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ABSTRACT
              A framework is presented for analyzing the role of
communicative and intercultural competence and their teachability in
second language instruction. First, several problematic communication
situations are examined in which: (1) a native English speaker and
native Danish speaker with limited English converse; (2) native
speakers of two languages converse, each using his native language
(Swedish and English) and understanding the other language; and (3)
native speakers of two languages (Swedish and Chinese) using a third
(English) to communicate. Six specific sample situations are
discussed. The concepts of communicative and cultural competence are
then defined and their teachability and interrelationship are
investigated. It is concluded that, contrary to conventional wisdom,
knowledge of a language and culture, and sometimes even mastery of
specific behaviors, does not necessarily lead to well-functioning
communication. In addition, sometimes lack of mastery of an affective
cultural component and very often lack of metacommunicative and
metacultural awareness may even prevent people from using their
linguistic or cultural knowledge and behaving appropriately, either
linguistically or culturally. A 14-item bibliography is included.
(MSE)

Intercommunicative and intercultural competence

Tove Skutnabb-Kangas & Robert Phillipson

The purpose of this paper is to present a tentative frame-
work for analysing intercommunicative and intercultural
competence and to consider their teachability in foreign
and second language learning. As a means of coming to
grips with these issues, we shall first analyze a number
of examples which have in common that the communication
is problematical. In all of them there is at least the
risk of a communication breakdown or communication dis-
ruption.

The <u>participants</u> in our examples are of three kinds:
- learner + native speaker (Danish and English respectively,
  communication in English)
- native speakers of two languages, each using their
  mother tongue and understanding the other language
  (Swedish and English)
- native speakers of two languages, using a third to com-
  municate in (Swedish and Chinese, communicating in
  English).

We define <u>communication disruption</u> as occurring when mutual
comprehension is impaired
- by the <u>learner</u> being manifestly in trouble in under-
  standing an utterance or in putting across what she/he
  wants to say (cf Haastrup & Phillipson 1983, 143), or
  by the <u>native speaker</u> not understanding a learner utte-
  rance
- by one or both of the speakers not being able to under-
  stand the cultural meaning of a concept or the cultural
  context of a stretch of discourse.

Presence of a communication disruption will often be sig-
nalled by hesitation or non-verbal signals (see Færch &
Kasper 1983 b). Either one or both of the speakers may

2

have recourse to a communication strategy.

The nature of the communication disruption may be exclu-
sively or mostly linguistic (a language code problem),
or at the other extreme, it may be exclusively or mostly
cultural, or it may involve both linguistic and cultural
elements. When trying to solve the problem, the partici-
pants have to use their communicative or cultural compe-
tence or both.

Participants may or may not be <u>aware</u> that there is a com-
munication disruption. If they themselves are not aware of
the presence of a communication disruption, the presence
of one can still be inferred by the researcher, for
instance it may be apparent from the outcome. If the par-
ticipants are aware of the disruption, they may or may
not have the <u>motivation</u> to do something about it. If they
have such motivation, they may or may not be <u>able to locate</u>
the source of the difficulty. If they are able to locate
the source, they may or may not be <u>able to do something</u>
about it[1].

EXAMPLE 1
The first video extract comes from a 20-minute conversa-
tion between a native speaker (NS) of English (female)
who has no knowledge of Danish, and a Danish learner (L)
of the same age (male) with five years of English lear-
ning in school behind him. They have rever met before,
both knew they were expected to chat about their interests
and were unaware or the research goals, except in very
general terms. We tried to set up an informal, relaxed

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1. These distinctions parallel the components which we
are going to use later in analysing competence. Being or
not being aware would correspond to metacommunicative
and metacultural awareness, motivation to the affective
component, being able to locate to the knowledge compo-
nent, and being able to do something to the behavioural
component.

situation in which genuine communication could be eli-
cited[2]. The two are discussing people moving out of Co-
penhagen to the surrounding region. The extract shows a
learner with a lexical problem: he does not know the term
for a detached house in English. Initially he borrows
the Danish equivalent "parcelhus".

Transcript	Comment	Strategies
NS: why do you think they do that?		
L: mm they want a 'parcelhuset'	= a detached house	borrowing
NS: uhuh what's that?		
L: erm it's a house erm it it's not an apartment	gesture indicates a plot of land	paraphrase +non-verbal
NS: mm		
L: but it's a big house where just THEY live	gesture models a house	paraphrase +non-verbal
NS: oh I see a a sort of totally de- tached house	gesture, in shape of a house	
L: yeah		

(Haastrup & Phillipson 1983, 147)

In this example both the learner and the native speaker
- are aware of the disruption. They are very interested in
  trying to communicate with each other and are
- motivated to solve the problem, which is
- easy to locate, because it is clearly a lexical one.
  Both have
- the cultural competence needed, i.e. they know what a
  detached house looks like in each culture. They also
  have

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2. Examples 1 and 4 come from the Copenhagen project PIF
(Projekt I Fremmedsprogspædagogik - project in foreign
language pedagogy). One part of the spoken corpus consists
of 120 videotaped 20-minute conversations between Danish
learners and native speakers of English. Details of pro-
ject publications can be obtained from PIF, Engelsk Insti-
tut, Njalsgade 84, 2300 Copenhagen S, Denmark.

- the communication strategies available to solve the
  problem: first the learner resorts to an Ll-based stra-
  tegy, namely borrowing from Danish, which baffles the
  native speaker, who asks for clarification. The learner
  uses two paraphrases together with gestures, the native
  speaker then provides the appropriate lexical item, and
- the problem is solved.

EXAMPLE 2

Our next example comes from our experience when transla-
ting a book about Chinese pre-school education from Swe-
dish to English (Liljeström et al, in press). A group of
six Swedish professionals from different fields visited
China. In their book they compare Chinese upbringing and
child health care and the ideologies underpinning them
with the corresponding Swedish or Western ones. In trans-
lating the book we were then dealing with two languages,
Swedish and English, and three cultures, Swedish, Chinese
and British (with glances at other cultures of native
English-speakers outside Britain). It should perhaps be
noted that each of us is native, both linguistically and
culturally, to one of the languages involved. Our exam-
ples are of two notions. These have different meanings
in the two (or three) cultures, so that a translation
which would be purely linguistically correct in other
contexts or correct use of a concept without trying to de-
fine it would lead to misunderstandings, because of the
different cultural contexts. The concepts we use as
examples are "discussion" and "obedience".

The Swedish text states that in relation to a particular
social policy issue there have been "diskussioner", but a
literal translation of this into English as "discussions"
is inappropriate. A non-Swedish reader cannot be expected
to understand "discussions" as meaning fierce disputes and
conflicts, which is what the Swedish author is euphemisti-
cally referring to. The English translation has to be
"disputes" or "contention". Swedish culture is often
described by cultural anthropologists as conflict-

avoiding (cf Alsmark 1981, Bratt Paulston 1982, Carle, Schale & Bjurström 1981), and there is a strong tendency to state matters in an ultra-discreet, non-provocative way. Constructive conflicts are a good thing, but it is a sign of bad manners to talk about conflicts - they have to be called something else.

