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THE UTILIZATION OF FOREIGN LANGUAGES IN
NAVAL PSYCHOLOGICAL OPERATIONS

September 1964

Gerald C. Bailey

HSR-RR-66/9As

Prepared by
Human Sciences Research, Inc.

for
Office of Naval Research
on
Contract Nonr-4346-(00)

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FOREWORD

This report has been produced as one part of a research project conducted by Human Sciences Research, Inc., under contract to the Office of Naval Research.¹ The scope of the project is broad, being concerned with the application of research techniques in support of more effective performance of psychological operations in a naval context. This has involved identification of these operations, development of a means for their analysis, examination of missions, operations, and training, and definition of research requirements for increasing operational effectiveness. These project activities have been performed within specific research tasks leading to the following five primary reports:

Bailey, G. C. An analysis and delineation of the concept of psychological operations. McLean, Va.: Human Sciences Research, HSR-RR-66/3As, 1966.

In this report, the nature and scope of psychological operations are defined through development of a conceptual framework linking the dynamics of cross-cultural influence processes and domestic governmental policy-making processes. Data descriptive of the relationships between dimensions of psychological operations and determinants of this action are identified as the primary information requirement for planning and conduct of psychological operations. A structure for psychological operations research, a means for assessing research requirements, and specific suggestions for research are made in connection with this development.

¹Contract Nonr-4346-(00), A Delineation of the Navy Role in Psychological Operations. Group Psychology Branch, Psychological Sciences Division, Office of Naval Research.

Rambo, A. T. A preliminary analysis of naval unconventional warfare. McLean, Va.: Human Sciences Research, HSR-RR-66/2As, 1966.

Characteristics of revolutionary and resistance warfare are defined as major situational contexts for the conduct of psychological operations. The phases of an insurgency are differentiated in terms of the shifting balance of resources available to the protagonists, and the role of ecological factors as constraints upon the utilization of resources is described. Specific Navy missions are analyzed from the point of view of traditional naval functions and through a case history of naval operations in the World War II Philippine resistance movement.

Jenny, A., 2nd. Interpersonal influence processes in Navy port calls. McLean, Va.: Human Sciences Research, HSR-RR-66/4As, 1966.

Two existing Navy psychological operations activities--a cross-cultural training program and an operational welfare program--are described and analyzed in the context of the port call. Problems in predicting the effects of contacts made with individuals and groups in foreign port cities are examined. Recommendations are made for research on processes of diffusion of information and affective states, and on the effects of frequency and context within which informal contacts are made.

Bailey, G. C. The utilization of foreign languages in naval psychological operations. McLean, Va.: Human Sciences Research, HSR-RR-66/9As, 1964 (AD 606995).

An analysis of the decisions made in the administration of foreign language training revealed that information about the use of languages in missions was not being systematically employed because such knowledge does not generally exist. Through an examination of the functions which language usage serves for the foreign national, criteria are suggested for planning and evaluating missions. Analysis of the functions which language training serves for the user helps define criteria for training which prepare him for more effective performance in foreign cultures.

Jenny, A., 2nd. Toward a psychological operations information and analysis center. McLean, Va.: Human Sciences Research, HSR-RR-66/1As, 1966.

The concept of an information and analysis center is explored, in which information about psychological operations missions, influence processes, and traditions and behavioral patterns of recipient peoples can be brought together for use in solving operational problems. Characteristics of such a center are delineated, potentially contributory information sources are identified, and a modular approach toward implementation of the center concept is recommended.

Analysis of the foregoing topics was concurrent with the development of the conceptual framework; these studies, therefore, do not constitute applications of this framework. Rather, they contribute to, and are consistent with, the viewpoint of the overall framework. Similarly, other research activities--such as interviewing Navy personnel returned from overseas assignments and providing a critique of a Navy counterinsurgency training course, which have been reported in three additional technical notes--are aimed at contributing to a general understanding of the Navy's role in psychological operations.

The research products noted in the above reports conclude the first phase of HSR's activity in the area of naval psychological operations spanning the period from 1 January 1964 to 31 December 1965. Throughout this period, the research has benefited from the guidance of Mr. Luigi Petrullo, Head, Group Psychology Branch, Psychological Sciences Division, Office of Naval Research, who recognized the need for broad scope conceptual treatment of psychological operations as a basis for programming contributory behavioral science research, and for bridging the gap between such research and operational problem solving.

ABSTRACT

A study of foreign languages in Naval psychological operations has been performed with the purpose of beginning to define research problems in the areas of training and operational utilization. Currently, about 1,000 officers and enlisted personnel are annually receiving at least some foreign language training. An analysis of the decisions made in the administration of this training revealed that information about the use of languages in missions was not being systematically employed because such knowledge does not generally exist. An obstacle to the development of this information is the view that skill in a foreign language is a tool in mission performance.

The basic approach used to begin to develop an understanding of the relation of languages to missions was through an examination of the function which language usage serves for the foreign national. These functions help identify criteria for planning and evaluating missions and suggest new missions. Analysis of the functions which language training serve for the user, together with other mission analyses, help define criteria for training which prepares him for more effective performance in foreign cultures.

Foreign languages need to be defined more broadly as an aspect of cross-cultural communication in which verbal skills are but one subset of a variety of interaction skills which involve attitude change and social influence processes, status attribution and motivation.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Several persons have reviewed an early draft of the report and made numerous contributions to its present form. In addition to HSR personnel, grateful acknowledgements are made to: Mr. Alfred Hayes, Center for Applied Linguistics; Cdr. Alan M. Hazen, Defense Language Institutes; and Dr. Alfred I. Fiks, Human Resources Research Office.

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I. INTRODUCTION

In the future it appears that the Navy will be assigned an increasing variety of Cold War responsibilities which will entail psychological objectives and which will often place demands upon Naval personnel for the exercise of foreign language (FL) skills. It is the purpose of this paper to begin to define research problems in the area of FL training and utilization as they pertain to those grossly defined kinds of missions referred to as psychological operations.¹ The present status of FL's in the Navy will be discussed and useful language research concepts and data will be surveyed. The research literature dealing with FL's will not be exhaustively summarized here; this is a very sizeable body of literature and can best be treated with respect to specific research interests.

Both the volume and significance of contacts with members of other cultural-linguistic groups are increasing as the Navy finds itself engaged in joint exercises, assistance to developing nations and counterinsurgent operations. If these contacts are to be made effectively, attention must be given to the employment of language skills and the preparation of personnel in their use. But the changing character of international conflict has not only introduced new opportunities for FL utilization, it has altered the objectives associated with the many cross-cultural contacts which the Navy has traditionally encountered. These objectives now include a concern for the political consequences of contacts which may not have figured prominently in the past.

¹Psychological operations are broadly defined here in terms of the intended and unintended influence of opinions, attitudes and behavior of foreign nationals. In the evaluation of operations, it is essential to consider the unintended, but nevertheless causally related, results of actions, as well as intended efforts. This requirement is not obvious from the official definition of psychological operations: Dictionary of United States Military Terms for Joint Usage; Joint Chiefs of Staff, Pub. 1, Feb. 1, 1964. The term "mission" will be used here to refer to tasks or actions carried out by individuals or units of the Navy in the area of psychological operations.

One possible type of future mission is that in which the cross-cultural contact serves to create receptive attitudes on the part of the foreign national toward information about the U.S. The actual transmission of facts may occur through coordinated sources such as local news media or international radio broadcasts. Another type of mission might involve, on a small scale, the reduction in political sensitivity of value differences between the U.S. and foreign countries. This mission would involve altering perceptions of real differences, not by attempting to eliminate or hide them, but in such a way as to emphasize common values and goals. Such missions would require coordinated planning among the various agencies of government which deal in these matters--USIA, AID, Peace Corps, and State Department.

As new missions are added and old missions re-examined from new perspectives, the contributions of FL will also be found to vary. Conventionally, language skills have been used in formal social interactions, in the interrogation of prisoners of war and in intelligence operations. The exercise of language skills in civic action and other similar programs exemplifies a new role; there is an element of reciprocity in these programs and explicit acknowledgement is made of the opportunity to listen and respond in terms of what others are saying.

Wherever a verbal exchange takes place across a cultural boundary, it may be assumed that attitudinal and behavioral effects occur beyond the transaction of the business at hand. When summed over many such exchanges, these effects are further assumed to bear some relation to the political dispositions of other nations. Research on cross-cultural communications should aid in the identification of objectives of psychological operations and establish the detailed nature of the relationship between FL utilization and these objectives.

So little is known about the place of language in an operational context that it is difficult to bridge the gap between existing knowledge and activity and the larger purposes of psychological operations. As the detailed pieces of the problem are taken up and examined, it is easy to lose sight of what may be the most significant aspect of the problem--the development of a coherent underlying philosophy about

World War operations which gives meaning to and legitimizes the subsidiary program activities.

This analysis of FL serves as a point of departure for thinking about the broader problems of cross-cultural communication and influence processes in psychological operations. Language skills will be broadly defined here as those learned behaviors which are useful in interacting with members of another linguistic-cultural community. Language, because it is highly patterned, is one of the more tangible elements of culture; language analysis suggests ways of treating cultural behavior systems less readily analyzed. The reader is encouraged to engage in speculative thinking about the possible generation of findings about language.

