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THE THEORY OF ACTIVITY: PERSPECTIVES IN PRACTICE

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of The Ohio State University

By

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Introduction

The purpose of this research is to propose an image of second language education grounded in the socio-historical theory of higher psychological functions, also known as the theory of activity, and hereafter referred to as Activity.

The concept of Activity has played and continues to play a dual role in the history of knowledge. First, it is a metaphysical principle, and second, it is a methodological postulate basic to a number of the social sciences.

The duality naturally emerged in the organization of this dissertation. Part One is a synthesis of the theory of Activity itself. Parts Two and Three are transformations of the theory from pure to pedagogical terms. In Part Two, three applications of the theory in second language education are surveyed. In Part Three, implications are examined.
Part One

The Theory of Activity

"In order to explain the highly complex form of the conscious life of humans one has to go beyond the human organism. One has to seek sources of this conscious activity and 'categorical' behavior not in the recesses of the human brain or in the depths of the spirit, but in the external conditions of life, and in the first place, in the external conditions of social life, in the social and historical forms of human existence."

-L.S. Vygotsky

On the Nature of Activity

For the time being, it appears that the student of Activity must be satisfied to internalize a sense of the whole through penetration of the parts. He or she must be content with comments and reflections predicated on the acquaintanceship by a group of researchers and writers in the Soviet Union with a unified theory of the social sciences, including but not limited to linguistics, anthropology, sociology, psychology, and pedagogy.

To date, this writer has not been able to locate a source in which the theory of Activity is presented in full, and at this stage of continuing investigation, tends to question whether such a source exists at all, except in
the dialogic nature of the exchange of Soviet academic papers beginning in the 1930's with the publication of Thought and Language by Lev Semenovich Vygotsky, and continuing, except for a decade of suppression, to the present in the work of Vygotsky's students or the so called Vygotsky School.

Because of the tendency of ideas included in or inspired by a unified theory such as Activity to be repeated throughout the research of a particular school of scholars, the contributions of individuals parade in the illusion of public property. Nevertheless, it is fair to attribute the theory of Activity, and the features of Activity, repeated footnotes or not, to the work of L.S. Vygotsky. Found explicitly or implicitly in his writing, the following pattern emerges.

1. Activity is motivated and purposive.

As Lomov has pointed out (1981, p. 69), "unmotivated, purposeless Activity simply cannot exist." It is a view shared by Soviet researchers, but perhaps one of the most articulate and prolific proponents is A.N. Leont'ev. According to Leont'ev (1978, p. 62), the concept of Activity is necessarily connected with the concept of motive. Activity does not exist without a motive. "Non-motivated Activity is not Activity without a motive, but
Activity with a...hidden motive.

There are five concepts correlative to this postulate. First, that although Vygotsky was correct in his classic observation that motive is at the deepest level of Activity, motives come into existence from needs or perceived needs prior to, that is, outside of Activity. Second, a motive and a goal "constitute a kind of vector of Activity which defines both its direction and the amount of effort developed by the subject in performing the activity" (Lomov, 1981, p. 69). Or, to state that another way, "it is exactly the object of an activity that gives it a determined direction....The object of an activity is its true motive" (A.N. Leont'ev, 1978, p. 62).

The first two concepts may be visualized for clarification by the following diagram:
The third concept is that a motive and a goal are usually part of a network of motives and goals, and it is precisely this network that comprises the individual personality (A.A. Leont'ev, 1981a, p. 18). Furthermore, two conditions within the network are worthy of note: (1) that there are two types of motives in the network—leading motives and subordinate motives. Leading motives are distinguished by the fact that, in addition to impelling and directing Activity, they impart to it individual meaning, or as A.N. Leont'ev has labeled it, personal sense; (2) that motives in the network may have a reinforcing or a contradictory relationship.

To refer to the diagram on the previous page, we may now visualize an activity as but one cell in a network of cells, some reinforcing each other; others in diametric opposition. From the union of all his or her activities emerges an individual life. From the union of all Activity emerges the whole of human history.

Which brings us to the fourth concept. Returning to the individual, a motive or a network of motives is often not perceived until after he or she has acted, and sometimes motive is not perceived at all. Rationalizations may not coincide with real motives (p. 192).

Fifth, and finally, although a motive impels an activity, "it does not specify the direction it
activity] will take" (Wertsch, 1979b, p. 43).

"Though a motive may be an internal inducement to Activity, it does not wholly determine the concrete characteristics of that activity. The same motive may be realized in different activities. It is wrong to say that a need...that has become a motive...can be satisfied in one, and only one, way. There is no rigid one-to-one correspondence between a need and the way it is satisfied" (Lomov, 1981, p. 72).

In sum, Activity is motivated and purposive. Motives, at the deepest level of Activity, arise from needs. Motives are realized in goals, both of which are part of a network of motives and goals which comprise the individual personality. A motive or a network of motives which is often not perceived by the individual impells an activity but it does not specify the content of the activity.

2. Activity is material and significant.

As A.A. Leont'ev (1981a, p. 13) explains, "Man does not simply 'behave' nor does he simply perform abstract deeds: any one of his actions constitutes at the same time an interaction with objects outside himself....There is no man who simply 'acts'; there is man, and there is that which he affects or influences" (p. 13). And later (p. 13), "There is no abstract subject of Activity: in Activity there
is always an object as well as a subject, and the character of the interaction arising between them depends no less on the object...than on the subject" (p. 13).

Again, there are several related concepts. First, that material, significant Activity may be both external and internal; that is, that the content may be both social and psychological. Second, that Activity may be realized either as cooperative Activity, referred to in theoretical terms as joint Activity, or as individual Activity. Third, that Activity may take a variety of forms, including but not limited to work Activity, play Activity, learning Activity, and speech Activity. All of these concepts are referred to but not elaborated on in a variety of sources, and whereas it seems appropriate to list them here, the writer reserves further explanation of them for points at which they emerge more naturally in the context of this work.

To summarize, Activity is material and significant. It may be viewed as social and psychological, cooperative and individual, and it may take a variety of forms such as work, play, learning, or speech, but Activity always presupposes material influence or effect.

3. Activity is social and embodies social relationships.

A.N. Leont'ev (1978, p. 51) asserts that "under
whatever kind of conditions and forms human Activity takes place, it must not be considered as isolated from social relations, from the life of society. In all of its distinctiveness, the Activity of the human individual represents a system included in the system of relationships of society. Outside these relationships, human Activity simply does not exist." Lomov reiterates (1981, p. 59) that "any individual activity is inseparably linked with the Activity of society, every individual relating to other individuals. Activity is only a factor, a component part of the joint Activity of people in society as they interact. Individual Activity simply could not exist apart from social relations and bonds." And elsewhere (p. 65) conversely, "Social relations do not exist independently of the actions of human beings."

It is quite easy to trace the origins of this line of reasoning from Vygotsky (Wertsch, 1979b, p. 15) whose basic premise was that in order to explain the highly complex form of the conscious life of humans one has to go beyond the human organism. One has to seek sources of this conscious Activity and categorical behavior "not in the recesses of the human brain or in the depths of the spirit, but in the external conditions of life, and in the first place, in the external conditions of social life, in the social and historical forms of human existence."
There are four related concepts. First, that social relations and personal interactions are not the same, but rather, that they are realized in dialectical movement. As defined in the Great Soviet Encyclopedia (Vol. 18, p. 680), "Society in its broadest sense, is the aggregate of the historically established forms of joint human Activity," and social relationships are the "multifarious ties that arise between social groups in the context of their economic, social, political, and cultural activities" (Vol. 18, p. 679). Personal interactions, on the other hand, are "people's relations as distinct individuals linked by direct contacts—relations in which people's psychological, moral, cultural characteristics, their sympathies and antipathies and other personal factors are significant" (Vol. 18, p. 679).

To paraphrase Lomov (1981, p. 61), individual interactions take place within a "social context," an established system of social relations developing in accordance with objective laws of the society in which the individual lives and acts. The idea of a "context" should not be construed however, as an environment for interaction. It is the person as a member of that society and through Activity who enters the system of social relations to form part of it, and by his or her inclusion, to alter its structure.

The second concept, and no doubt that which offers
us the greatest insight into the social origins of Activity is that social interaction is analytically prior to individual functioning. Since individual Activity is only a component part of the Activity of society, Lomov reasons (1981, p. 59), then clearly an analysis of individual Activity should not begin with the abstract relationships of this individual, but with a study of the functions of his or her individual activities within the system of social life, i.e., "the system of interactions of a particular individual with other people in the 'social context' in which this activity is nested."

"Hence, in an analysis of needs as the foundation of motives, we must begin not with the abstract individual, but with the way that individual is incorporated into a system of social relations, and how this system is reflected in his individual head" (Lomov, 1981, p. 70). To discover the motives and networks of motives which lie at the most profound level of Activity, his or her ties and relations with other people must be considered. Specifically, at the empirical level of analysis, it is the groups of people to which an individual belongs that are of interest -- the family, colleagues at work, sports teams, and school classes. And, of special interest to second language educators, as Lomov notes (1981, p. 71), "Incorporation into any new community or collective [will give] rise to
new motives, and in some way or other, [transform] the already formed motives of the individual."

The third concept is a logical extension of the second. It is that in order to be introduced into the world of human Activity, one must participate in it, and furthermore, that the only way to participate in it initially is to engage in social interaction with a more experienced member or members of the culture, an idea which Vygotsky developed in some detail (1978) in the notion of a Zone of Proximal Development discussed later in the section on learning activity.

Fourth, and finally, as Vygotsky observed (Wertsch, 1979.b, p. 17), "any higher mental function necessarily goes through an external stage in its development because it is initially a social function... When we speak of a process, 'external' means 'social.' Any higher mental function was external because it was social at some point before becoming an internal, truly mental function. It was first a relation between two people."

To summarize, then, Activity is social and embodies social relations. Individual interactions take place within a social context. Analysis of social interaction, therefore, is necessary prior to analysis of individual functioning. Furthermore, in order to be introduced into Activity, one must participate in it, which means, at least
to begin with, to engage in social interaction with a more experienced member or members of the culture. Moreover, any higher psychological function was a social function at some point in its development. Mental functioning is necessarily externalized prior to internalization.

4. Activity is systematic and structured.

A.N. Leont'ev (1978, p. 64) claims that "human Activity does not exist except in the form of action or a chain of actions." To view that in another way, Activity is expedient. We know that man acts in such a way as to obtain his or her final goal by the best possible means and avoid unnecessary expenditure of time and energy. To that purpose, he or she sets up intermediate, consecutive steps toward the goal which divide the activity into what A.A. Leont'ev has called an "aggregate of separate actions" (1981a, p.17). Every action is determined by its intermediate goal.

As A.N. Leont'ev elaborates (1978, p. 64), "When a concrete process is taking place before us, external or internal, then from the point of view of its relation to motive, it appears as human Activity, but when it is subordinated to purpose, then it appears as an action or cumulation of a chain of actions." Thus, we call a
process an activity when we relate it to a motive, but we call it an action when we relate it to a purpose.

To accomplish an intermediate goal, conscious action or actions are transformed, that is, realized as a task or a series of tasks. Depending on the concrete conditions under which the activity might be carried out, there will be different methods for completing each of the actions in the task. These methods are known as operations.

If an activity is correlated with motive, and an action with purpose, then an operation is correlated with conditions.

There are four concepts related to this postulate. First, that what is important is not the size of the unit—an activity, action, or operation—but, as Wertsch points out (1979, p. 57), the maintenance of the levels of analysis or "abstraction." The crucial concept is "what function a particular behavioral segment serves in the subject's overall Activity" (p. 55). In other words, the units are psychological units and they relate to the degree of conscious behavior on the part of the person participating. Operations are unconscious behaviors whereas actions are controlled. Or as Wertsch contends (p. 58), "the difference between an action and an operation is the
level of consciousness at which psychological processing is carried out."

Second, it is useful to recall that motive does not determine the direction that an activity will take. In that regard, Lomov (1981, p. 72) stresses that "different goals may be formed (and indeed are formed) in connection with one and the same motive." He further suggests that it might be more appropriate to speak of a "field of goals" linked to some particular motive. "Whereas a motive only stimulates Activity, a goal construes it as [a] concrete activity determining its characteristics and dynamics."

Third, it is also well to note that a goal, intermediate or final, is not "imported into the individual activity from without...but is formed by the individual himself" (Lomov, 1981, p. 73).

Fourth, and finally, (p. 74) "the relationship between a motive and goal is mediated by social relations." I understand this to mean that some actions are culturally appropriate in the context of a goal, and others are not.

In summary, Activity is systematic and structured. Activity which is impelled by a motive is structured by individual or group goal-setting which is mediated by social relations. In order to achieve a final goal, an individual or group constructs intermediate goals which are accomplished as tasks that lead to the accomplishment of
the final goal. The conscious actions used in completing the tasks become internalized as unconscious operations or methods as determined by the concrete conditions of the activity.

5. Activity is dynamic.

According to A.A. Leont'ev (1981a, p. 18), "The correlation between activity, actions, and operations is dynamic." This means that the relationships among activity, actions, and operations remain structured and systematic, but that in specific instances of activities, they may transform from one to another. A.N Leont'ev elaborates (1978, p. 67), referring to Activity as a process that is "characterized by continuously proceeding transformations." He continues (p. 67) that "[an] activity may lose the motive that elicited it, whereupon it is converted into an action realizing perhaps an entirely different relation to the world, a different activity; conversely, an action may turn into an independent stimulating force and may become a separate activity; finally, an action may be transformed into a means of achieving a goal, into an operation capable of realizing various actions."

In fact, as Leont'ev states elsewhere (Wertsch, 1979b, p. 58), "every operation is the result of the transformation of an action." The most often cited
example of this phenomenon is that of the activity of driving an automobile. Initially, every movement by the driver is formed as a conscious action subordinated to an intermediate goal such as shifting the gears, etc. Later, these actions are included in another complex action. Shifting gears becomes a means for changing the speed of the automobile and the driver does it unconsciously. He or she is conscious only of the goal of changing speed. Shifting gears has been transformed into an unconscious operation.

Three related concepts follow. First, that an investigation of Activity, or of an activity requires not only an analysis of the structure of its component parts, but also of the movement of the "internal systemic connections" (Leont'ev, A.N., 1978, p. 67). Second, that only an understanding of the internal motives and the degrees of consciousness of an individual's behaviors will provide an insight into the structure of a particular activity. Third, that analysis at any one point of time will reveal relationships among activity, action, and operation for that point in time only.

In summary, Activity, which is a dynamic process, requires systems analysis in order to understand the transformations among its component parts. Within the system,
every operation is the result of the transformation of an action.

6. Activity is developmental.

   Since Activity is constantly being transformed, it is constantly "developing." In fact, Vygotsky defines development as the "movement of Activity." (Zebroski, 1983, p. 7.)

   Wertsch, (1979b, p. 14) has clarified Vygotsky's terms. "In order to understand a phenomenon at any stage of development...one must understand its previous state(s) and the process...that will lead to future states."

   Development then, is seen not "as some monotonous process of mere quantitative changes, but as a process in the course of which contradistinctions emerge and are resolved and qualitative transformation takes place in the system of mental phenomena." (Lomov in Wertsch, 1979b, p. 8).

   There are four connective concepts. First, to review Vygotsky's genetic law of cultural development introduced in the section on social relations (Vygotsky, 1978, p. 57), "any function in the child's cultural development appears twice, or on two planes. First it appears on the social plane and then on the psychological plane.... First it appears between people as an inter-psychological category and then within the child as an intrapsychological category."
Second, the "critical periods" that alternate with stable ones are turning points in development. They are called "leading" or "dominant" activities in current Soviet research. A.N. Leont'ev explains (Wertsch, 1979b, p. 43) that at a given stage some types of Activity will be "more prominent and more significant for further development... and other forms of Activity will play a minor role." From this premise, Leont'ev reasons (p. 44) that mental development is not dependent on Activity in general, but on the dominant form of Activity.

Building on Vygotsky and Leont'ev, Fel'dshtein (1983, p. 20) has discriminated on the basis of both theoretical and empirical analysis two aspects of dominant Activity.

These two aspects... are object-oriented activity (practical and cognitive activity) and activity directed toward the development of the interrelations with people and society. These interrelated aspects of Activity (in Vygotsky's terminology, these are the primary aspects of Activity that determine the characteristics of mental processes; in Anan'ev's terminology, the basic form of Activity; in A.N. Leont'ev's terminology, the paths of development of Activity; and in El-konin's terminology, groups of Activity) are successively realized, exerting a decisive influence on the development of the mind.

Furthermore, object-related Activity functions to develop the active, intellectual psychological processes whereas social Activity functions to develop the
interrelationships between the individual and other people in society.

El-konin (1972, p. 559) has correlated the two types of Activity with the dominant activities in child development. "If we take the types of child Activity that we have distinguished so far: 1. object-related and 2. social, and arranged them in groups according to the order in which they became the dominant activity, we obtain the following series:

[Pre-school] direct emotional contact
manipulation of objects

[Early school] role playing
formal learning

[Adolescence] intimate personal relations
vocational or career oriented activity"

She has also noted (p. 544) that the indication of a transition from one stage to another will be a shift in the dominant type of Activity, that is, "the dominant relationship of the child to his surroundings."