Translating "diskussioner" as "disputes" shows that
- we are aware of the risk of misunderstanding, and
- are as translators motivated to avoid it. We are also
- able to locate this as
- a cultural rather than a linguistic problem, and can
- draw on relevant cultural knowledge
- to solve the problem.

Our first two examples, the "detached house" and "diskus-sioner=disputes", are examples of communication problems being successfully solved. The problem in the first example was primarily linguistic and in the second primarily cul-tural. Next we shall move to problems which do not get solved.

EXAMPLE 3
Had we instead translated "diskussioner" as "discussions", this would have been a clear case of
- the language users not being aware of the potential com-munication disruption, hence
- motivation to avoid this, and
- ability to locate the problem, whether of a linguistic or a cultural kind, does not arise, thus
- the problem is not solved.

Only a bilingual-bicultural analyst would be able to notice the problem, and the English-speaking reader of the book would be deprived of some of the cultural content of the source text. Even if examples 2 and 3 use written data, the analysis can be generalized to oral communication situa-tions as well. In fact in spoken interaction, communication disruptions due to lexical transference from L1 may be

easier to spot, both for participants and for analysts, because of the possibility of immediate feedback.

EXAMPLE 4

In our fourth example (see note 2), we again have a native speaker interacting with a learner. The lack of symmetry between the participants is almost complete, with on the one hand, a native speaker, male and distinctly middle class, on the other, a learner, female and working class. This type of situation can be described in terms of unequal power relations, great distance and low degree of solidarity (eg. Scollon & Scollon 1983) all of which can be seen in the participants' non-verbal communication too. What the participants in this example do manage to talk about is multinational popular youth culture (films, pop music etc.). Whereas when it comes to more personal matters there is a serious cultural breakdown. Irrespective of the linguistic competence of the interlocutors, the boy's lack of awareness of the girl's economic and social conditions is enough to cause communication disruptions. The girl has told him, earlier on on the tape
- that her mother is a widow
- that the mother does not work outside the home because
- she has three small children to take care of, meaning most probably
- that they live on social welfare, and
- that the girl works at a baker's shop 17 hours every week-end, in order to make ends meet.
Even so he enquires whether she spends her holidays abroad and will go on to upper secondary school, the Danish "gymnasium".

The physical differences between the participants are also striking. He is well-groomed, self-confident, aloof and superficially friendly; his gestures and body movements are few but well-rehearsed. She is short, very overweight, plainly dressed and with no make-up; her hair is short, straight and looks greasy; she smiles and titters nervously throughout the conversation, sitting with hunched shoulders;

she is anxious to please, despite her discomfort and clear
lack of self-confidence in the situation. Underlining in-
dicates simultaneous speech.

"NS during the summer holidays er what sort of things do
    you do

L mm - tst - I go to the movie

NS yeah

L and - I go to some friends and we talked and

NS yeah don't you erm go abroad to erm Germany
    France

L no (laughs)

NS you

L no I didn't

NS you don't

L no

NS would you like to go abroad

L yes

NS so what countries would you like to visit

L Engli´ England

NS why England

L I love it (laughs) I like erm German too but
    -   - I didn't have the chance to get there

NS no - so if you were able to go to England what sort
    of things would you be doing in England

L erm I like to work

NS you'd like to work there

L yes as a air pair "pige" er air pair girl

NS au pair girl yeah

L yeah - or in a shop if I can do it mm

NS yeah - (laughs)

L (laughs)

NS that's not too bad erm for the future what sort of
   things would you like to do

L I er like to do er I like to be a "picolain" if it
   you know what's that is

NS no try and explain it

L it's erm a a person who er ran to the office with
   letters and food and everything

NS mm I think I know what er you

L oh

NS mean then er - so are you thinking of going on to
   gymnasium

L no

NS no

L no (laughs)

NS (laughs) so you want to leave school

L yes (laughs)

NS so you can work

L I have a j' er I can catch er a job in the Righos' Rigs-
   hospital

NS yeah

L and I think I have it (laughs)

NS you can get it

L yeah

NS oh er I was in er Rigshospitalet er when I first
   came to Denmark for two weeks had er something
   wrong with my leg

L ah

NS and they fixed it so so you want to work there what
   about when you get married are you going to get married

L yes (laughs) I will have two children

NS two children

L a girl and a boy

NS a girl and a boy

L yes I like small children very much

NS yeah so how old is your youngest sister

L she's three years   <u>yeah</u>

NS she's three <u>yeah</u> I think you just told me I can't
   couldn't remember at all."

Looking at this extract from the point of view of the
communication disruption with "picolain", both are
- aware that the learner lacks a lexical item for
  "office messenger". She provides a paraphrased exem-
  plification to get the concept of this job across, and
  the native speaker claims to understand. One can ques-
  tion whether he has
- the motivation to contribute to solving the problem.
The learner
- resorts to an appropriate communication strategy, but
  there is
- doubt about the outcome
- as we can infer from the complete inappropriacy of the
  native speaker's follow-up question "so are you thinking
  of going on to gymnasium?"

What could be seen as an isolated linguistic, lexical pro-
blem, turns out to be a problem of intercultural mismatch,
which is difficult to locate. Neither of the participants
has enough insight into the other person's national cul-
ture (or subculture) and at least the boy is unaware of
both <u>her</u> class culture and of the unstated presuppositions
of his own class culture and what this implies for commu-
nication. Is it fair to conclude that complete inter-
<u>linguistic</u> competence might still fail to result in mutual
understanding?

EXAMPLE 5
Our fifth example again comes from the China book. Speaking
English, the Chinese and the Swedes or the interpreter
use concepts like obedience. On many occasions the Swedes
note that one or the other or both parties simply do not
understand each other. This occurs for instance when the

Swedes ask how conflicts caused by aggressive behaviour
are solved in the pre-school. Chinese pre-school children
are simply not aggressive. This is difficult to under-
stand for the Swedes (even if they can observe it), and
the Chinese have difficulties in understanding what the
Swedes are asking about (even if they are familiar with
these questions from other Western delegations).
The Swedish sociologist Rita Liljeström analyses the
notion of obedience in the two cultures (Liljeström et
al., in press):

"While being obedient is almost suspect in Sweden, it
is endorsed as something positive in China ... Obedience
is interpreted as subordination and resignation in Sweden
and as confirmation and identification in China ... While
we have reacted against authoritarian leadership, the
Chinese have laid emphasis on the good teacher and the
force of example ... Among us Swedes I detect a tendency
to be exhilarated whenever we meet noisy or slightly
boisterous children, children who interrupt grown-ups or
step out of line. Someone exclaims: "A healthy sign! "
We applaud any deviation, every departure from the pat-
tern. What does this say about us? What do we take for
granted?

Implications of:

	Obeying	Not obeying
[Sweden]	Drill Collective discipline/ uniformity	Revolt, freedom Individuality Creativity
[China]	Co-ordination Shared goals Solidarity	Deviance Egoism Disruption "

Liljeström shows that the participants are mostly
- aware of the communication disruption. They
- want to understand, and they can
- locate it as not a linguistic but a cultural problem.
  Many of the Swedes have at least some of
- the theoretical intercultural background knowledge needed,
  or acquire it during the trip, and many of them try in
  their articles to use it.

