THE LANGUAGE LABORATORY AND THE SOCIOLOGICAL CONTEXT

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Modern-language teaching is emerging from a fad of animalistic training and entering a new phase, which some antediluvian teachers wrongly see as a return to the grammar-translation method. I say "antediluvian" in the factual sense: I, too, was here before the deluge of "planned parrothood." But our new situation is radically different. The differences stem from the demands of students in a changed world, and from the advances made meanwhile by teachers, including yourselves, in methods, materials, and technology.

Students want to understand and speak their second language, and this requires audio-lingual practice; but they drop out of a monotonous sequence that contains nothing but dialogues and pattern drills. Students want to understand grammatical structures, but not by memorizing rules before they have experience to synthesize. Students want to read in the foreign-language, but not by the frustrating process of decoding into English words which then so often turn out to yield no collective meaning.

Above all, students today want to see into the life of the foreign community. What really turns on their intellectual curiosity is to find out what the people do, to understand the way they think and what they want in life: their system of values. The demand of students for this sort of "relevance" is reasonable enough. And as the old protective tariff of college entrance and degree requirements crumbles away, taking with it the captive audience that has populated both school and college classrooms and language laboratories, we may count on a spreading concern to meet the students' reasonable demands.

The main technological advance in language teaching since the days of grammar-translation, and indeed since the invention of the written word, is the recording of sound and of photographic images. A key benefit of that advance, moreover, is your presence in the school and college: the language lab director, who brings a new range of knowledge and imagination into the developing "collegial" enterprise where the teachers, administrators, and students of a school or college are continually renewing the curriculum and creating the educational institution.

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The question before us is, How can our emerging technology help us to meet the students' interest in the foreign people's way of life? What are the types of technology-assisted activities that can be exploited for this purpose, either in the classroom or between the periods of contact with the teacher?

To give the question a practical form, let us inquire what the lab can do about just those parts of a sociocultural system that it seems desirable to acquaint the student with at Levels I, II, and III of the foreign-language sequence (the proficiency levels normally attainable in one, two, and three years of a senior-high language course. The same proficiency takes longer, of course at lower age levels, and less time in college. The different age levels also require different profiles of proficiency: at the upper levels, more analytical thought and a less perfect accent are to be expected.)

We can go right to the practical question if you will accept provisionally a couple of assumptions, based on homework I have done during the past decade. First, I ask that we adopt, just for the purpose of discussion, the proposed standards for understanding of the foreign culture that were published by the Illinois State Office of Public Instruction, as Chapter 4 of the Handbook on Latin America for Teachers (Seelye, 1968). Second, I ask that we adopt (in the same tentative way) the principle which organizes the description of a sociocultural whole around its value system. I have borrowed this approach, called "themal analysis," from the Cornell University anthropologist Morris Opler. It gives a more understandable and usable conception than any other of the half dozen ways available to organize the descriptive knowledge. The Illinois statement embodies the themal approach. It assumes with Professor Opler that each culture will have a value system containing a limited number of main themes. not more than a dozen or so. In its operational definition of what the student should be able to do concerning the foreign culture, the Illinois bulletin calls for a certain ability to apply at least four of the culture's main themes by the end of Level II, and the remainder at Level III. A bulletin of the North Carolina State Department of Public Instruction has meanwhile sketched out sets of proposed main themes of the French and Hispanic cultures: Teaching for Cross-Cultural Understanding (Ladu, 1968). For the culture of the United States, a comparable unvarnished account of main themes is attempted in the American volume (Part C) of Background Data for the Teaching of French (Nostrand, 1967).

Level I

The sociocultural context proposed for this beginning level relates to just the social proprieties of the foreign society, its leisure-time activities, a poem, and three folk songs. Let me omit here the Illinois bulletin's operational definitions of what the learner is to be

able to do: I shall summarize the expectations by saying that he is to be able to use what he has learned, and to demonstrate somehow a grasp of the pattern exemplified by the particular instance of behavior.