At this juncture, it would be well to remember Vygotsky's admonition that one stage does not disappear in the development of the next. Rather, as Fel'dshtein points out (1983, p. 21), "certain aspects...move as it were into the center of development; they grow especially rapidly. Before and after this [stage] they are relegated to the periphery of development."
The third related concept has been investigated by Lisina (Wertsch, 1979b, p. 48). She proposes that "as dominant activity changes [moves to the periphery] so does the nature of social interaction," and conversely, that "changes in dominant activities result from changes in the social interactional milieu of the child."

Fourth, A.N. Leont'ev (1978, p. 142) contends that "the whole principle on which interlevel relations depend consists of the fact that the available higher level always becomes dominant, but it cannot be realized except with the help of lower lying levels and is thus dependent on them." He emphasizes (p. 142) that "the main thing that must not be lost from view is that in interlevel investigations we have to do not with something that is only one-sided but with something that is two-sided and that has a movement with a spiral form: with the formation of higher levels and the 'leaving' or alternation of lower levels, which in their turn serve the possibility of the further development of the system as a whole."

In summary, Activity is developmental, and in order to understand it we must understand its previous states and the process that will lead to future states. In the process of development, any function will appear twice, first on the social plane, and later on the psychological plane. Moreover, leading or dominant activities may be
identified for each stage of development which alternatively focuses on object-oriented or interpersonal Activity while the other recedes to the periphery. Dominant activity and the nature of social interaction can produce changes in each other. Higher levels of development are dependent on, and can only be realized with the aid of lower levels.

On the Nature of Learning and Language

In the years just prior to his death, Vygotsky turned his attention extensively to the problems of education, writing and lecturing in "pedology" which has been translated, rather simplistically, as "educational psychology."

According to Bruner (1962, p.v), Vygotsky's psychological theory serves "at the same time [as] a theory of education." And, it would appear to be a theory of particular importance to second language education.

Within the second language teaching profession, it has become axiomatic that a theory of second language learning must account for what learning is and for what language is. In effect, such a theory would define these two terms.

In the Soviet tradition, learning is viewed as "learning activity" and language (as in language learning)
as "speech activity." From this viewpoint then, it is clear that both learning activity and speech activity must retain all of the characteristics of Activity enumerated in the previous discussion.

Learning Activity

Learning activity "is education which compels a determination of its relation to everything that surrounds it" (Dobrolyubov in Leont'ev, 1978, p. 145), that is, to all other Activity.

1. Learning Activity is motivated and purposive.

As Vygotsky perceived (A.N. Leont'ev, 1978, p. 60), "Not meaning, not consciousness lies behind life, but life lies behind consciousness."

In perhaps the best treatise on Activity in Soviet education available in English, A.N. Leont'ev (1978, pp. 185-186) expands on Vygotsky's perception. "We know that...motives are formed in the life Activity of the child; to the uniqueness of life corresponds the uniqueness of the motivational sphere...; for this reason motives cannot be developed along isolated lines unconnected one with another." To paraphrase, the motives of learning Activity cannot remain unconnected to wider Activity. Or, as Leont'ev continues (p. 186), "we must
speak of the problems of nurturing the motives for learning in connection with the development of life, with the development of the content of actual vital relations of the child; only under these conditions will the tasks that have been introduced be sufficiently concrete and real."

In numerous empirical studies it has been shown that a person acquires first and retains longest the things that are specifically related to him, the things that are regularly associated with the characteristic features of his Activity. Three such studies are those by Istomina (after Vygotsky) in the Soviet Union, and Hughes and Donaldson in the United States.

In the Soviet Union, Istomina (Wertsch, 1979b, p. 54) has compared the memory performance of preschoolers in a play setting and in a laboratory setting. She found that performance was consistently superior in the play setting. But her conclusion was not simply that since such a setting was more enjoyable or interesting it produced greater effort on the part of the participating children. According to Istomina, play, as the dominant life activity of the preschoolers, provided a context that was motivated and purposive, and the motives and purposes of the experimental play setting were not different from those of their lives. In addition,
she proposed that children [learners] may be able to execute an action in the context of one activity but not in the context of another. Or, in Wertsch's view (1979b, p. 78), "Istomina's study suggests that the subject's understanding and execution of what the experimenter perceives as one and the same task may vary depending on the activity in which it is embedded."

More recently, in the United States, Donaldson (1978, p. 17) has criticized Piaget's position regarding the "egocentric illusion" of the apparent inability of a six- or seven-year-old child to see a view from the perspective of a doll placed at a vantage point different from that of him or herself. [The so-called Mountains Experiment.]

Citing a study by Hughs in which two walls were intersected to form a cross and children six-years-old and younger were asked to hide a doll from a policeman positioned at some point along one of the walls, Donaldson argues that the children were able to perform the task even though it required an ability to see a view from the perspective of the doll because they knew what it was to hide and they knew what it was to be naughty and to want to evade the consequences. The point, according to Donaldson (p. 17), is "that the motives and intentions of the characters are entirely comprehensible, even to a
child of three. The task requires the child to act in ways which are in line with certain very basic human purposes and interactions....it makes human sense." It also fits in with the child's dominant play activity which probably includes hiding and evading.

In educational practice, Elfimova (1978-9, p. 37) views the problem as that of the creation of adequate motivation that will incorporate a particular action into human Activity. To that end, she divides children into learning groups not just on the basis of their chronological age or their intellectual ability, but also in sub-groups which take into account the motivational manipulations that are effective in getting the children to engage fully in the tasks she presents.

She contends (p. 43) that the "motivational foundation necessary for the exercises in most cases could be discovered empirically in conversations with the child concerning what he liked to do, in observations of his play, etc."

Markova (1979, p. 5), in what she terms "self education," draws assignments from the context and structure of the kinds of activity in which children can expect to engage later. "In other words, to produce an internal motivation, school children must be taught the interrelationships between several types of activity."
The central question, then, seems to be this: how to make life and learning Activity the same thing?

Moreover, as A.N. Leont'ev suggests: how to make the relationship between life and learning Activity explicit. "Is it possible to explain to the child why it is necessary to study?" Leont'ev asks rhetorically (1978, p. 183). "Of course it is. And this can and should be done as completely as possible and in sufficient detail."

Leont'ev explains (pp. 183-4), "A first or second grader knows why he studies, he knows why in general it is necessary to study. But does this really compel him to listen attentively to the teacher and carefully do his homework assignment? No, this is not so. In reality other motives lead him to study: Perhaps he simply wants to learn to read, to write, and to count; perhaps he wants to get high marks; perhaps he wants to maintain his reputation in the family, in the class, in the eyes of the teacher." But Leont'ev contends that what is important is what the child knows about the real motives for study—the relation of the motive to the final goal which sets up the context for arriving at intermediate goals and the actions which will realize them.

That learning activity may be spontaneous or non-spontaneous is suggested throughout the Soviet literature,
and in fact, forms the basis for a rather lively debate among members of the Vygotsky school. Educators appear to line up as advocates of a Leont'ev model in which spontaneous activity originates in the motivational structure of the learner and impels the formation of spontaneous goals, or of the Markova model in which non-spontaneous activity related to that in which the learner may expect to participate in society is organized into assigned tasks that impel the formation of goals along externally determined parameters.

It is on this basis that the terms controlled or programmed learning are used in the Markova model, along with references to the manipulation of motivations. It is also on this basis that Leont'ev (1978, pp. 86-7) criticizes Galperin, claiming that the stages in the development of mental acts apply only to non-spontaneous activity.

In either case, it is agreed that learning activity must be motivated and purposive. It must relate to the practical activity of learners and provide them with a structure for setting goals.

2. Learning Activity is material and significant.

A necessary condition for cognition, as Leont'ev
points out (1981a, p. 14), is active interaction with the external world's objects.

To paraphrase, a person does not learn abstractions for no purpose. There is a learner and there is that which he or she affects or influences in the process of learning. Or, to state that yet another way, learning takes place in practical Activity.

According to Markova and others, one way to direct motivation, stimulate goal-setting, and provide for practical activity is to place learners in problem situations.

A.N. Leont'ev (1978, pp. 180-181) provides an example of the successful implementation of such a problem-solving approach:

A recognized inadequacy of the work of the aviation circle of the Pioneer Palace was that its youngest participators, working with the greatest fascination on the preparation of model airplanes, did not, however, show sufficient interest in theoretical information necessary for conscientious construction. It appeared actually that doing the painstaking work of bending the ribs, etc., willingly and skillfully, the groups of beginning model plane builders were very little interested in the theory of flight; many could not properly answer the questions about why an airplane remains in the air, what 'frontal resistance' is, ... etc. No propaganda for the necessity of understanding the theoretical aspect of the matter had any success and even in reading popular literature on aviation, the children 'read out of it' for themselves almost exclusively technical information that had a practical character.
The problem was to elicit in the young club members an active interest in the physical bases of flight. After certain trial attempts the work of the experimental group was restructured in the following way. In place of the usual task --to produce the best model--another task was placed before the children: to 'fly' the model built for the purpose a determined distance along a straight line as soon as possible. All members of the circle built models (some of the components came as semifinished parts to save time for the subsequent activity), and then on appointed days all were given an equal opportunity to carry out 'test' starts, the results of which were subsequently posted on the board. Thus, after the models were assembled, the first start was organized, which of course had different results for the different young builders, judged by the distance over which the model flew. Then after a break intended for correcting and improving the models, the start was repeated and its results added to the first results, etc., until somebody's model did 'fly' the preliminarily established total distance.

It is clearly understandable that through this experimental reconstruction of the activity of the club members, there occurred a very great change in the interest. The new task was accepted by the children as willingly, it is understood, as was the former task; as distinct from the first task, however, in impelling activity (that is, as a motive) it contained what was needed in setting goals that were objectively theoretical, cognitive. Why does the model ascend steeply and then, without having flown two meters, fall precipitously? What must be changed in it for the next flight? This must be analyzed....On the board the instructor draws vector arrows....This is very interesting. And now when the hand of the young builder smooths the surface of the plane, he has in his head the relationship of these arrow-vectors.

How sharp an effect can be achieved in creating interest by changing the structure of Activity is particularly clearly obvious from the materials of an investigation carried out in the children's area in the park. As the result of changes in the work of a flight laboratory similar to those mentioned, the following data were obtained: The
The average number of children involved in work per day (average for 12 days) increased from 6.6 to 40.7.

3. Learning Activity is **social** and embodies **social relations**.

According to Vygotsky, man learns by being a social creature; that is, by participating in joint Activity.

Because of the social origins of Activity, Lomov cautions (1981, p. 81), that "strictly speaking, any individual Activity is a component of joint Activity." But in a more manageable sense, joint Activity is that which takes place "when a problem or task arises for whose resolution the knowledge, abilities, and skills of a single individual taking part in a concrete activity are, for one reason or another, insufficient."

Communication pervades joint Activity, playing an organizing role. "In a genuine group, the goal (a mental picture of a future product) is formed as a result of the creative activity of all its participants, although the contributions by each of them may be different" (Lomov, 1981, p. 82).

As A.A. Leont'ev explains (1981a, p. 17), "When people are acting together [toward a goal] it is possible to distribute the actions between [sic] the various participants in the activity. When prehistorical people hunted mammoths together, they had a common motive—the need for food, 'reified' in the mammoth—and a common aim [final goal] determined by this motive. Each of the
pursuers carried out his separate actions, even though the results of none of these actions taken singly could satisfy the individual's need. Only the product of the joint Activity—or, to be more accurate, that part of the product which he would receive—could satisfy his need; and that part was determined by the character of the social relationships in the primitive working collective. Other examples can be adduced which would be closer to school practice: the joint efforts of students in producing a wall-newspaper or staging a play, or working in the school garden, etc. In such cases, only the product of combined action is capable of satisfying the students' needs, which function as a propulsive motive for their activity."

In other words, intermediate goals are realized in the tasks and actions of individuals, and the aggregate of their actions combines to realize the final goal of the group engaged in joint Activity.

Joint Activity presupposes a plan that includes not only the specification and assignment of tasks and actions but also their coordination. Lomov (1981, p. 84) suggests that "each individual plan not only is constructed as a plan of the individual's own actions but also takes into consideration the proposed acts of the other participants in the joint activity, their collaborations, or their counteractions (for example, I must perform act b after another participant performs act a; act c will depend on how I perform act b, etc.)."

Thus, it is not just tasks that guide an individual's actions [acts], but the way that the individual
conforms his or her actions to those of the other participants in joint Activity.

To reiterate, in joint Activity a problem which may not be solved by any one of the individuals in the group gives rise to a common motive for which the group visualizes a final goal. Communication plays an organizing role, and the tasks and actions necessary to accomplish intermediate goals are distributed and coordinated among individuals in order for them to attain the final goal they have visualized.

Research has revealed the advantages inherent in the process of joint Activity. In a study by Lomov and reported in Wertsch (1979b, p. 21), adults were asked to solve problems individually and in pairs. Tasks included searching for a hidden object, drawing a map of a familiar location, recalling a poem, etc. He found that the product was usually superior in the case of joint Activity.

In a second study by Kol'tsova (1978) ninth graders were directed to learn concepts in social studies individually and in study groups of two to four peers. She found that "cognitive activity in a communicative situation had a positive influence on all groups of pupils. In the course of group discussion, exchange of information, and pointing out and correcting erroneous judgments, the level of conceptualization of the phenomenon under
consideration is deepened; and not only knowledge but also methods for the most effective organization of this knowledge are exchanged." In addition, she suggested that weak and average learners received the greatest support and benefit from interaction in joint Activity.

In a third study, Doise and his colleagues found that certain aspects of young children's operative intelligence, as evidenced by Piaget's Mountains Experiment, can improve as a result of carrying out tasks in collaboration with older children who have already mastered them (reported in Wertsch, 1979b, p. 79).

4. Learning Activity is **systematic** and **structured**.

The process of learning may be viewed as that of setting and realizing goals within the structure of Activity. Or, as Markova proposes (1979, p. 4), "We must learn how to design the process of instruction in such a way that the child not only perceives the established goals of education, but also learns how to set short-term and long-term goals on the basis of the tasks entailed by the kinds of activity which he is about to pursue..."

Learning, then, at least initially, is consciously conceived; that is, it is carried out on the level of an action.
In studies reported in Wertsch (1979b, p. 60), concerned primarily with the level of consciousness at which participants carried out cognitive processing, Zinchenko devised two tasks in which the same material was used for a goal-directed action and for a means-directed operation. He concluded that "material that is the immediate goal of an action is remembered concretely, accurately, more effectively, more durably. When related to the means of an action (to operations) the same material is remembered in a generalized way, schematically, less effectively, and less durably."

A.N. Leont'ev, too, recognizes goal-directed actions as the "content that occupies a completely determined structural place in his [the learner's] activity..." (1978, p. 152).

5. Learning Activity is dynamic.

As A.A. Leont'ev asserts (1981a, p. 42), one of the main tasks in learning "is to transmute conscious states into unconscious, automated ones." Or, in terms of the structure of Activity, to transform an action into an operation.

In this context, the concept of different levels of consciousness is useful (A.A. Leont'ev, 1981a, p. 42). Soviet science distinguishes four as follows:
(a) actual consciousness, when the object of conscious grasp is the clear focus of our attention;

(b) conscious control, when we are not directly aware of the object of conscious grasp but may gain such awareness at any moment; [that is, awareness is retrievable]

(c) unconscious control, when the object of conscious grasp is related to a standard preserved in the memory, without any conscious interference;

(d) complete unconsciousness; [that is, internalization]

In practice, methodological procedures are devised along the lines of the theory of the formation of mental acts also known as the theory of controlled or programmed learning.

The theory, developed by P.Y. Galperin (1969), presupposes a definite sequence for the internalization or mastery of mental acts. Mastery, is defined (p. 250) as the ability not only to remember an act but also to be able "to repeat it with new material and to obtain a new product from this material." And furthermore, the ability not "to remember how an act was executed by someone else, but to execute it oneself."

Galperin's basic hypothesis (1969, p. 249) is "that the formation of mental acts passes through a series of stages. At each stage a given activity is carried out in a new form and undergoes changes in several
directions." Specifically, the five stages are outlined as follows (labels mine):

1. **Orientation.** Familiarization with task and its conditions. Warning that the orientation stage is "the most important aspect of the psychological mechanism of an action" since it "defines the outline of each operation and guarantees control of the action in the process of execution," Galperin (1979-80) distinguishes orientation from all the other stages. Wertsch (1979b, p. 37) carries the distinction even further, identifying orientation as the "orientation aspect" which defines the plan or outline of the process, and identifying the other four stages as the "executive aspect" which carries out or executes the activity.

Conceding that orientation does not irreversibly determine the future of the learning activity, that is, the success of the execution, Galperin (1969, p. 253) nevertheless proposes that practice after inadequate orientation really amounts to "relearning."

2. **External action.** Action with material or materialized objects. In this stage, Galperin distinguishes between material objects or real objects and materialized objects or representational objects such as diagrams, outlines, drawings, models, or notes. Although either type of external support is acceptable, he claims
that material objects are more successful on elementary levels whereas materialized objects are more successful on advanced levels.

In Wertsch's terms, external action is the first stage of execution. By manipulating material or materialized objects, learners begin to think while acting.

3. External verbal action. Action based upon audible speech to others without the direct support of objects. Galperin (1969, p. 258) justifies this stage by pointing out that "an act accompanied by audible speech is retained longer than an ideational act..." and that "Even restricting the child to a whisper or voiceless lip movements significantly hinders and even precludes the act." By directing the speech to others, the verbalization makes human sense, and it reconstructs the evolution of speech from its origin as a social act transformed to a psychological act.