11

Several of them analyze the Chinese notion of obedience
and the corresponding Swedish notion. They compare
them, and they even try to analyze their own Swedish or
Western notions as a Chinese would see them. But still
they
- do not succeed in solving their communication problems
  completely.

Our analysis is that their understanding is blocked because
they lack the affective element in their cultural compe-
tence. We will come back to this later, in analyzing cultu-
ral competence.

EXAMPLE 6
Our last example comes from our own communication, and is,
we suspect, common in many intercultural marriages and ge-
nerally in intercultural contact. We often have discussions
(or are they disputes?) resulting in at least partial mis-
understandings, the cause of which we are unable to locate.
We suspect that over and above the type of marital disagree-
ments and misunderstandings that are more or less normal in
monolingual monocultural marriages too, we still have a
specific group where breakdowns are of an interlinguistic
and/or intercultural kind. We could provide plenty of
examples of linguistic and especially cultural difference
which affect our communication, but it is logically impos-
sible for us to supply a succinct example of a disruption
the cause of which we are unable to locate. We then have a
situation where we are
- aware of the problem at the behavioural level but
- not always able to solve it, regardless of the
- motivation to solve it and, as we think,
- a high degree of interlinguistic and intercultural com-
  petence, which we however are unable to draw on as long
  as we cannot locate the problem.

To sum up our examples, several steps are involved when
a communication disruption occurs (see Figure 1).
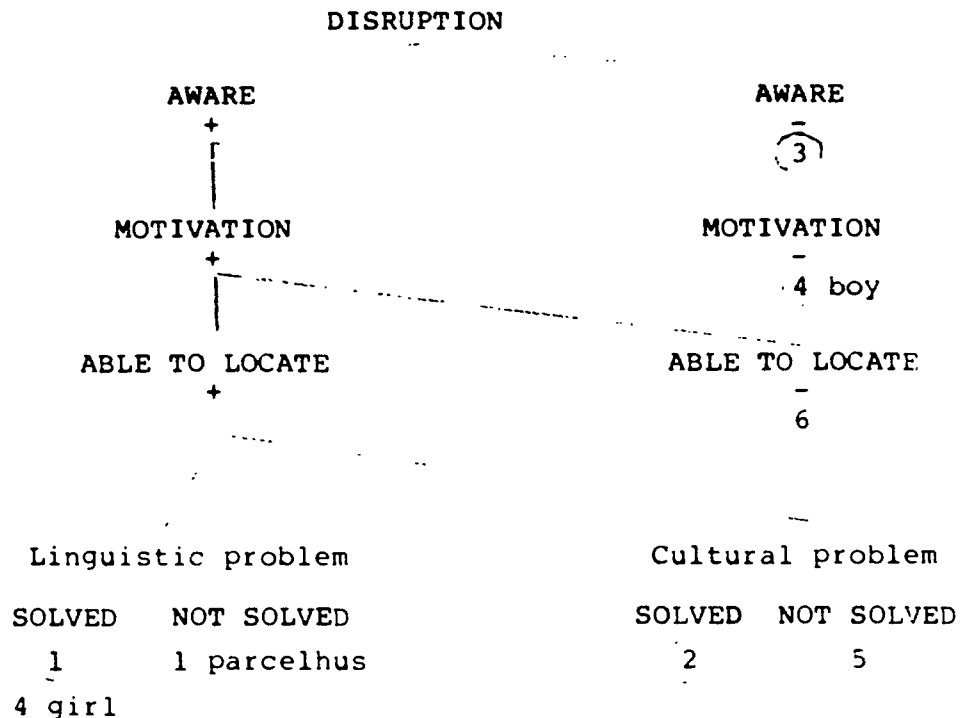
The problem remains unsolved

- if the participants are unaware of or do not recognize the problem, as in the "diskussion=discussion"example (3)
- if either of the participants, even though aware of the problem, lacks the motivation to solve it, as with the boy in the "picolain-gymnasium"example (4 boy)
- if the participants are both aware of the problem and motivated to solve it but are unable to locate it, as in our intercultural communication (6)
- if the participants are aware, motivated and able to locate the communication breakdown, earmark it as being primarily cultural or primarily linguistic, but where the attempts to repair fail, as in the "obedience"example (5) (a cultural problem) or the borrowing of the Danish word "parcelhus" in the "detached house"example (1).

The problem is solved

- if participants are aware that there is a problem, are motivated to solve it, able to locate it, and can either draw on appropriate cultural knowledge, as in the "dis-kussioner=disputes"example (2) or activate linguistic re-sources in order to achieve the desired effect, as with the combination of paraphrases and non-verbal strategies in the "detached house"example (1).

In interaction, solution of the problem requires that both participants actively negotiate meaning. This happens in the "detached house"example, but in the "picolain-gymna-sium"example (4) the girl's adequate efforts are not matched by a corresponding motivation to negotiate on the part of the boy. Here the girl's paraphrase could have solved the problem, but mutual understanding is not reached because of the boy's unwillingness to negotiate meaning.

13

Figure 1

DISRUPTION

AWARE	AWARE
+	−
	(3)
MOTIVATION	MOTIVATION
+	−
	· 4 boy
ABLE TO LOCATE	ABLE TO LOCATE
+	−
	6

	Linguistic problem		Cultural problem
SOLVED	NOT SOLVED	SOLVED	NOT SOLVED
1	1 parcelhus	2	5
4 girl			

We shall now go on to make more explicit what kind of lin-
guistic and cultural competence speakers draw on when try-
ing to solve communication disruptions. We shall first dis-
cuss what we mean by communicative competence and cultural
competence, and then try to tie them together in relation
to their teachability in foreign and second language class-
rooms.

COMMUNICATIVE COMPETENCE

Our conception of communicative competence (coco) operates
with a combination of constituents covering
linguistic competence (lexis, grammar, orthography/phono-
logy)
pragmatic competence (the speech acts with put linguistic
competence to use, which mark appropriately for such inter-
personal parameters as levels of formality or politeness -
sometimes calles "speech act modality" - and discourse
cohesion)
fluency, in the sense of being able to activate one's prag-

matic and linguistic competence with ease, and
strategic competence, where strategic is restricted to
the problem-solving devices that speakers resort to to
overcome difficulties of communication, like the paraphra-
ses used in example 1 (see Færch, Haastrup, Phillipson,
1983). All four components are necessa-
ry for any description of native speaker competence or in-
terlanguage competence. Linguistic and pragmatic compe-
tence are related in that linguistic competence is sub-
sumed under pragmatic comptence (called sociolinguistic
competence by Canale and Swain). Fluency and strategic com-
petence are related in the sense that they both have to
do with the activation of pragmatic competence, fluency
covering the speaker's ability to make use of whatever
linguistic and pragmatic knowledge s/he has, while stra-
tegic competence comes into play whenever there is a pro-
blem in linguistic or pragmatic competence, for instance
a gap between what a speaker wants to say and has the
words for - in this sense strategic competence is compen-
satory.

