

1. Introduction

My name is Andrea Sterzuk and I'm a professor in the Faculty of Education at the University of Regina. My areas of teaching and research interests are probably best described as applied linguistics, that is, the study of language in social contexts. More specifically, I'm interested in how the abstract so societal processes like colonialism, nationalism, and globalization, to name a few, impacts the concrete so things like language policy, educational policy, language usage and language learning. The times within which we live and societal movements and events have a very real impact on language policy and language learning. So I find the theme of your annual meeting very interesting and very much aligned with what I research and teach about. I'm glad to have the opportunity to speak to you about official bilingualism in Canada and how's it's changed and is changing. Over the next hour or so, I'll examine some of the potential implications of these changes for the language program that you administer.

It's probably useful to know a bit more about me in order to situate some of the ideas I will talk about in this presentation. J'ai grandi dans un village deux heures au nord de Régina. Si vous prenez la rue Albert vers le nord et vous conduisez pendant deux heures vous arriverez à mon village - Watson. Le village se trouve là en raison de l'agriculture et du développement du chemin de fer. C'est un village typique pour la région: autour de 800 personnes; deux écoles; quelques magasins; quelques églises; un patinoire; une piscine; et un centre communautaire. Si je pense à mon enfance, les adultes de mon village n'étaient pas monolingues - la plupart de nos parents étaient des enfants d'immigrants européens et, des fois, dans les églises ou pendant qui prenaient un café, on entendait les langues de leurs enfances: l'allemand ou l'ukrainien par exemple. Mais, pour plusieurs raisons reliées à ma présentation d'aujourd'hui, nos parents ne

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nous parlaient pas dans les langues de leurs enfances. Ceci nous démontre la relation entre la langue anglaise et le nationalisme canadien de l'époque qui avait l'Angleterre comme modèle. Alors, la langue de mon village et de ma famille était l'anglais et mes premières vraies expériences avec une autre langue - le français étaient dans les programmes d'immersion français que j'ai fait à l'Université de la Saskatchewan et à l'Université du Trois-Rivières au Québec. Alors je suis devant vous, aujourd'hui, en train de vous parler en anglais et en français c'est définitivement grâce, en parti, au programme qu'on appelle aujourd'hui Explore.

Before I move more fully into the topics of this presentation, let me briefly run through an outline of the ideas that I will talk to you about today. When I was approached to give this talk, I was asked to address some concerns raised by the Directors of Explore which included:

- *Teaching the English language in a multicultural context to learners from a multitude of cultural backgrounds*
- *Teaching French in a culturally homogenous context*
- *How learning languages becomes a door to diversity and openness.*
- *Traditionally the program has advertised "learn a new language and culture." This is no longer the case.*

All of these topics suggest an awareness of the relationship between learner identity and language learning but also an understanding of how societal changes result in adjustments in terms of what we do in the classroom as well as what effective communication looks like for learners once they leave the classroom and interact with other speakers of their target language.

The concerns of these directors demonstrate an awareness of the links between the macro and the micro. Let me take a minute to run through how I plan to move through the ideas I will discuss

today

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Overview: The Canadian Context in 1971

I'll begin by spending some time exploring Canadian nationalisms of the late 60's and early 70's; I'll move to an overview of political and policy changes of these times; and I'll also examine the linguistic context of these times both in terms of the languages spoken by Canadians as well as societal views of language, bilingualism, and effective communication. All of these topics are intertwined with both the creation of the Summer Language Bursary Program as well as the language-learners and learning within this program. Understanding the historical context of Explore's contributions to Canadian bilingualism will help us to understand the present-day global and national context within which Explore contributes to Canadian bilingualism.

Overview: The Canadian/Global Context in 2011

Official bilingualism in the 21st century is/may have to look a bit different from the official bilingualism targeted by programs like the Summer Bursary Language Program in 1971. These changes in how we view bilingualism have to do with several global changes including the world market; changes in technology; and increased migration. These global changes have implications for official language learning as we move forward in the 21st century.