Thus far, behavioral scientists concerned with the area of FL have dealt primarily with bilingualism, second language learning and abstracted problems of semantics, cognition, motivation and aptitude. Little systematic attention has been given to the real world problems of FL utilization such as in influencing the attitudes and behavior of foreign nationals, although we might anticipate a burgeoning interest on the part of social scientists in these problems.² Some transfer to research on languages is likely, of the methods and approaches from related areas such as communication and persuasion. In particular, the pioneering work in analysis of international information programs offers useful advice on the avoidance of bias in methodology development.³ Several anthropologists and sociologists have contributed heuristic concepts for the analysis of human interaction as reciprocal influence relationships.⁴ Generally, it appears that language has not received adequate attention as an essentially social kind of behavior. Therefore, knowledge about

²A discussion of ways in which psychologists are contributing to changing military roles appears in: Windle, C., and Vallance, T.R., The future of military psychology. Amer. Psychol., 1964, 19, 119-129.

³Davison, W.P., and George, A.L. An outline for the study of international political communication. Public Opinion Quarterly, 1952, 16, 501-511.

⁴Goffman, E. The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1959.

language should relate to and benefit from the study of interaction and communication models⁵ as well as from theories of motivation, status, roles and reference groups.

To provide an appropriate problem orientation, the place of language in the Navy will first be described and relevant administrative decisions will be identified. Available knowledge about FL's will be assessed followed by an examination of the functions served by the use of FL's. Suggestions for research will be made in the form of characteristic, predicted relations between training content and method and training results, and between language skill use and various effects of its use.

⁵Bauer, R.A. The obstinate audience: The influence process from the point of view of social communication. Amer. Psychol., 1964, 19, 319-328.

II. FOREIGN LANGUAGES IN THE NAVY

Scope of Foreign Language Utilization

Using a broad approach to FL as a means for cross-cultural interaction, most interests in the use of FL's in the Navy are coincident with psychological operations. Any operation involving personal contact with foreign personnel, other than where English is the predominant language, implies a consideration of the use of another language. Psychological operations such as deterrence missions and shows of force exclude the use of FL by reason of no personal contact.

Those FL uses which do not appear to fall within the scope of a research program on psychological operations are primarily in security operations. While research results on psychological operations may have transfer to such operations, the difficulties of carrying out research in the latter context suggest that some prior knowledge of problems unique to that context would be necessary to justify an attempt to overcome these research impediments. Since a concern for any such problem has not been identified, these interests may be deferred to later application of more general findings.¹

The numbers of Navy and Marine personnel currently receiving language training are generally increasing with about 250 officers and 500 enlisted men scheduled for some amount of training during fiscal year 1965. At the Naval Academy, about 175 midshipmen are currently enrolled in advanced elective language classes with another twelve future officers studying language as an academic major. In total, nearly 1,000 officers and men are annually receiving some FL training. Navy

¹Interview with: Lt. Cdr. N. E. Berthier, Asst. for Security, Office of Asst. Chf. for Educ. and Trng., BuPers.

full-time language training requirements have been increasing at a rate comparable to the Army and Air Force.²

Job assignments which Naval personnel currently perform which involve FL use include attaché posts, Military Assistance and Advisory Groups (MAAG's), military aid missions, security and intelligence, Mobile Training Teams, Seabee Training Advisory Teams, construction crews and counterinsurgency forces. Most of these jobs entail elements of psychological operations, although few of them are currently viewed from this perspective.

Characteristics of Foreign Language Training

The majority of the non-Academy language trainees are receiving intensive training (6 hours per day) in conventional skills of speaking, reading, writing and comprehension at the Defense Language Institute (DLI, East and West Coast branches) and at the State Department Foreign Service Institute (FSI). Some training is performed under contract by commercial firms; part-time, or collateral training is received at various military installations. Training has also been performed aboard ship, both in port with an instructor and at sea without an instructor. The audio-lingual method predominates and the length of periods of instruction is variable, resulting from, among other things, the language and proficiency level sought. Intensive training courses formerly cost the Navy about \$5 to \$8 an hour per man; however, consolidation of training for the various services has reduced these costs to less than \$1 per man per hour. For example, the 200 hours of instruction required to reach a middle range of proficiency for a number of languages would cost about \$200.

Unfortunately, all Navy personnel having significant contacts with foreign nationals do not receive language training. It is not unusual for newly assigned

²Unless otherwise indicated, data on Navy language training was obtained in interviews with: Cdr. J.J. Creamer and Lt. Cdr. M.J. Gravatt, BuPers Officer, Education and Training Branch and Cdr. A.M. Hazen, Chief, Training Division, Defense Language Institute.

attachés and personnel on training missions to have no skill in the language of the country to which they are assigned.³

Training in Foreign Cultures

Language training courses are, for most Navy personnel, the only formal means by which any knowledge of foreign cultures is obtained. Area handbooks, occasional films, lectures and People-to-People Program demonstrations supplement such learning to an unmeasured, but possibly not substantial, extent. In most language training situations, the inclusion of non-verbal cultural content is on a fragmented basis.

A personalized variety of area orientation is incorporated into language instruction at DLI and FSI.⁴ Personalized area training is represented by instruction in items of personal conduct, such as why you should not show the soles of your shoes to an Arab. Within an encompassing framework of language learning, these elements of instruction are designed to promote respect for other cultures.

Personalized area training is substantially supplemented, for those relatively few Navy personnel attending FSI, by classes in institutionalized area training. These latter classes are conducted separately from language instruction and deal with topics such as the institutions of security, forms of government, religion, currency and banking. Attachés receive area training at the Defense Intelligence School, while MAAG and mission personnel obtain area training at the Military Assistance Institute.

³Data on the incidence of such occurrences were not readily obtainable, but might be instructive as to the status of FL skills. A related problem is the general absence of useful records which could be used to determine the availability of personnel with specific skills and cross-cultural experience. Records of language skills have been made on the basis of self-reports and no systematic methods of skill evaluation are in use except in training situations.

⁴Interview with: Mr. J.R. Frith, Assoc. Dean, School for Language and Area Studies, FSI.

Operational and Policy Decisions Concerning Foreign Languages

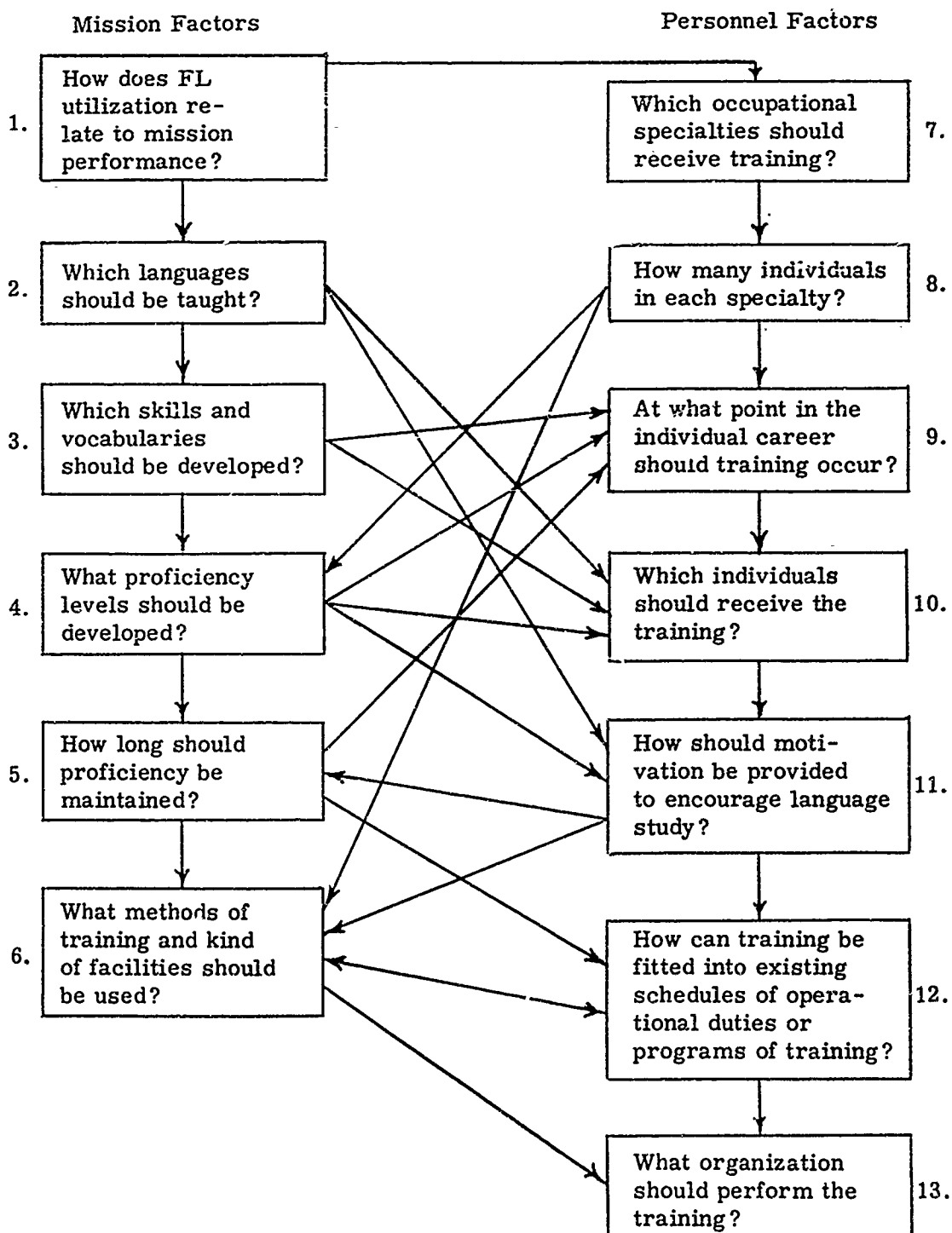
Given that the Navy is in the business of teaching and utilizing FL skills, an analysis of the decisions which must be made in the administration of language-related operations should reveal problem areas where information is needed and should indicate the relative priorities for research on these problems.

