Pakistan Languages and Humanities Review
www.plhr.org.pk

RESEARCH PAPER

Cultural Implications on Teaching and Learning English at Graduate Level: A Minimalist Approach

Muhahhad Riaz Gohar[1] Dr. Behzad Anwar [2] Mohsin Hamid Butt [3]

1. Ph. D Scholar, Department of English, University of Gujrat, Punjab, Pakistan
2. Chairman, Department of English, University of Gujrat, Punjab, Pakistan
3. M. Phil Scholar, Department of English Literature, University of Lahore, Punjab, Pakistan

PAPER INFO	ABSTRACT
	The present study focuses on the description of linguistic and cultural implications on teaching and learning English at graduate level. It has been a raising concern from the Pakistani educators that the English language in the educational setting of Pakistan is taught under conditions which are far from being satisfactory is of the view that English language courses in Pakistan are being taught without specified curricular objectives and teachers are trained to deal with the implications that may originate in the process of foreign language teaching and learning. Data has been collected from the pre-test and post-test. The comparison has been made in order to study the variation between the results produced by controlled and experimental groups. The analysis of the study is based on the average mean value produced by both groups. It has been found that the language teaching and learning can never be neutral however, since culture has been regarded as all-pervasive and subconscious, one tends to comprehend and describe one's own cultural ways as the natural ones. This assertion has been appeared to influence the adult learners greatly as their performance improved when native culture integration in foreign language teaching and learning has been used as stimuli

Introduction

Language being the primary source to communicate and share thoughts, ideas and expressions, has become a vital tool to connect international community. English originally being the language of the England has become the primary or secondary language of various former British colonies such as United Sates of America, Australia, Canada and the India Subcontinent due to the historical efforts of the British Imperialism. Therefore, English language being the language of international community has been developed into lingua franca of the globalized word due to its

rapid and fast pace spread. F.G. French has rightly observed, "A traveller who can speak English will find somebody who can understand him wherever he may go, anyone who can read English can keep in touch with the whole world without leaving his own house"(Seidlhofer, 2011). Cultural diversity that finds expression in English language demonstrate the fact that the history of English is a basically a description of cultures in contact during the past 1,500 years. It understates that language is being influenced by the political, economic, and social forces at work in a particular socio-cultural setting. These forces shape the language in every aspect, most obviously in the number and spread of its speakers, and in what is called "the sociology of language," but also in the meanings of words, in the accents of the spoken language, and even in the structures of the grammar (Baugh & Cables, 1993).

Shamim (2011) in the paper published by British Council is of the view that "in Pakistan, English is viewed mainly as the language for development at both the individual and national levels. Indeed, the race for individual prosperity and economic development at the national level seem to have overtaken issues of class, identity and fear of cultural invasion from an erstwhile colonial language." According to Earls (2016), English, being an international language, is viewed as a necessary skill for advanced education and professional development. However, owing to the complexity of linguistic map in Pakistan foreign language teaching and learning if takes place in relation with native culture, keeping in view the ethnic diversity of the learners, possible factors that hamper English as foreign language teaching and learning can be addressed.In our conventional schools and colleges all the four language skills are not properly managed. At school level, the situation is worse than colleges. So many factors are responsible for that. Teachers are not sufficient in number. If they are there in required quantity, then there comes the question of quality. They cannot be alone held responsible for their inadequacy. The absence of refresher courses and training programs are the more serious and alarming causes. If the teachers are not well-trained, their insufficiency would shift from generation to generation. Not to talk of teaching vocabulary skills, they even can't have any book or idea about vocabulary. They recommend the guides and test papers for the students to let them cram. We know that vocabulary is at the root of all language skills. If we talk about college level, no doubt the situation seems somewhat better but not to the extent that it may be called satisfactory. The proper and the natural order of teaching any second language is as:

Listening → Speaking→ reading → writing

But what exactly happens with our students is as:

Writing → reading → listening → speaking

Culture is defined by anthropologists in a variety of ways (Lazear, 1999). In 1952, the American anthropologists, Kroeber and Kluckhohn, critically reviewed concepts and definitions of culture, and compiled a list of 164 different definitions. Apte (1994: 2001 as cited in Spencer & Franklin, 2012), writing in the ten-volume,

encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics, summarized the problem as 'Despite a century of efforts to define culture adequately, there was in the early 1990s no agreement among anthropologists regarding its nature.' Hence, culture has been portrayed and considered as a multi-layered, multi-dimensional and complex concept.