A note about the delivery language of this presentation:

Quand les organisateurs m'ont invité de vous parler aujourd'hui, j'étais très contente quand ils m'ont dit que je pourrais vous parler en anglais et en français. Un mélange des deux langues est presque devenu ma façon préférée de communiquer avec le monde. Mais je maîtrise mieux mon

anglais que mon français et quand je parle et écris au sujet de ces idées académiques, je le fais en anglais normalement alors c'est fort probable que je vous parle en anglais plus qu'en français pendant la prochaine heure. Mais j'aime bien le symbolisme d'une présentation bilingue alors je ferai mon possible d'employer les deux.

The 1960's

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J'aimerais commencer avec un survol des événements qui ont directement et indirectement menés à la création du Programme de bourses d'été de langue en 1971. Comme vous pouvez-voir, j'ai un diapositif avec le drapeau canadien et le drapeau québécois parce que c'est, dans le fond, les événements des années soixante, la révolution tranquille, et les nationalismes du Canada et du Québec en conflit qui ont créaient l'atmosphère dans laquelle le programme de bourses d'été de langue a été établi. Let me clarify what I mean by nationalism, nationalism can be thought of as **the ideologies and discourses used as a way of arguing and mobilizing support for a nation**. Cope and Kalantzis explain that **“nationalism is a process; the process, more or less successfully, of making people the same; of homogenising them”** (2000: 133). Growing Quebec nationalism of the 1960's was perceived as a threat to the Canadian nation-state and English dominance.

The tense relationship between English and French Canada and growing unrest among French Canadians lead to the establishment of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism from 1963 to 1969. This enquiry revealed that Francophones didn't have the economical and political opportunities that their numbers warranted. The main outcome of the Royal Commission was the Official Languages Act of 1969 which made French and English

Canada's official languages. Programs supported by this act included minority and second language-learning opportunities country-wide. The Summer Language Bursary Program was one of these initiatives.

The official multiculturalism policy of 1971 was an extension of previous programs - Pierre Trudeau described it as "A policy of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework." This policy was a response to members of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism which promoted the idea of a multilingual Canada and recognized the importance of regional languages and the needs and contributions of "other ethnic groups." I'll return to the implications of this policy and the discourse of multiculturalism in Canada little later on in my talk but I'd like to point out at this moment that neither the Official Languages Act of 1969 nor the official multiculturalism policy of 1971 included any consideration or programming towards the development of "official bilingualism" in allophone immigrants to Canada.

Language Learning in Canada post-Official Languages Act

So these were the times in which Explore emerged. We saw other programs and changes in language education in Canada. Talk a bit about how French Immersion took off after this. Point to creation of Explore and Odyssey.

Allophones and Official Language learning (this is foreshadowing)

Mady (2007) explains that "the Official Languages Act of 1969 adopted to calm the tensions between French and English Canadians, was opposed by people from other ethnic groups. In response, in 1971, Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau announced the adoption of an official policy of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework, stating that there were two official languages but no official culture. With respect to immigrants and official languages, Trudeau elaborated that

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"the Government would continue to assist immigrants to acquire at least one of Canada's official languages in order to become full participants in Canadian society" (Trudeau, 1971). The Multiculturalism Policy of 1971 committed the federal government to assist immigrants in acquiring at least one of Canada's official languages but not both" (p. 730).

Views of Language typically associated with nationalism.

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I want to talk a little about two views of language typically associated with nationalism. Our views about things have the potential to shape our practice so understanding societal discourses is useful for analysing what goes on in classrooms. But, as we all know, what is viewed as "ideal" or "normal" isn't necessarily the same as what occurs in reality. So, just because particular views of language learning or use might be promoted as ideal doesn't necessarily mean that this is what is achieved...

1) Native-speakerism

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Clemente and Higgins explain that this type of discourse and the practices that result from it are "based on the assumption that 'native speakers' of English have a special claim to the language itself, that it is essentially their property" (2008: 18). This view of language as belonging to those for whom a particular language is the first one acquired is referred to as native-speakerism (Holliday, 2005). This particular discourse is one way in which speakers of languages are discursively constructed as legitimate or illegitimate.