As part of this study, interviews were conducted with Navy, FSI, and DLI personnel responsible for the administration of FL training which provided data on the kinds of decisions currently being made. The decisions thus identified have been organized on the basis of a logical analysis of their sequential dependence. These decision problems have been further classified according to whether their resolution depends primarily upon knowledge of the missions in which languages are to be utilized or upon individual and organizational characteristics of the personnel available to perform the missions. The interdependence of these two kinds of factors, suggesting the nature of difficulties encountered in applying manpower resources to the conduct of training for missions is also shown (see Figure 1). Limitations of operational experience revealed in the interviews did not permit an extension of this analysis into the planning and conduct of operations.

As an initial structuring of the decisions about language instruction, it should be obvious that this set of decisions is not necessarily the ideal set. Subsequent operational experience and research should reveal better ways to frame these issues and suggest different questions which should be asked. This set of decisions and their dependent relations, then, in representing current ways of viewing languages, also helps to identify hypotheses and assumptions for evaluation.⁵

⁵Subsequent to the accumulation of this list of decisions, it was found that a number of these administrative decisions also have been identified and are considered valid by researchers in the Language and Area Training Division of the Human Resources Research Office. Several of the mission-oriented questions also appear in the conclusions to a review of the field of language training research. Carroll, J.B. Research on teaching foreign languages. In, N.L. Gage (Ed.), Handbook of Research on Teaching, Chicago: Rand McNally, 1963, 1060-1100.

Figure 1. Administrative Decisions Regarding
Foreign Language Training



1. How does FL utilization relate to mission performance?

This question, which has not yet been subjected to research, appears to be logically prior to any other language-related question. The problem can be broken down into a series of questions designed to provide information about missions--information which helps to identify what these missions are or could be. The answers should clarify why language instruction is necessary within the framework of operational policies.

2. Which languages should be taught?

Once missions have been defined in terms both of geographical areas and relationship of FL use to mission accomplishment, the choice of languages to be taught should be relatively simple. As presently conceived, this is a problem in the identification of relevant linguistic-cultural communities. In one sense, knowledge of the language(s) required for a mission does not provide a basis for personnel selection since current selection techniques do not indicate the existence of unique abilities to learn different languages. However, bilingualism due to the national origin of parents can be a motivating factor in language learning and advantage should be taken of any existing knowledge of a second language in the selection process.

3. Which skills and vocabularies should be developed?

The relative emphasis which might be given different skills is determined by the language being learned (e.g., reading in Arabic, because the written language is standard, while the spoken language is not, and hearing in Ibo, because written language is inaccessible to most Ibo speakers) as well as by the use to which the skill is to be applied (e.g., according to social classes or occupational groups with which personnel will communicate). In

3. (Continued)

turn, the identification of skills required should contribute to the efficient selection of trainees. Varying time requirements for learning different skills will partially determine when the training should occur. In a broader form, the question could be stated in terms of a choice among various communicative skills in which verbal facility represents one subset of skills.

4. What proficiency levels should be developed?

The concept of language learning as a continuing experience which never achieves perfection is being replaced in training programs by the specification of requisite proficiency levels. The determination of proficiency levels required is a factor in planning lead time for training. Since aptitude for learning foreign languages has largely been conceived in terms of time required to learn a language, and higher proficiencies require longer training times, the identification of proficiency levels should also relate to the determination of cut-off scores on selection devices. Training time would also be hypothesized to relate to motivation to learn a FL.

5. How long should proficiency be maintained?

Once a useful level of proficiency has been achieved, and unless sufficient opportunities for use of the language are available, the maintenance of this skill becomes a problem. A determination of the duration of specific FL requirements will affect personnel planning as long as these requirements are not simply additive in nature. Long range planning in psychological operations is necessary for the phasing in and out of large training programs, e. g., the diminishing need for Vietnamese and increasing need for Malaysian. Data are badly needed on the extents and rates of possible skill loss over time. It seems safe to predict

5. (Continued)

that some language training effects will deteriorate and different effects will deteriorate at different rates.

6. What methods of training and kinds of facilities should be used?

Since different teaching methods are often associated with a superiority in the development of specific skills, some of the unresolved differences in claims for superiority for given teaching methods may be avoided by specification of the required skills and proficiency levels. Again, the method may be determined by the numbers of persons needing the training and the availability of instructional resources or by the situational context within which the training is to occur. For instance, small classroom training is not possible where thousands of men must learn a language like Vietnamese in a short time with a scarcity of instructors. Programmed instruction appears to be the obvious solution to this problem, whether or not it does as good a job under other circumstances. Comparative research should begin by postulation of the skills supposedly rendered by a given method, and by evaluation of relative effectiveness with regard to specified skills.

7. Which occupational specialties should receive training?

Once the roles of FL in psychological operations missions have been adequately defined, their use can be translated into functions to be performed by incumbents of billets or ratings. Compatibility with existing functions can be analysed, functions combined, and new billets or ratings created where necessary.

8. How many individuals in each specialty?

The heavy overloading of service language schools and contracting facilities places a limit on the numbers of individuals who

8. (Continued)

can be trained at present. A more sophisticated aspect of this problem is the determination of how many men should be trained to maintain a set of billets with individuals possessing adequate language skills. Present planning should be extended to allow for Cold War casualties. For example, the State Department now has calculated a replacement ratio for over fifty languages with which it deals; the Defense Department has no such data. Numerical requirements for specific skills will limit the levels of proficiency which can be developed and may predetermine the method of instruction.

9. At what point in the individual career should training occur?

It is reasonable to expect that research on communication skills should contribute to the planning of career development. Some effects of language skill training may interact with accumulating service experiences in ways which make it desirable to dovetail schedules for career development with the fulfillment of billetting requirements. The consensus of scholarly views on when to train seems to be that the earlier language training is received, the better; however, individual differences in language aptitude are sufficiently large to make it difficult to generalize about age and ease of learning. For a quite different set of reasons, the nature of occupational activity patterns in later stages of a career probably reduces availability for concentrated language studies. If it is assumed that language training should generally take place as soon as possible, the factor of time-related skill depreciation enters into the consideration of the ideal time in the individual career.

10. Which individuals should receive the training?

Data on the probability of success in language courses show that from 1/3 to 1/2 of the general population has a good chance for

10. (Continued)

success in intensive service school courses, while considerably larger proportions of high school and college students evidence sufficient aptitude to succeed in less intensive academic courses.⁶ Individual differences in language aptitude are approximately normally distributed. Thus, information on the skills and proficiency levels required should contribute to the process of selection within occupational specialties. The relation between success in language schools and success in application of language skills should be investigated.

11. How should motivation be provided to encourage language study?

Positive career-related rewards are desirable as an indication of the Navy's concern for the availability of language skills. Rewards, which would contribute to individual decisions to seek out FL training, should be compatible with the motivational requirements for successful learning and application of language skills. High levels of proficiency development require considerable motivation, while the problem of maintaining skills, once attained, has long been recognized as primarily a problem of motivation. Several aspects of the motivational problem are treated at a later point.

12. How can training be fitted into existing schedules of operational duties or programs of training?

Recent exploratory efforts to conduct shipboard training exemplifies the kinds of problems encountered in trying to fit language

⁶ Carroll, J.B. The prediction of success in intensive language training. In, R. Glaser (Ed.), Training Research and Education. Pittsburgh: Univ. of Pittsburgh Press, 1962, 87-136.

Carroll, J.B. & Sapon, S.M. Manual, Modern Language Aptitude Test, (1959 ed.), New York: Psychological Corp., 1959.

12. (Continued)

training into an existing operational setting. The use of a ship as a training facility when in port was found to be reasonably successful; however, the lack of instructors, proper equipment and sound-insulated space was a severe handicap while at sea.⁷

13. What organization should perform the training?

Choices presently exist between commercial, military, and academic schools. As DLI expands to meet the growing needs for language training, full-time training assignment will become a logistics problem of choice between locations (e.g., East Coast and West Coast) as a function of the availability of courses and transportation costs. The logistics of individualized programmed instruction will need to be examined.

Bases for Administrative Decisions Concerning Foreign Languages

As their logical dependence indicates in Figure 1, half of these decisions should be directly based on knowledge about missions in the arena of psychological operations and specifically on the role of language in the conduct of missions. Solutions to the remaining decisions should also derive, at least in part, from this same knowledge base. A substantial base of facts is needed in order to make these administrative decisions wisely and in order to structure the issues involved in increasingly more effective ways.

Presently, knowledge about the utility of languages in psychological operations enters into the making of these decisions to only a limited extent, which reduces the emphasis on language training in the competitive process of allocating resources among well-defined programs of conventional warfare. Decisions about

⁷ Letter reports on file at the BuPers Officer Education and Training Branch from USS Springfield and Escort Squadron TEN, dated, respectively, March 12, 1963, and December 13, 1963.

language training frequently appear to be made on the basis of available resources, or by default as a result of other considerations. As might be expected, without benefit of factual information, the claims of language experts are sometimes misinterpreted as expressions of self-interest and administrative decisions may tend to be formed on the basis of internal organizational pressures.

