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Introduction

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Introduction

William P. Rivers

Dr. Richard D. Brecht
This volume is dedicated to an extraordinary leader, scholar, teacher, friend and mentor to many, Richard D. Brecht, in honor of his distinguished career as a researcher, organizer, advocate, and leader of significant and lasting institutions which have served the Less Commonly Taught Languages, the field of Russian, and the language readiness and preparedness of the United States. There is a tendency to count achievements as the measure of a man, more so when the qualities cited above are said to accrue to him. While Richard’s work has always been scientifically rigorous and politically and epistemologically provocative, what is far more telling and more important is the quality and diversity of people he has gathered around him. The works collected here from his students and colleagues reflect the breadth of Richard’s scholarly interests and the impact of his activities over the past forty years insofar as they reflect the countless debates, heated conversations, and long discussions of Slavic linguistics, the acquisition of Russian, language policy in the US and elsewhere, and many other subjects that are intimately and inimitably linked to his vocation. The contributors to this volume represent a distinguished international коллектив of like-minded colleagues, students, and researchers sharing Richard’s vocation: the improvement of the greater good through the expansion of language learning and use. That vocation rests on the integration of theoretical and empirical research, policy development. For the reader who may not be aware of his career and its import, I would like to take note of the significant reasons why we honor Richard Brecht with this Festschrift.

I would like to address Richard’s vocation first. Over a career of more than forty years, he embodies an approach to the academic and scholarly enterprise that we have come to call action linguistics. It is defined by, and proceeds from, taking action to achieve meaningful goals in changing the world around us, with the rigorous development of theory, tested against empirical data, and always improving and then applying that theory in the messy world of praxis. As I noted above, Richard has taken as his goal the improvement of the common weal in the United States and globally through research, praxis, and
advocacy to expand the teaching, knowledge, and use of languages. He has come to that goal through a long period of discernment and purposeful activity in his scholarly life, from which one is called to a vocation. At the same time, Richard has taken the tide, as it were, building networks of colleagues and consequently, organizations, on the principle of common approaches and shared solutions – first and foremost among these being the American Council of Teachers of Russian, followed by a great many other enduring institutions: the American Councils for Collaboration in Education and Language Study, the American Councils for International Education, the National Council of Less Commonly Taught Languages, the regionally-focused Language Resource Centers under Title VI of the Higher Education Act, and the Heritage Language Consortium.

We turn to the evidence that gives us specification of Richard’s influence on language learning and use, which we will come to see as the template for all of Richard’s later networking and building of organizations. While a graduate student in the Slavic Department at Harvard University in the late 1960s, specializing in the application of Jakobson’s (and by extension, Chomsky’s) formal systems analysis to Russian temporal and aspectual phenomena, Richard struck up a friendship with another graduate student whose interests inclined to the connections between 19th century Russian and German literature. The partnership that developed between Richard and Dan Davidson endures some 45 years later, and the fruit of their work, captured by Richard in his encomium for Dan in a festschrift only recently published, endures and continues to grow.¹

Among the chief among these must lie the establishment and activities of the American Council of Teachers of Russian, itself the culmination of a bold and perhaps impertinent gamble by two young Ph.Ds, building on two unprecedented conferences on Soviet-American collaboration on the teaching and analysis of Russian.² ACTR subsequently extended into the other constituent republics of the (former) Soviet Union through the establishment of the American Council for Collaboration in Education and Language Study (ACCELS). As the Cold War wear ended, Richard and Dan led the merger of

ACTR and ACCELS into the American Councils for International Education in 1993. The growth of American Councils into the primary US NGO for educational exchanges and development in the new post-Cold War space is ably reported elsewhere (Huber, 2004). as is the development of the "Russian in Stages" series - the first modern instructional complex for Russian to account for contemporary language usage and advances in Second Language Acquisition. However, the greater import in terms of Richard's career lies with fundamental and disruptive work done by Richard, Dan, and their late colleague Ralph Ginsberg on proficiency gains during study abroad. By disruptive we mean only that the combination of rigorous instrumentation of pre- and post-program proficiency levels and multiple demographic, biographic, and cognitive independent variables, with advanced correlational analysis, set a new standard for research in Second Language Acquisition. Specifically, Dick and Dan set out to do two things never before attempted: first, to describe the outcomes of long-term sojourns abroad, and second, to test hypotheses as to how these outcomes derive. The "Predictors" model of research has been replicated and extended to other research questions, from government programs in the US to the analysis of language shift in Belarus, Ukraine and elsewhere.

