (2) and (4-12), such words cannot be pronounced without /t/ preceding "shun," since the blade of the tongue clearly comes off the alveolar, even if a learner's dictionary may show otherwise.

Chapter 15
Interpreting to Bridge the Gaps in War Conflicts

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ABSTRACT

As a communicative link among cultures, interpreters have played a very important role throughout history. The main objective of this chapter is to analyze the language interpreter's role within warlike conflicts, paying special attention to their skills to bridge language, cultural, and power gaps. It has been observed that interpreting in conflicts is usually underestimated despite being extremely difficult and risky, and frequently, the support provided is quickly forgotten by all parts after the service is finished. This lack of consideration leaves many interpreters in danger in hostile countries. Due to the increase of displaced people and refugees in recent years, a brief historical review of the 20th and 21st century's wars has been carried out. This will be later referred to by the different interpreters and correspondents who work for diverse media and have been interviewed for the empiric study that we have carried out. Interpreters' work and ethical dilemmas they have to face are highlighted in this research. This study does not pursue, in any case, any political aims.

INTRODUCTION

By performing this research, the authors have noticed several gaps have to be covered when working as an interpreter for war conflicts: language gaps, power relations gap, emotional gaps and cultural gaps, mainly. The first type, language gaps, is present in many contexts where language interpretation is needed: a conversation between a doctor and his/her foreign patient, a school mentor and the parents of an immigrant pupil, a social worker and a refugee trying to search for a job in a new country or a person who must declare as a witness in a trial that takes place in a country whose language he/she does not master, to mention some. Anywhere a professional for filling these gaps is required, someone who

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could connect languages and unbreak inequalities among cultures and nations, the role of a professional interpreter would be essential. One of the fields where this gap becomes evident is war and armed conflicts: "From the point of view of interpreting, war and other forms of violent conflict are a classic point of contact between peoples of different nations and ethnicities, both within multi-ethnic armies and in their encounters with friends and foes" (Fernández & Wolf, 2014, p. 5).

There are many references to the role of war interpreters, from Ancient times: old Egyptians, Chinese, Greek or Roman conflicts - among others- to Modern times, world wars, Cold war, etc. which provide plenty of examples that have been studied in interpretation papers. Thanks to all this literature, the authors can conclude that interpretation is always a demanding profession that requires a good training, a strong vocation and several skills that the interpreter has to master: a good memory, mental agility, capabilities for summarizing, switching languages and codes or anticipating, tact, stress management, language reformulation, etc.

But interpreting in such kind of contexts is far from being easy. Apart from the language skills, cultural knowledge, mediation and diplomacy abilities, an interpreter who works in war conflicts must be a strong person in terms of stability, impartiality and empathy. He/she must deal with power relations, cultural gaps, language gaps, hostility, poverty, pain, destruction… Because of this power relation gaps, many times they have to exceed what is commonly understood as the language interpreter competences:

The role assumed by the translator/interpreter who worked for the British went far beyond that of impartial middlemen who merely provided communication services. Rather, they greatly affected the course of war, responsible for the collection, collation and interpretation of a great deal of military intelligence (Wang-Chi Wong, 2007, p. 42).

Sometimes war interpreters are hired to facilitate communication among diplomats, high-level military representatives, officials or even Presidents. In these cases, the hiring part prefers to hire a trusted confident interpreter they have previously worked with and who is clearly loyal to the politics or regime. They have normally received specific training on interpretation and are true professionals. Some others, war interpreters are hired *in situ*, especially where there are strong needs for communication among soldiers and the local population, as will be seen later on, they have no previous training and they have to learn on the terrain.

Furthermore, in most cases, experts of interpretation, especially in war and conflicts suffer from abandonment, isolation and distress after helping with necessary international communication. This is what can be called "emotional gap" and can also be found in other types of interpretation, mainly in community interpretation. Nevertheless, interpreters in war contexts are often regarded as intruders, which is not frequent in other types. This means that an interpreter who works in wars is someone seen as strictly necessary but not reliable: "The American military in Afghanistan "consider interpreters to be necessary evils, and even those who are Americans of Afghan descent are often scorned or mistreated for being too obviously 'different'" (Foust 2009).12 Iraqi interpreters were accused of passing information" (Baker, 2010, p. 198).

Unfortunately, this mistrust is frequent and has long been since the Ancient Times, but it can be regarded as a curious fact in the 20th and 21st centuries, when the role of interpreters has long been proved to be quintessential for reaching peace and effective for intercultural communication.

When reflecting on the number of wars that have occurred in the above-mentioned historical period, it can be affirmed that it is a turbulent era: two World Wars, the Holocaust, the arrival of nuclear weapons, the Cold War, massive destruction weapons… Because of all these atrocities, the foundations have been laid for international organisms to cooperate, the NGOs and international support have been promoted, i.e., the International Red Cross, and thanks to all these international communication needs, interpretation has been finally considered as a profession, especially in conference contexts (Pöchhacker, 2004, p. 28).

There is no doubt that language is a key for creating, destructing and reinforcing nations after war conflicts, to support the locals or invaders identity and sense of unity, and it is also used as a tool of oppression, and a way to feel different from the others: "Language is mobilised in the service of the nation and of nationalism, in the process of nation-building. That process emphasises differences between nations and destroys differences within nations" (Smith, 2010, p. 190).