In search of reasons why the administration of FL programs is not conducted in a more rational manner, two areas of inquiry are treated, respectively, in the next two sections. The first is an assessment of the kinds and amount of information which is available for application. The second concerns perspectives on the use of FL's. The nature of these perspectives determines the ways in which available information about FL's is utilized and also regulates the development of research which could provide other information.

III. EXISTING RESEARCH ON LEARNING AND USING FOREIGN LANGUAGES

Research on Teaching Foreign Languages

Since all of the training techniques and training resources in current use by the Navy are drawn from the community of language specialists at large, a brief review of the past and current state of knowledge and practice in that community is pertinent.¹ An extensive and current review has already been made by Carroll and will not be repeated at length here.² His conclusions about contributions to language learning research from various sectors reveal a rather dismal picture of past research performance, which is illustrated throughout the review by numerous descriptions of large gaps in our knowledge about language instruction.

Carroll's review points out the research potential of language learning problems by identifying over forty different hypotheses or problem areas worthy of investigation.³ The review offers no treatment of problems of language utilization and the frame of reference of the review is entirely within the teaching of conventionally recognized skills.

Carroll's criticism of some psychological studies, primarily in paired-associate learning, is based on their non-relevance to existing teaching methods. Without seeking to defend any particular study or set of experiments exception

¹The Navy has sponsored very little FL research in the past; one current research task exists in BuPers. Aptitude tests presently in use, which are reported to be efficient selection devices, were developed by the Army. Interview with: C.I. Hodges, BuPers Personnel Research.

²Carroll, J.B., op. cit.

³For example, among those problems identified in the area of teaching pronunciation, Carroll mentions the following:

How much does it help the student to hear his own recorded pronunciation and to compare it with a standard? How much will individual coaching by the teacher help him to produce correct foreign sounds?

Ibid., p. 1072.

must be taken with the argument set forth due to the inherently limiting character of this frame of reference. Knowledge gained through laboratory experimentation should contribute to the development of learning concepts which may find application in the classrooms of the future.

Language Proficiency Measurement

An advance toward meaningful language performance measurement has been made through the establishment of proficiency scales for speaking, reading and writing by FSI. These standards begin to provide a basis for organization and planning of language instruction in the determination of training times, in curricular selection, and of course, in achievement testing. Achievement levels for speaking have been defined as:

- S-0, No practical knowledge of the language;
- S-1, Able to use limited social expressions, numbers and language for travel requirements;
- S-2, Able to satisfy routine social and limited office requirements;
- S-3, Sufficient control of structure and adequate vocabulary to handle representation requirements and professional discussions in one or more fields;
- S-4, Fluency in the foreign language;
- S-5, Competence equivalent to English.⁴

⁴Carroll, 1963, *op. cit.*, p. 1092. Origins of some of the concepts employed in developing these standards are apparent in the wording of a State Department language policy approved on November 2, 1956, by Secretary of State Dulles which read in part:

Each officer will be encouraged to acquire a "useful" knowledge of two foreign languages, as well as sufficient command of the language of each post of assignment to be able to use greetings, ordinary social expressions and numbers; ask simple questions and give simple directions; and to recognize proper names, street signs and office and shop designations.

Frith, J. R., *Language learning in the foreign affairs community*. Georgetown University Monograph, Mimeograph Series on Language and Linguistics, No. 16, 1963, p. 46.

However encouraging this development may be, these scales cannot be considered as a final basis for standardization. It is probably not possible to standardize training without more adequate operational definitions, while standardization is usually not advisable until minimal standards of reliability and validity are satisfied. Disagreement currently exists among different users as to the meanings of the scale points, reflecting their arbitrary definition.

The S-4 level, for example, which is introspectively rather than operationally defined, implies that the speaker need not refer to the conceptual resources of his primary language. Attainment of this level of ability can be reported but not directly observed. Self-reports, when otherwise valid, do not take into account cognitive processes of which the speaker is unaware. However, indirect tests of this level probably could be developed.

The highest level of proficiency, when interpreted as "speaks like a native" has a limited meaning since "natives" may speak quite differently. The significance of this expression is found in the fact that natives seldom make foreign type errors, as in the gender of a noun.

In their present form, the scales are based on a collection of statements of standards for performance, heterogeneously defined in linguistic terms (e.g., S-3), and in terms of individual behavior (S-1), social behavior (S-1, S-2) and occupational behavior (S-2, S-3). The employment of these standards from a variety of domains of behavior gives the scales a multidimensional character, which makes difficult their conceptualization and measurement as dimensions of human ability. A more satisfactory means for evaluating proficiency would make use of linguistic definitions for scale points on component skill dimensions such as vocabulary knowledge, phonetic coding ability and grammar usage.⁵ Research relating levels of these abilities to successful occupational performance could then be performed to provide standards in place of existing subjective estimates of performance requirements.

⁵ Definitions of these abilities are given in: Carroll, J. B. The prediction of success in intensive foreign language training. Cambridge: Graduate School of Education, Harvard University, 1960 (mimeographed).

A significant shortcoming presently exists in the lack of learning curves and retention data for different skills. This information would provide a basis for evaluating the relative costs of additional training beyond a given amount or the loss resulting from a cut-off in training relative to demonstrably potential skill levels. Research in this one area would pay for itself many times over, considering the costs of language instruction.

Research on Using Foreign Languages

Research on the teaching of FL's appears to have proceeded largely from a point of view which treats language as an objective entity, such as mathematics, with little regard for its employment in a human relations context. Government sponsorship has increased the amount of activity, but has scarcely altered this basic pattern of research on foreign languages. For example, under the National Defense Education Act of 1958, over 224 projects have been undertaken:

to make studies and surveys to determine the need for increased or improved instruction in modern foreign languages and other related fields, ...
to conduct research on more effective methods, ... and
to develop specialized materials for use in such training, or in training teachers ...⁶

At most, two or three of these studies may bear on problems related to skill application, and these only indirectly. Little or no systematic research has been performed on the determination of occupational or professional requirements for use of a FL, where and when to use a FL, on the extent to which languages are used, once learned, or on the ways in which languages are found helpful in the performance of a job. The DLI is establishing a formal system for the collection of information from FL users on the latter two categories of information.⁷

⁶Completed Research, Studies and Instructional Materials, U.S. Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare, Office of Education, Pub. No. OE 12016-63, 1963, 1.

It is interesting to note that the U.S.S.R. appears to be engaged in the wholesale, imitative adoption of the audio-lingual method and is beginning FL instruction in the second year of elementary school: Parker, W.R., The National Interest and Foreign Languages (Third Edition). U.S. National Commission for UNESCO, Dept. of State, Sept. 1961.

⁷Interview with Major W.O. Ramey, Asst. Chief, Research and Standards Division, DLI.

Progress in these areas has been made by Army sponsored research on programmed instruction in which materials to be learned are selected for the particular application of the language. Research underway involves the empirical determination of course content material for a specific setting.⁸ Situational tests, consisting of a simulated interview with a native speaker, have been used in evaluating student achievement.⁹ These procedures link both what is taught and the means for student evaluation to the real world. Future plans for this research group also include an analysis of factors affecting the nature and extent of utilization of FL skills on certain jobs.

Summary of Existing Knowledge about FL Training and Utilization

A reasonable summarization of the state of knowledge about FL is that much effort has gone into studying various training problems, but very little is known about the actual utilization of FL skills. Thus, while considerable progress has been made in the measurement and prediction of these assorted skills, as well as in the materials and techniques of instruction, these developments have resulted in a partially systematized body of expertise which is primarily oriented toward training. Research has only begun to connect this knowledge to the real world application of FL skills. Much now depends upon how successful language teachers (or programmed instruction programmers) are in bringing operationally relevant content and approaches into the classroom. The use of native tutors or informants may help in this regard, but, in part, displaces the criterion problem to questions of standards for the recruitment of tutors.

⁸Fiks, A. I. and McCrary, J. W. Some language aspects of the U.S. advisory role in South Vietnam. The George Wash. Univ., Human Resources Research Office, Research Memorandum, Task: MALT 1, Nov. 1963.

Human Resources Research Office. Proposed work program for 1965. Project No. 2J02470iA712, Research and Development in Training, Motivation and Leadership. The George Wash. Univ., 27 March 1964.

⁹Rocklyn, E. M., Moren, R. I. and Zinovieff, A. Development and evaluation of training methods for the rapid acquisition of language skills. The George Wash. Univ., Human Resources Research Office, Research Report No. 9, Jan. 1962.

IV. PERSPECTIVES ON THE USE OF FOREIGN LANGUAGES

Historical Perspectives on the Purposes of Learning a Foreign Language

There are many reasons why research on FL utilization has been so meager. Among these factors are the value orientations expressed in the past through definition of purposes for learning a FL and related perceptions of the availability of language training effects for study. This complex set of factors is of more than academic interest because many of these factors which have operated in the past as research constraints are still present and must be understood if it is desired to effect changes in either the direction of research or in what is learned through FL instruction. While generalizations about changes in the recognized uses of language can be stated, they should be tempered by realization of the existence of differences of opinion among FL teachers and of differences among teachers, educational administrators and the American public. Trends in the U.S. have also varied from those in other parts of the world.¹

The American history of purposes for learning FL's begins with the pursuit of Latin and Greek for scholarly interest which dominated the situation in the 19th Century. The formation of the Modern Language Association in 1883 led to emphasis on learning of French and German, also with literary and scholarly objectives, since the classical studies then constituted a model for respectability. These objectives placed stress on reading and grammar rather than on listening and speaking, a focus which persisted until World War II.

