# Intensive Exposure Experiences in Second Language Learning

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# Intensive Exposure Experiences in Second Language Learning

Edited by Carmen Muñoz

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## Introduction

The role of intensive exposure to the target language (TL) in second language acquisition has not frequently been addressed as an issue in and of itself. However, intensive exposure is a critical distinctive characteristic in the comparison of the learning processes and outcomes in different learning contexts: naturalistic and foreign language instruction; stay abroad and at home; and extensive and intensive instruction programmes.

Here as elsewhere dichotomous divisions are convenient but simplifying labels. Take the case of foreign language instruction, which encompasses very diverse teaching-learning situations with different degrees of focus on, for example, the explicit learning of grammar rules or the learners' use of the TL in real tasks. The conception of language learning that underlies these choices or the characteristics of the educational system in which teaching takes place will define the amount and type of input to which learners are exposed in a continuum that is also influenced by the use of the TL outside the classroom (in both the immediate surroundings and the community context; see Housen, this volume; Muñoz & Lindgren, 2011). Likewise, learning through immersion in the TL community does not result in homogeneous outcomes, one of the causes being the large differences in opportunities for input and interaction as well as the choices learners make in relation to contact with fellow native speakers of their first language (L1) or native speakers of the second language (L2). In that respect, age of immigration and related socio-psychological factors appear to be determinant factors. On the one hand, the compulsory schooling of younger arrivals and the intense contact with peers that it affords most frequently result in a language dominance switch, from the L1 to the L2. In contrast, older arrivals may be more motivated to maintain their more fully formed linguistic-cultural identity through contact with native speakers of their L1, and are less prone to switching their language dominance (see, among others, Jia & Aaronson, 2003). Another case in point is the very high inter-individual variability in language gains that participants in study abroad programmes present, which seems to be in consonance with learners' orientations towards the TL and TL speakers (e.g. Kinginger, 2008). These orientations may ultimately determine

the amount and quality of language contact in which learners engage and their learning outcomes.

Notwithstanding the diversity found across foreign language (FL) teaching situations, traditional classrooms are commonly considered limited in their provision of input and possibilities of contact with the TL (see White & Turner, this volume). One specific consequence of this input limitation is an alleged ceiling effect for learning, which may be assumed to be lower or higher in relation to the relative difficulty of the TL (i.e. its distance from the L1 or the individual's language repertoire). Breaking through this ceiling into the more advanced level proficiencies may be difficult if learners are not provided with immersion learning experiences (Rifkin, 2005). In fact, the perception of a ceiling in their FL progress may push learners to provide themselves with intensive input experiences (see Muñoz, this volume). Another consequence of an input-limited learning setting may be that the time pressure that results from it enhances individual differences, as Collins and White (this volume) suggest.

In contrast, an immersion setting has the potential to provide the large amount of practice that is necessary for language automatization processes to take place, such as the gradual reduction of reaction time or error rate (see Llanes, this volume). In skill theory, declarative knowledge is said to become procedural knowledge through initial practice. This initial practice may be afforded by the classroom, but for procedural knowledge to become automatized, much more input and practice with this input are necessary than a typical classroom offers (DeKeyser, 2007). The large amount of input that is provided by an immersion experience also leads naturally to implicit learning, which is argued to be advantageous for complex structures that are difficult to learn explicitly (e.g. Robinson, 1996). Another type of learning that is facilitated when learners are exposed to massive amounts of input is incidental learning, which may play a major role in lexical learning. This ties in with usage-based theories for which input frequency is the key determinant of language acquisition (e.g. Ellis, 2002).

However, TL improvement during immersion experiences is not homogeneous, as observed above. In addition to the variability in the quality and the quantity of interaction that learners experience, individual internal factors play a significant role. One such factor seems to be initial proficiency level. From the perspective of skill theory, DeKeyser (2007) argues that, to obtain optimal benefits from a stay abroad, students need to be in possession of sufficient procedural knowledge that can then become automatic through practice in the immersion setting. This may explain the apparent continuity effect observed by Pérez-Vidal et al. (this volume) that highlights the value of previous FL instruction for students who experience a stay abroad.

The issue of the optimum initial proficiency level for intensive learning experiences has educational relevance for both study abroad programmes and intensive instruction programmes. Serrano (2011, this volume) reports on a study in which learners with lower initial L2 proficiency level benefit more from intensive instruction than students with higher proficiency level. Collins and White (this volume) demonstrate that the amount and concentration of instructional time allow beginner-level learners to make rapid progress over the course of a few months. The relative benefits of intensity for different proficiency levels is one of the questions that further research should answer. A related question is the most effective time distribution (e.g. concentrating all time into a single sustained intensive experience vs a series of spaced intensives) for immediate L2 learning and long-term retention (see Collins & White, 2011; Serrano, this volume).