However, the conflicts among nations are constant. The number of refugees, displaced people and asylum seekers has enormously increased. All these persons suffer from a cultural and language gap when they arrive in other countries, and some nations happen to be their recipients: a new land for hope. This means that administrations and local governments sometimes have to understand and to start to deal with situations that had never considered before, like dealing with the massive arrive of immigrants. This has led to a community interpretation increase, as public services are sometimes overloaded by them.

A community interpreter, who is probably closer to a war interpreter than a conference interpreter, breaks the cultural gap all the time. Cultural gaps occur in all kind of interpretation. But in these cases, the will of cooperation is not always present, as it is for example, normally, in a negotiation. The interpreter has to explain some behaviours or habits that may differ, obstruct the act of communication or can even be taken as an offense to the other party. To begin with, an interpreter must learn the "courtesy rules", how to introduce him/herself, what is taboo, what things are forbidden, what positions to adopt, the food, the religion, politeness, costumes, respect, laws, traditions, etc. to facilitate the interaction. The eye contact, gestures and other non-verbal communication can also play a very important role at this point and also during the conversation (Ruiz, 2012, pp. 350-352). For instance, the Japanese have very little physical contact when they are not intimate. In general, they bow to indicate respect and they are very formal. Moments of silence are frequent, and smiling does not always mean that the individual is expressing pleasure. If an interpreter works with the Japanese and non-Japanese, he/she should understand both cultures as well as make use of their intrinsic habits. At the same time, the interpreter might be able to explain what is happening to the other party involved, since there is a need to create a fluent communication.

BACKGROUND

Previous Research on Interpretation in War Conflicts

The need of interpretation in warlike conflicts has been largely recorded throughout History, since Julius Cesar, who travelled with several interpreters to conquer the Galle (and even before) to Modern Times, as mentioned before:

No cabe duda de que la interpretación es una práctica muy antigua. Los historiadores documentan numerosos ejemplos en los que personajes de la historia han necesitado de un intérprete para llevar a cabo sus interloquios con personas de otras culturas: desde los múltiples que trabajaron para Julio

César en su conquista de la Galia, pasando por "la Malinche", que interpretaba para Hernán Cortés en el Méjico "recién descubierto", hasta el famoso A. H. Birse, intérprete de Churchill que intervino en numerosas reuniones entre Jefes de Estado, por ejemplo, las de Yalta, San Francisco o Postdam (Delisle & Woodsworth, 2005, p. 227), por mencionar algunos de los más sonados en el mundo occidental (Ruiz, 2016, p. 94).

In some civilisations, the interpreters received an especial designation (*person of languages*, *dragoman, tarjuman* or *tërcuman* are some of the most mentioned) and a high social status, for instance, the "dragomans" in the Ottoman Empire:

official interpreter in countries where Arabic, Turkish, and Persian are spoken. Originally the term applied to any intermediary between Europeans and Middle Easterners […] whose functions at one time included the conduct of important political negotiations. The original employment of dragomans in the Ottoman government arose from religious scruples against the use of the language of a non-Muslim people. (...) In 1877 Great Britain inaugurated a system for the selection and training of British-born dragomans, and most European powers eventually followed (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2019).

Nevertheless, the recognition of interpretation as a profession is relatively recent. This means, that many ancient texts just mention the interpreters´ presence, but do not focus on their real tasks and dilemmas.

The interest for the actual role that interpreters play in warlike is even more recent. The growth of international news depicting the interprets lot, especially of those who have been denied asylum first by a country they have served and then killed by the opposite side, has awakened the interest of the general public and also the researcher's motivation to condemn these unfair circumstances.

Of especial relevance are the works of Baigorri (2010), Baker (2010 and 2012), Takeda (2009), Torikai (2009), Butler (2008), Heimburger (2012), Dignman (2013) or Guo (2015 and 2016). It might be said that the proliferation of academic literature in this field starts in the 2000s´, but there is still a lot more to say. Alonso Araguás (2004), Baigorri (2004) and Fernández Sánchez (2010) have depicted the role of the interpreters working in extreme relations of power throughout the history using different photos. All these images show "interpreters at work" rather than focusing on the main topic of their visual specificity.

According to Baker (2006, p. 2) translation and interpreting activities clearly contribute in shaping conflicts. This is something recently analysed in papers and it could be one of the reasons for the increased interest in studying the role of interpreters involved in military situations over the past ten years (Simon, 2005; Salama, 2007; Baigorri, 2010; Footitt & Kelly, 2012). The result has been the incorporation of military culture of translation to those already existing.

A Brief Analysis on the Main War Conflicts at the End of the 20th and the Beginning of the 21st Century

Many armed conflicts have occurred throughout History. In this chapter the authors will only focus on those that have taken place during the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, since there is little literature on the true role of the interpreter before. Besides, the testimonies provided by the correspondents, interpreter and fixer that are the sample of this research are based on their work in this period of time and precisely in the wars that the authors are going to analyse: The Gulf war, Iraq war, Kosovo war, Afghanistan war, Central African Republic Civil War and Northern Mali conflict.