Interlanguage studies initially concentrated on aspects of
linguistic competence, eg error analysis of segmental
phonetic problems or syntactic items. These were then ex-
tended in attempts to gauge native speaker tolerance of
interlanguage speakers' shortcomings in each of the diffe-
rent components of coco. Findings that, for instance,
lexical errors are vastly more disruptive than grammatical
errors, but that tolerance of even lexical errors depends
very much on context (Albrechtsen,Henriksen & Færch 1980)
have immediate implications for language pedagogy.

There has also been a shift in interlanguage research in
recent years towards a greater concern with pragmatic and
strategic competence, this of course parallelling deve-
lopments in language teaching.

Thus for Germany there is an increasing amount of documen-
tation of learners' difficulties in handling the pragma-

tics of English. For instance the brusqueness or abruptness
that can characterise IL users when making a request or
complaint can be due to them making the speech acts more
directly than native speakers do, using fewer routinized
formulae, and structurally simpler ways of realizing a
pragmatic function, and marking inadequately for polite-
ness (Kasper, 1981).

A good deal of work has been done to find out what precise-
ly strategic competence consists of, what options are open
to interlanguage users, which strategies are actually used,
and how successful they are (Færch, Kasper 1983). The evi-
dence from Danish research indicates that there is a great
deal of variety in the way different learners use diffe-
rent strategies, but that those which are interlanguage
based rather than Ll based are more likely to lead to
success or mutual comprehension (Haastrup, Phillipson 1983).
Some work has been done in Danish schools to raise the
consciousness of Danish learners in relation to strategic
competence, where the provisional findings are that lear-
ners can benefit from being instructed about strategies,
in particular that "weaker" students can put this increa-
sed awareness to good use. (The learners in examples 1 and
4 exploit their strategic competence effectively). It is
also our impression that teachers of foreign languages con-
sider the concept of strategic competence a godsend - it
gives them a label for a pedagogical reality they are very
familiar with - "Don't give up - say it in a different
way" - and which helps. to make coco something manageable
and useful rather than abstract and elusive.

That learners can benefit from metacommunicative awareness
holds not only for strategic competence but for all the
constituents of coco. The narrow metalinguistic knowledge
of the "grammar-translation" method needs to be expanded
to cover knowledge of pragmatic functions, knowledge about
language learning processes, and knowledge of the expected
benefits from various types of language learning activity.
Learners should have a general awareness of how coco can

be built up. In fact we would claim that in <u>foreign</u>
language learning, one dimension of interlinguistic com-
municative competence should be metacommunicative aware-
ness (i.e. conscious knowledge) of the constituents of
the four components of coco, and how each can be pursued.
For instance, one possibility would be for the learners
in our examples to analyze the videotapes of them communi-
cating with the native speakers. They could benefit not
only from noting gaps in their vocabulary or pragmatic com-
petence but also from an increased insight into the speci-
fic ways they use to try to solve communication problems
and the relative success or failure of them.

A further parameter that needs consideration is the notion
of <u>context-embedded and context-reduced language</u>, which is
so prominent in North American bilingualism studies (e.g.
Cummins 1980). It is certainly also relevant in discussing
syllabuses for foreign languages as school subjects, but
even more relevant in designing syllabuses for <u>second</u> lan-
guage learners. Second language learners, especially chil-
dren, typically acquire a good context-embedded competence
outside formal instruction, and this competence often
leads parents and teachers to misjudge minority children's
linguistic competence (Skutnabb-Kangas 1983). The acquisi-
tion of context-reduced competence, which is imperative for
scholastic success, needs much greater prominence in mino-
rity learners' syllabuses.

To sum up our consideration of coco so far, interlanguage
research can clarify the nature of intercommunicative com-
petence, can serve to identify gaps in learners' linguistic
and pragmatic competence and problems in fluency and stra-
tegic competence. Such work can provide input into sylla-
buses which specify coco along these four parameters.
Language pedagogy draws on descriptions of native speaker
and interlanguage coco, and on psycholinguistic models of
L2 learning, and devises language learning activities de-
riving from these.

17

FROM COCO TO CUCO

However, as we saw when tracing the genesis and solution
of communication disruptions, the problems are not of a
linguistic nature only. Where then does <u>cultural competence</u>
come in? Is cultural competence a tiny sub-division of
pragmatic competence - which some pragmatists might lead
one to believe? Or is cultural competence, cuco, some-
thing quite distinct from communicative competence - which
the division of many "modern" language departments into
"Language" and "Literature" (meaning Kultur with a K) sec-
tions seems to imply? Meaning that novice foreign language
teachers are expected to effect a merger of linguistic
and cultural (meaning literary) competence on the day they
start teaching. The EFL (Englich as a Foreign Language)
tradition provided comprehensive training on the <u>language</u>
side, but assumed nativeness or near-nativeness on the
<u>culture</u> side, which therefore remained unanalyzed and not
explicitly taught.

Applied linguists do not seem to have tried to make expli-
cit the relationship between coco and cuco. Either they
have shoved cuco into some sort of residual ragbag along
with other unwanted or uncomfortable oddments, or it has
been somehow implicit in the socio-part of sociolinguistic
competence, and related to textual choice, to markers of
politeness, or reduced to good or bad manners in knowing
when to shut up.

Cultural anthropologists might on the other hand classify
<u>language</u> as a tiny sub-division of <u>culture</u>, and linguistic
or communicative competence as one part of cultural com-
petence, not even always an important part (because there
has been a lot of debate about whether or not a distinc-
tive language is one of the defining criteria for an
ethnic group). Our own notion of cultural competence
draws on cultural anthropology and sociology. When asses-
sing the relative importance of language and culture in
relation to each other, we would like to stress
four points:

18

- language operates both as a <u>tool</u>, an instrument, and a
  <u>tie</u>, a symbol of identification and cultural continuity.
  Both functions have to be considered when assessing the
  relative importance of language for any one situation
  (Skutnabb-Kangas 1983)
- the relative importance attached to linguistic and/or
  cultural differences is affected by the affinity, the
  relative closeness, of the languages and cultures invol-
  ved, and the expectations the relative closeness or
  otherwise evokes. We can then have the paradoxical si-
  tuation where the importance of linguistic or cultural
  differences is played down in the case of very remote
  languages and cultures, because one does <u>not</u> expect si-
  milarity and is therefore positively surprised by even small
  similarities, while the importance of the differences
  may be accentuated in the case of closely related lan-
  guages and/or cultures because one expects affinity and
  therefore notices even small differences with dismay
- "cultural groups differ in the extent to which they empha-
  size their native tongues as core values" ("those values
  that are regarded as forming the most fundamental com-
  ponents of a group's culture ... the heartland of the
  ideological system ... identifying values which are sym-
  bolic of the group and its membership" (Smolicz 1983,11).
  Thus for some cultural groups their culture can be main-
  tained even if the members are unable to speak the lan-
  guage (Irish, unable to speak Gaelic). But for most cul-
  tural groups their language is the "principal carrier of
  their culture" (Smolicz 1983, 11). This relative impor-
  tance of language for a cultural group explains much of
  the inter-individual variation in the significance accor-
  ded to culture and language respectively
- different situations call for different group loyalties
  to be acted out. In some situations the gender loyalty
  may be overriding (Tove identifying with a woman from
  another language group rather than with a man from the
  same language group). In other situations a joint ideo-
  logical commitment or the shared experience of belonging
  to oppressed groups may be more important than sharing a

language. This explains much of the intra-individual
variation.