4. External verbal action in transition. Action involving external speech to oneself outlining the result of each separate operation. This seems to serve as a catalyst for the transformation of external speech to inner speech. Here the learner is forced to execute an act in separate operations, at first describing the total operation, then gradually abbreviating the description to include only the result of each operation.
In Galperin's words (1969, p. 263), "when the pupil begins to execute all the operations without error and so quickly that he can give the correct answer as soon as he receives the proper information, we remove our control of each step and pass to control of the final result."

5. **Internal action.** Inner speech. A concept that will be treated in more detail under the section on Speech Activity, let us say for now that internal action is speech to oneself in which all of the operations in activity are simultaneously conceived of in an image, then beyond image to pure thought. In other words, "the action in internal speech becomes [transforms itself into] an 'imageless thought'" (Galperin 1969, p. 264).

To review, the stages in the development of a mental act have two aspects: the orienting aspect and the execution aspect. Orientation to the task allows for the formation of a plan of sequential operations. Execution of the tasks proceeds in four stages from external action through inner speech.

Freedom from direct support of objects in external action demands a different external support, a support that can be transferred to a mental plane. As Vygotsky recognized, only speech, first to others and then to oneself, performs such a mediating function.
To return to pedagogical concerns, chiefly, how to assist learners in turning an action into an operation, Galperin (1969, p. 272) offers an example.

...the grid of the decimal system is at first explained in detail and represented pictorially. This the stage of formation of the orienting basis for action.

With the aid of such a grid on a card, S's performance— the writing down or reading aloud of numbers, addition and subtraction— is also materialized. This is the stage of materialized action.

Then parts of this grid are gradually removed: designations of categories, their dividing lines, designations of classes, their dividing lines. S reproduces them, however orally (as an operation progresses), at first in detail, subsequently— in a more and more abbreviated form. This is the audible stage.

Subsequently the operation is carried out mentally, but at first in parts. S reports the result of each partial operation. This is the stage of 'externalized speech to oneself.'

The final stage begins at the moment when control over individual parts of operation is removed and the action is controlled only in respect to the final result. Mental action grows shorter and becomes automatized. This is the fifth and final stage of development of mental action.

6. Learning Activity is developmental.

Once more affirming (1) that the determination of the characteristics of dominant or leading activities enables educators to provide mechanisms to encourage motivation within the wider context of the learner's life.
Activity; and (2) that man learns by participating in joint activity with more experienced members of society, we see that the leading activity of the learner and joint activity of his or her classroom can provide both a context and a mode of development.

That said, let us concede that learning should be matched in some manner with the developmental stage of the learner. On this point, few educators disagree. But Vygotsky, unlike so many others, has insisted that developmental processes do not coincide with learning processes. Rather, according to Vygotsky, the developmental process lags behind the learning process. Or, to view it from the perspective of teacher, "Teaching, which sometimes seems to wait upon development, is in actual fact its decisive motive force" (Vygotsky in Puzyrei, 1983, p.365). "Good" teaching is that which is in advance of development; that which lifts the learner to the next developmental level.

To view it from the perspective of learner, study creates areas that anticipate the next stage of development.

As a logical consequence of his theory, Vygotsky (1978, p. 85) concluded that development should be assessed and influenced on the basis of a ratio of two indices: (1) how a learner solves a problem independently; and (2) how he or she solves the same problem under the
guidance of a more experienced person. The first index he called the level of actual development, that is, the level of development of a child's mental functions that has been established as a result of certain already completed developmental cycles. The second index he called the level of potential development or the level of development of a learner's functions as a result of collaborative assistance.

To quote Vygotsky (1978, p. 86), the Zone of Proximal Development "is the distance between the actual developmental level as determined by independent problem solving and the level of potential development as determined through problem solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers." In short, the Zone of Proximal Development defines those functions that have not yet matured but are in the process of maturation.

It is clear that by observing the dynamics of the Zone of Proximal Development, educators can plan instruction that will foresee and influence development. "What the learner can do today with assistance, tomorrow he [or she] may be able to do independently" (Vygotsky in Puzyrei, 1983, p. 366).
Paradigm for Learning Activity

What emerges in summary is a paradigm for learning Activity implicit in Soviet research.

1. Learning Activity is motivated and purposive.
   1a. Learning tasks should be drawn from the context and structure of the kinds of activity in which the learner does and may expect to participate.
   1b. Learning tasks should be constructed as practical problems in order to stimulate thought, direct motives, and influence goal-setting.
   1c. Learners should be assisted in understanding why it is necessary to do a specific task and in relating the task to their wider Activity.
   1d. Groups of learners should be subdivided on the basis of motives.

2. Learning Activity is material and significant.
   2a. Learners should be engaged in practical Activity as a context for learning.
   2b. Learners should not be taught something that they will have no opportunity to use in a material way.

3. Learning Activity is social and embodies social relations.
   3a. Teachers should view their role as that of a more experienced member of society.
   3b. Opportunities for group work in collaboration with
more experienced peers should also be included in a curriculum.

3c. Groups of learners should be subdivided on the basis of their contribution to the group, not on the basis of their homogeneous abilities.

3d. At least part of learning Activity should be realized as joint Activity.

3e. In joint Activity, the final goal should be visualized by the group as a result of communication.

3f. In joint Activity, the role of teacher extends itself to that of coordinator, helping learners to construct individual plans that contribute to the group plan.

3g. At least part of learning Activity should take place outside of the limitations of the classroom context.

4. Learning Activity is **systematic** and **structured**.

4a. Learners should be assisted not only to perceive the final goals of learning but also to set intermediate goals.

4b. Intermediate goals must be set by learners for themselves.

5. Learning Activity is **dynamic**.

5a. As a learning curriculum progresses, it should provide for an increase in units of psychological
Activity; operations should merge into actions, actions into activity.

5b. The learning of a particular concept should pass through a series of stages from external to internal mastery.

5c. Language, first to others and then to oneself, should be used as a mediator for internalization.

6. Learning Activity is developmental.

6a. In organizing learning Activity, the dominant activity for each developmental stage should be considered as a context and a mode of learning.

6b. Zones of proximal development should be identified and used as a basis for instructional planning.

6c. A good class is one which is in advance of development and lifts the learners to the next level of development.

Speech Activity

The influence of the theory of Activity is so strong that Soviet psycholinguistics is generally referred to as the theory of Speech Activity.

Deriving its definition from that of Activity, speech Activity is concerned with both social and psychological phenomena. Or, to view that another way, speech Activity has two primary functions: (1) as a means or
instrument of communication; and (2) as a means of generalization and an instrument of thought.

It was assumed by Vygotsky (Leont'ev and Luria, 1968) that mediated human mental functions such as speech arose in the process of cooperation and social intercourse in joint Activity. More simply, any psychological means, including speech, was originally created by one person for another person, and only subsequently was used for mastering one's own psychological processes too. "Thus the track mark is first made by the original explorer to point the road to others of his kin and only afterwards as an indication to himself " (p. 343).

Therefore, man's speech can arise only in the form of speech addressed to another person. It can originate between individuals in a collective as a means of coordinating joint Activity. Natural signals reduce and reorganize into symbolic signals, and perhaps, more importantly, in the process, introduce into the joint Activity itself an altered structure of the Activity. Thus, speech comes to symbolize more than the relationships between external objects. It also reflects and changes the relations that are being constructed in the very process of interaction between participants in the Activity.

According to Vygotsky, only later on do these forms of social communication come to be used by an individual
to organize his or her own activities. Only later on does the second function of speech Activity emerge and become a means of generalization and an instrument of thought. Along with thought and memory, speech originates as one of the higher psychological process of man.

In this context, we have to view the general law of evolution of the human psyche, the specifically human structure of mental processes that starts in man's external Activity and only later becomes internalized as the structure of his or her inner processes.

As one form of Activity, speech Activity retains all of the characteristics noted in the previous discussions of Activity and learning Activity. It is motivated and purposive: needs influence motives which impel speech Activity, but do not specify its direction. It is material and significant: man speaks or writes to influence or alter people and events around him or her. It is social and embodies social relations: the original function of speech Activity, communication, must take place between people; it is governed by, and in turn governs, social relations. Speech Activity is systematic and structured: the mediation of thought and word through speech Activity has a phase structure which provides for goal-setting. It is dynamic: actions become operationalized; especially in dialogue, dynamic relationships emerge in speech
Activity. It is developmental: speech Activity is learned with the assistance of more experienced members of society; zones of proximal development appear.

Clearly, although it is convenient to separate the characteristics of Activity for discussion, they overlap and interrelate, necessitating a mode of analysis more complex than that of identification and discrete description.

Mode of Analysis

Vygotsky (1962, p. 3) noted that two essentially different modes of analysis are possible in the study of psychological structures:

The first method analyzes complex psychological wholes into elements. It may be compared to the chemical analysis of water into hydrogen and oxygen, neither of which possesses the properties of the whole, and each of which possesses properties not in the whole. The student applying this method in looking for the explanation of some property of water—why it extinguishes fire, for example—will find to his surprise that hydrogen burns and oxygen sustains fire. These discoveries will not help him much in solving the problem. Psychology winds up in the same kind of dead end when it analyzes verbal thought into its components, thought and word, and studies them in isolation from each other. In the course of analysis, the original properties of verbal thought have disappeared. Nothing is left to the investigator than to search out the mechanical interaction of the two elements in the hope of reconstructing, in a purely speculative way, the vanished properties of the whole.
The other type of analysis, and that which Vygotsky encourages, analyzes complex wholes into units. Vygotsky (pp. 4-5) continues:

By unit we mean a product of analysis which, unlike elements, retains all the basic properties of the whole and which cannot be further divided without losing them. Not the chemical composition of water but its molecules and their behavior are the key to the understanding of the properties of water. The true unit of biological analysis is the living cell, possessing the basic properties of the living organism.

Since Vygotsky's time, this type of analysis has come to be called a systems approach. The specific nature of the approach attempts to uncover the integrity of a complex object and its mechanisms, to identify the many types of relations within a complex, and to reduce the relations to a single theoretical picture.

Examples of such an approach now common in the West include the concept of the food chain in modern ecology, the holism theory in physics, the optimum approach in economic management, and of course, the systems approach in systems engineering.

In speech Activity, the method of analysis cannot be overemphasized, since the very method is simultaneously the prerequisite and the product, the tool and the result of the study.

In summary, then, the aim of psychological analysis and its essential factors are as follows: (1) process analysis as opposed to object analysis; (2) analysis that reveals real, causal, or dynamic
relations as opposed to enumeration of a process's outer features, that is, explanatory, not descriptive analysis; and (3) developmental analysis that returns to the source and reconstructs all the points in the development of a given structure (Vygotsky, 1978, p. 65).

Of course, a systems approach has a great deal in common with structuralism and structural functionalism, the two approaches that are currently popular. It, in fact, incorporates them both. But it not only operates with the concepts of structure and function, but also stresses the study of diverse connections within the object under analysis. Wertsch (1979b) refers to it as "genetic explanation."

Unit of Analysis

The unit of analysis, that is, the smallest unit that contains all of the characteristics and relationships in speech Activity, is the utterance.

Modern models of speech production are similar in many ways to the one proposed by Vygotsky in 1934.

It was Vygotsky (1969, p. 150) who contributed the notion that the utterance had a phase structure which he described as the movement of thought to word through a "series of planes."

On the deepest plane, we find that "a thought is not engendered by another thought, but by motivation; i.e., our desires and needs, our interests and impulses,
our affects and emotions...." Furthermore, every thought is stimulated by a conflict. It [thought] resolves a problem by making connections. Or, as Vygotsky suggested, "every thought tends to connect something with something else; it has movement, flow, development—in short, it solves a problem."

Moving from motive through thought, we reach a mediational plane that connects internal planes with external ones. This mediational plane Vygotsky called inner speech. He defined it (1969, p. 149) as "a dynamic, shifting, unstable thing, fluttering between word and thought, the two more or less stable, more or less firmly delineated components of verbal thought."

Inner speech has a structure specific to itself. First, it is of a purely predicative nature. Psychologically, inner speech consists of predicates only because the subject of our inner reason is always present in our thoughts and therefore it is always implicitly understood. Second, the phonetic aspect is diminished. In inner speech we do not need to pronounce a word in its entirety because we understand, by virtue of our very intention, what word we wanted to say. Strictly speaking, inner speech is almost wordless. Third, it has a semantic structure of its own. Inner speech is to a large extent
thinking in pure meanings. It is a language of personal semantic complexes.

Whereas meaning (znachenie) is a social concept which evolves as a result of human history, sense (smysl) is a personal concept which unfolds as a result of an individual's experiences and motives. Or, as A.N. Leont'ev observed (1978, p.89),

Meanings lead a double life. They are produced by society and have their history in the development of language, in the development of forms of social consciousness; meanings express the movement of human knowledge and its cognitive means as well as an ideological representation of society—religious, political. In this, their objective existence, they are subordinated to social-historical laws and also to the internal logic of their development.

In all its inexhaustible riches, in all the multifaceted nature of this life of meaning...meaning has a completely hidden other life, another movement; its functioning in the process of activity and consciousness of concrete individuals, although it is only through these processes that meanings can exist.

In this their second life, meanings are individualized and 'subjectivized,' but only in the sense that indirectly their movement in the system of relations of society is no longer contained in them; they enter into another system of relations, into another movement. But this is what is remarkable: They do not in any way lose their social-historical nature, their objectivity.

In the semantic structure of inner speech then, it is personal sense that predominates. Moreover, agglutination, which is a way of forming discrete, complex words to express complex concepts, enables the influence of
sense to make itself felt. Or, as Vygotsky has perceived (1962, p. 147), "The senses of different words flow into one another—literally 'influence' one another—so that the earlier ones are contained in, and modify, the later ones...." Because of this (p. 148), "in inner speech...a single word is...saturated with sense."

It follows then, from the nature of inner speech that movement to the external planes would require not just a simple vocalization but an actual restructuring in order to produce forms that would be acceptable for external speech.

Such a restructuring unfolds, according to Vygotsky (Akhutina, 1978, p. 18), on two planes. Nearer inner speech is the semantic plane where senses are transformed into socially understandable meanings and farther is the external speech plane which represents "a transition from the syntax of meanings to verbal syntax."

To explain, there are two processes of syntactic formation, one for the creation of the syntax of sense and one for the creation of external speech syntax. The former depends upon the rules for the expansion of sense and results in semantic structures with psychological subjects and predicates. The latter depends upon the rules of a particular language and results in grammatically correct structures with grammatical subjects and
predicates. In short, this means that every utterance must contain both a psychological and a grammatical subject.

To review, Vygotsky has proposed a model for the production of an utterance in which there are five levels or "planes": motive, thought, inner speech, semantic plane, and external speech.

Although not in complete agreement as to the components of the multilevel structure through which an utterance passes in the process from thought to word, contemporary Soviet investigators building on Vygotsky's initial insight into the phase structure of an utterance agree that it proceeds from the internal to the external and that it is mediated by inner speech.

Following Vygotsky, Luria has put forward a three-step model for the formation of an utterance: the motive; the thought and its transformation into inner speech; and external speech.

Luria has postulated (Akhutina, 1978, p. 6) that "a verbal utterance ordinarily begins with its motive.... To produce any utterance, a human being must first have a need to say something to someone else. This motive is the deepest, most fundamental, most basic moment in the formation of an utterance."
Recalling that in Activity, the motive impels the activity but does not specify its direction, we see why Luria insists (Akhutina, 1978, p. 6) that an utterance "always begins with a very vague thought which internally is marked in only the most general, schematic way. It is not present in...consciousness in anything that could be called a full-fledged, expanded form: it is no more than the intention...of...what I want to say."

It is inner speech, the domain in which language and thought interact that gives substance and shape to thought. Inner speech, which must be understood only by oneself, and therefore may be abbreviated, predicative, and saturated with images and similar auxiliary means that do not require a fully elaborated linguistic system.

The last phase in Luria's model is external speech. Whereas the transition from a thought to extended speech must be mediated by inner speech, the transition from inner speech to external speech amounts to an expansion, an unfolding of preparatory schema transformed into the external, extended structure of a sentence. In Anan'ev's terms, owing to inner speech, there arises a "set for speech;" in Baev's terms, a "set for communication" which activates the appropriate verbal stereotypes so that words and phrases are selected for subsequent oral and written statements.
Also following Vygotsky, A.A. Leont'ev has developed a model which consists of six levels of analysis in the formation of an utterance (Akhutina, 1978). Like Luria, he emphasizes the importance of motive which lies at the deepest level, followed by thought, also called the speech intention. Next is inner programming, an inner speech code to plan a speech utterance and the basis for further lexical-grammatical development.

As Akhutina explains (1978, p. 24) in perhaps the best summary of the role of inner speech in an utterance,

In the construction of a verbal utterance, inner programming not only expands the semantic content (the planning function) but also does the opposite: it compresses a system of objective linguistic meanings into an inner schema. This is a necessary function for comparing the results of the speech act with the intention behind it. The program is used as a basis for further lexical-grammatical development, as a basis for comparison, and as a means for fixing the preceding and upcoming content of the utterance. For all these purposes, a program must be preserved [in the memory.]

The fourth plane is lexical expansion and simultaneous grammatical construction followed by motor implementation and finally external speech.