The military action against Iraq carried out by thirty-four countries is known as the **Gulf War**. At the head of all these countries was the United States, supported by the United Nations. The main aim of this action was to stop Iraq (led by Saddam Hussein) from annexing Kuwait, a country known for its oil reserves. After that, when George Bush son was the North American leader, and with some international support, the **Invasion of Iraq occurred.** It took place on March 20th, 2003 under the pretext of possessing mass destruction weapons.

Another important event was the **Kosovo War.** The former Yugoslavia was a country composed of several republics, including Serbia. The province of Kosovo was inhabited mostly by Kosovo Albanians who complained of being under the oppression of the Serbs. This discomfort was the starting point for the Kosovo Albanians to form the group UÇK (Kosovo Liberation Army) that began a rebellion against the Serbs. In March 1999, the NATO intervened in defence of the Kosovo Albanian population bombing Belgrade and other Serbian cities, in addition to Kosovo. In retaliation for this action, the Serbs massacred the Kosovo Albanian population. The Serbian president, Slodoban Milosevic, surrendered and the troops of the NATO drove out the army and the Serbian police from Kosovo.

Afghanistan War. After the attacks that took place in New York on September 11th, 2001, all the clues led to the terrorist group Al-Qaeda led by Bin Laden. Bin Laden was holed up in Afghanistan helped by a radical political regime, the Taliban. Since they kept with them Bin Laden, the United States declared the war. This conflict ended up months later, but without capturing its enemy, Osama Bin Laden.

The **Central African Republic Civil War** is also taken into account. This country has never been a stable nation (politically speaking). Since its independence in the sixties, its history has been marked by *coup d'états* and rebellions. Illegal weapons have been taken by armed groups, most of them diamond dealers who seek their own financing. The violence does not stop, since it is also marked by religious conflicts.

The **Northern Mali Conflict**. After several frustrated peace agreements over the years, the Tuareg separatists decided in 2012 to impose an independent state called Azawad. This territory is located in the northern half of Mali. Several armed groups belonging to Al-Qaeda used this internal instability to start a revolution and subdue the country. The advance towards the south to gain more territories made France intervened.

METHODOLOGY

It can be noticed that the performance of the interpreters in wars is often misunderstood and disregarded. It has only attracted the attention of the media for its danger, after some extreme cases of violence. The scope of this research project is to analyse the role of the interpreters who work in warlike conflicts to fill the different gaps. Our hypothesis is that there is not much literature on this matter and all of it is very recent.

Our methods consisted of, first, examining the above-mentioned literature. Second, carrying out a brief analysis on the main war conflicts that have taken place at the end of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st century. Then, selecting and gathering some data using the interview as the main tool to enhance our work of collecting first hand on the terrain information. Some interpreters, fixers and war correspondents have been interviewed in Spanish and English (See Appendixes 1 and 2). Their testimonies have been the key for depicting the actual role of the interpreter when filling gaps in war conflicts.

Data Collection

Regarding the data collection, the first step was to look for the competent defence agencies and to contact them. At the same time, the authors got in touch with various translation and interpretation companies, associations and media. From the majority of the aforementioned, no response was obtained. Most of the participants in this study have been provided by the *Estado Mayor de la Defensa de España,* both correspondents and interpreters. It should be noted that some participants spoke Spanish and others English so the questionnaire was written in both languages from the beginning. The sample of this work is composed of six participants: four war correspondents, one interpreter and one fixer.

There must be pointed out that there is a difference between a *fixer* and an interpreter. According to the *Oxford Online Dictionary* (2019) an interpreter is a "person who interprets, especially one who translates speech orally or into sign language." On the other hand, a *fixer*, apart from performing the interpretation tasks, normally is a local who lives in the conflict soil and who knows the terrain and guides the others. Our respondents normally distinguish between an interpreter in conflict area (ICA) and a *fixer* interpreter in the conflict area (FICA).

One of the biggest Spanish association of Translators, ASETRAD (Asociación Española de Traductores, Correctores e Intérpretes) provided us with the name of the first interpreter to be interviewed. On the other hand, the correspondents ´names were obtained thanks to the Defense Organism *Estado Mayor de la Defensa de España*. Antonio Pampliega also facilitated us some other *fixers'* names he had previously worked with. All of them belong to different media.

Once the sample of this study was selected, contacted, available and willing to participate, an own authorship questionnaire form was used to gather the required information, consisting of six items (Table 1):

Sample

The data concerning the sample of this study can be divided in three different categories: correspondents, interpreter and fixer.

1. **Correspondents:**
   a. Manuel Ángel Gómez Izaguirre (53 years old). Madrid (Spain). Journalist for the Spanish radio station *Cadena COPE*. He has covered conflicts in Jordan, Iraq, Kosovo and Afghanistan.

Table 1. Questionnaire

Original Question in Spanish	Question in English (Translated by the Authors)
Entrevista a "nombre y apellidos"	Interview with "name and surname"
Tipo de contratación:	Type of contract
Principales dificultades con las que te encontraste:	Main difficulties you have faced
Situaciones de riesgo	Risk situations
¿Resultó gratificante?	Was it rewarding?
¿Sufriste algún tipo de desgaste emocional?	Did you suffer any kind of emotional burnout?