Isolationist attitudes that followed World War I contributed to the failure of the American public to appreciate the importance of FL's. Distrust of foreign cultural elements went so far as to cause 22 states to pass laws hostile to FL instruction.

¹Parker, W. R., op. cit. Other historical data in this section, not otherwise cited, is also drawn from this reference.

The Supreme Court reversed these laws in 1923, but some public sentiment in opposition to involvement in activity with an international orientation is still in evidence in some regions. An indication of the degree of internationalism in the U.S. in 1955 exists in a poll taken that year showing 88% of the general population in favor of U.S. involvement in the UN.² A more recent poll (1963) revealed a very similar level of support (82%) for U.S. cooperation with other nations, indicating stability for this position in recent times.³

The publication of the "Coleman Report" in 1929 was a further significant, opinion-shaping factor.⁴ This book was one of several products of a long-term investigation initiated by a group of language teachers in 1923, and sponsored by a series of grants from the Carnegie Corporation. Considering the restrictions placed at that time on the length of language training in public high schools and colleges (two years or less for each), the "Coleman Report" recommended that the one most attainable FL goal was reading. This recommendation was instrumental in producing a generation of Americans unable to speak any FL.

The citation of utilitarian values for study of a language first occurred when public outrage against Germany during World War I dealt Germanic studies a severe blow. At that time, teachers of Spanish aggressively promoted their language in conjunction with French to continue the competitive struggle against Latin and Greek. Since the importance of Hispanic literatures was not yet established, this drive was implemented by citation of the utility of Spanish in the developing economic trade with Latin America. Apparently this drive did not succeed in the development of speaking and listening skills in Spanish.

Involvement in World War II contributed a tremendous emphasis to utilitarian purposes for language study through Army language training programs, and

² August 1955 poll by the National Opinion Research Center.

³ July 1963 poll by the American Institute of Public Opinion.

⁴ Coleman, A. The Teaching of the Modern Foreign Languages in the United States, New York: MacMillan Company, 1929 (Publications of the American and Canadian Committees on Modern Languages, Volume XII).

is thought to have led to increased public awareness of the importance of FL study to the national welfare. In 1946, in response to the demands of post-war diplomatic relations, Congress established the FSI. Until that time, language training was obtained by foreign service officers on a personal basis, if at all, resulting in the frequent dependence on interpreters or on the possession of English skills on the part of foreign nationals. It was not unusual for an American Embassy in post-World War II years to be staffed without a single American official capable of carrying on a conversation with citizens of the country to which he was assigned.⁵ As recently as 1954, it has been reported that not one officer or staff officer in the Czech Embassy spoke Czech.⁶

In succeeding years, as exemplified by the passing of the National Defense Education Act in 1958 and the formation of the DLI, FL training has received added government support. Arguments for this support have been largely based on U.S. competition with the Soviet Union in political and military affairs, which have led to emphases on the ability to advise, instruct, and interact face-to-face with foreign nationals.

Language Viewed as a Tool

In many of these recent contacts between foreign nationals and military personnel, the objective of the U.S. representative appears to have been treated as the communication of factual information. The use of FL skills in these situations is often referred to as a tool or aid in the performance of specified missions. For instance, in the case of a Seabee Training Advisory Team, the primary objective identified for a given mission may be to train foreign personnel in the use of American-built equipment. Many other similar instances could be cited of operations in which the breaking of the language barrier might appear to U.S. personnel as secondary to the accomplishment of some other objective. The use of a FL, while perceived as

⁵Interviews with: Mr. J. H. Moore, Deputy Director for Management, Foreign Service Institute and Prof. C. P. Lemieux, Head of Russian Division, Foreign Languages Department, U.S. Naval Academy.

⁶Statement by Under Secretary of State Walter Bedell Smith to the House Committee on Appropriations, January 1954.

secondary in these instances, may be clearly required owing to the nature of the mission, the lack of interpreters or the difficulty in performing the mission with an interpreter.

However, careful analysis of these missions would probably reveal that wherever the conveyance of information is important, the acceptance and use of the information by the foreign national is critical to U.S. interest. For example, a content analysis of critical verbal communication incidents cited by a group of returned U.S. advisors to South Vietnam has revealed four major categories:

- (1) Social amenities, that is, greetings, introductions, invitations, toasts, please, thank you, excuses, identification.
- (2) Immediate action phrases, that is requests or orders to a driver, combat personnel, counterparts, and others.
- (3) Queries for information concerning names, needs, places, password, people, time, quantity, distance, direction, money and family.
- (4) Guidance and advisory terms, that is compliments, suggestions and instructions.⁷

In both of those instances in which a U.S. representative gives information (categories 2 and 4) it is obvious that he is seeking to influence the behavior of a foreign national. When the U.S. representative makes inquiries, he is attempting to influence the foreign national to respond with certain information. Thus, the advisor's objective in engaging in these verbal information exchanges is not to transmit information, but to influence behavior. The behavior of the foreign national is affected, as is discussed later, by the total communication process and not just by the words of the intended message.

It is not suggested that the learning of familiar language components of vocabulary and grammar is unimportant. Analyses of missions should permit the determination of the nature and extent of these skills which are necessary.

⁷ Fiks, A.I. and McCrary, J.W., op. cit., 10-11.

It is suggested that the prevalence of the view of language as a tool constitutes a deterrent to the attainment of an understanding of the role of language in psychological operations. It is a convenient way to avoid thinking about the many ramifications of language utilization. Cross-cultural communication is anything but the oversimplified concept implied by the label "tool" and not much progress can be expected until a fuller appreciation is reached of its complexities. More specifically, it is suggested that negative consequences of viewing language as a tool are recognizable within the day-to-day administration of the Navy as an organization as well as in the preparation for and performance of actual missions by individuals within that organization. Thus, data is needed on the use of FL's which would permit the employment of more sophisticated views of language.

Organizational Consequences of the Tool Perspective

The limited view of language as a tool leads to a number of organizational problems in which language tends to become subordinate in importance to many other activities perceived as more legitimate. Mission requirements for language training are often treated in the manner of an administrative nuisance, in the bureaucratic assignment process, if not also in the perceptions of assignees. Evidence of this exists in such facts as that FSI found it necessary to establish fixed rules prohibiting the removal of language students from classes for purposes of receiving immunizations or for other last-minute overseas preparation.

Language training is likely to be perceived as an undesirable burden by the line officer who may receive only one assignment during his whole career in which a particular FL is clearly required. A given tour of duty for an attaché is typically of one or two years duration, while training to the S-3 proficiency level for performance of an attaché job may require ten months, or more for difficult languages, e.g., 18 months for Chinese. This combined period of assignment is of such length that an officer is in danger of being passed over in promotions if he stays that long in the one billet. In consideration of this problem, line officers sent on MAAG and mission assignments get twelve weeks or less of language training instead of ten months, which may reduce their effectiveness, although no data exists to evaluate

this effect.⁸ Both the policy of billet rotation for line officers and career development pressures operate to minimize the importance of adequate language training. The policy of rotation also greatly increases the size of the pool of officers who need training in a given language.

Consequences of the Tool Perspective for Selection and Training

The relative brevity of overseas assignments is likely to contribute to the perception, on the part of trainees, of FL training as the acquisition of a tool which is unfortunately necessary for performance of a mission and give trainees little regard for the culture or the people represented by the language. This view has been described as an "instrumental orientation" toward FL learning in a series of experiments dealing with problems of motivation in second-language learning. Also investigated was an alternative view, called "integrative", which describes the language student who is oriented "to learn more about the other cultural community as if he desired to become a potential member of the other group".⁹

Experimental research on motivational orientation to language learning has shown that an integrative orientation leads to greater success in language learning than does an instrumental orientation.¹⁰ The results of one study are of special importance in psychological operations. Whereas aptitude and class achievement were important additional predictors of FL skills stressed in classroom training, those skills whose development depends on the active use of the language in communicational settings (i. e., interaction in real-life situations) were entirely dependent upon measures of an integrative orientation.¹¹ In many future psychological operations, it is likely that possession of interaction skills will be critical.

⁸Interview with: Lt. Cdr. Dillon, CNO OP. 622, Missions and Advisory Groups, Administrative and Personnel Branch.

⁹Lambert, W.E. Psychological approaches to the study of language. Part II: On second-language learning and bilingualism. Mod. Lang. J., 47, 1963, 114-121.

¹⁰An early characteristic study of motivation in second language learning: Gardner, R.C. and Lambert, W.E. Motivational variables in second-language acquisition. Canadian J. of Psychol., 1959, 13, 266-272.

¹¹Gardner, R.C. Motivational variable in second-language acquisition. Unpublished Ph. D. Thesis, McGill University, 1960.