From the comparative diagram below, we see that the original Vygotsky model, the Luria and Leont'ev models represent similar realities.
Summing up, we can say that the notion that a speech utterance is produced in two successive, interlinked stages is enjoying considerable influence at present in Soviet psycholinguistics. These stages are (a) orientation and planning of sense; and (b) the grammatical-semantic and motor execution of a sense plan [program]. (A.A. Leont'ev, 1981c). In Zhinkin's view (In A.A. Leont'ev, 1981c), the distinction is that of "syntactic organization by sense" and "syntactic organization by phrase."

Combining all of the postulates of these basic studies provides us with a foundation for constructing a more general hypothesis for speech Activity. Such a hypothesis was outlined in 1967 in a work by A.A. Leont'ev
and Ryabova (A.A. Leont’ev, 1976-7, pp. 15-16). They arrived at the following series of conclusions:

1. In speech production, two successive sets of rules are used: rules for representing the content, in the form of a system of predictive utterances in an inner-speech code, and rules for translating this system of an utterance into a natural language code.

2. The rules of the first type depend on the motivation and on the communicative situation of the utterance.

3. The inner-speech code has a "sense" aspect (in A.N. Leont’ev’s sense of personal sense) and is based on both individual words or their components, and on "images and schemata."

4. A functional distinction among three types of inner speech is useful. These are "inner speaking," i.e., a latent physiological activity of the articulatory organs that occurs in certain situations [such as the presence of a problem-solving task] and, to some degree or other, imitates processes taking place during real speaking; this is the phenomenon that Sokolov called inner speech. Secondly, there is inner speech in the strict sense, i.e., the use of an inner speech code to solve some communicative (usually cognitive) task. It may be accompanied by inner speaking, but it need not be. Finally, there is "inner programming" of an utterance, i.e., the use of an inner speech code to plan a speech utterance (or, correspondingly, to retain its content in short-term memory, to remember it as a reference point in translating from one language to another, etc.).

5. The inner speech program or schema of an utterance is not identical with the syntactic organization of an utterance; in the different types of dynamic aphasia, either inner programming or the process of grammatic structuring of an utterance, i.e., its syntactic schema may break down.
This brings us to the definition of a speech act around which all of the postulates must evolve. In Leont'ev's hypothesis (1978, p. 54), a speech act always presupposes some relationships that are already established between linguistic means and their referents. "The real process taking place in communication is not the establishment of a correlation between speech and the external world, but the establishment of a correlation between a concrete situation involving activity and requiring definition, i.e., between the content, motivation, and form of this activity on the one hand, and the structure and elements of a speech utterance on the other. We do not simply choose words in an utterance in accordance with the particular objects and phenomena around us; rather, an utterance is built up as integral whole. Essentially what happens can be summed up very briefly in the following words: 'A speech act or communicative act is always an act establishing some link between two activities.'" The writer understands this to mean that it takes place not only within the wider context of Activity but also retains its own structure as Activity. Furthermore, that the meaning of the utterance lies between the two interacting activities of participants. Or in Bahhtin's view (1982, p. 293-4)

On the borderline between oneself and the other.

The word in language [substitute utterance] is
half someone else's. It becomes 'one's own' only when the speaker populates it with his own intention, his own accent, when he appropriates the word, adapting it to his own semantic and expressive intention. Prior to this moment of appropriation, the word [utterance] does not exist in neutral and impersonal language (it is not, after all, out of a dictionary that the speaker gets his words), but rather it exists in other people's mouths, in other people's contexts, serving other people's intentions: it is from there that one must take the word, and make it one's own.

But what does this mean for second and foreign language teaching and learning?

Few would argue that at least in this country we have suffered from the pendulum effect. For comparative convenience, the two extreme positions have been identified by Wilga Rivers (1978) as formalist and activist. Formalists, as the label implies, have been preoccupied with the forms of language such as phonemes and word classes. Activists, on the other hand, have concerned themselves with the functions of language such as greetings and apologies. For a formalist, learning a language means knowing the forms and the rules for manipulating the forms. For an activist, learning a language means knowing how to use the language for purposes of communication.

As teachers we have seen the results of formalist and activist teaching reflected in the different types of language proficiencies of the students who enter our classes. Generally, those who have learned by formalist methods are able to identify correct structures on
standardized multiple choice tests and are successful in responding to exercises designed to practice forms. They are less able to speak and write communicatively.

In contrast, those who have learned by activist methods are able to communicate fairly well, but they are generally less able to manipulate forms either on discrete item tests or in their own speech.

Brumfit (1979) makes a practical distinction between accuracy and fluency in describing these two types of classroom behaviors. Formal correctness is termed accuracy whereas functional communicative ability is termed fluency.

It seems to me that Akhutina's hypothesis concerning dynamic aphasia (Akhutina, 1978, p. 26) in which she suggests one type caused by a disorder in the formation of the psychological schema of an utterance and another type caused by a disorder in grammatical structuring may be extended to second and foreign language learning. As a result of their past learning experiences, there may be two types of learners: one, taught by methods that support the psychological schema of an utterance or the inner programming, and another taught by methods that support the grammatical structuring of an utterance.

Like the two distinct types of aphasia, the failure of either a formalist or an activist method to facilitate
integrated language proficiency may be cited as proof that both inner programming and grammatical structuring do underlie the construction of an utterance. Furthermore, that each has a limited truth value is seen most clearly during periods of criticism which have in the past pushed the pendulum in the opposite direction.

Eskey (1983) and others are already calling for materials and techniques that relate the communicative task to grammatical forms, and some second and foreign language programs are attempting to do so. But, since the search has begun on a level of technique rather than that of theoretical approach, the attempts have often been confused and disjointed.

In current practice, it is becoming more and more common to teach with formalist methods on lower levels of instruction and activist methods on higher levels of instruction in hopes that somehow within each learner a personal transition will take place. Similarly, formalist methods have been continued in grammar classes while activist methods have been introduced in listening and speaking classes in spite of the fact that programs do not have the curricular coordination that would assure the formation of relationships between the two classes necessary for a connection between form and function.
In short, what practice has succeed in achieving is effectively isolating the learning of forms from the learning of functions in both time and space.

Perhaps more important, practice has not provided for an analysis of the relationships that result from the intertwining of function and form within the same utterance, a requisite of the Soviet models.

From a Soviet perspective, other current classroom practices are also found lacking. First, the learner is usually required to respond to a situation which has been contrived to include some sort of functional motive. Even in notional functional classrooms where role plays are used as a basis for learning, the motive is more often than not a part of the given information. In the Soviet models, the learner is required to respond to the situation by formulating a motive directed toward a goal and visualizing a speech intention. In such a model the motive is part of the learner, not part of the material. It must emerge in the mind of the learner at the deepest level of construction.

Second, even in classrooms that attempt to treat functions, too much is preanalyzed for learners. The writer observes that SL dialogues and role plays as they are used in the U.S. often note the information about
conditions that learners would be required to consider for themselves in a Soviet model.

Third, because functions have begun to be related to forms on the basis of a structural syllabus in this country, in practice, exercises allow for only one form, the one being practiced, to be accepted as a correct answer. Furthermore, the primary nature of the form would tend to reverse its placement in the utterance to a position preceding the inner programming where functional information is processed. In the Soviet models, function precedes form and interacts with it to produce a variety of possibilities from which the learner selects vocabulary and grammatical structures that will best express the original intentions.

Fourth, in current classrooms, the pendulum has also swung against correction. In our eagerness to be more tolerant of learner errors, distinguishing levels of interlanguage, we may be guilty of neglecting one of the responsibilities of teaching, that is, to provide comparisons of the intentions of the learner with the content of his or her utterance.

In the view of this writer, a cooperative effort is necessary in order for learners to move from motive through external speech without falling victim to the parroting and pidginization that has alternatively been
their lot in the past. To that end, the following paradigm is offered as a guide for facilitating integrated proficiency. It parallels the Soviet models for the construction of an utterance. For reference, the A.A. Leont'ev version is reprinted here.

Paradigm for Achieving Integrated Proficiency in Second Language Teaching and Learning

1. Motive

1a. The teacher presents a problem situation that provides learners with "an awareness that something has happened" to which they must respond.

1b. The response by each learner to the situation begins with his or her motive. What does the learner need or want in these circumstances?

1c. Learners will not respond by developing the same motives unless the teacher sets a specific task that directs them toward a motive for joint activity.

2. Speech Intention

2a. Based on the learner's need or want (the motive) he or she refines the thought to a speech intention. What does the learner intend to say?

2b. At this stage, words are not selected. It is still at the level of a concept rather than that of a string of words.
2c. The speech intention may be represented in mental or material(ized) images, often a projection of results.

3. Inner Program

3a. Teachers facilitate observation and analysis of the conditions that impose themselves on the situation.

3b. It should be a systems approach. What are the relationships among listener, speaker, topic, place, occasion, etc.?

3c. Learners should become more and more independent in analysis as the process of connecting and the system of connections become more familiar.

4. Lexical Expansion and Grammatical Construction

4a. The learner simultaneously selects vocabulary and grammatical structures from those available in the second language.

4b. If the learner lacks linguistic material or skills, it is at this stage that specific operational instruction is best introduced and most readily accepted.

5. Motor Implementation

5a. The learner vocalizes, writes, gestures, and/or otherwise implements the utterance.
5b. When instruction is needed at this point, it should continue to link itself with all of the previous stages.

6. External Speech

6a. Teachers help learners compare the utterance with the intention, pointing out at which stage if any an error in formation has occurred.

6b. Peer and group evaluation of utterances is also advisable provided that learners are trained in methods that promote positive responses.

In reflecting on the paradigm, it occurs to me that using it would require adjustments on the part of the teaching profession in our attitudes about what an utterance is, and about what the purpose of an example is.

It should be emphasized that an utterance is not a sentence, and that the process from motive through external speech should not be repeated sentence by sentence. Rather, the motive, as a controlling mechanism, regulates the length of an utterance. In brief, an utterance is as long as necessary in order to realize or transform a motive.

It should also be mentioned that more is not necessarily better as regards the use of examples. Traditionally, learners have suffered from an excess of examples
without a corresponding increase in depth of understanding. Implicit in the paradigm above is the subordination of examples to process. One example that permits the learner to think through the process in the formation of an utterance is superior to ten examples of external speech with no mental reference points.

What we teachers must do in our classrooms first is acknowledge as Bateman does (1982b) that we cannot "learn" our students a language. Then we must give them supports for the process that will set learning in motion. Finally, we must give them enough time and we must suppress our own tendencies to interrupt while the processing is taking place within the learner.
Part Two

Theory in Practice:
Applications in Second Language Education

"Practice is like a guiding thread for theoretical thought that prevents theoretical thought from losing the way leading to adequate knowledge."

-A.N. Leont'ev

The theory of Activity has been applied to the teaching and learning of second languages, emerging in several different approaches, including Problem Posing, Self Study, and Suggestopedia.

Problem Posing

In this country we have become aware of the work of Paulo Freire, but until quite recently, we have associated his theory and practice with literacy education projects for adults in the Third World, notably Brazil and Guinea-Bissau (Freire, 1973; 1978). Primarily due to the work of Nina Wallerstein in adult refugee education in the United States, we are beginning to understand the value of Problem Posing in second language learning.
For Freire, whether we are interested in literacy or language acquisition, knowledge must be derived from experience, and must be gained and tested in practice. Using the term that was perhaps first proposed by Aristotle, Freire refers to praxis, or the essential unity between action and reflection in the process of the acquisition of knowledge. According to Freire (1970, p. 119), "...man's Activity consists of action and reflection; it is praxis...and as praxis, it requires theory to illuminate it." Clearly, Freire relies on a version of the theory of Activity in which all of the characteristics of Activity are concentrated.

He necessarily opposes what he labels "a banking concept" of education (Freire, 1970) in which the teacher as banker "deposits" knowledge in the student "depositories," an act that tends to dehumanize the student. He also loudly denounces the "narrative character" of the student-teacher relationship.

According to Freire (1970, p. 58), "Knowledge emerges only through invention and reinvention, through the restless, impatient, continuing, hopeful inquiry men pursue in the world, with the world, and with each other."

From the point of view of such a premise, he finds it impossible to separate "theory from practice;...knowing from creating knowledge;...teaching from learning." (Freire, 1970, p. 89.)
What Freire calls for then, is not the "psuedo-participation" of the traditional classroom, but committed "involvement" on the part of teacher and learners. What is implied is dialogic in nature. The investigation of what Freire has termed the people's "thematic universe"--the complex of their "generative themes"--inaugurates the dialogue of education.

But where are these themes to be found? For Freire, (1970, p. 97) "...themes exist in men in their relations with the world, with reference to concrete facts." Moreover, in the investigation of these themes it is important to discover the linking of meaningful themes" (p. 99).

As Freire insists, "The starting point for organizing the program content of education...must be the present...concrete situation..." (1970, p. 85). More to the point (p. 86), "It is to the reality which mediates men, and to the perception of that reality held by educators and people that we must go to find the program content of education."

Or, to put that another way, education must take place in relationship with the Activity and activities of learners. The investigation of thematics involves the investigation not only of the learner's doing but also of the learner's thinking as he or she moves within and among the themes of his or her Activity. To that end, there
must be a deepening of "awareness" or what Freire calls "conscientizacao" on the part of the learner.

In order for such awareness to occur, learners must participate in a process of abstraction which depends upon and creates images, symbols, ideas, concepts, and words; that is, representations of reality. This is done by the presentation or rather, the re-presentation of codes based upon the themes in the learners' Activity.

"The thematics which come from the people return to them, not as contents to be deposited, but as problems to be solved" (Freire, 1970, p. 116).

This approach does not merely reduce the concrete to the abstract, however. Rather, it "maintains both elements as opposites which interrelate dialectically in the act of reflection. This dialectical movement of thought is exemplified perfectly in the analysis of a concrete, existential, 'coded' situation. Its decoding requires moving from the part to the whole and then returning to the parts; this in turn requires that the Subject [learner] recognize himself [or herself] in the ...coded concrete situation" (Freire, 1970, p. 96).

During the decoding process, the teacher must not only pose problems related to the codified situation but also challenge the learners to reflect on their own responses to the situation. In short, the decoding must
also be dialogic. As Freire (1970, p. 76), describes it, "dialogue is the encounter between men mediated by the world, in order to name the world." And later (p.77), "It [dialogue] is an act of creation...not...a crafty instrument for the domination of one man by another."

Ideally, students and teachers in dialogue become "critical co-investigators." Ideally, as a consequence of such dialogue, action and change occur in their lives.

The methodology that emerges from Freire's Problem Posing Approach is divided into three stages: Listening, which precedes teaching; Dialogue, which is exchanged in class; and Action, which extends to experiences and consequences in the community.

Listening

The first stage in a Problem Posing Approach is Listening. Teachers must listen to learners in order to identify problems that are of primary concern to them. As Wallerstein explains (1983, p. 12), "Listening simply means employing our observational skills with a systematic approach similar to anthropological field work." Ethnographic interview and participant observation techniques as described by Spradley (1979.a and 1979.b) are particularly useful.
To that end, Wallerstein and a team of five to seven persons conduct community research for several months before launching into adult education classes. They observe interactions in community settings; they ask learners to share objects such as photographs, maps, and everyday items; they visit homes and note living conditions, material surroundings, and customs; they encourage learners to talk about their social rites such as weddings, funerals, celebrations, and to describe their home countries, the circumstances of their immigration, and the feelings that they are experiencing; they also invite comparisons of the community in the home country with that in the new country.

Meeting with families, church groups, and other socially defined groups, they begin to hear recurrences of issues and events in conversations, and they begin to observe repeated themes and subthemes.

It should be made clear that the listening survey is not a research tool but part of the co-education of teacher and learners. The problems that emerge as themes become the content of the curriculum that is being developed. Neither is the listening survey a traditional educational needs analysis which is usually limited to information about proficiencies and general instrumental goals for language learning such as a desire to get a job or to
attend college. Whereas a traditional needs analysis most often begins with questions for which answers are sought, a listening survey begins with questions for which more questions are sought. The listening survey extends itself into the Activity of a community and into the motivational structures of individuals in that community.

From the survey, major themes are selected for inclusion in a curriculum designed by and for the community. In Wallerstein (1983, p. 12), some guidelines for selecting themes are offered:

- Is this a situation or problem familiar to many students?
- Will it evoke a strong and emotional response?
- Is it more than a personal issue, opening up a social context?
- Is it rooted in students' past, present, and future conflicts and hopes?
- Is action possible—even small steps—or is it too overwhelming for students?

After listening and selecting themes, these themes must be reflected back to the learners; that is, they must be returned to them as the content of their classes. Recalling Vygotsky's sense of the term "reflection," we know that the themes will appear not in mirror image, but in transformation. They will appear as codes, or as Vella describes them (1979, p. 19), instruments "to bring the generative theme back to the people in such a way that they can reflect upon it [in turn] and analyze it, and see what can be done about it."
In Freire's terms (1970) we recall that a code is a physical expression that combines all the elements of the theme into one representation. In Galperin's terms (1969) it is "materialized."

Wallerstein's guidelines for codes (1983, p. 20) converge to provide a more complete image:

1. It must represent a daily problem situation that is immediately recognizable to students. (They already know deeply what is being talked about.)

2. That situation, chosen because it contains personal and social affect, is presented as a problem with inherent contradictions. The code (picture, story, etc.) should illustrate as many sides of the contradiction as possible, yet be simple enough for students to project their own experience.

3. The code should focus on one problem at a time, but not in a fragmentary way. It should suggest connections to other themes in people's lives.