The proprieties specified in the Illinois statement are "Greetings, introducing a person, thanking, saying goodbye, the rudiments of good table manners, conduct toward persons of one's own and of higher social status. The proprieties include the distinction between formal and informal terms of address; handshaking and any other pertinent kinesic patterns; the avoidance of any conduct considered impolite in these situations."

Experience of all these proprieties can be included, and probably already is, in the situational dialogues of a culturally authentic audiolingual course for beginners at any age level. In the language lab, the student can rehearse for these situations using tapes, still pictures (in a printed accompaniment or on a screen), brief movies, and humorous cartoons to impress on him, for example, that he must not let his left hand drop out of sight at the table, or that he must not inadvertently take the place of honor in the living room.

The experience of instances, however, must be put together with knowledge about the patterns exemplified, if the student is to come out with understanding of the culture. He can be helped to deduce patterns. This can be done in English at the start, and in the form of partly programmed homework so as to free all the available class time for interaction in the foreign language. As a sample of such a homework exercise, Appendix 1, p. 21, suggests how a student can be led to discover useful patterns in the first lesson of Ecouter et parler (Holt, Rinehart and Winston). Reviewing the dialogue in the lab, or from a phonograph record (or at a later stage, with the page before him) the learner at any age from about fifth grade on can find a consistent pattern. He is reinforced in his discovery, and is given some feeling for the significance of the pattern to a bearer of the foreign culture. This insight does in fact increase our success, from near zero, in persuading Americans to add the term of address to Bonjour, Merci, Oui, and Non. Finally, the learner is given a historical "explanation" clearly labeled as speculative thought, to be distinguished from verifiable description.

Not all dialogue lessons are rich in culture patterns, but the explanatory lessons can be spread evenly by holding back points for later use, and by introducing non-verbal items. For example, students need to notice at some point the fact of "proxemics" described by Edward T. Hall, that the comfortable distance between conversing persons differs from one culture to another. Both the student's text and the teacher's manual of *Je parle francais* (Encyclopedia Britan-

nica Educational Corporation) as revised in 1969 exemplify how culture patterns can be pointed out.

The subject of leisure-time activities offers the language lab beautiful opportunities for illustrative experiences and for comments that give insight. Parts of the commentary can be spoken in the language, beginning early in the sequence. Events such as the bicycle "tour de France," or a bullfight, can be made vivid with documentary films, and the excitement of the culture-carrier can be made understandable in terms of the aspects of great cultural themes which come into play: in the tour de France, the fondness for an exploit and for contemplating the hexagon of national territory, a microcosm of man's situation reduced to a scale that an individual can encompass; in a bullfight, themes of courage, the dominating of animality, pageantry shared by the community, and a certain attitude toward death.

Good poems can be used beginning very early in the language sequence, as Jeanne Varney Pleasants has shown in *The Newsletter* (1961), to teach the sounds of a language within a simple vocabulary and a controlled range of syntax.

Filmed recitations of simple poems, such as those in the first eleven minutes of the recital by Pierre Viala recorded at the University of Washington (Nostrand, 1964), need repeated viewings and consequently can well be used in the language lab. I have avoided repetitiousness in showing the same poem four times, by directing attention each time to a different aspect of the composition or the actor's interpretation (Appendix 2, p. 23). More viewings become fascinating when students can analyze and discuss the gestures, postures, body motions, and facial expressions. The habitual use of the mouth, eye and cheek muscles turns out to vary interestingly according to the speaker's culture and social class. These kinesic features need not, indeed cannot, be imitated by the outsider. But they open up a new world of intellectual curiosity and close observation. and they hold the key to some of the "culture shock" and "culture fatigue" (see DeCrow, 1969, p. 2) that we can hope to conquer only by taking the clinical, analytical approach to cultural differences which all of us learn only as an acquired taste: it is just the opposite of the natural attitude of irritation in the face of behavior deviant from what we feel is "the right way."