Anecdote about my dad: Early on in my life, I received messages about the legitimacy of "native speakers" and the authority they hold over languages. My father grew up in Canada but his first language was Ukrainian. When he went to teacher's college in the 1960's, he confronted institutional discrimination around his Ukrainian-influenced English. As a result of these institutional views on "proper English", he was failed in his teaching practicum and told to see a

speech pathologist to “lose his accent,” which he did. At some point in my childhood (likely when I asked why his English sounds different from his siblings who continued to speak an English influenced by Ukrainian), this story was passed on to me and I learned that “non-native” accents are not suitable for official spaces (I likely picked this message up in other places too).

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Dangers of native-speakerism: sends messages to language-learners about their suitability for speaking a language, promotes monolithic national ideal that isn't realistic in practice, can affect identity, motivation to learn, create inequitable realities for non-native-speakers of languages in terms of employment, finding housing, experiences with legal and penal systems (Pavlenko 2008)

2) Good Bilingualism

Heller (2002) describes "good bilingualism" as "traditional insistence on 'monolingualist' ideologies of language. What she means by this is "while bilingualism is valued, it is only valued as long as it takes the shape of "double monolingualism." One is expected to speak each language as though it were a homogeneous monolingual variety" (p. 48). This isn't necessarily what bilingualism usually looks like in the real world. Languages influence one another, boundaries are more fluid than this description permits, and bilinguals/multilinguals move back and forth between languages. This view of bilingualism as double monolingualism has more to do with the events of the world and the discourses about language they produce and less to do with what people actually do with language. And given the changing times in which we live, double monolingualism may be even less of a realistic or ideal target for language learners than it used to be.

So, these were the times in which Explore began. This period of history has been described as an intense time of nationalism in Canada, indeed it's probably more apt to describe

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it as a time of nationalisms. But increasingly, for a number of reasons I will discuss in a moment, we are moving away from this period of history. Some say we are in postnational times, I am not entirely certain this is true but certainly the world is a very different place in 2011 than 40 years ago. I'd like to explore the implications of these changing times on official language learning in Canada.

Changing Times

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The 21st century has been described as a time of globalization. Characteristics specific to globalized times include: 1) a unified global market; 2) innovations in communication technology and 3) increased migration (Lo Bianco, 2000). These global changes have implications for language learning in Canada, The unified world system in which we live may require a different view of communication and of what it means to be a legitimate and competent speaker of English and of French. As a result of this unified global system, "polycentricity" emerges" (Lo Bianco, 2000) and English and French become a network of interrelated Englishes and Frenches. Nation-state language policies which attempt to "enshrine single national standard languages as emblems of distinctiveness and national cultural identity" are no longer possible in the times in which we live (Lo Bianco, 2000, p. 93).

What does this look like for us in Canada? Well, we're certainly aware of changes in technology since 1995. We now use cellphones, computers, chat, social-networking, websites, blogs, Youtube, and Skype in ways that our pre-digital era selves could never have imagined. This changes whom we interact with - our circle of communication has expanded and this may include in terms of the way we use language in the global market. Increased migration has certainly impacted Canada as well. Canada is changing in terms of who lives here and what languages they speak while doing so. Mady (2007) tells us that "the first seven years of the new

millennium have seen a higher proportion of new immigrants to Canada than any period in the preceding seven decades" (p. 728).

Portrait Linguistique

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Statistics Canada indicates the following:

- « En raison de la hausse importante de l'immigration depuis le milieu des années 1980, essentiellement composée de personnes de langue maternelle autre que le français ou l'anglais, le poids de ces allophones a rapidement augmenté de 13 % en 1986 à 17 % en 1996 et à 20 % en 2006 » (Statistique Canada).
- « Bien qu'on assiste à une croissance très importante de la population de langue maternelle autre que française ou anglaise au pays depuis le milieu des années 1980, celle-ci tend à adopter l'une ou l'autre des deux langues officielles comme langue d'usage à la maison au fur et à mesure que se prolonge la durée de leur séjour au Canada » (Statistique Canada).
- Bilinguisme: "La proportion de Canadiens ayant déclaré pouvoir soutenir une conversation en français et en anglais s'est élevée à 17,4 % en 2006. Près de sept anglophones sur 10 au Québec (68,9 %) ont déclaré être bilingues, comparativement à 7,5 % des anglophones vivant à l'extérieur du Québec. Quant aux francophones, leur taux de bilinguisme est de 35,8 % au Québec, comparativement à 83,6 % dans le reste du pays" (Statistique Canada.)