4. The code should not provide solutions to the problem, but should allow students to develop their own solutions from their experience.

5. The problem presented should not be overwhelming to students. There should be room for small actions that address the problem even if they don't solve it. Local community issues usually provide opportunities for students to have an impact with small-scale actions.

Vella (1979, p. 20) proposes a similar though abbreviated checklist for codes:

Simplicity—one issue only
Largeness—designed for community relevance

Brevity—clear and short

Problem posing—stating, not solving the problem

We see that appropriate codes may take many forms, including photographs, drawings, signs, collages, movies, stories, legends, role plays, dramas, written dialogues, and songs. But unlike traditional uses of the material for variation in a classroom routine or for stimulation of waning interest, these codes are used to initiate critical thinking. As Vella points out (1979, p. 22), "A code is not a teaching picture. It does not show what one should or must do: it portrays the problem in order to stimulate analysis by the community. It is not, in the traditional sense, a visual aid."

Furthermore, it is interesting to note that teacher-made codes will often initiate critical thinking about an issue different from that which the teacher had in mind while designing the code, and that from class to class the same code may be read differently by the learners. In short, learners select their own issues, thereby creating their own curriculum.

It would follow, then, that although codes may be created by the teacher after extended listening or may be drawn from community sources such as newspapers, school bulletins, ads, agency forms, etc., codes created by
learners in joint activity would probably be the most effective. Captioned drawings, strip stories, illustrated stories in comic book format, photographs, or collages can be prepared even by beginning language learners. Conversations or stories that may be too difficult for learners to write may be transcribed by the teacher or by more advanced learners as beginners dictate.

Vella insists on the advantage of picture codes over written codes because they remain on the wall for reference during critical thinking activities, but Wallerstein uses written codes extensively. Her experience (1983, p. 29) suggests certain guidelines for writing stories as codes. "Focus on a problem, but let it unfold by the characters' telling of the story. Leave the problem unresolved for students to come to their own conclusions. Make it emotionally involving to ensure a strong student reaction. Keep it relatively brief—50-200 words—with the proper mix of vocabulary, language level, and grammar."

Dialogue

As Wallerstein has observed (1983, p. 13), "To Freire, dialogue means much more than conversation; it is an exchange between everyone in a class, student to student and teacher to student...students initiate
discussions, lessons, and activities to fulfill their educational needs."

The goal of a dialogue approach is to encourage critical thinking. The procedure consists of decoding the codes by moving through a series of questions that begin on a descriptive level and advance to an analytic level.

On the descriptive level, learners describe people or events in the code while simultaneously acquiring vocabulary and language structures that will permit them to advance to the analytic level. On the analytic level, learners state opinions, make inferences, generalize, and evaluate.

Vella (1979, p. 20) uses five questions in the following order:

What do you see happening here?
Why does it happen?
Does this happen in your life?
If so, what problems does it cause?
What can we do together about it?


1. Have students describe or name the content and feelings in the code. "What do you see?"

2. Ask students to define the problem concretely. "What is the problem here?" Address as many sides of the issue as possible.
3. Elicit similar problem situations in students' lives. "Do you also experience this? How is it the same? How is it different? How do you feel about it?" (Also ask if anyone has coped successfully with this issue before. Draw on their successes as well as their difficulties.)

4. Direct students to fit their individual experiences into a larger historical, social, or cultural perspective. Ask them to project opinions. "Why is there a problem? What do you think?"

5. Encourage students to discuss alternatives and solutions. "What can you do?" Have students attempt small actions that will provide a new perspective on this problem or in some way ameliorate it. Again, ask for success stories.

Wallerstein's example of dialogue in a second language class (pp. 22-24) although lengthy, is worthy of reflection here.

Consider the following example of a classroom dialogue based on these questions. The teacher presented a picture of a Chinese home scene with the mother making wonton. The mother was speaking Chinese to her daughter; her daughter was answering, "No, I don't want to. I want to go play." The teacher showed this picture to explore the many aspects of the problem: why are children losing their parents' culture; what social pressures encourage them to "forget the foreign language; how do parents feel; how do children feel; etc.

One class pursued the following discussion from this picture code as the teacher asked them questions in the five step process.

First, the teacher asked students to describe what was happening in the picture.
TEACHER
1. What do you see?
   "What's in the room?"
   What country are the objects from?
   What is the mother saying?
   What language is she speaking?
   What is the daughter saying?
   What language is she speaking?"

   MANY STUDENTS
   "It's a kitchen. A chair. A table.
   From the United States. That's from China.
   I don't know. It's Chinese.
   Chinese.
   I don't want to.
   I want to go play.
   English."

   The second step addressed the conflict between mother and daughter, with parents understanding that their children need English, though wanting their children to speak Chinese.

2. What's the problem here?
   "What is the mother doing?"
   Does the daughter know how?
   Why not?
   Does the daughter speak Chinese?
   Where is the daughter from?
   Does the mother speak English?

   "She's making wonton.
   I don't know. Maybe. Maybe not.
   You can buy wonton in the store.
   Maybe she not help her mother.
   Maybe, a little.
   Not China. She's American.
   No, she's Chinese-American.
   I don't think so."
Does the mother want her daughter to speak Chinese?" Oh yes. -But she needs English too."

Step three included questions applying the problem to students' lives and their feelings about the issue.

3. Is this your problem?
"Do your children speak your language? "Mine speak Spanish. They live with my father. -My son only speaks English.

Do their friends speak your language? They only speak English at home. -Only one. He gets embarrassed with others.

When will your children speak your language? at home? My daughter likes to teach the baby. -Oh, Jessie loves Spanish T.V.

How do you feel about it? Oh, I want him to speak Chinese. -I like them to talk Spanish.

Do your children know about your country? Yes, a little. Some things.

Do you want them to? Oh yes.

Do they know how to cook your food?" I don't cook too much. -Yes, they know. They help."

Step four, asking "why" is primary to the decoding process. Often teachers only
have to ask, "But why?" to move students' thinking to a higher level. The question, "Why not?" solicits students' opinions equally well.

4. Why is there a problem?

"How do they learn about your countries?"
What about school?

"At home. Sometimes.
-I don't know.
Kim never says anything.
-Sometimes they teach about holidays.
-I don't think they teach a lot.

Why not? Why don't schools teach about your countries?

I don't know.
-They don't think it's important.
This is the United States.
-But children can't speak Chinese at school.
Teachers want to teach English.

Why not?

Do teachers speak their language?

Maybe. The teacher of my children speaks Spanish a little.
-My son's teacher don't speak Chinese.
It's too hard.

Why not?

When don't your children speak your language?

With friends. At school.
-I don't know.
But my son don't speak Chinese.
-Jessie too. She gets mad and doesn't talk to my father.

Are they embarrassed?

Why are they embarrassed?

Their friends
only talk English.
-Sometimes at
school other kids
call my daughter
bad names.
Oh, I don't know.
You Mexican. But
she's American."

Finally the teacher asked what students
could do about the problem.

5. What can you do?
"Can schools teach your
language?"

Yes, they teach
Spanish one time
a day.

Are there schools with
bilingual programs?
I think so.
-That school is far.
I want my son close
to home.

What do you think about
bilingual programs?
I like them.
-I want my children
to speak English.
-But I want them to
speak Chinese too.

Does your state have
a bilingual education
law? What does it
say?
There are more
than ten in my
son's class.
-Why don't we have
bilingual classes?
-I don't know.
They learn at home.
-My children get
embarrassed. I
want them to learn
Spanish at school.
-Send them to Mexi­
co.
-I can't. They
need respect here.

What classes do you
want schools to have?
Classes in
language.
-Yes, classes on
What about your culture?
Can you teach the teachers about your country? your culture?"

Four observations are relevant to our reflections.

First, that critical thinking is not connotative of negative thinking. People are not looking for problems. They already have them. They are looking for solutions. And, in doing so, through language, they are reaching into their life activities and making that language part of themselves.

Second, that teachers can't know and should not project themselves as knowing the answers to the questions that they are posing. If they do, the true dynamics of dialogue is destroyed. Third, although the physical environment is not "magical," the physical arrangement of the learning environment can indicate whether or not the educator is concerned with putting the principles of problem posing into action. In other words, Freire's circles do not guarantee that the teacher will be less authoritarian, but it will in fact make it more difficult for him or her to be so. Fourth, although beginners may not be able to pursue full discussions, they can learn how to listen with the support of a code while more advanced peers participate, and they can learn how to learn by asking each other and the teacher questions.
Action

Action is the final stage in the Problem Posing Approach. And it is this stage that is perhaps most unique to the approach. In effect, the Tools for Dialogue are not very different from the cognitive task hierarchy proposed by Taba (1962) to facilitate critical thinking skills, but whereas Taba asks for summations and applications to other situations, Freire requires action.

Wallerstein asserts that such action is a logical consequence of the dialogue (1983, p. 13). "As students exercise control within the classroom by choosing which issues are crucial, they will gain confidence to use English and to make changes in their lives outside of school."

It is not the teacher, but the group, and the leaders within the group, that initiate these changes.

"Doing, looking, reflecting, and changing." Vella (1979, p. 21) summarizes the process of the learner as he or she participates in a Problem Posing Approach that corresponds to the three stages of Listening, Dialogue, and Action.

Self-Study

Markova's curriculum for self-study, or in Gal-
perin's terms, programmed learning, is firmly grounded in the theoretical work of Vygotsky. Contrary to its Western connotations, the term programmed learning describes a step by step system of internalization that, though directed, is by no means mechanical.

For Markova, language and cognition are aspects of the same activity. Cole explains (1979, p. xi) in the introduction to her classic work, The Teaching and Mastery of Language, "Just as Vygotsky would consider school-children's remembering as more 'thinking' than 'memory,' he would consider children's self-conscious [voluntary] use of language as more 'thinking' than 'talking' or 'writing'."

As Cole continues (p. xii), "Viewed from the perspective of modern 'Neo-Deweyism' we would call Markova's technique guided discovery--discovery guided by an analysis of the developmental stages through which the child's activity must pass and the conditions necessary to insure that the activity is generalized beyond the particular instances embodied in a curriculum."

Or, in Markova's own words (1979, p. 5), "General methods of self-education are those from which study assignments are drawn from the context and structure of the kinds of activity in which children can expect to engage later." She accomplishes this by placing learners in
problem situations and then concentrating not only on results but also on procedures.

From the learner's point of view, he or she not only perceives the established goals of education, but also learns how to set short-term and long-term goals for him or herself, a skill that will be recalled when pursuing the same type of activity later in life.

Learning tasks that anticipate life activity are organized to clarify the goals of the activity. Learning itself is organized into learning actions and control operations. In the learning action, the learner discovers properties of the material that he or she is working with, and thereby begins to transform it. In the control operation, the learner develops methods of self-checking and mutual checking.

Specifically, self-checking encompasses the following skills: (1) planning the stages, sequence, and necessary time and effort for work; (2) pursuing work through to completion; (3) establishing order; (4) maintaining motivation; (5) establishing habits such as repeated reproduction, repetition in reverse order, general comparison of result and task, performance of opposite action such as a violation of a rule.

Mutual checking includes the following range of skills: (1) determining the total volume of work;
(2) allocating the work among members of the group according to talent and abilities; (3) creating a positive environment for collective activity.

It is worth remembering that a dynamic relationship exists between learning actions and control activities. This means that learning actions may assume a control function if they are included in activity for control purposes. It is also worthy of note that the type of control in self-checking is very different from the usual control on the basis of end results used so widely in education. Whereas the product of an activity is compared with a teacher's model and marked as satisfactory or not according to its correspondence or non-correspondence with the model in an end result approach, in self-checking, a step-by-step or operation-by-operation check is designed to eliminate mistakes as the activity progresses. Clearly a self-checking approach is much more flexible since it can adjust to changing conditions and provide for evaluation of an activity for which no preconceived model is possible or desirable.

In addition, such an approach will necessitate a decrease in rote intellectual activity, forced external checking, the fetishism of teacher's grades. Markova insists that "If learning activity becomes cooperation and partnership between teacher and student, the student will
develop a need for self-checking on his own; this will become a part of more general cognitive needs and, later, the need for reflection in general, for self-improvement, and for the cultivation of one's own personality" (1979, p. 127).

To summarize, Markova recommends the use of new organizational forms for different stages of problem solving (p.237), including posing and formulating a problem, suggesting ways to solve the problem, testing these hypotheses, and finally, resolving the problem. For learners, these stages are reflected in their activity as they understand the nature of the learning task, master methods for transforming the object of study, develop methods of self-checking, and ultimately discover how to self-organize the total activity.

The methodology that emerges from the Markova approach consists of lessons, each of which is organized into three major stages: Motivational or Orientational Stage in which the teacher and learners define the learning task and learners carry out a self-assessment of their capacity for completing the task; Operational or Executive Stage in which learners are taught the activity and the learning actions of which it is composed, along with control operations, that is, procedures for operational or step-by-step checking; Regulatory Stage in which the
results of the lesson are summarized, evaluated and used as a basis for setting the tasks for the next lesson.

Motivational or Orientational Stage

In this stage, learners are placed in the situation of completing a practical task, most effectively, one in which cooperative activity is required. Ideally, the task relates to the future activity of the learners but requires information and skills that they do not possess. By promoting self-checking and mutual checking, the teacher helps learners identify the kinds of information and skills that they lack, transforming their discovery into goals. This is easy enough to do and is usually accomplished simply by asking the question, "What is it that we are unable to do at this point?" Or, "What do you think that we will have to learn in order to do this?"

It is at this point, too, that the main purpose of evaluating and checking the work of others should be made clear to the learners—that it is not to discover flaws, but to develop a coordinated search for the best ways to do the work (Markova, 1979, p. 120).

Operational or Executive Stage

At the beginning of the Operational or Executive Stage the teacher re-words the learning goal for learners
to record. Their discovery is transformed into a succinct statement. He or she then presents a learning problem that illuminates some aspect of the total learning task, and learners cooperate in finding solutions for the problem. In a kind of Socratic dialogue, the teacher assists learners in thinking through their procedure, step by step. For example, the teacher might get learners to describe the nature of the operations that they are performing by saying, "What are you doing now?" Or, as Markova has recorded (1979, p. 149), "What do you do now? Reason out loud. How will you go on to the next sentence?"

Then the teacher summarizes what the learners have discovered, again transforming their discovery, this time into a series of procedures. Often, the learners are presented with another similar problem to work through.

Regulatory Stage

In the Regulatory Stage, the teacher asks learners to recall the goal of the learning task from the beginning of the lesson, the goal of the problem, the methods and procedures, and finally, to evaluate the results in order to set the task or goals for the next lesson.

Markova's example of classroom activity (1979, pp. 239-244) is perhaps the best vehicle for reflection.
Teacher: You have heard many times that our century has seen the rapid development of science and technology and an increase in the flow of information, as they say nowadays. In order to store this vast amount of new knowledge and better transmit it to other people, scientists are constantly seeking ways to record information in abbreviated and compact form. Don't you yourselves sometimes have to make short notes of certain material?

Pupils: Yes, sometimes.

Teacher: As you get older (later on in school, in college, or at work) you will more frequently have occasion to make short notes to yourself about something you've heard or read and to write a brief description of your work for others.

Try to carry out the following assignment. I'm going to pass around some brochures to you. Some of you will make short notes about the first section of this brochure on your pieces of paper. Others will do the same for the third section of the brochure.

(Pupils complete the assignment.)

Teacher: Now exchange papers with your neighbor who will try to reconstruct the text from your short notes.

(Pupils complete the assignment.)

Teacher: Compare the text you produced
You have heard many times that the past century has seen the rapid increase in the flow of information, as they say nowadays. In order to store this vast amount of knowledge and better transmit it to future generations, scientists are constantly seeking ways to record information more efficiently. Even you yourselves sometimes make short notes of certain information.

Yes, sometimes.

As you get older (later on in college, or at work), you will more frequently have occasion to make short notes to yourself about things you've heard or read and to present a brief description of your own views about them. I'm going to pass around some brochures to you. Some of you will make short notes about the first section of this brochure on your own paper. Others will do the same with the third section of the brochure.

Carry out the following assignment. Now exchange papers with your partner who will try to reconstruct the text from your short notes. After that, you may compare the text you produced with the original text. Compare the text you produced with the original text.
Learning goal: Independent discovery of the goal by the pupils.

Learning goal: formation of the learning goal by the teacher and its recording by pupils in their rule workbooks.

with the passage in the brochure. Analyze it and answer the following question: Were the short notes enough to give you an idea of the content of the text? What mistakes were made? What was most difficult for you? Pupils: Of course, many children left out the main thought of the text in their brief notes; -they indicated some of the thoughts but they did not show how they were connected; -they violated the order of exposition used in the text.¹
Teacher: What is it that we were unable to do at this point? What knowledge do we not yet have that would allow us to make brief notes which reflect the text as accurately as possible? In your opinion, what do you think you will have to learn in order to do this? Pupils: We have to learn how to find the main thought and then the thoughts of secondary importance, and how to determine the relationships between them.
Teacher: Correct. And this will be our main learning objective in the lessons coming up—to find the chief thought of a text, to determine the secondary lines along which it is developed, and find the connections between thoughts. All this means learning how to analyze the content of a text, its semantic structure. Let's write this down in our notebooks.

(Pupils write down the definition.)