Source: (Own elaboration)

b. Javier Arias Borque (38 years ald). Madrid (Spain). Journalist for the Spanish newspaper *Libertad Digital*. He has covered conflicts in Afghanistan, Central African Republic and Mali.
c. Ronith Daher. Beirut (Lebanon). She has worked for different Lebanese and international media like Lebanese newspaper *Annahar* and *Agencia EFE*. She covered the Lebanon War.
d. Antonio Pampliega (37 years old). Madrid (Spain). Freelance journalist (he works for different mass media). He has covered conflicts in the Middle East.

2. **Interpreter:** George Rayess (61 years old). Beirut (Lebanon). His working languages are: Arabic, English and Spanish. He has been the interpreter of the King of Spain his Majesty King Don Juan Carlos and the King of Saudi Arabia on different state visits. He has also performed numerous interpretations for the Government of Spain, as he has worked as the interpreter for various Ministers, as well as the president of Lebanon.
3. **Fixer:** Josef Kajajah. Aleppo (Syria). His working languages are: Arabic and English. He is a civilian from this Syrian city who worked with correspondent Antonio Pampliega on his work trip to Aleppo.

The valuable cooperation of all these contributions made it possible to attain the objectives posed

RESULTS: THE INTERPRETERS' WORK IN WAR ZONES

Classification, Type of Contracts and Legal Status

This type of interpretation is especially difficult to perform and classify, as it touches many contexts and levels of formality. It is not the same to travel with an army in military manoeuvres than sitting with dignitaries for signing a treaty.

According to Baigorri (2010, pp. 6-7), the role of the interpreter in conflicts emerge from an especial need on periods of war, as its presence is required in different parts of the conflict. First, interpreters are hired to cooperate with intelligence services and diplomatic corps. Then, the army also needs the interpreters to move around conflict areas and get in contact with local people. The end of hostilities also brings new challenges where the role of interpreters is crucial, i.e., peace negotiations and peace treaties. For this reason, interpretation to fill the gaps is essential in all parts of the conflict.

In our research the authors have found out that, in general terms, the interpreters working in these areas are usually local people that happen to act as mediators: "es imprescindible contar con la labor de un productor local (fixer) para poder trabajar" (Antonio Pampliega, Appendix 1). They master the languages, the local ones and another for international communication, mainly English. This means that they volunteer as interpreters. But there are also interpreters who belong to international organizations, nongovernmental organizations and military services that move to areas of conflict and war with the soldiers. They say that local people tend to see them as traitors and they frequently are the target for terrorist groups.

El rol y la imagen de los intérpretes en zonas de conflicto no suele ser de agrado para la población local, ya que en muchas ocasiones los ven como «traidores» y suelen estar en el punto de mira de grupos terroristas por colaborar o ayudar a las fuerzas invasoras (Kahane, 2008).

On the other hand, the legal status of interpreters in these areas is poorly regulated, which entails serious risks. In addition, the danger of this type of interpretation does not make it the most demanded context to work for interpreters. On several occasions, the lack of professionals has favoured different agencies and institutions to hire candidates from the local population. The main problem is that most Governments, once the conflict is over, do not offer political asylum to the *fixers* that have mediated among the soldiers and members of organizations or the local community. Furthermore, many of them, when the troops leave the country are left to their fate.

Afghanistan was abducted, tortured and killed by the Taliban. The body of Sakhidad Afghan, who was awaiting a US visa, was left on a street in Kabul as a warning. Another interpreter, who worked with British forces for four years - three of them in Helmand - said he had to flee home in the eastern Logar province with his wife and seven children because of threats from the Taliban. "They will not talk to us. They will kill us straight away," he said. His wife said: "We have a lot of enemies. We are hiding and we are moving from one place to another. We are all in danger, including the children. We always worry about what will happen when we leave home because there are many Taliban spies around (Aljazeera, 2019).

Hiring non-professional interpreters is a major problem. The mastery of a couple of languages is not enough to perform such a task. Most times, these temporary interpreters speak a very basic language, and difficulties of understanding and fluency in the conversation often occur.

All the correspondents that compose the sample of this study have worked at some point with an interpreter or *fixer*. They have confirmed that an interpreter or fixer´s help makes them obtain information much more reliably and truthfully. In addition, when it comes to a fixer interpreter that knows the area and has some contacts, it is easier to gain access to some other places.

MAIN DIFFICULTIES FOR THE INTERVIEWEES: RISKS SITUATIONS, BURNOUT AND SATISFACTION

Main Problems Faced in War Situations

According to the Correspondents

It is important to highlight that each subject has his own opinion about the difficulties they have faced in war conflicts. But they both agree that the authorities of their own country raise a great barrier, since they seize the recorded material and the necessary equipment for filming, etc., like cameras or satellite telephones. Of course, language is another difficulty that must be dealt with, although normally speaking English is enough for simply communicating. But in the case of detailed conversations and negotiations an interpreter is needed for bridging the language gap: "En cuanto al idioma, el inglés, no he tenido ningún problema especial. Yo no lo hablo muy bien, pero lo suficiente para conseguir lo que necesitaba en cada momento. Para conversaciones más detalladas contábamos con la ayuda de un fixer intérprete." (Javier Arias, Appendix 1). "El idioma no fue una especial dificultad ya que con el inglés es suficiente en estas zonas. Así mismo siempre cuentan con la ayuda de un intérprete, pues se obtiene información más fiable que la que ellos puedan llegar a entender" (Manuel Ángel Gómez Izaguirre, Appendix 1).