The relationship and interconnectedness of language and culture has been much discussed and explored by the researchers. It is of the view that language and culture are two symbolic systems. She further elaborates that everything we say in language has meanings, designative or sociative, denotative or connotative, in addition, every language form we use has meanings, carries meanings that are not in the same sense because it is associated with culture and culture is more extensive than language. Second language learning is, in fact, a highly complex system of retrieving the appropriate words at the given situation (Nakata, 2016). Nida (1998) is of the view that people of different cultures can refer to different things while using the same language forms.It has been a raising concern from the Pakistani educators that the English language in the educational setting of Pakistan is taught under conditions which are far from being satisfactory (Warsi, 2004). Pennycook (1998) notes that the English language continues to be a language to which colonial discourses adhere as well as a language still laden with colonial representations of the inferiority of non-white people.

Learners in Pakistan are used to learn English through cramming with core focus on translation from English to Urdu. Despite the fact that English has been taught as compulsory subject to learners from grade one in Pakistan, they are still unable to use English language effectively in speech and writing. Owing to the subject based language teaching and learning, learners are unable to develop foreign language competence. Moreover, language and culture has been seen to be dealt separately in Pakistani English language classroom. This factor hampers the development of cultural intelligibility and cultural awareness that eventually help learners understand globalized world in the cross-cultural context. In addition, learners face difficulty in finding appropriate native equivalents in place of foreign cultural words for conceptual comprehension.Foreign language is advantageous to find out new ways and strategies to improve learners' language intelligibility. Therefore, the findings of the present study may help learners, how to use culture in language learning. Besides, this study may have pedagogical implications in the field of English language teaching. These pedagogical implications may direct teachers' attention towards culture to enhance learners' language skills and cultural receptive ability in terms of using equivalent native and foreign cultural words in a foreign language classroom. This study explores the cultural implications on learning and teaching English language. It examines the impact of native culture integration in English language learning and teaching at graduate level. It shows the effectiveness of teaching and learning English language by using cultural equivalents to understand foreign culture keeping in view native culture. It probes the usefulness of using cultural context of a literary text in English language learning at graduate level. The research sample has been limited to the graduate level learners of *Be Superior College*

in Gujranwala. The population selected is consisted of 10 males and 10 females; 5 males and 5 females have been grouped for each control and experimental group. Culture under consideration is limited to the text at graduation level.

Literature Review

The word culture has been defined differently by different people. In words of Salomon (1997), "cultural artifacts are both material and symbolic; they regulate interaction with one's environment and oneself. In this respect, they are 'tools' broadly conceived, and the master tool is language." It centralizes language as social practice to express culture. It means, in a social sphere, language originates from culture. Every human achievement, whether material or spiritual, is recorded in the history through language, a product of culture. Languages of the world societies have system which not only constantly reproducing apparatus for voicing ideas and thought patterns, but to certain extent is the developer of ideas and channel for a person's cognitive processes. Larsen Freeman (2000) regards culture as a fifth language skill in learning a language. it indicates that culture helps learning a language as other language skills; listening, speaking, reading and writing, do. This is because of the fact that language is influenced by culture as it is deep-rooted in culture, hence, different historical, social and cultural backdrops, ordinary conditions and surroundings lead to diverse understandings and responses to language.

In words of Brown (1986), "A language is a part of culture and a culture is a part of language, the two are intricately interwoven so that one cannot separate the two without losing the significance of either language or culture." The expansion and collaboration of language and culture gives the impression that it is the diverse social context that influences the practice of language. In linking language with culture, Brown's point of view indicates that language and culture are community or society specific and communities and societies vary in terms of certain knowledge systems 'a group of people' hold that diversify their social membership categories. The notion that language and culture are closely linked together shoots from the awareness that nature has no natural structure from which language draws its meanings passively (Fowler, 1996). Rather it is the language that provides us with a classification of phenomenon, experience and a system of classification that make the world around us meaningful. Cultural integration in language learning in general and English language learning in particular is based on this assertion. Culture as fifth language skill has been included in English language teaching and learning owing to the globalized and internationalist approach (Tomalin, 2008).