Like poems, songs can be learned from coaching-models on tape or film, and the culture patterns they illustrate can be made explicit. The Viala film is accompanied by a booklet of *Cultural Commentary*, which at the lower age levels can be mediated by the teacher and from the senior high school on can be read (or listened to) as homework.

As preparation for the systematic acquaintance with the culture's value system, which will begin in Level II, Level I can include (in

English) the viewing or hearing on tape of the engaging sort of interview devised by Edward C. Stewart, in which a typical American abroad tries to persuade a "contrast-American" of some point, and arouses deepening hostility because the American assumes that his host shares his values and assumptions. This inoculating experience may or may not be situated in the culture area of the student's new language: a third culture, preferably non-Western, needs to be introduced quite often to break out of the narrow, misleading framework, "We do this, they do that." The student needs not only to see the contrast-American bring the dialogue to a grinding halt, he needs help in analyzing what has gone wrong. (Written examples that could be used, prepared by Edward C. Stewart, are reported items 39 to 42 in DeCrow, 1962.) The analysis with the greatest transfer value, for handling new situations in the foreign culture, is precisely the "themal" analysis which calls for identifying the culture's values and underlying assumptions.

Level II

The core of sociocultural content proposed for Level II includes, first of all, four of the culture's main themes. These are culture-wide values, with the underlying assumptions and some typical behavior patterns to make real what the values mean to bearers of that culture.

Difficult as value concepts and assumptions are to establish, they appear to be a basic ingredient of the insight into a culture that results from a lifetime of study. By identifying the basic ingredients, we may be able to develop much of that insight during the years of a substantial foreign-language sequence. The practicality of this conceptual approach is indicated by findings of Theodore Mueller at the University of Kentucky-a break-through in the age-old problem of teaching students to perceive the humor of a foreign people. Professor Mueller finds, in an unpublished study, that American students whom he has acquainted with the French value system, even as it is tentatively presented in the Background Data, laugh at the points in a Jules Romains play which amuse a French audience, while without this prior experience Americans miss much of the fun. An important kind of humor that is specific to the culture—unlike the universal slapstick-comes from the discrepancy between a character's behavior and a cultural value, such as the French intellectualite which for an American may not be a value at all.

The language lab can transmit values of a foreign culture, first experientially through illustrative episodes, then conceptually, even in the simple language of Level II, by carefully defining component ideas. Episodes and commentary together can teach the vocabulary needed for class discussion. After all, despite cultural differences, our students are more at home analyzing conduct and moral values

than they are in our briar patch, analyzing language or the art of literature.

The lab can go beyond the expository function to engage the student in thought questions. Once he is acquainted with a few value concepts he can be shown an incident on film, or through sound alone, and asked to prepare for a discussion by noting down the themes he finds exhibited in the incident.

If you analyze the understanding of a people that takes a lifetime, you notice that the more or less conscious knowledge of values and understanding assumptions is conditioned by another basic ingredient: the realization that the verbalized themes are not sweeping absolutes but delimited statistical probabilities, to be expressed carefully and applied warily. They can teach what Whitehead meant when he cautioned, "Seek generality but distrust it."

A second objective at Level II is the experience of beginning to enjoy reading in the language. The lab can do more about this than one would expect. A tape I once made for a college class toward the end of Level II taught me by accident how the lab can bring a teacher and student together as persons. I was teaching the class to read in French-not just bumping along until you run out of breath, but thinking in sense-groups. On the tape, I worked along with the individual student through a difficult but crucial paragraph of Gide's "Return of the Prodigal Son," showing how you could tell that the sensegroup was complete because the next word didn't fit into it. Each time we reached such a point we would stop and grasp the thought, which added up to a quite novel idea of the prodigal son. The tape was catalogued in the lab and forgotten—a part of an ephemeral group experience. But years later, a friend told me she overheard a student in the lab saying, "I discovered a tape about this Gide story, by some guy named Nostrand, and it's really interesting." Today, I think I could make the comments in such a tape decidedly more meaningful and thought-provoking by relating facets of the story to cultural themes that have begun to take shape in the student's mind.