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Let's think a little bit about how all of this is different from the times in which programs like Explore and Odyssey were established. Mady (2007) tells us that "from 1900 to 1980, the British isles were at the top of the list of origins of immigrants to Canada. By contrast, the first seven countries on the present list of countries of origin are in Asia (Statistics Canada, 2001b),

indicating that an increasing number of immigrants may not speak either English or French. The multilingual nature of Canada is growing as a result of this shift in immigration patterns: the proportion of immigrants whose "mother tongue" is neither French nor English is approximately 24%. (p. 728). Canada is more multilingual and more officially bilingual in 2011 than it was in 1971. But what are the communication and language learning needs of students in globalized times?

Lo Bianco, Liddicoat, and Crozet, (1999) argue that education has traditionally been concerned with "inculcating a secure, uncontested national culture" (p. 6). The authors maintain, however, that "we are in the midst of the greatest movement of populations of any time" and that this necessitates changes in education, particularly in the area of **intercultural understanding**.

Santoro (2009) echoes this sentiment and argues that "the need for all teachers to develop culturally responsive pedagogies has become increasingly urgent" (p. 34). **Second language teaching has to acknowledge shifts in what constitutes effective communication** in globalized times (New London Group, 1996);

Let's stop for a moment to revisit the Explore Directors' topics of interest for this talk:

- Teaching the English language in a multicultural context to learners from a multitude of cultural backgrounds*
- Teaching French in a culturally homogenous context*
- How learning languages becomes a door to diversity and openness.*
- Traditionally the program has advertised "learn a new language and culture." This is no longer the case.*

We can see that these needs as articulated by the directors of Explore programs are very much aligned with the concerns raised by educational researchers and applied linguists around today's

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Comment [FoE18]: 21 century

Comment [FoE19]: Explore Directors Slide

linguistic realities. I am glad to see such timely awareness about the significance of changes in Canadian society and the implications of these changes for Explore.

Views of Language associated with Globalization

Earlier in this presentation, I discussed views of language that may accompany periods of intense nationalism. I'd like to parallel that discussion with some views of language that may be more aligned with the times in which we now live. In light of the period of globalization in which we live, there are other options available to us in terms of how we think about Englishes and Frenches that are acquired as additional languages. Given the nature of globalization, language variation needs to be viewed as "normal" and intercultural communication skills need to be seen in a positive light and acknowledged as valuable linguistic resources. Knowing how to play with language in creative and new ways and to seamlessly adapt to interlocutor's differences are abilities that language programs need to recognize and cultivate.

In speaking of learners of languages, Canagarajah makes the following statement:

We have to develop negotiation strategies among our students. We have to train them to assume difference in communication and orientate them to sociolinguistic and psychological resources that will enable them to negotiate sociolinguistic difference. This means that we have to move away from an obsession with correctness. (2007: 237).

Comment [FoE20]: Canagarah slide

The globalized times in which we live create opportunities for expanding and multifaceted views of languages and communication. Increasingly, we live in a time where monolithic views of what constitutes legitimate language and literacy practices must expand if we are to prepare students for the types of communication that is necessary in these times. As we move away from time of national broadcasting companies and publishing houses controlling what we read to a time of

increased use of new media, the notion of one particular form of a language becomes less relevant to the social practices and interests of many people.

A quick look at my Facebook newsfeed easily confirms that humans do not exclusively use “standard” written forms in their communication. For example, my friends join Facebook groups where the use of Caribbean English is the norm, and seamless code-mixing between language varieties (and semiotic systems) abounds. Multilingual friends comment on photographs using combinations of English and Spanish & Portuguese; Inuktitut and English; French and English; and Arabic and English. Others join the discussion thread and chime in in completely different languages. These changes in written English and communication norms are not restricted to my social networking sites. The same is true of many blogs, webpages, and wikis as well of the youtube videos that are widely and instantly available to anyone with an internet connection or the means to visit an internet cafe. That languages are malleable, expansive, hybrid and fluid is visible in these spaces. Rules of communication are probably no longer (if they ever really were) solely established by publishing companies, schools, or academics. The notion of prescribing one particular form of a language or privileging one mode of meaning-making may be less relevant in the social futures we are now designing (Cope & Kalantzis, 2000).