Hence, the role of culture in language learning and teaching is pivotal, particularly in context of EFL setting in Pakistan's educational milieu. Cultural incorporation in English language teaching and learning not only gives foreign culture exposure to the learners but it also intrigues them to look for appropriate native culture equivalents. This helps them get balanced perceptions about culture as language is culture specific; however, each language has different yet specific cultural expressions. Language is embedded in culture since it 'expresses cultural reality'

(Kramsch& Widdowson 1998). Keeping in view this notion language as text always has context linked to the socio-cultural, political, historic, ethnographic and economic setting of a particular era. Hence it suggests that experience is also created through language. Taking this point further, it can be deduced that the external world within which these experiences take form, influence the various forms of expression that are chosen by the language learners in order to create an experience. As this external world that provides learner exposure to for language learning is comprised of historical, socio-political, linguistic and literary components. Therefore, foreign language learners would not be able to discard the influence of the history, language, literary modes of expression, arts, music, even the inflections of speech of their own indigenous environment. This has been affirmed by Mansoor (2013).

In words of Ashcroft (2009) 'a view of language grounded in an assertion of the importance of practice over the code, the importance of the ''variant'' over the ''standard'''. This is owing to the fact that English language is no more the singular property of the English people; it has been appropriated, assimilated and domesticated by the colonized within their own socio-cultural paradigms. Mansoor (2013) is of the view that while English is invariably a fusing medium of expression, Post-Colonial Literatures in English display a balance between 'assimilation and resistance to colonial culture' (Patke 2006), that has contributed to the 'hybridization of the English Muse' (Ramazani 2001) since Post-Colonial writers have infused the target language with 'indigenous metaphors and rhythms, creoles and genres' (Ramazani 2001). Keeping in view all this, nativization process of English as foreign language with reference to literary genres, this technique can be employed in English language teaching and learning by formulating instructional designs asking learners to natives the target language texts. Wells (1998) points out that, "learning a foreign language in adulthood seems a completely different affair. Literate adult learners approach the enterprise with a very different set of potential strategies from those available to pre-linguistic infants. In particular, they already have considerable knowledge about the world, including linguistic interaction, and they also have available a language through which they can objectify the target language as a system and negotiate the relationships between forms and intended meanings and the tasks in which they are used. However, the way in which these characteristics of adult foreign language learning can best be managed has been a matter of considerable dispute in the last half century, and my impression is that, until recently, the use of the first language as a support for learning the second has not always been as fully exploited as it might have been."

As early as 1945 Charles Fries proposed that: 'Only with sound materials based upon an adequate descriptive analysis of both the language to be studied and the native language of the students' can an adult make the maximum progress toward the satisfactory mastery of a foreign language' (Fries, 1945). It indicates that more effort is needed both on instructional and learning grounds for the adult learners. In addition, as long as the foreign language teaching and learning on the part of adult learners is concerned, adult learners with concrete conceptual framework need concrete exposure of the target language in relation to the native language. So that

comparison and contrast between the linguistic features can be made to relate and interlink socio-cultural linguistic phenomenon. Schwarzer, Petron and Luke (2011) suggest that, "Research dealing with sociocultural approaches to second language acquisition have illustrated that a number of vital roles for L1 in L2 learning situation. The strategic L1 roles as a scaffolding tool, L1 as a vehicle for establishing inter-subjectivity, and L1 as a psychological tool for regulation and task orientation". Greaney's (2012) notion of minimalist narrative technique, both are based on the premise that learners in general and adult learners in particular are impatient, cognitively active and curious. They want to get the work done in no time using their own problem solving abilities and can reject the constraining instructional designs or activities (Farkas, Williams, 1990). In other words, minimalist technique with origins in minimalism suggests the idea of freedom; freedom to express, interprets, self-orient and self-initiate the phenomenon in which learners are involved. Hence, it centralizes perception and cognition by the teacher to formulate and mould instructional designs keeping in view the minimalist technique and on the part of learners to learn more with minimal but specified and goal-oriented resource.