In discussing cultural competence we are especially con-
cerned with two issues: 1. can somebody have a native
or near-native cultural competence in two or more cul-
tures? and 2. to what extent can cultural competence be
taught in foreign and second language classrooms?

The first question, the existence of genuine biculturalism,
is parallel to the question of the possibility of genuine
bilingualism, where the old negative view was that bilin-
gualism was an unfortunate temporary phase between mono-
lingualism in one language and monolingualism in another
language. This process of language change was thought to
take no more than three or four generations. During the
time when bilingualism was looked upon in this negative
way (and some people, even some researchers still do so)
many phenomena, typical of bilinguals, were conceptualized
and labelled in a negative way. Is this true of bicultura-
lism now?

CULTURAL COMPETENCE

Cultural competence (cuco) can be analyzed in terms of
three components or constituents, cognitive, affective and
behavioural.

The cognitive/intellectual/scholastic/literary component
relates to knowledge of the relevant culture. In the
broadest definition of culture the cognitive component
also includes knowledge of the language/languages per-
taining to that culture. It includes knowing something
about the history of that culture, knowing how different
institutions function, how people behave and react, what
they grow, eat, drink and think, how they live, what they
wear, read, write and do, how they pattern their family
life and how they bring up their children. We therefore
operate with a very broad definition of culture covering
both the material and ideological ways in which a group

20

organizes, understands and reproduces its life as a
group. To a large extent these are things which can be
taught, also to a certain extent to people who do not live
in that culture, for instance to pupils in a foreign lan-
guage classroom or to Swedes visiting China. And it is
also important to stress that this type of cultural
knowledge is something people can have about many different
cultures at the same time. Knowing many cultures from this
cognitive point of view is something additive. Knowledge
relating to different cultures is not in competition.
Rather knowing more about new cultures may add to the
knowledge of those cultures that one already knows, es-
pecially ons's own, because the cultures are compared and
contrasted and the differences highlight typical traits in
each culture.

The affective/empathetic /identification component relates
to one's (deep, positive) feelings about and attitudes
towards a culture, an understanding of it from the inside,
and an identification with it or parts of it, which in-
cludes accepting (most of) its norms and values (or, in
cases where one does not accept them, still feeling so
strongly about them that abandoning them requires a lot of
emotional effort). For this type of feeling to develop, a
person needs one of two things: either you have to grow
up in that culture and become socialized into it at an
age when you take it as self-evident because people you
are close to mediate the culture to you and because you
are not able to be analytically critical yet. Or, if these
feelings come later in life, you have to have a very strong
emotional mo_ivation to become part of that culture, mostly
either because you love somebody who comes from that cul-
ture, as in many mixed marriages, or sometimes because you
reject your own culture and want to find something better
(as many of those refugees who wanted to leave their coun-
try and who do not want to go back). An instrumental moti-
vation, in Lambert's terms, does not seem to be enough.

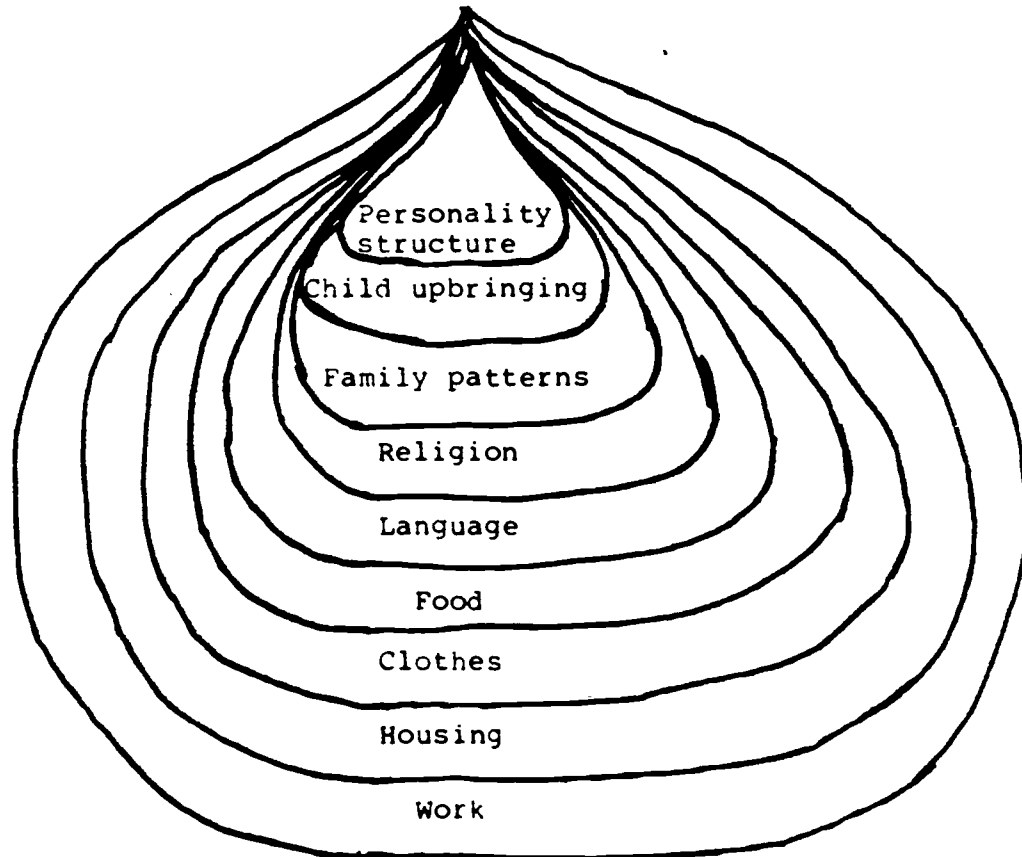Mostly the affective component of cultural competence is

something that cannot be taught, it has to be acquired by lived experience. That means that it is very difficult to teach in a foreign language classroom. It may be possible though to support the learning of it in a second language classroom for instance when teaching immigrants, even if most of the learning itself takes place outside the class-room.

We may also hypothesize that a strong affective component of cuco, a firm attachment to more than one culture, can be more problematic than having a cognitive knowledge of many cultures. This should obviously more often be the case if the two cultures have contradictory norms which cannot coexist simultaneously in the same person. This might for instance be the case if one of the cultures teaches that women should be submissive, and the other that they are equal to men and should be independent. If a woman firmly believes that she should be submissive, it is difficult to imagine that the same woman could also identify with a culture which demands her to feel equal and behave accordingly. A firm knowledge of the cultures and their history, with explanations for the various cul-tural traits, and a cognitively competent analysis of them does not always help either - and here vulgar Freudianism has done much harm and prevented people from understanding complex cultural and national and religious affiliations by claiming that once one knows something, this is easy to get rid of. The "obedience" example shows it clearly: even if both parties had a lot of cognitive knowledge of the norms in the other culture and knew the historical and social explanations for the material conditions which had caused each culture to regard obedience in its specific way, they did not really understand, in a hermeneutic sense, why the others did not after all think the same way as they.