Two of the topics proposed for Level II are social institutions: the family, which overlaps with family loyalty as an element in the value system, and the educational institution; the final topic is the ecology of two contrasting regions in the culture area.

How much one can learn in a limited time about the family in a foreign culture, given research-based generalizations and vivid episodes, is shown by the Canadian Film Bureau's Four Families, with its intervals of comment by Margaret Mead. Thanks to the learner's rich experience of childhood, Level II can go well beyond such an introduction, and the lab can enable him to observe whether, for example, "family" means for the culture bearers the "nuclear" or the extended family group; how the institution is made up of pairs of

role relations; how social class and age group affect family attitudes: how family life is currently changing: new leisure activities that bring children and parents together, as well as those that divide it; and in some cultures, how the family's aspect as a fun group is shifting disciplinary functions to other institutions of the society.

Language lab exercises can capitalize on student interest in these questions simply by expounding data for class discussion, but also through newer types of exercise. Level II is not too early to use in simplest form a thought-provoking sequence that I shall call the "before and after" type.

First, the tape presents an incident. An American student in France is unhappy that he is not invited home by anyone, as French students enjoyed being invited in the United States. Second, the student is asked to react to the incident. Third, the tape explains that the French grow up with a need for privacy at home: in the presence of outsiders, whom they trust only after long acquaintance, they feel on guard and as though wearing a mask that they can let down only with intimates. Furthermore, they feel they cannot entertain cheaply without insulting their guest and humiliating themselves; when they do give a party, it costs so much of a middle-class income that the family may have to change its vacation plans of the year. They are connoisseurs of foods and wines, and their luxuries in life consist largely of these in small amounts. They spend little on decor, and are probably sensitive about showing outsiders the drabness of their apartment. Hence, home hospitality has been a rare experience and a disquieting idea. After this briefing, the student is asked his further reactions and the reasons for any revision in his appraisal of the case. As a by-effect, he is likely to see the common fallacy of judging behavior in a foreign society as if it belonged to the fabric of one's own social system.

Another example of the "before and after" exercise. An American girl in a French university feels rejected by her French roommates, and the more she tries to be friends the more reserved they seem. The briefing would explain how the French cultural value of l'amitie requires gradual development by orderly steps, partly because of a systematic distrust of newcomers (especially those in a hurry). I once met a young American teacher of French who had had precisely this experience in France, and she said she sure wished she had known beforehand about the pattern she ran into.

Since I feel strongly that we should try harder to provoke thought, let me mention two more kinds of lab exercise: the "sleuth" type and the "What would you do?"

The "sleuth" type calls for inferences to be drawn from knowledge already acquired in other contexts. Suppose the student has already learned to understand and expect the closed character of the

French family. A further exercise can ask him to imagine how a middle-class French visitor to the United States may be agreeably and disagreeably surprised by the relative openness and apparent laxness of the middle-class American family; or can ask him to relate the privacy of the family to the use of cafes and student clubs as a medium for association with acquaintances who are not best friends.

The "What would you do?" exercise is effective for getting the student to apply his knowledge of values and proprieties. Like the "sleuth" type, it induces him to pay close attention to an exposition, in search of clues to the solution of a problem. It can lead to lively conversations in simple language. For example, the tape explains that to accept a compliment on one's dress unprotestingly is considered joining in the praise, so that rejoinders are used which disparage the costume. Suggestive examples are given for practice, such as "It was my sister's," "It isn't real silk," "I just bought it on sale." Students have ideas, and some consult dictionaries,

Concerning the educational institution, the Illinois proposal focuses on perceiving what "school" means to the student's age mates in the foreign society. The lab can meet a real interest here with documentary tapes, slides, and films that call for articulate reaction and a private rehearsal for class discussion.

Like the family, education gives opportunity to put the one culture in a cross-cultural perspective. The student protest movement can illuminate current changes in personal and social values; and a deeper feeling for what it means in one country, seen in its own terms and language, lays a basis for the cross-national comparison developing in other sectors of the curriculum.