Getting out of the comfort zone and adapting to other cultures and religions is often an issue; many countries at war practise different religions and belong to cultures totally opposed: “El principal problema al que te enfrentas en el entorno. El cambio de costumbres sociales y religiosas también supone un pequeño choque” (Javier Arias, Appendix 1). This is a clear example of cultural gaps. The linguistic and power gap clearly leads to the distrust of the local population. It makes journalistic work harder. The locals refuse to cooperate because they believe that the information they provide is often manipulated and distorted: “En muchas ocasiones los locales se niegan a cooperar, ya que creen que la información que ofrecen llegará manipulada y distorsionada” (Manuel Ángel Gómez Izaguirre, Appendix 1).

According to the Interpreter and Fixer

Both subjects agree that the distrust of the local population is a major issue for them to do their job. On the other hand, although they were local civilians, as in the case of the fixer, the population is not always willing to cooperate. In the case of the interpreter, he also highlights the long hours of work as a main problem, because the interpreter must be present in all negotiations or wherever they are needed at any time. The mental and physical fatigue can be exhausting. But perhaps the most specific and complicated problem that can be found in war conflicts for any person is the unpreventable personal safety risk: “Quizás destacaría las largas horas de trabajo y los controles eventuales de las autoridades locales o las tropas involucradas en el conflicto en cuanto a las restricciones de movimientos y, por supuesto, nuestra seguridad personal” (George Rayess Yazbeck, Appendix 2).

Risky Situations Correspondents

Sometimes, risky situations are caused by the circumstances. Working in conflict areas and covering news on the terrain increases the chances of being seriously injured. It is true that some of our interviewees say they have never been in true danger, but they have always been very cautious and they have had to put a special attention on who to trust.

Interpreters

The interpreters and fixers are more frequently placed at risk situations than the correspondents, since they are seen as traitors by the local population for cooperating with the «enemy». According to the interpreter’s testimony, kidnappings, bombings, murders, etc. have been present during his work as an interpreter. Of especial interest is the testimony of Josef Kajajah, who thinks all wars are dangerous and was kidnapped once: “Todas las guerras son peligrosas, aunque yo de entre todas destacaría mi secuestro” (Appendix 2). Or Ronith Daher words when remembering bomb attacks and declaring those images are still present in her mind “Aún recuerdo los restos de una familia que había sido bombardeada. Cuando salimos de la zona (Sector Este) en un convoy, Israel nos bombardeó y murió mucha gente. Esas imágenes siguen presentes” (Appendix 2).

In other words, the bad conditions, working for many hours, being tired, the tension, the lack of support, the fear after seen what they have seen, etc. make it difficult for the interpreters not to feel frustrated as some point:

Las malas condiciones laborales de los intérpretes, el hecho de trabajar durante días y días sin parar, con jornadas de 16 horas de interpretación, ponen al profesional en un estado mental que no es el adecuado para una buena ejecución de la profesión. El cansancio, los nervios, la tensión, el miedo, la falta de apoyo psicológico tras haber visto o relatado las experiencias traumáticas de muchas personas, fomentaban la frustración y la depresión de estos intérpretes (Beltrán, 2013, p. 67).

Satisfaction Correspondents

Despite these risks, all of them consider that their work has been rewarding. The experiences, what they have lived and seen might be hard to assume, and can cause traumas for some people. But they reckon living in this conflict areas is the way for truly valuing life. They also noticed that the feeling of going back home was very different from the feelings they had in the outward journey. They point out that there are images and moments that left a mark on them forever.

According to the Interpreter and Fixer

Both participants agree that their work has been very rewarding. They say they had to be careful, especially when it came to friendships, but they also think normally they all became good friends "En este tipo de situaciones se crean amistades verdaderas" (Josef Kajajah, appendix 2). In addition, they point out that being a linguistic mediator is extremely rewarding. Facilitating communication and making people understand each other, that is, helping overcoming the language gap, was the most satisfying thing for them.

Being an interpreter or fixer in conflict areas entails a great emotional strain. They say they had to be prepared for anything, according to their testimony. Training is required, but not always provided. Interpreters have to be ready for the worst-case scenario, they have to know how to separate work and feelings, although many times it is not that easy.

Ethical Dilemmas for Interpreters to Bridge the Language Gap

According to the ethic codes proposed by Hale (2010) and the AIIC, first, the interpreter will be objective and will not express his/her ideas, beliefs and feelings. On the other hand, if the interpreter considers that the subjectivity may create a conflict of interest, it is suggested that he/she does not accept that interpretation assignment. However, in case the interpreter accepts it, he/she must act with professionalism, modifying the content of the message under no circumstances.

Secondly, it must be clear that the interpreter is simply an intermediary that enables the communication between two parties that do not speak the same language. The interpreter must master both cultures. Sometimes the interpreter has to ask some of the parties to clarify or to explain the message to avoid any misunderstanding.