Still we know that many people are bicultural, also affec-tively. Some modification is needed to the main "rule" about the impossibility of the simultaneous coexistence of competing norms in the same person. It seems obvious that

22

some aspects of culture are more superficial and less
emotionally anchored (and in relation to them different
norms may well coexist), while other aspects are more
deeply anchored emotionally and more resistant to change
(and therefore prevent an alternative norm from coexisting
at the same time). We have used (in Rahbek Pedersen &
Skutnabb-Kangas 1983) an image of cultural traits having
the form of an onion, where it is easier for somebody who
is confronted with a new culture to peel and change the
outer layers, but where the innermost layers are much more
inaccessible, more unconscious. Changing them or having
several different sets of norms in relation to them evokes
much more resistance and conflict. A reaction may then be
to refuse to accept the new culture (active cultural self-
segregation), or to refuse to accept a coexistence of two
different norms and therefore abandon the old cultural
norms (cultural assimilation).

Figure 2

Personality structure
Child upbringing
Family patterns
Religion
Language
Food
Clothes
Housing
Work

23

Generally the most resistant aspects have to do with the reproduction of culture, aspects like family patterns and child upbringing (and this is where the "obedience" example comes in). This is understandable because a culture disappears if the essential core of it, "core values" according to Smolicz (1979), are not transmitted to the next generation, and therefore the circumstances around transmission must be central for any culture. And since personality structure in any culture is adapted to integrate into a coherent whole the mixture of norms and values of that culture, embodying all its norms and values, it seems to be the most difficult-to-change part of any culture. It also "guarantees" that new cognitive knowledge does not change the structure (= is not allowed "in"), unless it can be in some way incorporated into the totality of norms and values without causing too much upheaval, too many crises of identity. This process of incorporating new items and aspects seems above all to be an affective process, which to a certain extent is much less conscious that the incorporation of new cognitive knowledge - and this is for instance one of the many possible explanations for the difficulty in locating the sources of misunderstanding in intercultural communication, our Robert & Tove example.

We may also speculate whether functional differentiation of some kind makes it easier, at least during a transition phase, for contradictory cultural traits to coexist - they may be called for in different environments. This may though be more true at the behavioural level than at the affective level. It might for instance be possible for a 13-year old Turkish girl in Denmark to accept and live according to Turkish norms for how a teenage girl should behave when she visits Turkey or when she is at home in the Turkish quarters in a suburb of Copenhagen, and at the same time at least behave according to and maybe also accept Danish norms when at school. Or there may be other criteria than place for functional differentiation.

24

It may operate according to time, mood, interlocutors,
topic or the like. Another example, the role of women in
relation to men: one of us does not find that there is any
emotional contradiction between mostly feeling big, compe-
tent, independent, and resisting every attempt from any
man to interfere in any decisions, and at other moments,
not very often, feeling tiny and dependent and like "Oh
Robert, you can decide everything ..." Those attitudes ob-
viously represent absolutely contradictory ideologies and
norms, and from the point of view of linear male Western
rational logic it should be impossible for them to coexist
without conflict. And still they do, without making either
of us feel split-brained. So if it is possible for contra-
dictory ideologies to coexist and be affectively well an-
chored in one culture, it must also be possible, to a
certain extent, when one of the norms comes from one culture
and the other from another culture.

Obviously there is no simple dichotomy "can/cannot co-exist",
but we would anyway like to claim that it is much more
difficult and requires more effort for differing cultural
norms than lingustic norms to coexist, especially in rela-
tion to the affective component. We will come back to this
in discussing integration/assimilation.

The third component of cultural competence is a behavioural
component, the capacity to act in culturally appropriate
ways with members of a given cultural group. We believe
that in many cases it is possible to behave superficially
according to the norms of another culture even without accepting its
norms and values, if the benefits from doing so are big
enough, and if one has the knowledge needed. A Scandina-
vian woman may thus cover her head and wear long sleeves
when going to a village church in Sicily, without accep-
ting that god demands it. Being cognitively competent in
a foreign culture may lead to adequate behaviour, even if
the affective cultural competence is lacking. But there
may in this case be a fair amount of conscious acting, as
though on the stage, when behaving according to the norms

of the other culture. But it seems to us that a certain
amount of acceptance and understanding of the norms of the
foreign culture is often needed, in addition to knowledge,
in order to behave naturally in ways that are appropriate
to a foreign culture which is different from one's own.

Behavioural competence can therefore be taught to a certain
extent, even if the risk of trivialization and stereoty-
ping is obvious in such teaching, and the behaviour resul-
ting from teaching is often more or less unnatural even if
it may seem superficially correct.

IS CUCO TEACHABLE?

If we, then, look at the teachability of cultural compe-
tence in different situations, one might hypothesize as
follows:

- in a foreign language teaching situation it is possible
  to teach a fair amount of the knowledge component, very
  little of the affective component, and some of the more
  superficial aspects of the behavioural component, but
  with a risk of stereotyping
- in a second language teaching situation it is possible
  to teach (or learn without being taught, through living)
  a large amount of the knowledge component, and to support
  via teaching the acquiring of the affective component and
  the behavioural component.

Now we can come back to our examples and see whether we can
find support for our assumptions about the teachability of
cuco components in them. It seems to us that the girl in
example 4, in addition to developing communicative compe-
tence in English in the ways this can be done in good class-
room practice, would also need to be taught metacultural
awareness, self confidence, assertivenes etc, in order to
be able to communicate with the boy. And the boy would
need to be taught not only how to communicate with inter-
language speakers (which he already knows something about)
but also how to be more aware of his own cultural class-
related presuppositions. But are these things that can be

taught at all, or taught in school? Is not the lack of
metacultural awareness in both youngsters a reflection of
their very different socio-economic positions which
have prevented them from having other types of experience,
meaning that you have to change their socio-economic po-
sition for them to be able to acquire the instruments they
need for the communication to function? If this is the
case, then the school can do little.