So what might official language teaching look like in globalized times?

I think it's important to consider the goals of language learners. These are some possibilities.

My own experiences certainly looked something like this.

Considerations linguistiques:

In the time that remains, I'd like to examine the following questions and what this might mean, in a material sense, for the Explore program.

Comment [FoE21]: What are the goals of learners?

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- Englishes and Frenches are presented in pluralistic ways; language variation becomes normalized
- We move away from a discourse of correctness
- We teach for a linguistically heterogeneous group of language learners – we cannot assume a shared first language
- We counter discourses of native-speakerism through pedagogy and hiring practices in terms of instructors & monitors
- We develop teaching practices that allow learners to develop the communication skills required of them in globalized times.

French and English in Canada are changing (why? Global market, technology, migration):

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Pluralism

Features of our languages mark us all as speakers of a particular English variety, my own English certainly reveals a few things about who I am and where I've been. My use of the term *bunnyhug* when I speak of hooded sweatshirts is just one easy example of a lexical item that marks me geographically. Another example is my propensity to say things like “*I hink so*” (replacing the “th” sound with an “h” sound); *hunderd* (instead of *hundred*); and “*melk*” instead of “*milk*” when talking to Saskatchewan friends and family. I've also become aware that I employ a different past participle of the verbs “to buy,” “to get,” and “to bring” in my compound forms. For example, I say things like: “Had I known, I would have broughten, gotten, and boughten.” Until I moved to Montreal and an American friend laughed at me upon hearing me say this, I had no idea that other English-speakers used these verbs differently. Apparently, my usage is an archaic form that continues to be employed in some areas of North America. I pay

attention now and I've noticed this feature in the English of other speakers from my rural area of Saskatchewan.

There really isn't one ideal or neutral English or French even among native-speakers.

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Many Canadian Englishes co-exist. As such, there isn't necessarily one English or French that learners should endeavour to master. That's not to say that learners and teachers don't believe this to be true or set this as a learning goal. I've encountered many language learners who are desperate to "sound British" or who want to "avoir l'accent québécois." It's important to remember though, that a native speaker model, particularly with adult learners, is simply unattainable for the majority of second language students, impractical as a learning goal, and **increasingly less relevant as a result of the world's globalized market** (Cook, 1999; Jenkins, 2000, 2006a, 2007; Kirkpatrick, 2006, 2007; McKay, 2002; Seidlhofer, 2001, 2004, 2006).

Because of travel, migration, and technology, we can't assume language learners will speak the target language with only native-speakers of the language who speak one national variety of the language. And due to changing demographics we can't even assume which "native-speakers" that might be even within Canadian borders. Official languages are also expanding within Canada; language variation is normal; Englishes and Frenches from around the world co-exist within Canadian borders. We have to prepare language learners for this reality. Learners may choose to sound as close to native-speakers of a particular English or French as they can but they also have to develop linguistic flexibility in terms of their ability to negotiate intercultural communication and it's our job to help them get there.

Take for example the work of Sarkar and Winer (2006) on Quebec hiphop and what might tell us about the changing nature of French in Montreal:

"Quebec rap lyrics stand out on the world Hip-Hop scene by virtue of the ease and rapidity with which performers in this multilingual, multiethnic youth community codeswitch, frequently among three or more languages or language varieties (usually over a French and/or English base) in the same song. We construct a framework for understanding 'artistic code-mixing' in Quebec Hip-Hop, which may involve languages rappers do not profess to speak fully and upon which they have no ethnic 'claim'. Language choices made involve both codeswitching and the choice of languages themselves. Switching strategies perform functions of both 'globalisation' and 'localisation', and is exploited by individuals in different ways, but are fundamentally linked by a **positioning of multilingualism as a natural and desirable condition**. This study is the first to explore Hip-Hop codeswitching in the linguistic-sociopolitical context of post-Bill-101 Quebec. It illuminates a new way in which Quebecois youth are challenging official definitions of ethnic and speech communities" (2006, p. 173).