Teacher: Write down the sentence: "The squad for our team has been picked." What is the most essential in the context of this sentence? Pupils: Of course, the words "squad" and "picked." These are the subject and the predicate. Teacher: That's right. In fact, in a discrete, isolated sentence (if it does not have any unusual structural
age in the brochure. d answer the following e the short notes enough n idea of the content of at mistakes were made? difficult for you? urse, many children left thought of the text in otes; ed some of the thoughts not show how they were d the order of exposition ext. 1 is it that we were un- this point? What know- ot yet have that would ake brief notes which ext as accurately as your opinion, what do will have to learn in his? ve to learn how to find ght and then the thoughts importance, and how to relationships between ect. And this will be ning objective in the g up--to find the chief text, to determine the es along which it is d find the connections hghts. All this means learn- alyze the content of a ntic structure. Let's own in our notebooks.

(• down the definition.)

• down the sentence: "The eam has been picked." host essential in the his sentence? ourse, the words "squad" . These are the subject cate. t's right. In fact, in a olated sentence (if it e any unusual structural

Goal: to learn to analyze the semantic structure of a text.
Learning activity: attempts to find the learning activity independently by the pupils, joint search for optimal ways of working.

Control activity: the pupils check their own approach (step by step)

peculiarities) the chief semantic content is carried by the main terms in the sentence. Can the semantic emphasis in the sentence be altered? How could this be done? Pupils: Put this sentence with others. Teacher: Any other ideas? Pupils: Include this sentence in a story. Teacher: Let's try to use these approaches that you propose. For example, let's write another sentence next to this one. "The members of the Yugoslavian team are still being selected. The squad for our team has been picked." What is the most interesting point in the sense of the sentence? Pupils: The word "our." Teacher: And what are the other words there for? What are their roles? Pupils: They are not as important; they clarify the word "our." Teacher: Yes, they play the role of the known part of the message. And if I insert a different sentence? "The trainers are arguing about which team members will participate in the individual championship contest. The squad for our team has been picked." Now where is the chief sense in the sentence? What is new and most important in the message now? Pupils: Of course, the word "team." Teacher: Correct. See if the words that carry the main thought in the sentence correspond to the major grammatical parts of the sentence. Pupils: No. Both the subordinate parts and main parts of the sentence can play the chief role. Teacher: This means that in addition to the grammatical structure of a sentence there is also a semantic structure, which varies depending on the circumstances.

What operation did we use to bring out the semantic structure of the sentence, and to determine what is known and what is new and unknown in it?
Learning activity: the teacher specifies the learning activity, and the children record this stage of the work in their workbooks.

Pupils: We added other sentences.

Teacher: Yes. The activity included the sentence in a context, and we saw how the semantic center of the sentence shifts; in other words, how its structure changes. We saw that in an isolated sentence it is difficult to determine the main thought accurately. This can be done unambiguously only in a context, by comparing the sentence with the preceding and following sentences. Let us write down this procedure.

(Pupils do so.)

Teacher: Now let's try to write down in graphic form the semantic structure of a sentence in different contexts. Let's use the letter K to denote the known part of the message, and the letter N to denote what is new, that is, the most important and interesting part of the message.

Pupils: (with the teacher's help)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{N} & \quad \text{K} \\
1. \text{The squad for our team has been} & \quad \text{N} \\
\quad \text{picked.} & \\
2. \text{The members of the Yugoslavian team} & \quad \text{K} \\
\quad \text{are still being selected.} & \quad \text{N} \\
\quad \text{The squad for our team has been} & \quad \text{K} \\
\quad \text{picked.} & \quad \text{N} \\
3. \text{The trainers are arguing about which} & \quad \text{K} \\
\text{team members will participate in the} & \quad \text{N} \\
\text{individual championship contest.} & \quad \text{K} \\
\quad \text{The squad for our team has been} & \quad \text{K} \\
\quad \text{picked.} & \quad \text{N}
\end{align*}
\]
We added other sentences.

Yes. The activity included sentence in a context, and we saw in other words, how its structure changes. We saw that in an isolation it is difficult to determine main thought accurately. This done unambiguously only in a by comparing the sentence with preceding and following sentences. Write down this procedure.

Now let's try to write down semantic form the semantic structure sentence in different contexts.

Use the letter K to denote the main part of the message, and the N to denote what is new, that is the most important and interesting part of the message.
(with the teacher's help)

N K

Squad for our team has been selected.

K N

Squad for our team has been selected.

Trainers are arguing about which members will participate in the individual championship contest.

K N

Squad for our team has been selected.
Teacher: What conclusions can we draw from these representations? Does something new appear? Is what is known in the sentence a constant, or does it change?
Pupils: It depends on what preceded this sentence in the story and, of course, what follows it.
Teacher: Yes, the breakdown of any utterance into what is new and what is known is conditional and dynamic; it depends on the course of communication. The structure of a sentence in terms of what is new and what is known in it is called its topical articulation. It does not necessarily correspond with the grammatical structure of the sentence. Let's write this down in our workbook for rules.

(Pupils do so.)

Teacher: So what was the goal we posed for ourselves at the beginning of the lesson?
Pupils: To learn how to analyze the semantic structure of a text.
Teacher: What steps have we taken in this direction today? What stages have we accomplished in our work?
Pupils: We have learned how to analyze the semantic structure of a sentence.
Teacher: What method did we use in our work?
Pupils: We placed the same sentence in different contexts.
Teacher: Did we use any other procedure?
Pupils: We portrayed the semantic structure of a sentence in the form of diagrams.
Teacher: What new form did we create to designate the parts of the message in a sentence?
Pupils: The topical articulation of a sentence.

New concept.

Control activity:
Pupils check their own work by comparing the task, the approach, and the end result against one another.
Topical articulation refers to determining the content of the thought in an utterance and the new, previously unknown, and interesting material that is communicated about the content of the thought.
Suggestopedia

Unfortunately, Suggestopedia in this country has suffered from decontextualization. Instead of studying the method as a whole construct in the context of the theory of Activity, small techniques have been selected out for critique and superficial comedic references.

The fundamental principles of Suggestopedia, referred to in the Soviet Union as the Intensive Method, were first formulated and field tested by a group of educators under the guidance of Professor G.K. Lozanov in institutes throughout Bulgaria.

In Lozanov's view, there are two planes which support behavior--the conscious, rational plane, and the unconscious, non-rational plane. By this he means that even the conscious acquisition of information is necessarily accompanied on another plane by unconscious mental activity.

Furthermore, he contends that the best means for controlling this unconscious activity is suggestion which extends to the emotional and motivational spheres of the mind. Moreover, he asserts that suggestive subliminal stimuli can provoke a more effective reaction than can stronger, more overt stimuli.

A. A.A. Leont'ev explains (1981, p. 112),
"Lozanov attributes a particular significance to those 'non-specific stimuli' of which we are not conscious, and which are not fixed by the brain, but are inevitably concomitant with the teacher's speech; his gestures, mimicry, stance, expressive component of his intonation, eye contact, environment, etc."

Or, in Lozanov's own words (A.A. Leont'ev, 1981, p. 116), "In a general atmosphere of ease, directness, and absence of any feeling of pressure, learning proceeds pleasantly and naturally, and material is absorbed unnoticed...During the teaching period there should be no tensing up or fear of anything, there should be no need to repeat the same material a hundred times. It can be perceived naturally and peacefully. It is vital simply to free oneself of unnecessary movements, both in the somatic and mental spheres, and of a sense of anxiety that something might be left out."

It is clear then, that part of the teacher's responsibility is "to secure the best possible psychological climate in the class which will stimulate attention, memory, thought, and perception, thus providing a balanced, joyful, and peaceful emotional sensation." (A.A. Leont'ev, 1981, p. 121.)

Although there are numerous tested techniques for accomplishing such a climate, most notably repeating
errors in the correct form without pointing out a learner's mistake, what is important is not at the level of technique. What counts is the fundamentally different environment for the learning process. Or as Stevik has observed (1976, p. 158), "the best videotapes that I have seen [of the Suggestopedic Method] look surprisingly like more conventional methods at their best. The suggestopedic principles are not, for the most part, realized as a set of obvious gimmicks. It would seem that they show up, instead, as carefully coordinated modifications of style in using existing techniques; the overt--and mostly verbal--plane of behavior must be supported by the less conscious--and largely non-verbal--plane. Together, these kinds of behavior must create an atmosphere in which the student can place complete trust, first in the teacher and then in his own powers--truly an example of the intertwining of many strands of interpersonal behavior! This, at least, is my understanding of 'doubleplaneness' and 'authority' in Lozanov's writing."

A.A. Leont'ev agrees (1981, p. 123), citing various sorts of traditional methodologies that have proposed different ways of organizing the material to be absorbed, and applauding Lozanov for trying to organize "the receptive activity" of the learner.

To that end, Lozanov distinguishes between
elementary and complex means of suggestion. Elementary means include intonation, rhythm, and relaxation, whereas complex means include trust between learner and teacher as well as the fostering of the kind of freedom to learn that is evident in children and usually disappears by adulthood. Or to put that another way, he attends not only to the functional, purposive aspects of communication but also to the group and role relationships that develop in and transform communication.

As the initiator of relationships, the teacher needs an engaging personality and an attitude toward learners that is constructive. Theatrics and brash artistry such as that practiced by the so-called Mad Professor of Dartmouth are at best irrelevant and at worst harmful. Lozanov insists that "the suggestological method does not only teach the teacher how to speak to children, but also what inner attitude to have towards them. His authority is that of a loving, powerful, knowledgeable person, who organizes and guides the children's collective, striving that each individual personality should find a specific manifestation in the joint efforts, and should develop to its fullest extent." (A.A. Leont'ev, 1981, p. 116.)

In Stevick's words (1976, p. 156), "the most important elements [of the suggestopedic methods] lie in
the behavior of the teacher, and particularly in the main-
tenance of an air of authority—confidence in self, the
materials and the method, but also in the student—which
engender a corresponding confidence on the part of the
student—both in the teacher, materials, and method, and
in self. Here, if anywhere, lies the secret of the
Lozanov method, and not in the description of overt
procedures...

The system of social roles in the group is also a
function of the method, established the first day when
learners assume a new name with an identity attached to
it. Given the role relationships then, no unmotivated
meaningless communication should occur within the group.
No matter how improbable the situation that the teacher
may devise, it will be considered as role play, a game
with all of the properties of make believe.

Having assumed the new identity, class members no
longer need to respond to real personalities but must
nevertheless interact within a social system. Paradox-
ically, teachers using this method report that learners
begin to feel a kind of freedom that allows them to act
with confidence, revealing characteristics that are
usually hidden or repressed in class rooms. In addition,
they report that as the course progresses the mask falls
away, or as A.A. Leont'ev explains (1981, p. 121), "It
ceases to be necessary."

All this is assisted by the physical surroundings in which the classes are held. "Instead of tables and hard chairs, put a circle of upholstered armchairs. Not peeling walls painted years ago in a depressing grey, and curtains heavy with dust, but a light, comfortable room decorated with reproductions and tastefully furnished, where each piece is chosen with care and full awareness of our psychological needs. In the breaks between sessions — quiet, soft music. And even the famous cup of coffee, which for some reason upsets so many 'traditional' teachers, makes psychological (not to say physiological) sense." (Leont'ev, 1981, p. 122.)

In an interview for the newspaper Soviet Culture, September 23, 1977, Lozanov (A.A. Leont'ev, 1981, p. 116) stresses that the most important part of his pedagogy is "the attempt to uncover the maximum unused reserves in the personality of the pupil."

The effectiveness of the methods used to do so is the result of the influence of a whole aggregate of psychological, social, and psycho-physiological factors. As Leont'ev explains (1981, p. 130),

These factors tend to create opportunities for the student to grow aware through the learning process of some aspects of his personality, to bring to fruition not only certain general psychological potentialities...but also—and that is much more important--personal and psychological potential—
ities (specific study motivation, grasp of the communication in the 'teacher-group' system, and within the actual group, etc.). It is the purposive activation of the learning activity and its planned transformation into a creative activity that makes the potential real.

These factors are channelled through an organized and clearly oriented system of pedagogical communication in classroom situations (both on pedagogical and psychological levels). Most of the psychological problems of intensive teaching are therefore directly reducible to some extent to the personality of the teacher and the peculiarities of his communicative activity within the framework of the learning process, and indirectly to the relationships and communicative contracts between the students, stimulated by the teacher.

Leont'ev describes his experience as an observer at the experimental school in Tbilisi, where members of the Gogebashvili Pedagogical Scientific Research Institute, led by the psychologist Professor Shalva Alexandrovich Amonoshvili, are striving to improve both teaching and education (A.A. Leont'ev, 1981, p. 117):

A joyful feeling, because this is a school where the teacher wants to teach and the pupils want to study; where the teacher's authority is strong, but exerted by a skillful combination of demands and gentleness; where humanism is the basis of the relationship between pedagogue and pupils; where it would be impossible to conceive the teaching process without art lessons, without the fostering of creativity; where prevails an atmosphere of goodwill, a view of the schoolchild as a person; where the textbook is interesting to read; where no marks are given, and hence there is no anxiety about them; where the motive for study is no longer "getting a top mark" but simply knowing, being able to, being no worse than, the others.

The methodology that Lozanov has developed is programmatic. By that let us say that the entire language
program is infused with the theory and philosophy of suggestopedia. In practical terms, not only the classroom experience but also the out-of-class experience is planned.

The first day, each learner is introduced to the director who offers information and advice as well as a sense of security and confidence.

In the introductory course, beginners spend their first five days in a totally oral curriculum. On the sixth day, they are presented with their textbooks in a ceremony in which they also receive flowers and each receives a card with the name of his or her new identity.

Each course lasts from twenty-five to thirty days, six days per week, four hours per day. Each class consists of a group of twelve persons, six men and six women. Together the learners participate in daily lessons organized around the suggestopedic cycle which consists of three parts: Conversation Review of previous lessons; Presentation of new material in the form of realistic dialogue; and Seance or relaxation session to reinforce the new material. Each part of the cycle is detailed below.

Conversational Review

Mainly through dialogues between teacher and learner and among learners, the previously presented material is reviewed. In addition to conversations that
stimulate recall, improvisations or various endings to dialogues, story telling, singing, and short plays restructure the material in a new situation.

In "micro-studies," attention is given to precise questions and answers. "What should one do in a hotel room if the bathroom taps aren't working?" (Bancroft, 1975, p. 6.) In "macro-studies," emphasis is placed more on information and creative content. "...students may be led into the street...for spontaneous foreign language practice; they may be required to eat in French/English, rent a hotel room..." (Bancroft, 1975, p. 7.)

Presentation

The first day of work on a new unit begins with a short explanation of the content but not the language of a long dialogue, perhaps 1200 words printed with a native language translation in a parallel column. New vocabulary items are underlined and each has a phonetic transcription. In elementary levels, oral style is used for dialogues, evolving into written style for readings in more advanced levels.

The dialogues, which form the core of material, are presented in a somewhat traditional way with new grammatical structures explained and certain difficult phrases translated. Learners have an opportunity to ask
questions and receive the information they feel they need in order to proceed. According to Stevick (1976, p. 157), the questions are asked and answered in the native language to avoid stress, but Bancroft (1975, p. 16) tends to minimize the importance of the native language in the presentation.

There seems to be a certain continuity of anecdote throughout the ten dialogues that comprise a course. Moreover, they follow a general pattern: (1) biographical introductions; (2) hospitality and home activities; (3) tour of the institute (and a description of their own learning activities); (4) family party and social activities; (5) daily routine activities; (6) basic survival activities; (7) tourist activities; (8) meals and restaurant activities; (9) cultural activities; (10) pastime activities.

In sum, the learner describes the activity he or she sees around him or her, and as a language learner, becomes drawn into these activities as a participant as well as an observer.

Seance

During a one-hour seance, the new material is reinforced in a manner that Bancroft (1975, p. 4) compares to a Sesame Street approach. The seance is divided into
two parts, active and passive, also known as meditation and concert. In the active presentation, the teacher reads the dialogue in precise rhythm with varying intonations and coordinates sound-print or sound-image supports for learners.

In the reading of the dialogue "the teacher must be able to visualize the material he or she is reading and to project it in the minds of the students." (Bancroft, 1975, p. 20.) In effect, the teacher must send telepathic thought images.

Coordinated breathing on the part of teacher and learners enhances the telepathic possibilities. Disciplining the respiration is said to bring the mind under control as well and to allow for absorption of large amounts of material in one session.

Clearly, to achieve the desired effects, both teachers and learners must be trained to project and receive information in this way. They must practice the breathing rhythm--two seconds inhalation, four seconds retention, and two seconds exhalation.

Throughout the active part of the seance, the learners follow the text with their eyes while the teacher reads it. "Outward concentration on an external object (i.e., the printed text) is combined with an inner repetition of the words and/or phrases in the foreign lan-
guage." (Bancroft, 1975, p.30.)

The dialogue, phrase by phrase, is heard three times. First in a normal tone, then a whisper, and finally, in a loud tone while the breathing rhythm is maintained.

After a musical interlude of two minutes to introduce the passive part of the seance, learners close their eyes and continue the breathing rhythm. In the passive presentation which follows, 18th Century Baroque music is piped into the room to contribute to meditation, a phenomenon that is evidenced by increases in alpha brain waves among participants. Now the reading of the dialogue is coordinated not only with the breathing but also with the music. Learners listen to a dramatic reading of the dialogue while they imagine the scene in their mind's eye.