Looking at the "diskussion=dispute" and "obedience"exarples,
is there any way of teaching these things in a foreign
language classroom? How can you learn what discussion
means in a Swedish and a British context, unless you for
many years take part in discussions, debates and disputes
in both cultures? And how can you describe this type of
difference to a learner, without the presentation becom-
ing utterly boring and abstract, or witty but dangerously
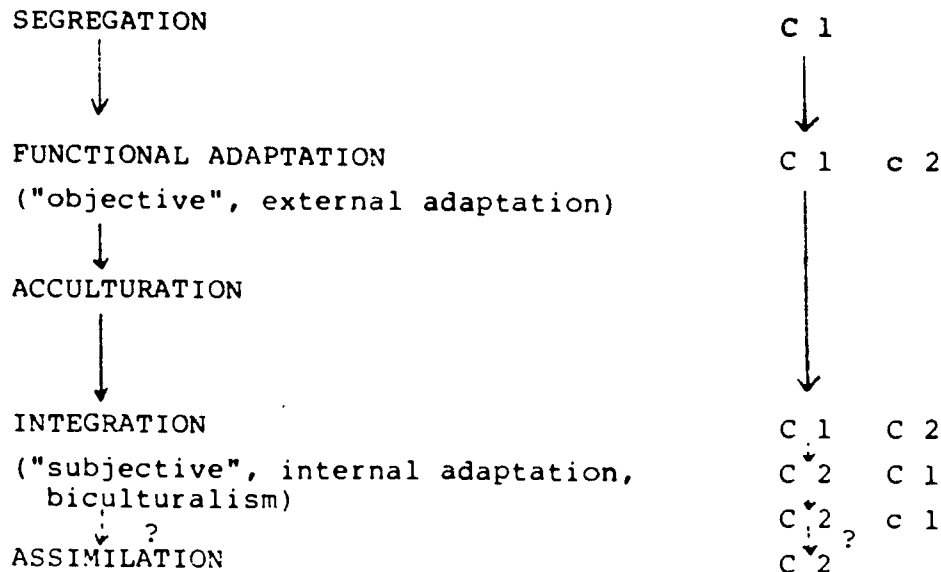stereotyped?

It should be more feasible to teach cuco in a second lan-
guage learning situation, because the learner can verify
classroom teaching in the world outside the classroom. But
on the other hand the teaching in this case has to consider
such ethical and political questions as whether it is
reasonable to ask anybody to learn the behavioural and
especially the affective components of another culture,
and especially whether or not it is possible to acquire
the affective component without at the same time losing
some of one's original cultural competence. We shall there-
fore say a few words about the concepts of assimilation
and integration.

INTEGRATION ⟶ ASSIMILATION?

We shall look at integration only from one specific point
of view, namely as one phase in a development from segre-
gation to assimilation for an immigrant who comes to a new
country. We are very much aware of the different cultural
meanings of the terms integration, assimilation and even
immigrant in different countries, and use them here with

Scandinavian connotations (see Skutnabb-Kangas 1983). We
are specifically interested in the relationship between
integration and cultural competence in both the original
culture and the new culture.

Figure 3

SEGREGATION   C 1
   ↓   ↓
FUNCTIONAL ADAPTATION   C 1   c 2
("objective", external adaptation) |
   ↓ |
ACCULTURATION |
                                                        |
   ↓   ↓
INTEGRATION   C 1   C 2
("subjective", internal adaptation,   C 2   C 1
   biculturalism)   C 2   c 1
   ↓ ?   ?
ASSIMILATION   C 2

(C 1 = original culture, C 2 = new culture,
 size of letter = degree of dominance)

In this chain, segregation (either voluntary or forced,
often for socio-economic reasons) is seen as the starting
point. When the new immigrant arrives, s/he is culturally
competent in the original culture, but s/he often does
not know the language, institutions or customs of the new
country. In this situation, living close to one's country-
people who have come earlier gives a certain help and se-
curity. When the immigrant starts a functional adaptation,
learns some of the language, becomes familiar with some
of the most important institutions, sends the children to
day care centres and schools, that is the beginning of an
acculturation. When acculturation proceeds further, it
means that the immigrant acquires the instruments needed
to be able to function in the new country, to behave ade-
quately superficially, meaning that s/he has acquired some

of the cognitive and behavioural components of cultural
competence in the new culture, in addition to those of
the original culture. But it does not mean that the immi-
grant has changed her or his ethnic identity - s/he still
feels like a Turk, Finn, Yugoslav, Pakistani, etc. This
functional or "objective" external adaptation thus means
that the person has acquired enough of the external in-
struments of cultural competence in order to be able at
the behavioural level to function like a "real" British
or Danish or German person, but all the affective solida-
rity is still with the old culture.

In this analysis, integration would be the next step,
namely not only a functional adaptation, but also accep-
ting many of the norms and value judgements of the new
society. But in order to differentiate integration from
assimilation it is important to stress that this accep-
tance of the norms and values of the new culture should
ideally be in addition to the norms and values of the
original culture, not instead of them. The immigrant would
thus be bicultural, and have two coexisting sets of norms
and values. Some researchers call this phase subjective
adaptation. At this state the immigrant would have the
affective component of cultural competence in both cul-
tures.

According to this way of looking at the process,
assimilation would then be the last stage. Assimilation
would mean that the immigrant would have accepted the
norms and values of the new culture to the extent where
that would mean a rejection of the norms and values of
the old culture at the level of the affective component.

Figure 4

	ORIGINAL CULTURE			NEW CULTURE		
	Know-ledge	Affec-tive	Beha-vioural	Know-ledge	Affec-tive	Beha-vioural
SEGREGATION	+	+	+	-	-	-
FUNCTIONAL ADAPTATION	+	+	+	-/+	-	-/+
ACCULTURATION	+	+	+	+	-	+
INTEGRATION	+	+	+	+	+	+
ASSIMILATION	+/-	-	+/-	+	+	+

The person would still have the <u>knowledge</u> component of the old culture, at least when it comes to everything that constituted that knowledge at the time of moving countries. But s/he would no longer have the <u>affective</u> component of cultural competence in the original culture, at least not fully - even if s/he might still be able to <u>behave</u> according to the norms of that culture in case that was needed (but there would be an emotional barrier to doing this). Figure 4 summarizes this development.

If we believe that coexistence of contradicting cultural norms, expecially at the affective level, is impossible or difficult, the conclusion must also be that integration in the sense used here is impossible. Then assimilation and acculturation would be the only alternatives.

One possible solution, which we think many migrants succeed in, after many years in a new country, is a qualitatively new combination. It could be called <u>interculture</u>, because it combines elements from both cultures, but it <u>differs</u> <u>from interlanguage in that it does not have any of the</u> <u>cultures involved as a goal, a target. It is a new type</u> <u>of culture in its own right.</u> It can in a way be seen as a result of the constructive struggle to try to fit contradicting norms together, instead of giving up and either becoming more intensely devoted to the original culture to the exclusion of the new (active self-segregation, be-