In the language classroom, it's important that language learners are not presented with one-dimensional or monolithic representations of French or English. Jenkins (2006) highlights that "the importance of accommodation skills. Instead of speaking a monolithic variety of English (or French), it is considered important for speakers of World Englishes or English Lingua Franc to be able to adjust their speech in order to be intelligible to interlocuteurs from a wide range of first language backgrounds" (p. 174).

FLS learners need to be exposed to the sounds of Haitian Frenches; Quebec Frenches; Acadian Frenches, European Frenches African Frenches, second-language speakers of French (so Anglo-French or Spanish-French) and even multilingual code-switching. Similarly, ESL learners may need to be exposed to Canadian Englishes, Carribean Englishes, Indian Englishes, and Chinese Englishes. Some of this may be accomplished through pedagogical choices around activities (songs, videos, youtube...) some of may be through the instructors and language monitors who work within the program. The ability to negotiate different Englishes and Frenches develops with practice AND exposure. Exposing learners to one national English or national French may not be appropriate for the 21st century - this fails to equip students for real-world needs

Obsession with Correctness

It may mean moving away from the "obsession on correctness" This is not necessarily a new understanding. Take, for example, the well known experiment by Hughes & Lascaratou, 1982).

In this study, mistakes made by Greek high school children were shown to Greek teachers of English and British nonteachers. Members of each group graded the mistakes on a scale from 1 (least serious) to 5 (most serious). These were the sentences shown to the Greek teachers of English and the British nonteachers (in Swan, 2000, p. 149).

1. We agreed to went by car.
 2. We didn't know what happened.
 3. Dizzys from the wine we decided to go home.
 4. The people are too many so and the cars are too many.
 5. The bus hit in front of.
 6. There are many accidents because we haven't brought (broad) roads.
- 1) GT 4.6; BN 2.2 2) GT 4.4; BN 1.8 3) GT 4.2; BN 2.1
- 4) GT 3.0; BN 4.3 5) GT 2.6; BN 4.3 6) GT 2.4; BN 4.1

The mistakes that the teachers regarded as most serious were often those that concerned the nonteachers the least. The nonteachers gave higher marks to mistakes which impeded understanding. The teachers seemed most disturbed by infringements of "common grammar rules". These were "basic mistakes." This kind of concern may not necessarily be where we wish to invest our energy. That is not to say that grammar instruction isn't important. It is. A lot of research tells us that it is (Norris & Ortega, 2000). But target-like grammar also comes from interaction and a focus on correctness may not be what helps learners to move forward in their abilities to interact with others in their target languages.

Multiple First Languages in the Classroom

Because of changes in who lives in Canada, Explore finds itself teaching English "to learners from a multitude of cultural backgrounds" Multiple first language in the classroom may mean changes for how we teach things like grammar and vocabulary. First language transfer has traditionally weighed heavily in determining which linguistic forms might get targeted in a course syllabus the idea being that language courses should "teach those forms that differ from the learners' first language." This approach is referred to as contrastive analysis and it is employed quite frequently. For example, FLS learners might find themselves with a syllabus that targets features like *savoir/connaitre* and ESL syllabi might include to do /to make. But, as Ellis argues, this approach to selecting target grammar items doesn't necessarily work in teaching contexts with learners from mixed language backgrounds. We may increasingly not be able to determine grammar choices based on our learners' first languages. Fortunately, other options are available to us in terms of what and how to teach grammar - what Rod Ellis refers to as consciousness-raising is but one example.

As teachers, we also rely on cognate vocabulary so words that are the same or similar between first languages and target languages. When all students share a common first language, this can be quite useful in terms of knowing which new words are not actually new word but cognates. Multiple first languages may mean that we can't simply rely on the teacher to point out cognates but that learners may need to develop awareness and strategies on their own, so that they are able to play language detective in this way.