At the end of the seance, two minutes of cheerful music brings learners out of the alpha state and contributes to an elevated mood as they leave the class, not tired as is usual in intensive learning sessions, but rested after four hours of language instruction, confident that it is not necessary to complete lengthy homework assignments since the learning and memorization has already taken place in the classroom routine.

For reflection, Bancroft (1975, pp. 29A-29B) has reproduced several pages of Lozanov material.
THIRD DIALOGUE

/THIRD SEANCE/

/ORAL COURSE/

At the Centre of Suggestology

T. Good afternoon.

S. Thanks fine.

T. Who is absent?

S. Yes, I understand you.

T. Do all the students understand me?

S. All the students understand you.

Paul understands you.

Linda understands you.

They all understand you.

T. Where do you study English?

S. We study English in the Centre of Suggestology.

T. Is the Centre a School?
for foreign languages?

S. No, it isn't.

It is a scientific institute.

It carries out research work.

There are 4 classrooms here. There are 7 studies.

three laboratories and a control room.

T. What is the control room like?

Is there a tape recorder in it?

S. Yes, there are tapes too.

There is a gramophone with records.

T. There are no chairs in the class-rooms, are there?

S. No, there are only armchairs here.

T. Are there any desks?

S. No, there are square tables. There is a blackboard on the wall.
At the outset of Part Two, we discussed three applications of the theory of Activity to second language education—Problem Posing, Self-Study, and Suggestopedia. At this point, it may be useful to establish relationships among them, specifically, to look at how they contrast with more traditional methods and how they compare with each other.

Clearly, the Activity-related methods as a group differ from traditional methods in several important ways. First, the physical arrangement of the room is usually quite different. Whereas the traditional classroom conjures up an image of the teacher at the front of the class with rows of students facing, in Activity-related methods, a circular arrangement is basic to instruction so that the center of attention can shift and so that all participants can easily interact; in addition, movable furniture is preferred to the common institutional desks bolted to the floor so that small groups can form and then rejoin the circle for reporting purposes. In the Lozanov method, the physical arrangement of the room is even more of a contrast to the concrete block walls of institutions since the method requires not only a circular formation but also a comfortable, aesthetically pleasing one.

Second, the roles and relationships among teacher and learner are very different. In the traditional methods,
it is assumed that since the teacher knows everything and the students know nothing, the teacher teaches and the students are taught; the teacher talks and the students listen; the teacher acts and the students respond; the teacher chooses and the students comply. (Freire, 1970, p. 59.) Very often, the result is that the teacher thinks and the students--don't. In contrast, in an Activity-related approach, it is assumed that everyone knows something and that the sum of their knowledge and experience is greater than that of any one individual, including the teacher. Therefore, the teacher's role shifts from that of presenter to that of co-learner. Vella (1979, p. 29) identifies the two major roles of the teacher in an Activity-related method as handling tasks--initiating and clarifying tasks, keeping to the point, summarizing arguments, moving to a vote or a plan of action, and time-keeping; and maintaining group relationships--including everyone, reflecting back what has been said, clarifying what has been said, resolving conflict, and showing appreciation.

She also points out that the passive nature of learners who have traditionally followed a teacher-imposed agenda must change. As active members they must accept responsibility for taking the initiative, forming groups, evaluating progress, and assisting in both task setting
and group maintenance.

This does not mean that the teacher is relieved of the responsibility of presenting information when appropriate. During group interaction, the learners may come to realize the need for new information or a presentation from the teacher which should then be received by a very attentive group.

Perhaps Vella (1979, p. 25) contrasts this aspect of traditional methods and Activity-related methods best when she suggests that "the prosaic one offers the answer before the question has been asked."

Finally, the traditional and the Activity-related methods differ as to the emphasis placed on extending the learning environment outside the classroom. Whereas traditional methods usually confine their out-of-class experiences to occasional field trips, Activity-related methods often find the classroom too confining. Problem Posing implies action within the community; Self-Study, future action in society; and Suggestopedia, community experiences.

Which brings us to how the three methods--Problem Posing, Self-Study, and Suggestopedia--applications all of the theory of Activity, compare with each other. In spite of the theoretical position that inspires a similar learning paradigm, a similar paradigm for achieving integrated
proficiency in second language education, and a similar contrast with traditional approaches, the three methods differ in their attitudes toward goal formation. Whereas Problem Posing emphasizes the formation of goals by the group, Self-Study includes goals within the curriculum based upon the future activities of the learners. This means that a learner in a Problem Posing class will be assisted in the realization of a spontaneous final goal, but a learner in a Self-Study class will be guided in setting spontaneous intermediate goals that will allow him or her to achieve a non-spontaneous final goal. Whether a learner in a Lozanov class would be more likely to set final goals for the acquisition of spontaneous concepts or intermediate goals for the acquisition of non-spontaneous concepts depends, it seems to this writer, on the extent to which the presentation material has been codified from interviews with learners.

Whether one method is superior to another is a topic for another investigation. What is important to this research is the praxis of several different approaches and methods with the theory of Activity. And that is the essence of inquiry for Part Three.
Part Three

Praxis: Implications for Second Language Education

"Education...is the distinguishing property of man; teaching, however, is not altogether foreign even to other creatures."

- G. Vinskii

Praxis, as the reader will recall, describes the dialectical relationship between theory and practice.

Although there is, at this writing, no generally accepted theory of second language learning and teaching, and teachers of second languages are notorious for our discussions of the relative merits of one method or another, there is, nonetheless, a certain consensus in practice.

In spite of the paradigm of belief that has been building over the past decade, a paradigm that bears superficial resemblance to this or that in the theory of Activity, the writer would be remiss not to issue a warning: the value of a theory is that it provides a framework for evaluating practice, and in turn is reevaluated. That is what praxis means. But when bits and pieces are
removed from the theory, it ceases to exist. In short, an eclectic approach impairs praxis. In addition, since we have not achieved the level of practice commensurate with the paradigm of belief, we have not generally practiced in the classroom what we have preached at the conference.

To put this another way, it would be tempting to convert to Activity without becoming a practicing believer, particularly since we are accustomed to living with the incompatible under the guise of the eclectic. But then we would also have to live without praxis, and consequently, without the movement toward something better, settling instead, as we have historically done in the profession, merely for something different.

Which brings us back to the consensus of practice. The writer submits that the theory of Activity requires that we reconsider the old definitions and structures for practice. Part Three of this work is an effort in that direction: reflections on program goals, curriculum structures, curriculum contents, methods, techniques, materials, and program administration.

Program Goals

In current practice, program goals are broad statements of curricular objectives set out by professionals, teachers and administrators, in the best interest of the
learners. For example, it is widely accepted that the three goals for an intensive language program include guidance in orientation and cultural adaptation, development of language proficiency, and preparation for full participation in the academic degree program or occupational interest of the scholar's choice.

In an SP program (Special Purposes) goals tend to be more specific, i.e., to read the instructions in the repair manuals for newly purchased technical equipment, to compose and type business correspondence in the second language, or to understand and communicate across the air waves in the international language of aviation. But in light of the theory of Activity, the writer suggests that these goals, although generally appropriate, are too vague and simplistic to guide us and the learners as we plan what must be a very complex program.

In order to avoid such an atomistic view of learners, educational planners should engage in an ethnography of the socio-cultural setting prior to the development of a program. The ethnography could be similar to what Freire calls "listening." Using Spradley's techniques (1979.a and 1979.b), the planners would become participant observers of the language learners' environment. Attention would be directed to the role and use of the second language in the learners' community. Who says what to whom, when? Where
and in what language? How do people interact with objects and with each other, and how does language, both the first and the second, play a part in their activity?

Planners would interview prospective learners and graduates of recent programs to gain insights into learner motives and learner goals. Queries like "Why are you studying French?" should be replaced with questions like "Have you ever needed to use French in your activities? Tell me about it." Coffee or tea tends to encourage human responses, especially in interviews with people from cultures where the ceremony of eating or drinking something together is significant.

Moreover, planners would not limit their discussion to the motives for learning the second language. If we are to teach language within the wider framework of Activity, then what we need to know is what that activity is and what impels people to pursue it. What are their goals as human beings? Although it is true that many good teachers have an intuitive understanding of the learners' goals, the writer proposes that even intuitive teachers know very little about the network of activities that interact in the daily lives of the learners in pursuit of those goals.

On the first day of class, learners write down their names and the reasons they have for learning the
language on a file card for their teachers. "I want to study English because I want to be an engineer." "I am in this class to pass the high school equivalency test." "I like German." We can depend on them to be vague. But that does not excuse us from digging deeper. How can we uncover the network of motives that combine to shape the personality of each learner?

The writer submits that the challenge for second language educators is to go beyond the mere listing of general motives for language learning toward a description of the specific life motives of learners and the linking of these motives to their experiences in the second language program.

To meet this challenge, either we must enlist the aid of anthropologists who are already trained in methods for compiling ethnographies or we must become proficient in these methods ourselves. When we do, the goals of the second language program will be longer and more detailed than a three-sentence list. It will be a reflection of the lives and hopes of the complex of learners in the program.

Curriculum Structure

Almost without exception, the second language curriculum is structured in levels of proficiency with place-
ment determined by scores on tests such as the Michigan Test of English Language Proficiency or by the successful completion of a previous level of instruction. Usually placement levels are some combination of beginning, intermediate, and advanced, or I, II, III. In the case of intensive programming, the curriculum is most often divided into skills courses, more often than not, Listening and Speaking Class, Reading Class, Writing Class, and Grammar Class. Occasionally, a program will include a Pronunciation Class.

But implicit in the theory of Activity is a revision in the structure of placement procedures, and therefore, a revision in the structure of the curriculum itself. Interpretation follows.

First, that placement in some courses should be determined not only by test scores or completion of courses but also by length of prior residence in the second language environment. The writer hypothesizes that general developmental stages of Activity for recent arrivals cluster around survival problems such as getting a place to stay, buying food, enrolling children in school. Learners who have been in the country long enough to resolve some of their basic survival problems begin to develop a curiosity about interpersonal relationships and tend to venture out into the community, often unprepared, as participants. Learners who have been in the country for some time
are motivated toward some goal such as a university degree or a better job.

If my hypothesis is valid, by placing learners in groups not only by proficiency but also in sub-groups by developmental stage determined by length of residence in the second language society, we will have created a structure that allows access to the dominant activities of the learners.

Second, that placement in other courses should be determined by future academic or occupational interest. This structure would be similar, at least superficially, to the highest levels of SP training. Again, it would serve to open access to specific motives, goals, and activities common to the group.

Curriculum Content

The curriculum content in second language practice today tends to reflect the structure that has been set up around skills. Even in the second language course that meets only five hours a week under a global course title such as Spanish Two, the skills are seldom integrated. Time is generally set aside for grammar drills, reading and writing, and the so-called speaking "activities." In the intensive program, the divisions are even more dramatic. In an intensive program, the curriculum
content is most clearly reflected in the course titles on a student schedule—Listening and Speaking II, Grammar II, Reading I, and Composition I.

It is also clear in interviews with administrators and teachers that the curriculum is viewed as what goes on in class. (Sharpe, 1982.) And that translates into Grammar II and Composition I.

But the theory of Activity urges us to reconsider. It seems integral to the theory that a curriculum cannot be different from life, or in Freire's terms (1970), everyday practical activity becomes a permanent object of study. When this happens, then our dialogue about realistic language lessons for Grammar II or language in a real world will become useless. It will be the real world itself that will comprise the content of the curriculum, and because of it, the language will not need to be realistic at all. It will be real. It will be a reflection of the activities of the learners.

What we must set out to do as educators then, is to decide what we can do and what we cannot do in a classroom. (Bateman, 1982.b.) Then we must seek techniques for influencing out-of-class experiences as well as in-class tasks so that learning can continue to occur under the best possible conditions.
The writer proposes that an Activity-derived curriculum content for an intensive program might substitute the following components for the traditional skills classes.

Group Studies in Problem Posing. 4 hours. For Problem Posing, an adaptation of Freire's method, learners should be grouped by length of prior residence in the second language environment as well as by language proficiency. Speech and practical activity should converge to resolve some of the problems of living and studying in the second language society. Emphasis should be placed on listening and speaking skills.

Group Studies in Language for Special Purposes. 4 hours. For Special Purposes, learners should be grouped by area of future academic or occupational interest as well as by language proficiency. Emphasis should be placed on reading and writing for the special purposes learners are motivated toward.

Group Studies in Cognitive Processing. 4 hours. For Cognitive Processing, learners should be grouped by native language as well as by language proficiency. Galperin's stages should be facilitated in an adaptation of Lozanov's method.

In addition, three other components, traditionally non-curricular in form but curricular in function, should
be included.

**Interaction Opportunities.** 4 hours. Both structured opportunities for conversation with peers who speak the second language and unstructured opportunities for social occasions with families and friends in the second language community, as well as participation in clubs, special interest courses, work and volunteer work settings should be facilitated. Journals and reports in class should keep both the teacher and the group in touch with the individual learner's experiences and growth.

**Campus and Community Service Activities.** 3 hours. Language practice should be encouraged in the context of group projects of interest to the wider campus or community. This is an opportunity to use language, set goals, and interact for a purpose. Adoptive grandparents, speeches for public school children, newspapers, and radio shows offer vehicles for practice in a meaningful context.

**Individual Studies in Reflection.** 1 hour. Personal journals either in written form or some other representational mode such as photographs, drawings, or cassettes should be required to encouraged reflection. Some of these could be re-cycled later into codes for Problem Posing.

Clearly, this is a curriculum content that attempts to deal with language on several levels and to encourage the transformation of language in various contexts. It is
also a curriculum content that attempts to foster the kind of social contact that learners need in order to develop a second language self. Finally, it is a curriculum content that includes both spontaneous and non-spontaneous final goals in dialectical relationship.

Methods

As Clifford Prator has observed (1980, p. 13), this is "probably the time in the memory of the most senior foreign language teachers when there is least agreement among the spokesmen of the profession as to what method of language teaching is to be preferred."

Most recently, a number of psychodynamic methods have become popular, notably, Curran's Counseling Learning Approach (Curran, 1976), Gattegno's Silent Way (Gattegno, 1976), and Ashur's Total Physical Response (Ashur, 1977). The relative benefits of using one method or another is argued by author and practitioner alike as though each method were the product of some spontaneous generation in no way related to the others or to anything else in the academic atmosphere at the moment.

Stevick's insight (1979, p. 105) that "we [should] start from the assumption that past failures--and successes--have come from the degree of wisdom with which we have handled what we have known at the time" sounds
mightily like Leont'ev's charge to educators (1981.a, p. 28), "The task which lies before us is not that of creating a methodology but of perfecting the current one, however far-reaching is the procedure that may need to be."

Practically, one of the first steps toward such an endeavor is to reevaluate the currently popular and often successful methods in praxis with Activity. It is incumbent upon us in light of Activity to change the direction of our professional dialogue from "whether" one method or another "works" or "is superior" to "why" they work and "how they can be improved." In the writer's view, we must meet the methodological challenge that confronts us, and that is to raise our investigations from the level of description to that of explanation.

It seems to me also that in so doing we must reflect on the very definition of what a method is. Not something imposed on learners from an outside source in the person of the teacher but a cooperative dialectic between teachers and learners.

Defining methods so broadly allows us to engage in creative praxis with Activity. The following series of questions are included to serve as a stimulation for images of methods.

1. Does the method involve the learners in Activ-
ity? Does it engage the mind of the learners? Or is the teacher performing the activity for learner observation? Do learners act in relation to the content of learning thereby retaining it as the object of consciousness? Are learners doing purposeful, practical things in which language serves a function?

2. Does the method preserve the structure of Activity? Does it proceed from the general to the specific? From motivated activity to task? Are learners involved in setting goals that will permit them to achieve tasks? Do teachers and learners understand and respect the difference between a goal-directed activity and a means-directed operation and do they treat them appropriately? Are operations introduced when they are perceived by learners as necessary to the activity?

3. Does the method encourage communication acts? Are the language skills brought to bear on goal-directed activity? Is the interdependence of the skills a natural consequence of the method?

4. Does the method promote dialectical movement between spontaneous activity and controlled operations? Are learners actively pursuing goals that they have set for themselves? Are teachers providing the kind of orientation that helps learners to organize themselves? Do questions require thought instead of answers at least
part of the time? Do teachers introduce control operations at the moment that they are perceived as necessary? Does the spontaneous activity stimulate the group toward participation and independence? At the same time, do the orientation and control operations introduce content previously unknown to learners? Do orientation and control operations contribute a stabilizing influence?

5. Does the method exploit zones of proximal development? Is instruction at a level slightly above the proficiency level of the learners? Are more experienced peers and teachers engaged in facilitating the cognitive processing of the learners?

6. Does the method facilitate internalization? Does it proceed systematically from the external to the internal? from interaction to imagination? from familiarization with the task through the various levels of psychological processing—material or materialized acts, external speech to others, to self, toward inner speech and image? Are the images and schemata and realia merely decorative or are they supportive of internalization? Are learners speaking only to others or are they simultaneously speaking with themselves?

7. Does the method admit to the limitations of the classroom? Does it facilitate learning opportunities outside of the classroom environment? Does it bring the experiences back into the classroom as an object of study?
8. Does the method foster joint activity? Are the two motivations in group activity perceived and included in the method--that is, the material to be learned and the interpersonal relations that arise in the group as it cooperates in the joint activity?