The ecology of the population, its interaction with the physical and subhuman environment, offers an easier and more familiar kind of opportunity to the language lab. But this topic, too, acquires the greatest human interest when it illumines the *culture* of the people: the values and the assumptions about man and nature which have shaped their style of either dominating the countryside, yielding to it, or adapting in order to exploit it. The emphasis on concepts calls for explanatory tapes, and these exercises at Level II must be carefully designed to use the principles of build-up and re-entry.

Level III

The third cycle should enable the student to define or recognize the remainder of the dozen or so major themes of the culture; read some literary works and discuss certain main aspects of the works and their authors; use or describe any important kinesic patterns; and give a prepared talk on any of several social institutions and ecological regions. At this Level the types of lab exercise suggested above can be varied with many more types, and they will rehearse for a more elaborate interchange of students with one another, the teacher, and foreign visitors.

The experience of the added themes can be more active. For example, suppose that a theme of "the art of living" gives an important place to conversation as an art. This happens in French culture, with its marked "oral" emphasis on language and food. A problem for the lab is how to help American students to build the needed skills of expressing clearly and organizing succinctly. The lab can set up a situation to motivate oral response by posting a brief, challenging statement (which exemplifies the features of clarity and organization), to be reacted to with a comment or question that would move a dialogue along in an intended direction. The stimulus can be a direct thought-question: "How do you think we should define 'wit' and 'humor' for our discussion?" This question by itself proves too hard, partly because the student's experience acquired in English is misleading. So one goes on to propose a couple of possible demarcations applicable to the foreign concepts, with an example or two.

During Level III the historical dimension of themes can be introduced, sufficiently to make the student aware of continuity as well as current change. A good unit on Joan of Arc has been worked out by Lily Bardavid (1969), using tapes and slides available from FACSEA, literary texts from common anthologies, and questions for tests or to spark discussion.

Movie films can now be included in the literature studied. For careful study, even with college students, Robert Hammond has found that six showings are needed. Before the end of Level III, students may be able to apply their notions of the culture's values by seeing a movie two-thirds of the way through, as Margaret Mead has suggested, and then discussing how they think the story will come out.

Meanwhile, the learning of poetry can usefully continue, and coaching-tapes provide ideal models. In a French pilot class of the Washington State Foreign Language Program, even the least proficient students of a tenth-grade class are eager to take their turn reciting Verhaeren's poem about the November wind ("Le Vent").

The lab can bring the student close to a twentieth-century author through a filmed interview or a tape on which the author reads a passage from his writings; and documentary films have been made that give a vivid picture of many an earlier author's life and times.

The kinesic patterns to be learned, whether for active use or only for recognition of "adumbrative behavior," must of course be taught through visuals. Still pictures make a good beginning, and can be ingeniously planned and utilized. (See Fleming, 1969.) Moving pictures may provide the most economical transition to the observing of live behavior, as well as an economical means of developing analytical curiosity in this area of naive cross-cultural ridicule and annoyance.

Video tape recording proves highly effective for teaching the student to avoid repeating his own mistakes that show up in a playback: not only mistakes of gesture, posture and body motion, but any mistakes of language and culture that he makes in Edward C. Stewart's kind of dialogue between an American and a contrast-American. Studies reported by DeCrow (pp. 50-1, 61) indicate that "self-confrontation" through play-back enables the learner to change behavior more extensively and more lastingly than do several alternative techniques.

For teaching about institutions and ecology, the lab can use a widening range of active exercises at Levels III and IV, besides those suggested above for Level II. D. J. Fletcher (1966) has followed out the study of a foreign political system using films and tapes of speeches and interviews—for imitation, parody, analysis, and exercises of simultaneous oral translation—and using satirical cartoons as stimuli for oral composition.