Rigor and excellence in basic and applied research in the service of action is further represented by the University of Maryland Center for Advanced Study of Language, the national laboratory for language, culture, and cognition, in service of national security. The practice of language learning is represented in Richard’s portfolio by The Language Flagship and LangNet, among others, while his ability to network and support colleagues is amply demonstrated by ASTM

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Main Committee F43 on Language Services and Products, established by his student and colleague William P. Rivers in 2011. The purpose of this latest enterprise is to organize the $25b language industry and connect it with the government and academic sectors through the development of national and international standards for language testing, teaching, translation, interpreting, and human language technology. The establishment of the National Language Service Corps (NLSC) in 2008 is another example of applying a wide range of work to a practical goal: mobilizing the latent capacity of heritage speakers, naturalized citizens, and academic language learners in a national volunteer organization to serve the nation in times of need. The NLSC too is an idea advocated by Richard and implemented by his colleagues. He and several of the authors in this volume are members of the NLSC.

These organizations rest on and proceed from a solid foundation of empirical knowledge and flexible, evolving frameworks for the description and organization of the language enterprise and in particular, the Less Commonly Taught Language fields, in the US. It is highly instructive to examine these in some detail, as they serve to illumine both the chronological expansion of Richard’s interests as well as the lasting effect he has had on the language enterprise of the United States. We examine several models here – the Field Architecture Model, the Market Forces Framework, and the Core and Multiplier/Pipeline and Reservoir Model. These serve as ready rubrics for organizing the themes presented in this volume by Richard’s students and colleagues.

The Field Architecture model provides a coherent view of the span of institutions, organizations, and programs contributing to the national capacity in foreign languages. As Brecht & Rivers (2012) state:

Because of its importance, it is necessary to appreciate the nature of the academic infrastructure underlying the nation’s language capacity. Essentially, the core of our ability to develop and maintain expertise is the language field, which can be analyzed as comprising, for any given language or language area, foundational elements (expertise base, research, national organization, strategic planning, national resource centers), infrastructure (teacher training programs, in-country immersion programs, publications outlets, assessment instruments, etc.), as well as exemplary national programs (Brecht & Walton, 1994; Brecht & Rivers, 2000)

Indeed, this model was empirically developed through three landmark national surveys of language fields: Japanese, Chinese, and Russian, undertaken by Richard and his colleagues at the National Foreign Language Center in the late
1980s and early 1990s. The culmination of these three, the seminal *Russian in the United States: A Case Study of America’s Language Needs and Capacities*, presents the first versions of both the Language Field Architecture Model discussed here and the Market Forces Framework for Language.

Figure 1: The Language Field Architecture Model

![Diagram of the Language Field Architecture Model]

The vitality of this model – its repeated implementation to improve the LCTLS in the United States and the ongoing refinement of the model – reveals itself in a careful examination of the multiple programs, organizations, and institutions exemplifying the model and in which Dr. Brecht has played a foundational role. “Foundation” elements include field organizations such as NCOLCTL – co-

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founded by Richard in 1987, and the American Council of Teachers of Russian, co-founded by him and Dan Davidson, Irwin Weil, and Claire Walker in 1974. Infrastructure elements include study abroad, which we will see below to be one of the enduring contributions Richard has made to the theory and praxis of language learning, as well as Advanced Distance Learning (or blended learning) where Richard is a pioneer, having founded project ICNS at the University of Maryland in 1982, and LangNet at the National Foreign Language Center in 1997. As I noted in the dedication, Richard uses metaphors in abundance to illustrate key points; the fruit on the tree of capacity, as it were, are the programs which teach foreign languages to professional levels of proficiency. Here too, Richard is responsible for sustained excellence as a member of the faculty of the Russian Departments of the University of Maryland and Bryn Mawr College. He was Robert Slater’s partner in the original elaboration of the Language Flagship, which, under the auspices of the National Security Education Program, has funded high level programming in LCTLs for more than ten years.

The second theoretical framework originated by Richard and his college Ron Walton in the mid-90s is the Market Forces Framework. As elaborated by Brecht & Rivers (op cit.), this macroeconomic description of the external forces acting upon the language fields, as exemplified above, is intended to describe these forces, and to provide a theoretical basis for advancing language capacity beyond the traditional measures of student enrollments (and the concomitant programs that meet student demands for instruction). Figure 2, below, presents this model.

Figure 2: The Market Forces Framework for Language
Demand refers to the specific tasks or interactions for which language competence is necessary or desirable; supply refers to the available language competencies (human and technological). Supply and demand are immediate and present in the marketplace; the innovation that Richard introduced with Ronald Walton is that the national interest as it relates to languages requires strategic, long-term considerations. Thus, they introduced the concepts of need and capacity. Need represents the perceived conditions that require, or may require, language competence. Brecht and Rivers (2005) extend this with an analysis that places need squarely in current economic theory as the perceived social marginal value of language – the public benefit accruing from language, or the cost if language needs are not met. The final, and for this discussion, critical element of this framework is capacity: the ability of the nation to produce the supply of linguistic human competence and technology designed to meet demand. We then refer back to Figure 1, which is subsumed by and constitutes the capacity sector in the Market Forces Framework.