Thirdly, the interpreter has to be aware of the different gaps he/she is going to bridge. He/she must take into account the underlying inequalities, power relations, gender relations, etc., that may exist between both parties, fulfilling the duties to protect their rights and obligations.

Finally, it is recommended that the interpreter does not accept a job that he/she knows in advance that he/she will not be able to perform correctly, no matter the reasons. When the interpreter accepts the job, he/she cannot use the information for his/her own benefit or for the benefit of some of the parties. It is important that the hiring client guarantees adequate working conditions, including the security of the interpreters.

All the above-mentioned may be the most frequent recommendations proposed by the ethical codes that govern the profession, but according to this study it is difficult to comply with all of them in cases of conflict:

It wasn't easy. You were sitting in the same room with the people who probably killed your parents but you could not let your feelings interfere with your job. You swore to interpret as faithfully as possible, to put the speaker's idea into the listener's head (Kelly & Zetzsche, 2012, p. 34).

The interpreters are constantly under pressure and in danger. They have to come to a decision quickly and on the terrain, based on their own intuition. For example, an interpreter in the war of Irak thought it was counterproductive to wear the United States of America military uniform, as he could be seen a non-impartial person by the locals, while some other colleagues felt safer wearing it:

El intérprete afirma que la preparación previa al conflicto le hubiera ayudado mucho una vez allí. En cambio, tuvo que adaptarse sobre la marcha a una situación muy estresante para la que no estaba preparado mentalmente. El ejército estadounidense proporcionaba uniformes militares a los intérpretes, pero él nunca se lo puso porque cree que hubiera afectado, por un lado, la forma como le veían los iraquíes, y por el otro, su imparcialidad como intérprete, como tercera parte no involucrada en el conflicto. Afirma que muchos de sus compañeros intérpretes sí que se lo ponían por protección, se sentían más seguros (Beltrán, 2013, p. 62).

FINAL CONSIDERATION AND CONCLUSION

The work done by interpreters is always difficult, but when it comes to work as an interpreter in a war area, there are some other implications that makes it even more difficult, as he/she risks his/her life.

The international war conflicts and their repercussions on the people have significantly increased in recent years, making the task for translators and interpreters even more necessary in the above-mentioned context. These displacements are usually the consequence of regional or international conflicts such as wars or natural disasters. In this study the authors have briefly analysed some of the main conflicts that have taken place in the 20th and 21st centuries, the war situations where our sample has been involved.

It has been observed that the information found about the role of interpreters is very scarce. There is some academic literature, some news on the media, but they mainly focus on murders. As it is not a popular context among the professional, unfortunately, people tend to employ locals who know the languages and culture, but who have not been previously trained. Obviously, it is understandable that trained interpreters avoid going to conflict areas, it is proven to be a dangerous work, not properly regulated nor recognized. The locals see interpreters as traitors and the government do not offer asylum to them after their services. Filling the language gap in such contexts is risky but according to our interviewees, it is also rewarding. Surely it is a type of interpretation that must be performed by a motivated brave person.

The authors believe that it is essential to train interpreters before they exercise as such. On the other hand, the authors reckon that it is extremely necessary to guarantee the security of the interpreters during all the stages of the conflict, since the authors consider that they are a key piece for its resolution. Finally, the authors believe it is necessary to get a greater involvement by the competent authorities to grant the asylum or to protect the interpreters after working in the areas. It is not fair for the workers to be, in most cases, left to their fate after performing interpretation tasks for cooperation.

To ensure a good working environment, it would be convenient not only to train the interpreters, but also the rest of workers who are going to receive their services. They need to know that the role they play is essential for the end of the conflict and for their own safety. In addition, it would be appropriate to teach some basic vocabulary, a bit of the culture/"etiquette rules" and how to work with an interpreter to the military forces before arriving in the destination country they will be immersed.

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KEY TERMS AND DEFINITIONS

Cultural Gap: Any systematic difference between two cultures which hinders mutual understanding or relations. Such differences include the values, behaviour, education, and customs of the respective cultures. The term was originally used to describe the difficulties encountered in interactions between early 20th century travellers and pre-industrial cultures, but has since been used more broadly to refer to mutual misunderstandings and incomprehension arising with people from differing backgrounds and experiences. Culture gaps can relate to religion, ethnicity, age, or social class. Examples of cultural differences that may lead to gaps include social norms and gender roles. The term can also be used to refer to misunderstandings within a society, such as between different scientific specialties.

Fixer: Person who, apart from performing the interpretation tasks, is usually a local who lives in the conflict soil, who knows the terrain and guides the others.

Interpretation: Language interpretation is the facilitating of oral or sign-language communication, either simultaneously or consecutively, between users of different languages. In professional parlance, interpreting denotes the facilitating of communication from one language form into its equivalent, or approximate equivalent, in another language form; while interpretation denotes the actual product of this work, that is, the message that led into speech, sign language, writing, non-manual signs, or any other language form.

Interpreter: Professional who interprets, that is, person who translates speech orally or into sign language.

Interpreting: Facilitating of communication from one language form into its equivalent, or approximate equivalent, in another language form.

Risk Situation: Term used especially for those areas where the armed conflict is taking place. It can also be used for those civilians who live with it daily and can be seriously injured as a result.