Of further interest is the finding that an integrative orientation is negatively related to an authoritarian ideology.¹² This finding is congruent with the notion that authoritarianism indicates a lack of social sensitivity or social perception rendering the individual less able to deal effectively with the needs of others.¹³ Since authoritarianism has been found to relate positively to re-enlistment intent¹⁴ and to acceptance of a military ideology,¹⁵ an additional basis for selection of personnel for psychological operations missions is indicated. A third orientation in which the individual seeks to understand the dynamics of a foreign culture for purposes of exploitation, manipulation or control has not been investigated. Other forms of integrative orientation could also be studied such as "generally integrative" (interest in many cultures) as opposed to "specifically integrative" (interest in a certain culture). Further definition is needed of the relationship between these motivational variables and consequences for the language learner and the foreign national.

For further insights into these problems, it becomes obvious that the view of language as an aid in the performance of missions is inadequate. This view places emphasis on limited aspects of behavior and fails to capitalize on known individual differences in communicative skill. Numerous problems of concern may best be examined from the point of view of the language user.

Operational Consequence of the Tool Perspective

Another significant difficulty with the view of language as a tool is that it tends to ignore the effects of use of a language on the foreign national. In reference to the instruction on weapon employment, the way in which language is used may have a great deal to do with the motivation of the foreign national to learn about the weapon and how he will use the weapon at some time in the future, in addition to other attitudinal effects. Failure to realize these implications would seem to reflect

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Hollander, E. P. Authoritarianism and leadership choice in a military setting. J. abnorm. soc. Psychol., 1954, 49, 365-370.

¹⁴ Medalia, N. Z. Authoritarianism, leader acceptance, and group cohesion. J. abnorm. soc. Psychol., 1955, 51, 207-213.

¹⁵ French, E. and Ernest, R. R. The relation between authoritarianism and acceptance of military ideology. J. Pers., 1955, 24, 181-191.

an inadequate definition of criteria for performance of the mission. In addition to the point of view of the FL speaker, it will be useful to examine FL from the point of view of the Foreign national with whom the speaker hopes to communicate.

An adequate conceptualization of operational criteria cannot be developed without taking into account the total range of behavioral responses, both unintended and intended, of the target population; however, use of the concept of language as a tool tends to involve the assumption that this population is passive and responds only in a predicted fashion. Cross-cultural communications, like other kinds of communication, are better thought of as transactional processes in which both parties have expectations as to personal gain or other consequences resulting from the communication.

Alternative Perspectives of Foreign Languages

Different uses or functions of FL's are more or less apparent as a result of the perspective taken of FL in missions. The perspective of language as a tool in the conveyance of specified information has been shown to involve assumptions and limitations which obviate the recognition of important language functions. Several other undesirable effects of using this perspective were also listed.

It is probably realistic to expect that for a long period of time and for many military job situations, FL's will be treated in terms of a tool. However, within the area of psychological operations, which includes future missions and goals not yet defined, an entirely different concept may hold. It is likely that for many such missions the use of a FL is not an aid to performance of the mission, but it is the mission itself.

A heuristic basis for conceptualizing the instrumentality of language in psychological operations missions involves the definition of both language and missions in behavioral terms. As emphasized by the approach of specialists in linguistics, language is learned behavior, "... something that people do, not simply an artifact

or a body of material to be learned".¹⁶ Linguistics are more concerned with the code than with the messages, the aspect which probably dominates much of our thinking about languages. The alternative perspective of language as behavior will be utilized here in the derivation of a number of functions of FL in missions.

It is assumed that language skill training and utilization is a multi-purpose activity and that by sorting out and examining the various purposes or functions each serve, research can be designed to develop an information base appropriate for making administrative decisions. This approach does not exclude the utilization of a variety of non-functional theoretical insights, but serves as an organizing framework for development of these insights. After experimental and logical examination, the functions identified may be of further use in the identification of criterion variables for mission evaluation. Utilizing a behavioral approach, two complementary sets of functions will next be examined. In the following sections, language behavior will be considered in terms of the functions which it serves first, for the recipient, and second, for the initiator.

¹⁶Ferguson, C.A. Linguistics in the preparation of language teachers. In, Seminar in Language and Language Learning, Final Report. Seattle Wash.: Univ. of Wash., Dept. of Romance Languages and Literature, Sept. 1962.

V. LANGUAGE AS IT AFFECTS THE FOREIGN NATIONAL

Effects of Varying Usages on the Foreign National

Prior to the development of preliminary standards of proficiency, language training was conducted with the assumption that the more closely the second language skill approximated native usage, the better. The utility of such a high level of proficiency has never been tested. With the advent of programmed instruction, however, such consequences could well be realized at least with regard to a partial set of skills. The consistent production of students with perfect native accents has been described as "... a strange paradox, but nevertheless a conceivable eventuality...", which "... might be to some extent less acceptable in a foreign country than if they (FL students) exhibited a suitable non-native accent".¹ Perfection in a local accent or dialect might breed suspicion and distrust of a person known not to have lived in the locality.

This observation highlights the fact that we do not know what effect varying success in imitating an accent has on the recipient of a communication. We do not know the effect of an accent on intelligibility of message content, although this should be simple to determine.² Research on phoneme control has been suggested and outlined, but never performed.³

¹Carroll, J. B., (1962), op. cit., 33. The employment of the convenient term "native" to refer to the foreign person in a cross-cultural interaction is not an adequate designation since it fails to specify age, sex, occupation or other social group membership which are relevant to language considerations. See: Hayes, A.S. Paralinguistics and kinesics: Pedagogical perspectives. In T.A. Sebeok, A.S. Hayes, and M. C. Bateson (Eds.), Approaches to Semiotics, The Hague: Mouton, 1964, 145-172.

²Carroll, J. B., (1963), op. cit.

³Such research was outlined at a conference, directed by Dr. Paul Pimsleur, and held in Los Angeles in Dec. 1959, for the purpose of producing suggestions for research on language teaching.

Neither is the effect known of varying proficiency (e.g., acceptance of skill deficiency) in any of the four skills commonly recognized as part of the repertoire of the graduate of a FL course: understanding, speaking, reading and writing. The specification of proficiency levels for missions should be carefully studied to assess the need for higher (more expensive to obtain) levels. In the absence of this knowledge, the employment of conventional language programs is an act of faith in common sense notions about the purposes of communication. These programs assume that the purpose of using a language is to transmit some message which the speaker desires to convey. This situation would be harmless if the jobs for which personnel were being trained were limited in their social consequences. Since it is assumed that the interactive aspects of FL use in psychological operations is critical, this lack of known effects may be wasteful of training time and dangerous in the transmission of unintended and sometimes undesired impressions.

Precedents for research on the response to speech characteristics has existed for many years. Numerous (16) psychological studies performed during the period 1931 to 1943 demonstrated that the speaker conveyed information about himself in addition to the things he talked about. In some studies, characteristics of the speaker, such as age, sex, occupation, appearance and values, were accurately judged solely from vocal qualities. In other studies, agreement among listeners was achieved, but characteristics agreed upon were not correct, indicating the operation of stereotypes.⁴ Thus, the possibility that the speaker can be assessed on various dimensions from his speech behavior was established along with the notion that he may be creating an inaccurate impression of which he might not be aware.

In more recent studies, Lambert and his associates studied the role of speech variations in person perception, using a technique for "... examining the stereotyped thinking of members of one cultural group when they consider typical

⁴Licklider, J. C. R. and Miller, S. A. The perception of speech. In S. S. Stevens (Ed.), Handbook of Experimental Psychology. New York: Wiley, 1951, 1040-1074.

representatives of another culture". These studies have demonstrated that perceptions of a person vary markedly when that person changes from one language or dialect to another.⁵

The suggestion for training in a dialect appropriate to specified social situations has been advanced, but has not yet been empirically examined in various cultures.⁶ Likewise, the heuristic concept of style and other "usage-scales", or dimensions of verbal expression, deserve examination in terms of their differential impact on the foreign listener.⁷

Linguistics research has shown that listeners in English-speaking cultures may sometimes attend more to such aspects of language behavior as accent, dialect or style than to what is said.⁸ A plausible extension of this finding is that a similar phenomenon would occur in cross-cultural communication; it would seem important to investigate the implications of this phenomenon for planning psychological operations. Very few missions are likely to entail situations which forcefully bind the listener to attend only to the content of communications.

Functions which Foreign Language Use Serve for the Foreign National

An approach to the above aspects of cross-cultural interaction can be made by considering how varying usages serve different functions for the recipient of the communication. It has been suggested that the language attributes of accent,

⁵Lambert, W. E., Anisfeld, M. and Yeni-Komshian, G. Evaluational reactions of Jewish and Arabic adolescents to dialect and language variations. McGill University, March 1963 (Mimeographed).

⁶In consideration of English language proficiency requirements for non-native speakers in AID type programs, English situational dialects of "social", "officialese" and "kitchen and market place" have been identified. Hall, E. T., ICA participant English language requirement guide, Part I. International Cooperation Administration, Wash., D. C., 1960.

⁷Joos, M. The five clocks. Int'l. J. of Amer. Ling., 1962, 28 (Part V.), 9-62.

⁸Birdwhistell, R. L. The frames in the communication process. Paper presented to the American Society of Clinical Hypnosis, 1959.

dialect and style serve a social placing function; the recipient uses these attributes to place the speaker on a number of socially significant dimensions. This identification, as an automatic, learned response, permits the making of other responses appropriate within the recipient's value frame of reference. At a sociological level of analysis, the employment of language usage-scales in the process of social placement is thought to be an adaptive mechanism for the assignment of status and responsibility essential for survival of the society.⁹

As an additional comment on the function of social placement discussed earlier, several insights can be gained by viewing this function from the individual point of view. Communicative acts not only permit the recipient to place the actor from the recipient's social perspective; the acts also serve to enhance or decrease the relative status of the recipient himself within that perspective. For instance, the use of the FL may not be appropriate where the non-American seeks to display his knowledge of English. On other occasions, an expectation expressed by an American that English will be spoken as a matter of course can be a status depreciating experience.