First published in the Annals of the American Academy of Political Science in 1994 (Brecht and Walton, 1994) and then in two later monographs (Language and National Security in the 21st Century, and Language and Critical Area Studies after September 11: An Evaluation of the contributions of Title VI/F-H to the National Interest), this model has had tremendous impact on federal support for language programming in the past decade. Simply put, it makes an empirical case for the proposition that language, being vital to the common good (need) requires investment in long-term solutions (capacity), independent of short term fluctuations in enrollments (which have historically driven local decisions in the educational sector on the maintenance, expansion, or contraction of programs), job openings for language professionals, and so forth. Language becomes therefore a common good, on par with clean air, or financial security; the cost of maintaining such a good becomes then a political imperative rather than solely a market driven calculation. The language advocate has a means of advancing

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beyond that which we hold self-evident – that language is sui generis an inherent
good deserving of support – while, in fact, instantiating that argument
empirically.

More recently, Richard has developed a roadmap for investment in the
language capacity in the US, based on both of the foregoing models, that
captures in detail the complexities of the requirements for language in the federal
sector, and the multiplicity of sources that provide or support the government’s
capacity for language expertise. The essential hypothesis is that no federal, state,
or local agency can meet the need for language with core capabilities alone.
Rather, a whole range of “multiplier” sources or strategies have to be employed,
which include “shared,” “outsourced,” “warehoused,” “localized,” and “reach
back.” These sources are summarized in the Pipelines and Reservoirs Model,
depicted below in Figure 3 (from Brecht & Rivers, 2012).
This model provides, for the first time, a coherent picture that relates all of the
many elements of language capacity to specific language needs. Moreover, it
details the complex relationships that entwine the language enterprise in the
United States. At this writing, Richard is advancing this model as a conceptual
framework for improving federal investments in language.
We turn now to the present volume and its relationship to Richard’s career. In
roughly chronological order, with some notable omissions, his interests have
spread from Slavic Linguistics, Second Language Acquisition and pedagogy, of
Russian as well as other Less Commonly Taught Languages, Heritage Language
Development; Language Policy and Planning; and Standards and the Language
Industry. The contributions in this volume follow this order. The perspicacious
reader will no doubt note that several of these contributions span more than one
of these strands, reflecting the interrelationships among the scholarly and
practical arenas of the language enterprise, as well as Richard’s work in them.
The articles in this volume combine theory, empiricism, and praxis in varying
degrees; the authors as a collective and in their individual contributions reflect
Richard’s emphasis on all three.Richard’s focus on Slavic linguistics and
morphosyntax, in particular the deeply entwined problems of grammaticalized
meanings like aspect, tense, and mood, began in his graduate work with Horace
Lunt at Harvard University.12,13

12 Figure 3 Abbreviations: CLPs: Command Language Programs; CASL: University of Maryland
Center for Advanced Study of Language; DLIFLC: Defense Language Institute Foreign
Language Center; DoS: Department of State; FLAP: Foreign Language Assistance Program;
contemporary contributions from Leonard Babby, who extends our understanding of the theoretical basis of voice and reflexivity in the Argument Structure Theory of Morphosyntax, and James Levine, who takes new, corpus-based data to re-examine the theoretical grounding for perfective passives in Russian.

We turn next to Second Language Acquisition – of Russian and other LCTLs – which instantiates the practical application of the work done by Richard and others in the 70s on Russian linguistics, spreading out to entanglements with cognitive psychology, sociolinguists, pragmalinguistics, and many other allied fields. Richard’s work here includes fundamental contributions to the study of immersion and pedagogy. Moreover, Dr. Brecht was a pioneer in the application of the internet to language learning. In the 1990s, Richard began to take an interest in third language acquisition and the cognitive advantages accrued by advanced mastery of a second language, recognizing the commonality between research in third language acquisition and in advanced second language learning. Contributors to this volume include Dan E. Davidson and Maria D. Lekić, working with the vast American Councils of


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Teachers of Russian database on immersion outcomes to continue the work begun in the late 1980s on the empirical analysis of language gain during study abroad. Their work in this volume takes a particularly close look at highly advanced learners in the Flagship program and examines their outcomes, finding that high levels of proficiency attainment – above and beyond the ACTFL Superior level – correlate very strongly with extensive time spent in a wide variety of language behaviors in addition to formal instructional settings.

Victor M. Frank provides an in-depth analysis of the acquisition of pragmatics among advanced sojourners in Russia, adding significant texture to the field’s understanding of the ability learners tested as having professional levels of language proficiency to acquire native sociopragmatic skills. Benjamin Rifkin adds an analysis of the acquisition of narration, the critical functional component of basic proficiency in any foreign language. Ewa M. Golonka contributes an article on the cognitive bases of third language acquisition, here focusing on the benefits accruing when a learner moves to an unrelated third language.