Material and Methods

The present study is a quantitative as well as qualitative in nature. Experimental and theoretical research designs have been used to investigate the cultural implications on learning and teaching English language at graduation level in *Be Superior College* in Gujranwala city. In order to validate the experimental research design pre-test and post-test have been employed. Ten male and ten female English language learners of graduation level have been selected as subjects from above said college. Two groups; controlled group and experimental group, have been created, each comprising of ten learners; five males and five females. The indigenous culture of all subjects has been similar. Therefore, no obvious difference owing to cultural background and language has been found among the two groups. Pre-test has been taken by employing the minimalist technique established on the minimalist theory of Carroll (1990) and Greaney's minimalism (2012) to assess the cultural intelligibility or cultural awareness of the learners in a foreign language setting. The instrument used to elicit and collect data was in the form of test. The use of language texts; poetry as tools to measure foreign language learners' cultural intelligibility has been well justified. In the present study, the subjects under the minimalist technique in teaching and learning (experimental group, exposed to language text of 'Inside Out'; control group, exposed to language text of 'The New Anthology of English Verse') took part in the same post test. Results have been collected and analyzed to examine whether indigenous cultural integration have a positive impact on learners' language learning. Data has been collected from the pre-test and post-test. The comparison has been made in order to study the variation between the results produced by controlled and experimental groups. The analysis of the study is based on the average mean value produced by both groups.

Results and Discussion

To proceed with the experimental research design, graduate level English language learners have been provided the text of poem "Kubla Khan" from 'The New Anthology of English Verse'. This poem with highlighted cultural words has been given to the learners as stimuli to write a poem in a native culture context by replacing all the highlighted cultural words with their equivalents in native culture. Learners' activity has been carried out as a self-contained task therefore, no instructions and further guidance for the activity has been provided in order to gauge the learners' insight to tackle literary text that eventually set forth the grounds to explore the cultural implications of teaching and learning English Language at graduation level. The rationale behind asking learners to rewrite a poem in native culture context by replacing lexical items depicting target culture in response to the text of "Kubla Khan" by Coleridge lies in line with Carroll's theory of minimalism (1990) and the idea of Greaney's minimalism (2012) rooted in literary minimalism in the American short story. This activity is meaningful and self-contained in a sense that it enables adult learners improvise strategies for self-directed analysis of the given text. In addition, it helps learners figure out the use of figurative language specifying cultural particular content that develops learners' cognition about reality and the way language create reality. The compositions produced by the learners have been examined keeping in view the concept behind minimalist technique; that is, all about creating a meaning and text interpretation that obviously provides insights about the cultural perceptions of learners. The researcher focused on the use of equivalent native culture words in place of highlighted foreign culture words in the poem produced by the learners in the native cultural context. The poem has been written by the learners in response to the poem provided to them as stimulant. Each poem in pre-test and post-test contains ten highlighted cultural words. Both groups (control group and experimental group) have been asked to use the given poem as stimulant to write a poem using equivalent native cultural words replacing the highlighted words. Learners of both groups have been scored out of ten on the basis of each equivalent native culture word used in place of target culture word.

In the pre-test students showed average performance. Some were some extent aware of the use of cultural concepts along with the appropriate lexicon for cultural description. They have also demonstrated the ability to understand and link the cultural concepts and lexicon with the overall theme of the re-written poem with native cultural equivalents. The main point that has to be well noted is the way all the learners comprehend and employ the minimalist technique to nativize the poem. Moreover, it has been found that learners have used the cultural equivalents that vary on the basis of their choice of characters that according to the learners could be used as cultural equivalents. For instance, it has been found that Mughal Emperors, Sultan Tipu and Shair Sha Suri have been used in place of Kubla Khan by the learners. A few used Muhammad bin Qasim and Mehmood Ghaznavi as culture equivalents of Kubla Khan. The choice of learners about culturally equivalent personalities in context of native cultural setting suggests that the choices of learners are influenced by socio-cultural phenomenon connected with Islam and the Muslim identity. The learners in the native culture context of Pakistan see their culture in association with the religious identity. However, learners seem not to be aware of the fact about the 'doings' of

Kubla Khan that the history can never forget. As the poem is the representation of the splendor and mystical glory of the State of the emperor Kubla Khan, therefore, they have also been found to represent such majesty and grandeur related to their chosen personalities ignoring the 'doings' that contributed history.