Beyond considerations of the use or non-use of the language of the locale, accuracy of FL usage is important. In languages such as Japanese, Indonesian, Vietnamese and Spanish, there are important status implications of different language forms such as the personal pronoun. The use of language at middle levels of proficiency can be a risky affair because the recipient may expect the speaker to have knowledge of the status implications of the language. What language to speak and how to speak it can often be determined only on the basis of status implications; thus a working familiarity with processes of status attribution and their related effects is a necessity.

⁹Among competing frameworks of linguistic analysis, the area of semology (the study of permitted and prohibited distributions of the forms that ultimately allow language to take on meaning) pertains to this discussion.

Smith, H. L. The cultural context for language teaching. In, Seminar on Language and Language Learning, Final Report, Seattle, Wash.: Univ. of Wash., Dept. of Romance Languages and Literature, Sept. 1963.

Joos, M., op. cit.

The social placing function is one of a number of functions similar to those forming what Birdwhistell has called the "integrational aspect" of the communicative process. This set of communication functions constitutes a basis for analysis parallel to that which deals with the content of messages and rejects the assumption that in any social interchange there is one central meaning conveyed which is only modified to some extent by a redundant surround. Other functions defining the integrational aspect include those which:

1. serve to keep the (social) system in operation,
2. serve to regulate the interactional process,
3. cross-reference particular messages to comprehensibility in a particular context,
4. relate the particular context to the larger contexts of which the particular interaction is but a special situation.¹⁰

While all four of the above functions pertain to both members of a communicative system, items 3 and 4 suggest an analysis of cognitive functions. These statements of functional significance are assumed to be empirical generalizations, which warrant further development and evaluation within the cross-cultural setting. The importance of the functions of social integration to mission performance exists in the possible creation of conditions of affiliation or compatibility between social systems at the national level.

Using cognitive dissonance theory, several hypotheses can be developed about the function of communications for the foreign national. Assuming that most persons with whom Naval personnel would come in contact are residents of large cosmopolitan ports and therefore likely to have some prior knowledge of Americans, communication would often serve the function of confirming this knowledge. Dissonance theory would suggest a tendency for foreign nationals to selectively attend to messages which would support and embellish what they already hold to be factual.

¹⁰ Birdwhistell, R. L., op. cit.

The recipient of messages is likely to believe what he wants to believe, not necessarily what American representatives tell him. Considerable evidence exists to demonstrate that audiences are information seeking and selective, rather than passive and indiscriminating.¹¹

Within the interaction situation, the recipient is offered a set of messages by various means of communication. Each of these communication modalities serves as a confirmation or denial of the others, and selection may be made from any one in fulfillment of the predictions from dissonance theory. Where the words spoken communicate, "I am your friend", but no smile is seen or the intonation belies the content, a dissonant condition would exist. Again, if the communicator successfully orchestrated all modalities in unison, but the message disagreed with the prior image, dissonance would be experienced. Explicit hypotheses of the consequences of such dissonance-producing situations can be developed and tested with a high probability of contributing to the planning of cross-cultural communications.

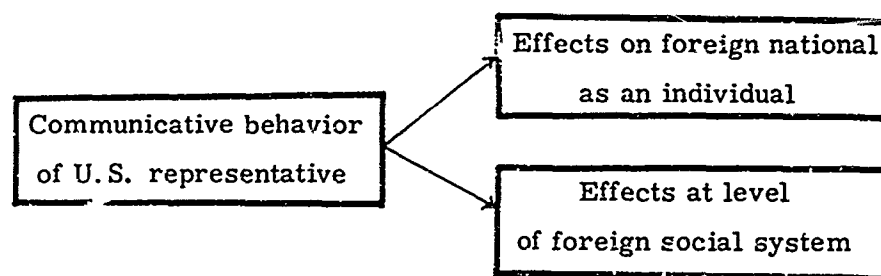
Use of the FL, upon investigation, may be found to serve as an indication of recognition and acceptance of things related to the foreign culture. For the member of that culture, this would reduce his perceived risk in participating in an interaction. Use of the FL is not likely to add to the ambiguity of the cross-cultural, interpersonal relationship and may decrease it. The provision of recognition and risk reduction for the foreign national may operate as precorditions for the acceptance of information about the U.S.

Needed Research on Effects of Varying Language Usage

The context of cross-cultural communication suggests many hypotheses such as have been indicated here, which are basically projections of an understanding of motivation and social interaction gained in American institutional settings. While it is tempting to operate on such generalizations, such a policy would be extremely tenuous since the number of necessary assumptions builds rapidly when

¹¹Bauer, R.A., op. cit.

crossing cultural boundaries. Some of these hypotheses could be tested without engaging in programmatic research, but the larger scope of required knowledge depends upon the systematic development of social psychological concepts which stand up under tests in various cultures and the general progress of knowledge about communication. The general form of this research is represented in the following diagram:



VI. LANGUAGE AS IT PERTAINS TO THE USER

Functions Served the User by Language Training

Motivation for learning and using a second language can serve as a point of departure for thinking about the functions which language training serve for the user. As discussed in connection with the tool perspective, the motivational orientation of the trainee does have an effect on his achievement in learning the language and therefore might be expected to also affect his success in performing language-relevant missions. Attitudinal dispositions related to ethnocentrism, existing at the outset of training, were found to be linked with motivation in the prediction of language achievement. Language training may serve to change attitudes, such as increasing liking toward a foreign culture, but this has not been consistently established. In one experiment, attitudes toward German people and German culture were altered positively; in other experiments, attitudes toward French culture were not changed.¹

For the trainee with an integrative motivational orientation, the set of acts comprising the language learning process may be an important step in his acculturation to a second linguistic-cultural community.² This can be expressed in terms of "...bringing into awareness the learned, arbitrary, but patterned signal syndromes according to which people interact within a culture..."³ One function of

¹Scherer, G. A. C. and Wertheimer, M. The German teaching experiment at the University of Colorado. German Quarterly, 1962, 35, 298-308.

Lambert, W. E., Gardner, R. C., Barik, H. C., and Tunstall, K. Attitudinal and cognitive aspects of intensive study of a second language. J. abnorm. soc. Psychol., 1963, 66, 358-368.

²Lambert, W. E., 1963, op. cit.

³Hayes, op. cit., p. 167.

second-language learning, then, is that it serves as a partial substitute for immersion in the actual culture under convenient and politically safe conditions. By imitating the sounds and patterns of speech employed by members of another culture, the learner experiences first-hand the use of language categories and ways of expressing emotion characteristic of that cultural group. This experience would seem to be important in achieving the kind of understanding of a foreign culture essential in the performance of certain ambassadorial missions in that culture. Also, persons not adapted to such missions can be identified and reassigned prior to engagement in the operational setting. Language aptitude tests may serve as a beginning in research on selection for psychological operations mission assignment.

Beyond gaining insights into any one given culture, more general effects on cognitive structuring, or ways of storing information internal to the person, have been shown to result from learning a second language.⁴ These effects can be generalized as a replacement of cognitive categories specific to the learner's native language with categories which accommodate meanings found in the second language. For example, the Russian word "incorrect" (nyepravilnyi) has an additional meaning which implies the failure to be rigorous in using logic.⁵ The learning of this new meaning provides an attribute additional to those already found in English usage which becomes available for future interpretations of the word. It is hypothesized here that these effects contribute to the ability to function effectively in a variety of cultures. It also might be expected that habitual ways of processing stored information would be supplemented by new alternatives, although knowledge of these processes is very meager.

It is thought that mastery of grammatical structures in a second language will induce some measure of appreciation of cultural relativism as the student

⁴ Fishman, J. A. A systematization of the Whorfian hypothesis. Behavioral Science, 1960, 5, 323-339.

Lambert, W. E., et al., op. cit.

⁵ From a manuscript on intercultural understanding under preparation by Edmund Glenn.

learns "... that different languages cut up the world of experience in different ways".⁶ Since it is generally established that language serves to provide structure and meaning to life experiences, it is not surprising that learning a second language after an initial structure has become well-established can be an unsettling experience. This effect, referred to as anomie, has been repeatedly established.⁷ Thus, a second major function of language training is to reduce the absoluteness of the normative structure associated with the culture of the learner's native language. Apart from any personal discomfort which may be associated with this experience, the cognitive changes which occur are probably highly desirable and even necessary to the accomplishment of some missions in psychological operations. It could be predicted that these effects would tend to modify beliefs and orienting dispositions such as "other people think as we do" and "American culture is the legitimate, highly preferred way of interpreting life experiences." It is assumed that such culture-specific normative orientations are dysfunctional for cross-cultural communication and understanding.⁸

Other than in the preparation of the individual in terms of (1) understanding and being able to communicate within cultures specific to his psychological operations mission and (2) development of a general orientation appropriate to the conduct of such missions, language training has professional values. It has often been cited as

⁶Hayes, op. cit., p. 167.

⁷Lambert, 1963, op. cit.