In the mid-1980s, Richard turned his attention to Heritage Language Development, as an outgrowth of work on language policy and planning in the US with A. Ronald Walton. From this work grew several key concepts in language capacity as discussed above; among the most important was the concept of Heritage Language Development.18 This work has continued and grown, with several national conferences, the establishment of a National Language Resource Center under the auspices of Title VI of the Higher Education Act, the Heritage Language Consortium housed at CAL, and the integration of heritage language development into the conceptualization and implementation of language policy in the United States. This volume presents contributions on heritage language development from Scott McGinnis on the state of the Chinese field in the US, extending the work done by Brecht and Walton to provide an evolving description of the field. Olga Kagan adds a careful, empirical description of Russian heritage learners in the US, and the complexities in learner profiles and skills masked by the term ‘heritage.’ Cynthia Martin examines the foundational construct of proficiency in light of heritage language development, provoking a dialogue on the validity of the proficiency construct when applied to heritage learners and native speakers.

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Language policy and planning became a significant and enduring focus of Richard’s from the mid-1980s on, with and emphasis on the development of fundamental, empirical understanding of how language functions in the United Sates, and application of the resultant frameworks to the policy challenges of language in the American context and in the interface of work done in the US with work done in other polities. This volume presents a small sampling of the lines of policy work proceeding from the Field Architecture Model, the Market Forces Framework, and the Core & Multiplier Pipeline Model (Brecht & Rivers, 2012). Suleimenova details the complex, rich, and at times tense, balance between Russian and Kazakh, now undergoing significant change as the first fully Post-Soviet generation emerges in the Republic of Kazakhstan. John P. Robinson, William P. Rivers, Cynthia Costell, and Jennifer L. Robinson examine sociological and educational correlates of Americans’ language abilities, continuing a line of large-scale national survey work on language policy begun some dozen years ago with Richard. They draw the conclusion that language abilities in the US have steadily fallen, controlling for immigration, during an era when educational outputs – degree completions in particular – have increased. Arto Mustajoki develops a framework for the societal impact of linguistics – echoing Richard’s call for Action Linguistics.

We turn next to new paradigms for language learning, where Richard has again been a pioneer and inspiration. Vitaly G. Kostomarov provides a theoretical description of a new genre of text, the “display,” which includes the rapidly evolving text typologies found in the new online, global world; Kostomarov points out that communication in the 21st century requires even more mastery of this genre, and he lays out initial thoughts as to its incorporation in pedagogy. Thomas Garza reports on his pedagogical work in using these new media for teaching Russian. Catherine W. Ingold and Mary Elizabeth Hart describe the history and future of StarTALK, an initiative underway at the National Foreign Language Center to expand LCTL offerings, including Russian, through a combination of teacher training for heritage speakers and other non-teachers, summer programs for junior and senior high school students, and on-line assessments and blended learning for year round support of these teachers and learners.
In our final section, we address an emerging area of work, and another outgrowth of the capacity framework: a focus on developing assessments for language. With Richard’s active involvement, this has grown into a lever to promote the development of international and national industrial standards and the basis for a platform for organizing the $15b language industry in the US. This volume presents new research from Margaret E. Malone, Megan J. Montee, and Francesca DiSilvio, who provide a systematic analysis of the formative and summative assessment practices of the StarTALK program. Charles W. Stansfield, Jing Gao, and William P. Rivers present a concurrent validity study of the “can-do” self-assessments and the Oral Proficiency Interviews used by the National Language Service Corps. They demonstrate, albeit tentatively, that such self-assessments can be used for initial screening of proficiency for high stakes
purposes. Camelot A. Marshall presents a detailed comparability study of the Russian AP® Test, demonstrating that it is on par with tests developed for much larger student populations.

Concluding Note: “There is a tide in the affairs of men / Which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune”: A Prospective on the Language Enterprise

The title of this volume refers to Richard’s habit of teaching through metaphors, with the subtitle intended to focus our energies on moving forward with our shared vocation of improving the greater good through language learning and use. The past fifteen years have seen sustained growth in the federal interest in language in the United States, as well as geometric growth in the language services industry. Indeed, in many objectively measurable ways, from the public attention paid to foreign language programs and competency in the mass media, to the aforementioned growth in the private sector language market, to the growth in federal funding, (to include programs beyond those in the US Department of Education, to public support for foreign language programs,19 language has never been better positioned in the United States. We say ‘positioned’ because past experience shows that language has been part of the response to crises, and then rapidly forgotten. That this volume is a “prospective,” speaks to the commitment on Richard’s part, and on that of his students and colleagues, to seize the opportunities presented, or to create them if absent; to look always ahead; to continue to learn and build, to strive and achieve, with Richard’s energy, fearlessness, and kindness as a model of how this vocation can be lived.