Changes in Technology

Globalized times also includes changes in technology. People use abbreviations and written forms of languages online that they may not use in spoken or offline communication. As

language practitioners, we may need to consider our responsibility of covering these forms of communication in our teaching. I can tell you that as a second language speaker of Spanish, I struggle to understand my friends' posts on facebook and in text messages sometimes. This may not be because I do not master my second language but because I don't always recognize the Spanish that they're writing - they use forms that were never taught to me in my language class and my social network in Spanish isn't as broad as it is in English or French. I'm not necessarily exposed to these Spanish online forms in natural ways. If my goals as a language learner are to develop friendships in my target language, understanding online communication with peers may benefit me in this language learning goal. This is not to say that this form of written communication takes the place of traditional literature in the language classroom. Online communication and the vocabulary and new literacy skills that accompany it may need to be simply presented as another genre of writing. In this way, learners can develop receptive knowledge that enables them to engage with language through these modes of communication.

Conclusion

The world has changed a lot in the past 40 years and at a rapid pace. But this is not atypical of history and other previous changes and technological advances have impacted language and communication in equally drastic ways. Let me share another example which begins with the invention of the printing press so that we can consider how humans have adapted linguistically during other times in history. Benedict Anderson explains that the 16th century was a time of "exceptional European prosperity" and that book publishers shared in the economic successes of this time. Book-sellers first focused on Latin-readers and after they saturated this market, they targeted the "potentially huge markets" of the vernacular masses: languages like

French, Spanish, and Italian. Targeting these markets meant that language standardization became necessary because:

In pre-print Europe, and, of course, elsewhere in the world, the diversity of spoken languages, those languages that for their speakers were (and are) the warp and woof of their lives, was immense; so immense, indeed, that had print-capitalism sought to exploit each potential oral vernacular market, it would have remained a capitalism of petty proportions. But these varied idiolects were capable of being assembled, within definite limits, into print-languages far fewer in number...Nothing served to "assemble" related vernaculars more than capitalism, which within the limits imposed by grammars (and syntaxes, created mechanically reproduced print-languages capable of dissemination through the market. (Anderson, 1983: 41).

Print-capitalism established "unified fields of exchange" for speakers of "the huge variety of Frenches, Englishes, or Spanishes" (p. 42). These speakers were then able to understand one another through print. Through this comprehension, people become aware of the language groups to which they belonged.

I can't imagine what that must have felt like for the speakers of those languages. I think that the creation of unified fields of exchange and developing awareness of one's language group must have felt strange but rather exciting at the same time. A bit perhaps like how our increasingly connected world feels to us? The changes in our time period mean many things for language learning. Increasingly, language learners draw on a deeper and broader range of linguistic resources. Bilingualism and multilingualism can be perhaps begin to be viewed as "normal" and not the exception or something to "lose" over a several generations of a family. In these new times, we can also foster an understanding that second language English or French is

legitimate English and French. Non-native accents of languages (particularly in English) are now the global norm. Second-language speakers of English outnumber first language speakers (Crystal, 1997). In globalized times, the reality that effective communication means different things than "correct" communication opens up space for increased "ownership" of English and French by non-native speakers of these languages. This doesn't mean that we promote weak language skills. It's more like we move away from a focus on "perfect" "native-like" "proper" English and French and promote a more expansive and pluralistic view of English, French, other languages, and communication in general. This can potentially be quite empowering for language learners and also prepares them for the world within which they will use their languages.

Shift and change in language and communication is not new to humans and just as in the past, we adjust as societies to the new realities of our times. What globalized times mean for official language learning in Canada may be a number of adjustments in terms of who are learners are (perhaps increasingly multilingual); with whom we think learners will communicate in their target languages (probably not always with native-speakers or speakers of a particular national variety) and who learners need to sound like (probably not like Anglophones and Francophones). Over the past 40 yrs, Explore and other federal and provincial programs have made great strides in improving official bilingualism in Canada and among Canadians. I know this from first hand experience. I have no doubt that this program will continue to succeed in this regard as it responds to the changing needs of all Canadians.