In experimental phase, minimalist technique has been employed. Learners from the experimental group have been exposed to the language text; 'Inside Out', by Pakistani English poet, whereas controlled group learners have been exposed to the language text of 'The New Anthology of English Verse'. Keeping in view the core idea of the minimalist technique that is all about creating and interpreting meaning, hence, learners have been asked to analyze the language text. This analysis of the language text has been based on learners' perception and receptive ability to comprehend foreign language text. After the intervention stage, the post-test has been taken. Similar to the pre-test, both groups (Experimental and Control) have been asked to rewrite a poem in native culture context by replacing lexical items depicting target culture in response to the text of "Say This City has one Million Souls" by W. H. Auden keeping in view the minimalist technique based on Carroll's theory of minimalism (1990) and the idea of Greaney's minimalism (2012) rooted in literary minimalism in the American short story. The learners have been given 60 minutes for the post-test activity. After completion of the task being carried the post-tests have been assessed and scored in order to analyze obtained data. The outcome of the post-test revealed that all the participants of experimental group performed well as compare to the participants of the control group. In addition, as both groups, control and experimental, consist of 5 male and 5 female learners, the variation in performance of both groups keeping in view the gender of learners has not seemed substantial in the pre-test. However, the post-test outcome displays variation in the performance of girls and boys only in the control group.

Table No. I
Pre-test and post-test to growth percentage

Group of Participants	Pre-test Mean ($\overline{X}$)	Post-test Mean ($\overline{X}$	Growth
Control Group	5.6	5.4	-3.571%
Experimental Group	5.5	7.3	32.727%

It has been revealed that learners' overall knowledge pertaining to the equivalent cultural words appears to be average. It has been observed that self-contained and self-directed tasks and activities in the language classroom not only instill problem solving skills among the learners to process and relate lexical items in a socio-linguistic context, however, they also introduce learning as process based on social phenomenon. This can be established in a sense that language teaching and language learning through minimalist technique is process-oriented task triggered by social phenomenon as language is society specific, thus, cultural specific. Bolhuis (2003) also considers learning a social phenomenon contributing not only to the adaptive and socializing features but also the creative and critical functions that conserve and reconstruct the world. This mean it can be assumed that language

teaching and learning as social phenomenon integrated with minimalist technique directs learners' cognition to not only comprehend and interpret the text keeping in view the social aspects, however, it makes learners better able to understand, compare and contrast language use in particular social context. Comparative analysis of the difference in the growth of Mean (X) or average score of both groups reveals significant growth in the average Mean (X) value of Experimental group. It is evident from the pre-test and post-test result of Experimental group; that is, 55% and 73% respectively. On the other hand, no significant difference has been observed in Control group performance in the pre-test and post-test, rather a decline has been noticed with the obtained average score of 56% and 54% respectively. This decline in the performance of the Control group may be linked with deficient cultural intelligibility and cultural awareness owing to the fact that language learners better figure out and express culture specific content in relation with cultural context. However, in context of target language teaching and learning, target culture load if not given in proportion influences the cognition of learners suppressing learner's native culture knowledge bank.

The present study has been carried out in order to examine whether the indigenous cultural integration through minimalist technique in teaching and learning English language have a positive impact on learners' language learning capacity. It is evident from the analysis that integrating minimalist technique in teaching and learning English language has introduced, process-oriented, self-contained and self-directed process which centralizes learner, however, the teacher seemingly passive but actually active is in the driving seat. The study revealed that the incorporation of native culture in teaching and learning target language, that is, English, provide learner insight about inter-cultural and cross-cultural realms. In addition, the idea of interconnectedness of language, culture and society shape learners' perceptions regarding socio-cultural peculiarities particular to the certain social setting. This indicates that minimalist technique in language teaching and learning is not only self-contained and self-directed but also context-bound and words as lexical items are connected with prototypes generally cultural in nature. Hutchins (1995) also supports the notion that learning is context-bound, and involves hands-on manipulating, experiential learning and learning in social interaction in a socio-material situation. Furthermore, keeping in view the social context of language teaching and language learning along with the inherent characteristics of knowledge, learning as social process involves implicit as well as explicit cognitive processes that internalize the interpretations related to cultural specificities. Therefore, learning may be conceived of as participating in the social construction of reality as domains of knowledge are conceived and constructed by means of language in socio-cultural paradigm.