War Conflict: Armed conflict that occurs between states, governments, societies or paramilitary groups. It is characterized by being extremely violent and causing the death of millions of civilians. These usually involve military intervention.

APPENDIX 1

Interviews With The Correspondents (Translated From Spanish)

1. Interview with Manuel Ángel Gómez Izaguirre

This interview has been given to Manuel Angel Gómez Izaguirre (53 years old) of the COPE Chain. Manuel graduated in Information Sciences from the Complutense University of Madrid. Shortly thereafter, in 1982, he entered the COPE Chain to the present day. He has covered conflicts in Jordan (Persian Gulf War), Iraq, Kosovo and Afghanistan. He is currently the Head of International and Defense of COPE Information Services. He had no special vocation for conflict coverage, but it was the work he was tasked with doing at that time from the middle direction.

Type of work: he entered to work in the COPE chain and it was the same chain that decided to send it to the areas to cover this news and thus give first-hand information from the field.

Main difficulties you encountered?: the language was not a special difficulty since with English it is enough in these areas. They also always have the help of an interpreter, because more reliable information is obtained than they can understand, as well as the help that this entails in the field. Other obstacles were the authorities of the country itself, as they requisition the material necessary to be able to film or satellite phones. The accommodation has been another difficulty with which it has been found to cover news. Most of the hotels were closed, so they had to resort to sleeping in houses where they were welcomed or even on the ground, where they could. Problems getting a visa and passport and, above all, hostility from the local population.

Risk situations: Several. The first was in the Persian Gulf War. While in March in Amman, Jordan, and, once Saddam Hussein's withdrawal of troops from Kuwait was announced, he, along with fellow journalists of his, went down to Amman city centre to speak and conduct interviews with civilians. The military asked him to leave the area, but they didn't. Eventually, they were assembled in a vehicle and taken to a barracks on the outskirts of the city for a few hours.

Another of the danger situations he experienced came on the day NATO troops decide to enter Kosovo. While they were staying overnight in the only open hotel in town, he and other companions decided to go out to the hotel door to chat, at one point in this talk they began to hear gunshots directed at them, his companions threw themselves to the ground, but he and another companion went up to the rooms. They never knew how, where, not why those shots were fired.

Was it rewarding? He found it very rewarding. Even if he had no special vocation when he left and. despite all the evil and misfortunes that are lived there and seen, the word journalist and informant take on meaning when covering this type of news, because this feeds the informant right of the people because it is it gives voice to those who do not have it and cannot raise it.

Have you suffered any kind of emotional wear and tear? When you are in those areas you are not aware of everything that is happening around you and everything that can happen to yourself. He says that once the coverage is over, the real emotional wear and tear begins, as all the suffering of what has been lived and seen begins to make a dent.

2. Interview with Javier Arias Borque

This interview has been given to Javier Arias Borque (38 years old) of the newspaper Libertad Digital. Javier Arias Borque holds a degree in Journalism and has worked for various national and international media. He is currently editor of the newspaper Libertad Digital and covers information on Interior and Defense. He had no special vocation for conflictcoverage, but was sent to cover the work of the Spanish Armed Forces, so he had to move to conflict zones.

How did they hire you? I arrived at this company in 2006 when Libertad Digital began to grow and made me an offer to work on its Madrid writing. I had been in the Basque Country for several years and then the situation was tense (Ibarretxe plan, ETA attacks – including some against journalists – ...), ...), my company was in the middle of internal warfare and I decided to return to Madrid, the city where I was born, raised and I studied.

Top issues you encountered? Tell your experience in countries like Afghanistan, Central African Republic or Mali. The main problem you face is in the environment. The change in social and religious customs is also a small shock. As far as work needs are concerned, it would highlight mobility in the area, coverage problems and internet connection. On the other hand, when it comes to language you have not had a problem, you do not speak it very well, but enough to get what you needed at all times. For more detailed conversations we had the help of an interpreter.

Were you in a risky situation? I suppose being in these countries, even if it's only a few hours, is already a risk factor in itself, but there has never been a circumstance where I thought the end of my life could be near.

Was it rewarding? It's very rewarding for me. What's more, I think life has allowed me to see scenes of the reality of the world that I would never have known on the other side. Some very hard, such as corpses covered with sheets in the ditches of the streets of Banghi (Central African Republic) and also knowing the admirable ability of the human being to try to move on with his life despite being in the middle of a bloody war.

Have you suffered any kind of emotional wear and tear? The truth is, I've never suffered, or so I think. If it is true that when you return from these countries it gives the feeling that you have spent an eternity outside Spain and you see simple things of the day to day as a sensational advance. It is also true that for a few weeks it serves to relativize the problems that we have in the first world, the nonsense that we care about considering what other people suffer just a few hours by plane from our house.

3. Interview with Ronith Daher

Interview with Ronith Daher, a Lebanese journalist with a degree in Journalism in 2000. He has worked for various media such as Lebanon's National News Agency (NNA), Lebanese television network OTV, EFE Agency and Lebanese newspaper Annahar. He worked during the 2006 war for French radio Monte Carlo (RMC). For a year he has been a press adviser to the head of the Lebanese Army, Joseph Khalil Aoun. As a journalist and living in the area where the conflict is taking place, you have to cover all kinds of news, including conflicts and wars.