Figure 5
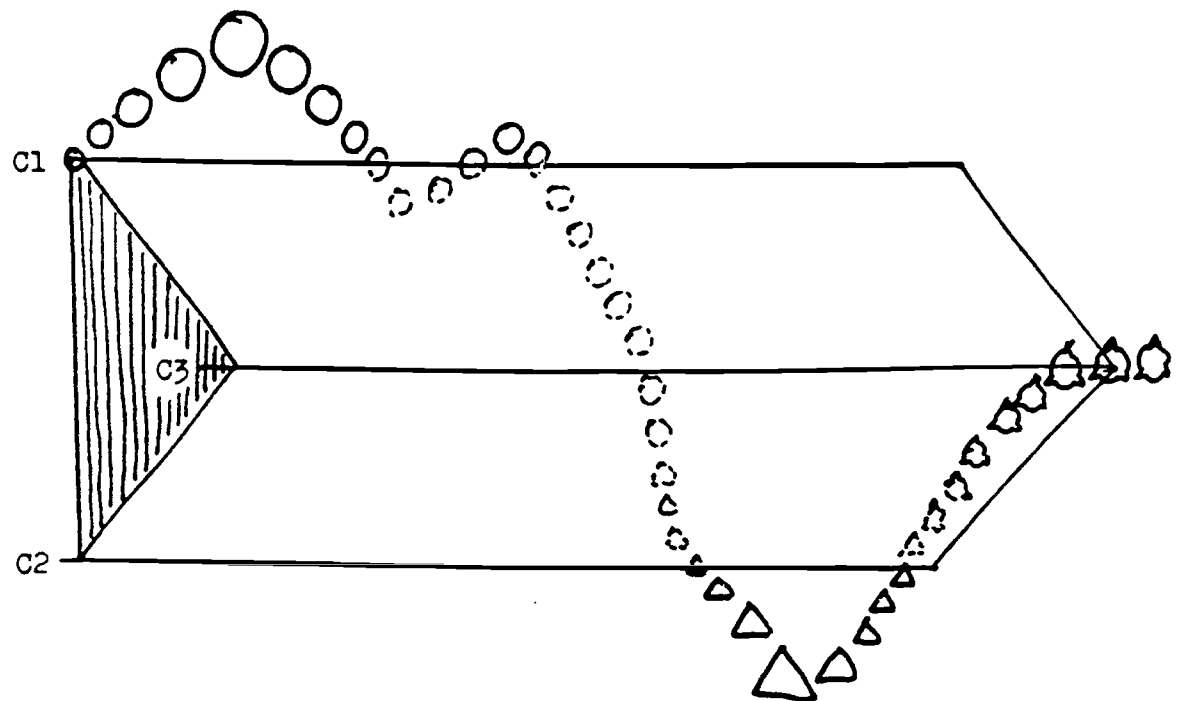
C1 ○ original culture
an "ordinary" Turkish
identity in Turkey

C2 △ "new" culture
an "ordinary" Danish
identity in Denmark

C3 ⬠ interculture
a completely new
cultural identity

```
L1
↓
interlanguage
↓
L2
```
??? ¦ ¦ ??
↓ ↓
L3 = creole?
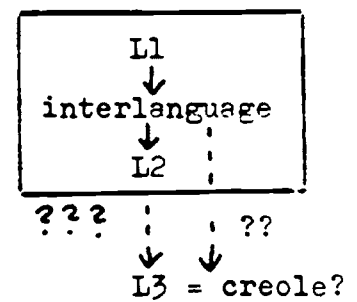
coming for instance a Super-Turk in Denmark) or becoming
more intensely devoted to the new culture than its origi-
nal representatives to the exclusion of the original
culture (overassimilation, becoming a Super-Dane in Den-
mark). Interculture might in the best possible cases lead
to a positive relativization of both the cultures origi-
nally involved, i.e. a high metacultural awareness, to
more empathy and understanding towards both (see Figure 5).

CONCLUDING REMARKS

If we now try to consider foreign language teaching from the point
of view of the components of both coco and cuco, we have
assumed thus far that linguistic, pragmatic, strategic
competence and fluency can be taught, or at least learned.
Coco was assumed to have a cognitive element, some of
which is made explicit in metacommunicative awareness, and
an implicit assumption was that language learning activi-
ties lead to a greater automatization of coco rules, in
other words there was a behavioural element too. A psycho-
linguistic model would make explicit how such language
learning takes place, and what processes are involved (see,
for instance chapter 11 of Færch, Haastrup, Phillipson 1983).

The affective component of cuco, strong identification with
the culture, is different in kind from a positive attitude
to a school subject (though this of course helps learning)
and is therefore not relevant for learners of foreign lan-
guages. It may well be that the francophilia, anglophilia,
etc. characteristic of teachers of foreign languages - which
might be interesting to analyse in more depth - corresponds
to the affective component of cuco.

Most foreign language teaching in Europe explicitly aims
at developing not only coco but also providing learners
with a grounding in the cognitive component of cuco.

The Council of Europe Modern Languages Project has moved
on from promoting the Threshold Level, individualisation,
autonomy, and communicative language teaching to pay more

explicit attention to cultural goals, which were apparent-
ly there all along but not articulated (Council of Europe,
1981:173).

In foreign language teaching in Denmark there is a move
towards cuco-type syllabuses which are coherent wholes,
thematically structured, sometimes linked to such other
school subjects as history or geography, as opposed to
consisting of isolated facts or texts. Intercultural com-
petence development goes hand in hand with activities for
intercommunicative competence development; in other words
the behavioural dimension inside and outside the class-
room is designed, by teachers and learners, to lead to
increased competence within each of those components that
are realizable goals in classroom teaching. The role of
metacommunicative and metacultural awareness is not mere-
ly to facilitate authentic and effective behaviour in the
foreign language, but also to equip learners to conscious-
ly analyse and negotiate meaning in the foreign language.
This would apply both at the level of the individual tak-
ing more responsibility for her or his own learning, and
at the level of awareness of the role of the particular
foreign language, for instance why English is so ubiquitous
in Danish society. In case this picture looks too Utopian,
while it is true that most foreign language teaching in
Denmark does not live up to these ideals, there are exel-
lent examples at classroom level of all the points made.

It seems to us that the more language-oriented part of
foreign or even second language teaching, in moving from
a cognitive-code approach via an audio-lingual one to more
communicatively oriented approaches, has moved from a
knowledge approach via crude behavioristic models to an
approach which, even if it tries to incorporate a knowledge
component, is mostly geared towards the output, the beha-
viour of the learner. The affective component has been
touched upon only vaguely, by reference to motivation or
an affective filter. And "affective" has been interpreted
in a way which has made it a characteristic of the learner,

33

the same type of prerequisite to the learning process as the IQ or language aptitude of the learner. We would like to see the affective component more in terms of a process variable, a kind of metacommunicative process monitor, awareness of what is happening in the communication and why; this aspect is teachable.

The more culturally oriented part of foreign language learning seems still very much to be knowledge-oriented: People are taught "Landeskunde", "facts" about the foreign country and culture. In second language teaching this knowledge has been put into use in communicative situa- tions, for instance in role-plays where an immigrant goes to see a Swedish or British doctor. As indicated earlier, we do not believe that much of the affective component in the sense described earlier can be taught, and we do not think that it should in most instances be learnt at the ex- pense of the affective component of the original culture. But one way around the problem, a way to provide learners with more opportunity to judge how much of the affective cultural competence of each culture they might want to combine, would be to teach more metacultural awareness. For most people this would mean starting from their own culture, becoming more aware of its implicit presupposi- tions. The Swedes in our China example were very much aware of this: they said that they went to China to understand their own culture better.

It seems clear to us from the examples we have used that knowledge of a language and a culture, and sometimes even mastery of the behavioural component, does not always lead to well functioning communication. Sometimes lack of mastery of the affective cultural component and very often lack of metacommunicative and metacultural awareness may even prevent people from both using their knowledge (linguistic and/or cultural) and from behaving appropria- tely (linguistically and/or culturally).

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