If some of these exercise types are too difficult, they may be used at a higher Level—until we learn how better to apply Jerome Bruner's finding, that careful sequencing enables the learner to grasp ideas and perform acts which were thought impossible. The key to effective sequencing within the foreign-language course is surely the sort of building upon prior cycles of development which has been embodied in the suggestions above.

The Learning Laboratory Director as a Catalyst

To put into action such suggestions as those made here will take all the forces that can be brought to bear. One of these is the lab director, as he evolves from the primitive kind I was in 1950—the teacher or department chairman who had to be director if he wanted a lab at all—to become a specialized administrator with a professional contribution distinct from that of the classroom teacher. Administration means here, as everywhere, fashioning a collective endeavor out of individual and group interests. The lab director, a media specialist departmentally neutral and central, can bring together persons who have good reason to cooperate but who are kept apart by the "boundary maintenance" of their respective groups. He can convene a meeting of people who would feel odd inviting one another.

The catalytic power of this emerging professional can perhaps tip the balance toward resolution of several tough problems, notably these:

1. Development of lab materials. Much larger collections are needed, to individualize the pace of learning, the sequence of steps, and the illustrative matter available to students with a personal interest in a science, an art, and the like. Parts of the illustrative matter already exist somewhere in the world; and since the same

unit can serve at more than one age level, school and college teachers could divide the task of finding or creating the needed repertory. A single-purpose tape can teach the pronunciation of u to students at ages from grade school through college, yet it is sociologically difficult for the teachers concerned to pool their energies.

Lab materials for testing are needed as well as for teaching. In a 1970 volume following from the *Handbook on Latin America for Teachers*, H. Ned Seelye will publish a paper by Frances and Howard Nostrand, "Testing Understanding of a Foreign Culture," which lists nine capabilities to be tested, other than the retention of "facts."

- 2. Utilization of facilities. The main problem is the education of teachers, new and old, to bring about the indispensable correlation with the language class (Turner, 1969). Devices such as reminder-summaries of stored exercises may help, but only if the classroom teachers have a creative interest, continually renewed, in the possibilities of the lab. Teachers alone have not thought of enough means to assure the perpetual rejuvenation of this interest. One means is the adding of new kinds of resources to the lab. A visual element, for example: seats can be arranged so that all the students using a given program can see a projection on one wall; slides in a carousel can be re-used, in a new order, for an exercise following the initial exposition. Or a new audio element, such as current radio programs: the Focus Report by Robert Nelson (1969) led one dean to budget some thousands of dollars for equipment to exploit this resource.
- 3. Research. The knowledge we need for our guidance is vast. even within the province of the language lab itself. Precisely what kinds of concept are most readily grasped through visuals? What sort of visuals for each type? I was laboring with a relief map in a TV course, and a geographer pointed out that a three-dimensional model would be much more vivid. Would it be worth the further cost to show the flow of rivers by means of revolving gelatine discs? How much repetition is needed for each type of lab exercise, and how can we raise our batting average in achieving "simple contiguity" learning—one vivid impact instead of gradual shaping? Can planned re-entry serve better than momentary saturation, as Paul Pimsleur suggests in "A Memory Schedule" (1967)? Broad questions of policy bear directly on lab materials. For example, will research on attitude change support my tentative conclusion that we do best to play down contrastive analysis, in teaching cultural understanding as well as language itself, until the learner feels at home in the foreign pattern and realizes that the pattern is natural in its context? In sum, how far and in precisely what directions do we go to make real Rand Morton's magnificent vision (1961) of the lab booth as an acculturation chamber?