9. Does the method encourage reflection? Does it promote a connection between conscious awareness of the activity--the motives, the operations? Within it, can the learner elaborate the formal content of his own consciousness? Does it also encourage an attachment to the personal sense of the learner? Does it form a bridge between the learner's personal sense and the very different objective content of the second language society? Does the method include language learning itself as an object of reflection?

To do so much, to be so much may seem to ask a great deal of a method. We may be able to fashion such a hybrid from the images that Activity involves. Or, what we may discover is that no single method can be expected to provide for the learner's needs as he or she goes about the very complex process of learning a second language. We may find that at different levels of second language learning different methods should be applied, and that the key lies in the systematic progression of these methods. Or we may find that various methods must be simultaneously combined in a language program approach.
What is important is the search, the praxis. In such a search, a method will not succeed or fail for reasons that cannot be raised above speculation. It will not be lost because there is no means for it to contribute to a body of knowledge.

Whatever we discover will make sense because praxis with Activity will furnish a framework in which it can be proven or disproven, kept or discarded or shared.

Techniques

In reevaluating the meaning of method, we have committed ourselves to reevaluating the meaning of technique. If method describes the dialectical relationship between teacher and learners involved in the educational process, then techniques are the aggregate of procedures that facilitate the dialectic. From this perspective then, both teachers and learners will be using techniques, and must be trained in them.

Selected techniques derived from the theory of Activity may include techniques for providing orientation and setting tasks; techniques for facilitating joint activity; techniques for facilitating social interactions; techniques for facilitating internalization; and techniques for facilitating reflection. A brief list of examples follows as a point of departure for creative thought.
Techniques for providing orientation and setting tasks.

1. Presentation of learner role. Because the role of an active learner departs from the role that most learners are accustomed to, the teacher must give overt instruction to learners, explaining the expectations that they should have for the group and the expectations that the group will have for them.

2. Motivational discussion. After field work, the teacher should have acquired an empathy for the motivations and goals of learners. Nevertheless, a discussion in which the teacher listens and acknowledges the motivations and goals is time well spent.

3. Codifications. Codes similar to those recommended by Freire offer another technique for orientation, this time to a specific goal.

4. Task outlines. A blank outline similar to that printed below may serve as a representational model of the activity. At least initially, it is helpful to learners in mentally organizing goals and distributing efforts in joint activity.

What do we want to do? What is the final goal of our activity?
What are some smaller goals that will help us reach it?

goal 1. ____________________________________________
goal 2. ____________________________________________
goal 3. ____________________________________________
goal 4. ____________________________________________

etc.

What do we need to learn in order to accomplish these goals?

operation 1. ______________________________________
operation 2. ______________________________________
operation 3. ______________________________________
operation 4. ______________________________________

etc.

How can we learn them?

resource 1. ______________________________________
resource 2. ______________________________________
resource 3. ______________________________________
resource 4. ______________________________________

etc.

5. Force field analysis.

A very useful guide to planning in which the forces blocking the goals are identified and the resources that can eliminate those forces are identified. Lists of actions to reduce the restraining forces are written down in plan form.
6. Directed planning. Similar to Markova's controls. The teacher directs learners to write down their plans for completing a task before they begin it. Leading questions may be necessary such as "How will you begin? Then what will you do? These usually can disappear after learners become accustomed to the technique.

7. Lesson planning. At the end of a class, it may be useful to review the activity and the goal. "What do we need to do tomorrow? What do you already know? What do you need to know?" In this simple way, the activity of creating a curriculum still allows for teacher preparation time before the next session.

8. Task transformation. Teachers are also responsible for transforming the task, that is, arranging opportunities for using the same skills in a different situation to encourage learners to see new ways of using the skills they may have learned in another context.

Techniques for maintaining joint activity.

1. Valuing the group. Vella (1979, p. 46) suggests using games in which memorization is required, i.e., a list of twenty unrelated words
might be read. First each individual is asked to duplicate the list in written form. At the end of three minutes the reader asks how many words each participant was able to recall. The question allows for anonymity when it is done as follows: "Could anyone recall twenty? How about nineteen?" Next participants are asked to work in pairs, then groups, then a unified group. The discussion of the game following usually leads to valuing of the group.

2. Echoing.
The teacher reflects back to the learner what he or she has heard. It is non-judgmental, but often more precise than the learner's statements. The learner may correct the echo if it is not accurate. This facilitates understanding on the part of the group.

3. Summarizing.
Similar to echoing, but it should include the content of the entire session. Teachers may prefer to organize reports from small groups. What is important is unity and sharing of information. This is perhaps one of the major weaknesses of group dynamics. Small groups should not become isolates.

4. Resourcing.
Called the Teaching Interlude in participation training (Bergevin and McKinley, 1965, p. 54). This occurs when
the teacher assumes a leadership role and directs, explains, illustrates, clarifies, presents information. This is also a problem area in group dynamics. Teachers should recognize themselves as resources as well as listeners. Efforts to encourage participant leadership should not preclude teacher participation as one of the more experienced members of the group.

5. Dialoguing.
Teacher questions at intervals throughout the session can encourage dialogue if they are asked in an unbiased manner. These are questions that do not have a "right" answer. They are open-ended. Learner questions may also be directed to other learners or to the teacher.

Techniques for facilitating social interactions.
1. Role plays.
Already a very popular technique, role play is important because it simulates interaction and serves the same function for adults that play serves for children. Several variations are useful, including non-scripted role plays in which only the situation but not the dialogue is provided; open-ended role plays in which dialogue is provided for several exchanges and then the ending must be created; role reversals in which dialogues are created by learners in the role of teacher; psychodramas in which
a moment of interaction is "frozen" for discussion, occasionally aided by instant replay; motivational analysis of actors in a play. In using any of these role-play techniques, it is well to recall that the point of the technique is not to memorize the words of the players but to understand their total performance in the context of society. To that end, some sort of analysis either during or after role play is required.

2. Suspension of disbelief.
Especially to FL learners in an environment where the second language society is inaccessible, learners can create mental dialogues between themselves and imaginary characters from the second language community in the second language setting. First the teacher asks learners to see it happening without words, then to create the dialogue. In a variation for SL learners, the teacher asks learners to rehearse a situation they may be faced with in the second language society. First they see it happening without words; then they create a dialogue.

3. Overheard inner speaking.
Teachers perform a monologue that reveals a native speaker's strategies for solving some linguistic or cultural problem such as an irregular past verb or how to approach people. Alternatives and consequences of alternatives should be explored. Because the objective
content of the second language society is different from that of the learners' societies, teachers must serve as resources for cultural restrictions. If the teacher wishes to deal with cultural comparisons, the learners may be invited to make suggestions. The monologue can then continue as the teacher considers the consequences in the second language society of such an alternative. This technique is useful not only as a means of communicating cultural information but also as a model of problem solving.

4. Participant observation.
A technique that teachers can share with learners to bring cultural observations to levels of awareness, understanding, and insight. Unlike the ordinary participant who engages in activity in society without reflection, the participant observer has a dual purpose—to engage in the activity and to observe the situation. This technique cultivates an attitude of explicit awareness. (Spradley, 1979.b.)

5. Problem anticipation.
During the ethnographic stage of preparation by the teacher or during the participant observations by learners, some of the problems inherent in participating in the second language society may surface. Overheard inner speaking is one way to suggest solutions;
codification with group discussion is another. What is important is that the problems be anticipated and addressed.

6. Ethnographic interview.
A technique that allows learners to discover the cultural and linguistic competence of the second culture-second language society by interacting with individuals. (Spradley, 1979.a.) This technique provides an introduction to society and the additional advantage of interpersonal interaction. To demonstrate that all members of society are not exactly in agreement and that culture and language take place within parameters, it is useful for individuals to report to the group and compare interview answers.

7. Peer partners.
Buddies or conversation partners, volunteers or paid employees may serve along with the teacher as more experienced peers for language acquisition and social entry.

8. Planned interactions.
Speakers, guests and friends should be invited to attend class. Interactions then occur naturally. Field trips and social occasions may also be planned by the group.

By asking learners to list interests and social activities
that they are accustomed to participating in, the teacher can begin to suggest similar forms of activity available in the second language society. This may be initiated through a journal entry, a counseling session, a group discussion. Suggestions should be very specific. Hints on how to approach people in that particular setting should be included.

10. Community projects.
Facilitating a group project that is of interest to the wider community extends social contacts. Successful projects may include talks for children at schools, talks for clubs, volunteer work at churches or charitable organizations, fund raising for a community project.

Techniques for facilitating internalization.

1. Puzzling.
Presenting a problem or a puzzle, the solution of which requires the learner to understand the concept that is the object of study.

2. Focusing.
Using real or representational supports to assist learners in focusing attention and engaging mental processes on the problem to be learned.
3. Manipulating.
Providing real or representational objects to manipulate in the initial stages of internalization.

4. Active listening.
Encouraging learners to talk through the problem as they solve it.

5. Purposeful silence.
Maintaining silence while learners talk to themselves. (Inner speaking to inner speech.)

6. Imaging.
Similar to Lozanov's seance. Asking language learners to bring up an image in their minds while listening to a dialogue. Or as Elbow (1973) has observed, the dialogue is really the sound track. The thought is the film.

Techniques for facilitating reflection.

1. Reflective questioning.
Higher-level questioning that requires thought and reflection may include "Why?" and "What does this mean?"
Even grammar can be and should be an object of reflection.

2. Reflective supports.
When learners experience difficulty in reading, encourage auditory reinforcement to bring material to the level of reflection; when they experience difficulty in writing, encourage reading aloud.
Such tasks might include written or taped journals.

As Gage has observed (1964, p. 269), teaching is really learning "stood on its head." It is also true that learning techniques are teaching techniques in which learners are active participants. These are not techniques in which teachers facilitate learners. They are techniques in which teachers and learners in partnership facilitate learning.

Materials

With a few notable exceptions, SL materials today slavishly follow the curriculum structure in organizing by levels and skills. Titles almost invariably identify themselves as a reading text or a speaking text, a composition text, or a grammar text. The so-called integrated skills books divide their lessons and exercises by skills with results similar to those of the more honest titles.

The usual unit from the typical text opens with a skills presentation—a listening passage or reading passage, or perhaps a grammatical point. This is followed by exercises, often comprehension questions, fill in the blanks, multiple choice. Class discussion questions and role plays have become recently fashionable.
The writer knows of only one series in which there is an attempt at character development, and it is insulting to the ethnic groups portrayed.

In reference to the discussion of program planning, the reader will recall that the theory of Activity encourages a continuous dialectic process in which teachers and learners are developing the curriculum. In effect, like the curriculum, material evolves out of the exchange between teacher and learners. But this process does not preclude the possibility of pre-planned materials or the possibility that materials could be produced for use by more than one class. What does seem urgent is the requirement that extensive listening and exchange take place between teacher and learners during the development of the material, and that should the material be used with a group other than that with whom it was developed in partnership, then that group would have to be able to relate its motives, interests and activities to those of the original group, and furthermore, to those of the characters depicted in the material itself. In A.A. Leont'ev's words (1978, p. 495), the textbook should "confront the student to the fullest extent possible with the task of performing a speech act 'together with' or 'instead of' the hero" in the text.
Also of concern to materials developers is the observation by Bateman (1984) that texts traditionally offer too limited a view of language. To improve them they might be divided into two parts—a presentation section and a reference section. In the presentation section language units could be introduced in a logical sequence. In the reference section wholistic schemata could show the relationship of the units to the larger language system.

The one example of material distributed in the United States written by scholars of Activity is the text Russian for Tourists by Kostomarov and Leont'ev (1978). A summary analysis of the organization of the text offers us insight into materials development for wider distribution. Four points are of special interest. First, in the author's preface "To The Reader," Kostomarov and Leont'ev are very explicit about what the book will and will not teach. In dialoguing with the reader, the authors in effect assist him or her in establishing realistic expectations and adjusting goals when they are not appropriate to the learning program. Second, following the preface, there is a section on the arrangement of the book, and a key to the coding of information in the textbook. Active language, or that which the reader must learn to say, is framed in red. Passive language, or that which the reader
must learn to understand, is framed in blue. Useful information that need not be memorized is not framed. Third, the textbook is not arranged by topics, lessons, or chapters, but by problems that the reader-tourist will need to be able to solve either linguistically, or by some other means during a trip.

Fourth, information on an operational level such as the alphabet and numbers are presented as requirements for solving problems, not as goals on an equal level with problems.

In short, using the text as a model, the following suggestions for materials emerge:

1. Deal with motives first;
2. then provide procedures that allow for alternatives that relate to the various motives possible;
3. present the body of the material in a problem-solving context where language plays a role in the solution(s);
4. subjugate the operational detail to the greater goals in problems. Consider it as a prerequisite to problem solving, and share that fact with learners;
5. use native language support for useful information that contributes to but does not form part of the language learning material itself.
Program Administration

Current second language program administration varies from program to program according to the style of the administrator, but in all cases it is the administrator who sets the tone of the program. By instituting either expedient or human policies for exchanges between teachers, learners, and staff, by encouraging or repressing instructional creativity, by using a dictatorial or a dialogic approach to administrative problems, the administrator more than anyone else involved in programming can influence the psychological attitude that learners develop toward the program, toward language learning, and toward accepting the guidance of those connected with the learning process. More than anyone else, the administrator has the opportunity to affect an environment of learning that will communicate good will and inspire trust. And most of it will happen in the implicit rather than the explicit curriculum, subtly, in the unstructured experiences and relationships that develop among people.

Lozanov has understood this aspect of language learning very well. In Activity-derived programs, a commitment to a total environment seems organic.

This writer, also administrator, is confident that should we make such a commitment, much of the complaint,
disenchantment, and suspicion that plagues us, and that eventually results in learner transfers and administrative trials could be avoided.

But, even with a commitment, how shall we proceed in the workaday world? In my experience, three tenants and an underlying premise have been most helpful. They appear below with specific examples.

First, the administrator should institute policies that support interpersonal relationships. (1) The administrator can attempt to meet every learner on or near the day of arrival to demonstrate interest, find out about his or her personal motives and goals, and encourage confidence on the part of the learner in the administrator, teachers, books or materials, and activities; (2) the administrator can know every learner's name, and can use it in informal conversation in the hall, in lounges or waiting areas, as well as in formal office meetings; secretaries, receptionists, faculty, and everyone else associated with the program can be made aware of the importance of knowing each other's names; (3) the administrator can create a professional impression that will influence people to respect each other. By using academic titles instead of first names, faculty send a message to learners, especially to ESL learners. By dressing in suits or tailored pants and skirts instead of jeans, they
reinforce the message. "We know our jobs and our place. We are friendly and caring but we are professionals, too." It is the administrator that encourages professionalism.

Second, the administrator should institute policies that support Activity-based instruction. (1) The administrator can try some of the methods he or she would like to institute by first teaching an experimental class in cooperation with interested instructors; (2) the administrator can use his or her office as a resource area for articles, books, and other support materials teachers might want to exchange; (3) the administrator can prepare budgets that reflect financial as well as philosophical commitment to a humanistic program. In my view, eighty percent of a second language program budget should be allocated to human resources—faculty, staff, conversation partners, community coordinators, and counselors. Furthermore, if materials development is to take place, the line items such as xerox and printing, paper, ditto fluid and other instructional supplies should be adjusted, along with telephone bills, stationary, and other communications materials.

Third, the administrator should demonstrate his or her confidence in problem posing by using dialogue as a means to resolve administrative problems. (1) the administrator can dialogue with sponsors, teachers, staff,
learners, parents, and other community persons in an
effort to perceive problems from multiple viewpoints and
involve as varied a group as possible as co-educators;
(2) the administrator can use force field analysis in
cooperation with co-educators not only to inspire creative
solutions but also to assure support for solutions that
are less than ideal simply because those who were involved
have understood the restraining factors and have contribu­
ted to the compromise; (3) the administrator can be pre­
pared to take the blows with the bows for a program that
doesn't look like a traditional one. By keeping detailed
records of results, a must for formative evaluation in
any case, the administrator and the program can survive
or fail on the basis of the kind of report that can be
documented by rumaging in a few file cabinets.

The underlying philosophical premise that I reffered
red to at the beginning of this section has been reserved
for last. If there is one secret to success as a humanis­
tic administrator, it seems to me that it is leadership
by example. The administrator who knows all of the
learners by name, and participates in informal conversa­
tions with them will probably have a staff and faculty
who will do the same. An administrator who uses problem
posing either in the role of teacher in an experimental
class or in the role of director at a staff meeting will
probably have a faculty interested in trying it, too. An administrator who insists on creative action as the logical culmination of dialogue will probably have a vital program, one in which ideas are not talked to death in committee but organized into goals and tasks; one which is permeated with Activity.

In sum, people need to have structures that support them in order to believe in each other. When people believe in each other they also tend to believe each other, and then they learn. Providing these structures is the real task of administration.
Brown (1980, p. 252) reminds us that we must continue praxis by reevaluating theories in light of practice.

Good theories distinguish themselves from bad theories by their adequacy for explaining phenomena in the real world. The theory of gravity is good because it works. The theory of relativity is useful and captures the essence of truth for a large number of events. But a theory never becomes good without testing and verification among the set of events it purports to define. So a theory of second language acquisition, to be good, must work. It must be tested and modified and retested and re-modified over and over again, until it reaches adequacy.

In reading this dissertation, the reader has already begun to test the theory of Activity against his or her own experience. The reader has, in effect, already begun to re-write this work, and in so doing, redefine Activity. And that is the beginning and essence of praxis.
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