Type of hiring: for Annahar had a fixed contract, for everyone else, *freelance*.

Main difficulties that you encountered: I worked almost 16 years being the only female journalist in my area, nor was it easy for your content to arrive with total transparency and veracity to the news, since many factors intervened. It was also difficult because of the content, as it was not only about telling what was going on in the conflict zone, but also with the Lebanese Army and even the political parties.

Language was never a problem because most of the reports were written in Arabic. English, French and Spanish. Spanish served me a lot to learn more about the cultures and facilitate my work. She says the Spaniard who knows learned it from the Spanish soldiers who were deployed in southern Lebanon, where she lives.

Were you a risky situation? The 2006 Lebanon War. It was difficult because I lived through that war as a correspondent who had to cover the conflict of the Lebanese people being bombed by Israel, but also as a citizen and civilian.

Was it rewarding? Yes, it is. Since there were few journalists who covered this war.

Have you suffered any kind of emotional wear and tear? Yes, it is. I still remember the remains of a family that had been bombed. When we left the area (East Sector) in a convoy, Israel bombed us and many people died. These images are still present.

She had a good relationship with the Spaniards thanks to the military deployed in the area (Sector Este), since they were his teachers in Spanish. This gave her the opportunity to visit Spain twice.

4. Interview with Antonio Pampliega

Antonio Pampliega was born in Madrid in 1982 where he studied Journalism. It was his vocation for war and conflict journalism that led him to pay out-of-pocket trips to Syria and to the different conflict zones of the Middle East, where he worked as a *freelancer* for different media. It was on his twelfth trip to Syria [one of his fixers in Usama, Syria) that he betrayed them and sold them to the al-Nusra front terrorist group, in 2015, that he lived one of his worst experiences. What hoped to be the end of a report turned into a nearly 300-day kidnapping by Al-Qaeda. His working languages were Spanish and English.

Type of contract: no contract. Reports to the piece.

Main difficulties with which you encountered: those typical of conflict zones: language, distrust of the local population. It is essential to have the work of a local producer (interpreter/fixer) to be able to work.

Were you a risky situation? Yes, quite a few

Was it rewarding? Of course it was rewarding. In fact, I don't see myself doing any other work than this.

Have you suffered any kind of emotional wear and tear? Of course, war wears out a lot on a psychological level. No one is prepared to see the reality of a war.

APPENDIX 2

Interviews With The Interpreter And The Fixer

1. Interview with George Rayess (Interpreter)

George Rayess Yazbeck (59). Lebanese nationality. George Rayes has been the interpreter of His Majesty King Juan Carlos and the King of Saudi Arabia on different state visits. He has also made numerous interpretations for the Government of Spain, as he has been the interpreter of various ministers, as well as an interpreter of the President of Lebanon. Performer during the 9/11 trials and various media outlets. His working languages were Arabic, Spanish and English. He has been working for 25 years in the field of simultaneous and consecutive interpretation.

Hiring type: I'm in *freelance.*

Main difficulties you encountered: no difficulty in the professional field. Perhaps it would highlight the long working hours and eventual checks of local authorities or troops involved in the conflict regarding movement restrictions and, of course, our personal safety.

Were you a risky situation? You are exposed to risks almost daily, in the Palestinian territories, in Lebanon, in Syria, in Iraq, etc. Some of the most serious and most marked have been the following: entering a minefield in southern Lebanon, murder of José Couso (Telecinco cameraman, kidnapping of his team in Ramadi by Saddam Hussein's intelligence services and shelling in the Lebanon).

Was it rewarding? If it wasn't rewarding, at least for me, I wouldn't have gone back to the conflict zones anymore.

Have you suffered any kind of emotional wear and tear? Oh, sure. But you have to be prepared and mentalized for it, to see dead and wounded. Preparation for the worst is required.

2. Interview with Josef Kajajah (Fixer)

Josef Kajajah (30). Syrian nationality. He worked as a *fixer* for Antonio Pampliega during the Battle of Aleppo (2012-2016). Josef is a civilian from that same city and before his work as a *fixer* of correspondents he was a combatant of the "Free Syrian Army" in Syria, that is, he had no previous experience in the field of interpretation.

Type of hiring: in my case it was a fluke, because I met a journalist on the line of combat and there began my work as a *fixer* and guide around the city, as I took him to the areas he asked for. This reporter trusted my work and even myself and gave my contact to other journalists. I've already worked with over a hundred.

Main difficulties you encountered: in all the jobs you find difficulties. The most difficult problem I had to face as a *fixer* was to explain to my colleagues who is the gentleman who accompanies me (journalist), what he does in the area, because they are usually quite suspicious. Just having to take pictures and film everything pushes them back as maybe they're bombing some area.

Were you a risky situation? All wars are dangerous, although I would highlight my abduction.

Was it rewarding? Yes, it is. In these kinds of situations, true friendships are created, friendships from all over the world with which you keep in touch and, in some cases, friendships that help you with your problems.

Have you suffered any kind of emotional wear and tear? Yes, it is. In this type of work you have to know how to separate work and feelings. You live in a conflict zone and have to see and do things you wouldn't like. I compare it, in a way, to the work of a doctor as he has to do his job and at the same time, human being.

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