- 4. Interdepartmental coordination. The student from high school through graduate school is no more able than his teachers to put together the compartmentalized fragments of human understanding. The lab director's position of vantage enables him to catalyze joint efforts to make courses mutually relevant, to involve students in planning, to identify overarching themes, and to develop a shared collection of lab materials. To take a down-to-earth example, the lab director may well discover sooner than the language teacher that the rental of a foreign film can be financed by showing the film to classes in art, history, English, or a social science, with explanatory talks by language students. As the United States Office of Education and other agencies focus their attention on what happens to the student, we can expect that logical, long-range efforts of interdisciplinary synthesis will attract support.
- 5. School-college cooperation. The student suffers most, as a language learner, because of the ill-articulated sequences from one Level to the next, and from one institution to another, as the population grows more mobile. While the defining of the Levels is primarily the classroom teachers' problem, the difficulty of precipitating a series of meetings may be surmountable for the lab directors when it is not so for the teachers themselves. If many of the same materials can be used in schools, community colleges, and universities, one can be confident that a series of meetings among teachers of the same language will bring to light possibilities of doing more for the student while economizing time, energy, and money. One way of sharing the same tapes, and of being free to replace a \$10,000 investment a year later if better materials become available, would be the shared program source in an urban or rural area, with random access to tape decks from schools, colleges, branch libraries, and even from students' homes. Support money may be expected to be channeled, during the next decade, into imaginative, long-range experiments that involve both schools and higher education.
- 6. The public media. Lastly, the catalytic force of the learning lab director can bridge gaps between the educational institutions and the community. The mass media could do more than they do to make schooling more effectual, for example by broadcasting and printing background stories pegged to the capsulized newscasts of the networks. We would be more competent as a people for our international policy decisions if every neighborhood were continually discovering the aspirations and fears, the values and assumptions, of the diverse "contrast-Americans" as they take their turns with us on the world stage. The lab director, being a media specialist, constitutes one of the possible links between schooling and community life. If he can mediate discussion of the latent common aspirations on the two sides

of this cleavage plane, he will be a leader in a desirable revolution which the establishment, willy-nilly and thanks to imaginative individuals, will assist with material support.

Appendix 1

Homework for *Ecouter et Parler* (Holt, Rinehart and Winston), dialogue 1, p. 2.

- 1. What words are used for greetings in this dialogue: Bonjour, line 1; Bonsoir, line 2.
- 2. What word(s) for saying good-bye? Au revoir, line 20.
- Are these words ever used all by themselves?No.
- 4. What words are used with them?
 Monsieur, Madame, Andre, Mademoiselle.
- 5. In most situations, French people consider you "mal eleve" (badly brought up) if you say Bonjour or Au revoir without the term of address: it is part of their idea of politeness that you greet or take leave of each person individually, calling him by name (if you have that intimate a relation with him) or by title. Is it bad manners in English to say Hello, How do you do, or Goodbye, without adding a term of address?

 No. (Nor in German, nor Spanish, nor many other languages. So this custom is "specific to" French culture. But there it is important.)
- 6. Do the French add the family name after Monsieur, Madame, or Mademoiselle?
 - No. (Actually, they do this only to a social inferior. An equal or a superior they treat as though, for the moment, he or she were the only Monsieur or Madame or Mademoiselle to be treated with this respect. A possible explanation is that in the Middle Ages, when the French language and politeness were forming, it would have been impudent to say "Monsieur Lebrun" to your feudal overlord, implying that you had more than one such loyalty!)
- 7. Can we prove that this is the true explanation?

 No. (After all, the same feudal usage did not survive in other languages.) Any present-day pattern owes its existence to so many past conditions that we cannot trace its causes as surely as we can describe its present form. Yet it is fun to speculate about explanations, and the fun often produces discoveries.

Appendix 2

Comment suivre la présentation d'un poeme sur film.

Procédez tel un jury qui évalue un film: lors de chaque projection, appliquez-vous à ne porter votre attention que sur un seul aspect de la production, pour en tirer ensuite une conclusion spécifique.

Je recommande:

la première fois -

le groupement des mots — les groupes de mots sont-ils plus étendus que ceux que vous n'auriez employés vous-même?

la seconde fois —

le timbre de voix; l'intonation;

les gestes, les expressions du visage

la troisième fois -

la succession des sentiments ou des états d'esprit exprimés

la quatrième fois -

le style et le ton de l'oeuvre: vue d'ensemble. Approuvez-vous l'interprétation?

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