Findings

It has been found that minimalist technique in teaching and learning language by using minimized yet precise resource generates the most needed maximum outcome by developing implied phenomenon among the learners. This is owing to

the fact that the cultural equivalents can be found only if socio-cultural context for foreign cultural content has been understood with reference to the particular social setting. In addition, minimalist instructional design based on experiential learning in a sense that it favors self-contained and self-directed learning, centralizes learners' existential circumstances to provide open-ended learning to adult language learners. Moreover, it has been found that the background of a literary text plays a significant role in English language learning at graduate level. As language is a cultural trait in general, therefore, it carries diverse cultural backdrop that ultimately influence linguistic practices at semantic and pragmatic levels in the form of varied perceptions and responses towards lexis used in particular socio-cultural setting. To add more, language, at social and communal level has a knowledge system established by collective understandings that operates in line with language user's cognitive framework as Hofstede (1991) defines culture as mental behavior. Hence, language teaching and learning can never be neutral however, since culture has been regarded as all-pervasive and subconscious, one tends to comprehend and describe one's own cultural ways as the natural ones. This assertion has been appeared to influence the adult learners greatly as their performance improved when native culture integration in foreign language teaching and learning has been used as stimuli.

References

Ashcroft, B. (2009). *Caliban's voice: The transformation of English in post-colonialliteratures*. Routledge.

Baugh, A. C., & Cable, T. (1993). *A history of the English language*. Routledge.

Bhabha, H. K. (2012). *The location of culture*. Routledge.

Bolhuis, S. (2003). Towards process-oriented teaching for self-directed lifelonglearning: a multidimensional perspective. *Learning and instruction*, *13*(3),327-347.

Brown, H. D. (1986). Learning a second culture. *Culture bound*, 33-48.

Earls, C.W. (2016). When English just not enough: 'Multilingualism with English' in contemporary European higher education. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics, 26*(3), 329-347.

Fowler, B. (1996). An introduction to Pierre Bourdieu 'sunder standing'. *Theory,Culture & Society*, *13*(2), 1-16.

Fries, C. C. (1945). Teaching and learning English as a foreign language.

Greaney, P. (2012, February 7). An Introduction to literary minimalism in theAmerican short story.

Kroeber, A. L., &Kluckhohn, C. (1952). Culture: A critical review of concepts anddefinitions. *Papers.Peabody Museum of Archaeology & Ethnology, HarvardUniversity*.

Kramsch, C., &Widdowson, H. G. (1998). *Language and culture*.Oxford UniversityPress.

Lazear, E. P. (1999). Culture and language. *Journal of political Economy*, *107*(S6),S95-S126.

Larsen-Freeman, D. (2000). Second language acquisition and appliedlinguistics. *Annual review of applied linguistics*, *20*, 165-181.

Mansoor, A. (2013). The recipe for novelty: Using bilingualism and indigenousLiterary genres in an advanced level L2 creative writing context inPakistan. *New Writing*, *10*(1), 52-66.

Nakata, T. (2016). Effects of retrieval formats on second language vocabulary learning. *IRAL - International Review of Applied Linguistics in Language Teaching, 54*(3), 257-289.

Patke, R. S. (2006). Postcolonial cultures. *Theory, Culture & Society*, *23*(2-3), 369-372.

Ramazani, J. (2001). *The hybrid muse: postcolonial poetry in English*. University of Chicago Press.

Salomon, G. (Ed.). (1997). *Distributed cognitions: Psychological and educational considerations*. Cambridge University Press.

Schwarzer, D., Petrón, M., & Luke, C. (Eds.). (2011). *Research Informing PracticePractice Informing Research: Innovative Teaching Methlogies for WorldLanguage Teachers*.

Shamim, F. (2011). English as the language for development in Pakistan: Issues,challenges and possible solutions. *Dreams and realities: Developing countriesand the English language*, 291-310.

Spencer-Oatey, H., & Franklin, P. (2012). What is culture. *A compilation ofquotations.GlobalPAD Core Concepts*, 1-22.

Seidlhofer, B. 2011.Understanding English as a Lingua Franca. Oxford: OxfordUniversity Press.

Tomalin, B. (2008). Culture-the fifth language skill. *Teaching English*, *48*(1), 130-141.

Warsi, J. (2004). Conditions under which English is taught in Pakistan: An appliedlinguistic perspective. *Sarid Journal*, *1*(1), 1-9.

Wells, G. (1998). Using L1 to master L2: A response to Anton and DiCamilla's'Socio-cognitive functions of L1 collaborative interaction in the L2classroom'. *Canadian Modern Language Review*, *54*(3), 343-353.