⁸More extreme orienting dispositions which presumably do not contribute to cross-cultural understanding are the notion of the superiority of manhood among Naval officers, which finds expression in the Naval Institute Proceedings, and the belief that military methods and thinking can provide answers which politicians seem unable to find. A survey conducted in 1954 showed that "32% of high-ranking Pentagon staff officers attributed the differences between civilians and military to the professional virtues of the military and the absence of these virtues among the civilians." Huntington, S. P., Power, expertise and the military profession. Daedalus, 1963, 92, 785-807. These opinions with regard to American civilians would no doubt apply to foreign civilians to an even greater degree.

part of a well-rounded professional education.⁹ These recommendations are made in terms of the liberalizing influence of learning any second language, or cultivation in the humanities¹⁰ and in terms of a general survey of languages.¹¹ Liberalizing in this context refers to the dissipation of folklore about languages and culture, e.g., primitive people speak primitive languages.

Although this latter set of educational appeals refers primarily to the accumulation of knowledge by the individual and thus varies from the more specifically applied values discussed in this section, it nevertheless may have relevance for Naval career personnel from whose FL training long range benefits would accrue. Unfortunately, the nature of these benefits is sufficiently ambiguous that the language specialists and other authorities speaking on this issue have been unable to cite a rationale acceptable to critical decision makers which would guarantee the inclusion of language training in the professional preparation of Naval officers.¹² Within a bureaucratic form of government, there exist pressures toward rationalization of the activities of both its civilian and military agencies, which, in a democracy such as the U.S., are overlaid by requirements for visibility of operations. The presence of this combination of forces constrains the appeal for development of personnel at the taxpayer's expense to statements expressed in terms of the requirements of the job to be performed.¹³

⁹This position has been espoused by numerous political and military leaders and nationally known educators as quoted, for example, in: Parker, R.W., op. cit.

¹⁰Nostrand, H. L. On teaching a foreign culture. Paper presented to the FL Program General Assembly, December 29, 1955.

¹¹"A survey of languages of the world, with their genetic classification and some notion of the variety of roles played by different languages in various societies and nations belongs somewhere in the formation of every educated American." Ferguson, C.A., op. cit., 52.

¹²The New York Times. Navy to curtail language study. N.Y.: March 9, 1964.

¹³For example, at the fourth level of language proficiency, there occurs a synthesis of previously self-conscious verbal processes and what is referred to as

(continued)

Needed Research on User Benefits

Where requirements for conduct of psychological operations are laid upon the Navy, the logical, research-based derivation of a need for training in social skills and the humanities should follow. Thus far, the requirements for missions falling within the scope of psychological operations have not been surveyed or systematized to such an extent as to permit objective evaluation of the need for this training. It would appear, however, that formal training needs will considerably exceed that which has been administered thus far in the conduct of specific programs such as the provision of personnel for MAAG's, missions and attaché posts. Research on mission identification will no doubt indicate training needs not only in language and culture, but in principles of human relations and in special topical areas within the social sciences such as leadership in cross-cultural groups, where curriculum materials and teaching methods at present scarcely exist.¹⁴

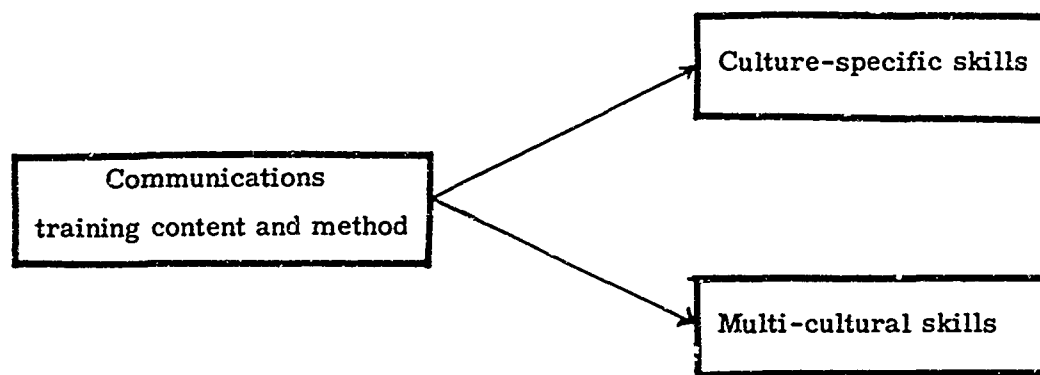
Research is needed to define measures for the related concepts of acculturation to a second linguistic-cultural community and the development of an appreciation for cultural relativism. Such measures should be developed along lines permitting the evaluation of their contribution to the conduct of cross-cultural missions. While a relatively small number of individuals will be assigned Navy missions requiring knowledge of one specific culture, their need for this knowledge is probably in depth (e.g., attachés assigned to a particular country). A greater number of officers and enlisted men might be expected to utilize communicative skills in a variety of cultures within a geographic area (e.g., personnel visiting a number of ports in the Mediterranean Sea). This research, in addition to the more

(Footnote 13 continued)

the personality dynamics of the user. This synthesis makes possible, among other things, appropriate responses to emotionally tinged situations such as engaging in exchanges of humor with members of the foreign culture. To avoid possible misinterpretation of this coincidental personal effect, official descriptions of the fourth level of proficiency are couched in bureaucratic language such as "full professional proficiency" or "the need of the government is met at the fourth level for job 'X'".

¹⁴The manning of a multi-national (NATO) crew for one DDG class destroyer is currently underway.

conventional research on language training, is characterized by the relations indicated below:



Once performance skill variables in these areas have been operationally defined, it will be important to evaluate language aptitude tests as predictors of these criteria and to refine these or develop other predictive devices for use in personnel selection.

Research should be performed to test the notion that alteration of cognitive structures and normative dispositions relative to cross-cultural communications, rather than just the development of speech habits, can be achieved as a primary objective through some type of FL training. Some languages might be more effective than others for this purpose, as a result of how much they differ from English in level of abstraction or as a result of differences in the social significance of certain categories. For example, it is reported that the British formerly taught Siamese (Thai) to young foreign service personnel bound for any country whose linguistic base was different from his own.¹⁵

¹⁵ Mead, M. Vicissitudes of the study of the total communication process. In T.A. Sebeok, A.S. Hayes, and M.C. Bateson (Eds.), Approaches to Semiotics, The Hague: Mouton, 1964, 145-172.

Particular adaptations to different areas of the globe may be desirable so that personnel assigned missions in a given theater of operations might receive multi-cultural communications training appropriate to that area. Implementation of a cross-cultural communications training program with these objectives would also depend upon research indicating the relative importance to foreign nationals of various communicative attitudes and skills under the conditions of different missions.

VII. CONCLUSIONS

One aspect of the Naval role in psychological operations is the engagement of personnel in interaction with members of other cultures. Wherever such cross-cultural interaction occurs, considerations of language usage are relevant, such as to make interests in FL utilization largely congruent with psychological operations objectives. At this early stage of development of an understanding of these objectives, research on the place of FL's in mission performance would be helpful in defining limits and suggesting alternatives for definition of criteria for psychological operations.

Beginning with an examination of the present status of FL's in the Navy, a study was made of administrative decisions involving FL's. It was found that approximately half of these decisions logically depended directly on information about the use of FL's in missions, as did all such decisions at least indirectly, yet such information was not being systematically employed. A review of the existing research revealed that such knowledge does not generally exist and that very meager support is being directed to its development. A considerable body of knowledge about FL training exists, with much yet to be accomplished, yet this information is discontinuous with operating experience; FL training criteria have not been empirically based.

An obstacle to the recognition of the need for research on language utilization was found to exist in the perspective on FL as a tool or aid to the performance of missions. Cast in the light of history, the tool perspective is a fairly recent interpretation of the uses which FL serves. Negative consequences for the Navy of this perspective were identified such as the minimizing of the importance of FL training relative to activities appropriate to conventional roles which are considered more legitimate. Contrary to this view, it is suggested that in many interaction situations the use of language itself may be defined as the mission. For

instance, personnel in port could be requested to engage residents in conversation using their language to create a friendly image.

The basic approach used to begin to develop an understanding of the relation of languages to missions was through an examination of the functions which language usage serves for the foreign national. After study and development, these functions may become useful as operational criteria. The effects of varying usages of FL were reviewed, noting that the perceptions of other persons varies with accent, dialect, style and the kind of language. These effects were considered in terms of a social placing function, which permits the foreign listener to identify the speaker in a number of socially significant ways, and in terms of a variety of other functions at the individual and societal levels of analysis. These effects may be important in the modification of national political affiliations and in the establishment of conditions favorable to the acceptance of information about the U.S.

Language training criteria may be developed through mission analyses which lead to the specification of the various skills such as vocabulary requirements. Techniques for such analyses have already been applied in specific situations. The identification of functions which language training serves for the language student is another source of training criteria. Language training may serve as an initial step in becoming adapted to another culture. As well as providing insights into one other culture, learning a FL may lead to changes in the individual which make him more effective in a variety of cultural contexts.

Cross-cultural communication involves not only conventionally recognized language skills on the part of the user, but within an interaction frame of reference, encompasses attitude and social influence processes, status attribution and motivational considerations. Research is needed to understand the operation of these phenomena within the total cross cultural communications context. Language and area training also have implications for the student beyond the development of a capability to transmit information to a member of another culture, which require research. This information would find use in an increasing variety of psychological operations in which Naval personnel deal with members of other cultures.