Whereas this and other important questions have not yet been answered, research findings have accumulated showing the linguistic and attitudinal benefits of intensive instruction, and how it may be a valuable alternative to a 'drip-feed' early start approach (see Lightbown, this volume). Furthermore, research is now revealing some of the limitations of intensive classes, and pointing out the need to pay attention to the occurrence of certain target forms in the input (see Collins et al., this volume). Likewise, research on L2 learning in the European Schools system highlights the importance of formfocused instruction at some stage of schooling to help students acquire the less accessible aspects of the TL and ensure lexical precision and grammatical accuracy (see Housen, this volume).

## This Book

The chapters in this volume investigate L2 learning in different contexts with intensive TL exposure: longer- and shorter-term naturalistic immersion (in an immigration or a study-abroad situation), intensive instruction and informal intensive environments in FL settings.

The first chapter, by Raquel Serrano, reflects on the results obtained by different studies on the effect of time distribution on learning and tries to account for the different tendencies suggested by research within the cognitive psychology literature and the second language acquisition literature. In general, time concentration has been shown to be negative for learning and retention in psychology experiments. In contrast, the revision of studies in second language acquisition suggests a certain benefit of concentrating the hours of instruction instead of spreading them over long periods of time. The chapter highlights the difficulties in establishing a comparison between the studies in the two research fields because of methodological differences and differences in the type of learning under examination.

The next four chapters look at intensive programmes in Quebec from different and complementary angles. Intensive classes in Quebec have become a privileged setting for classroom research on L2 learning because – as Laura Collins and her colleagues note in the introduction of Chapter 4 – in the space of a few months the progress made in language development is substantial, the reason being directly related to the time on the task, including both its distribution and its quality. In Chapter 2 Patsy Lightbown, a key contributor to research in intensive instruction, sets the ground for the following three chapters. She begins by relating the origins of intensive English instruction in the 1970s to the success of French immersion programmes. which inspired the efforts of French-speaking parents in Quebec to look for ways to help their children learn English. She describes the characteristics of the two approaches, remarking that the major difference between them was that immersion included content-based instruction while intensive English focused on the teaching of the language itself. She goes on to relate how the latter also met with success and, as a result, the intensive approach was adapted for the teaching of French in other Canadian provinces in the 1990s. In addition to describing and comparing Canadian approaches to teaching English and French intensively and through immersion, the chapter discusses the potential for applications of these approaches outside of Canada.

In the next chapter, Laura Collins and Joanna White examine the effects of intensive instruction on different aspects of proficiency over time. The research question of this longitudinal study was whether the differences in L2 knowledge at the outset would be maintained throughout the intensive experience, or whether the removal of the time-pressure factor, which characterizes drip-feed access, would enable the lower proficiency students to catch up to their peers. The results showed that, midway through their intensive programme, the lower-level students were already closing the gap, and by the end they demonstrated similar levels of knowledge of English on many of the tasks. The findings suggest that intensive L2 instruction may mitigate the role of individual factors (such as aptitude) on classroom learning at beginner level.

Whereas Chapter 3 shows the benefits of intensive instruction, Chapter 4 shows some of its limitations. In this chapter, Laura Collins, Joanna White, Pavel Trofimovich, Walcir Cardoso and Marlise Horst examine the distribution and the characteristics of two forms known to present learning challenges for francophone students of English: the simple past and the possessive determiners <code>his/her</code>. The analysis of a corpus consisting of transcriptions of video recordings of three teachers' input to 11- to 12-year-old francophone learners at four intervals of 400 hours shows that the target forms are rare in the aural input, occur in restricted lexical contexts and have low perceptual salience. A qualitative analysis of the pedagogical input reveals that text-based input and events that include the teachers as participants provide richer exposure to the target forms. In sum, the study signals that intensity alone is not sufficient and highlights the need for attention to target forms in the input that are challenging for second language learners.

The next chapter, by Joanna White and Carolyn E. Turner, looks at the nature of the language promoted in intensive programmes, specifically

language generated from oral assessment tasks. The study forms part of the Oral Proficiency Project that was planned to build a profile of the oral proficiency of students at the end of five months of intensive exposure, as well as to compare the oral performance ability of students in intensive English as a Second Language with that of students in regular English as a Second Language programmes at the end of elementary school. The chapter discusses the two-phase explanatory sequential mixed methods design of the study. It begins by reporting the results of the first, quantitative phase, which showed that the gain scores for students in grade 6 in intensive classes were significantly greater than for those in regular classes at the end of the year. It then goes on to present the qualitative phase results with a wealth of discourse examples from three oral tasks performed by students in intensive and regular classes.

Chapter 6, by Alex Housen, focuses on a different instructed learning context, that of the European Schools, which also provides higher intensity of exposure to the target language than typical FL instruction settings. The two empirical studies that are presented focus on how the outcomes of the L2 learning process, in the various contexts within the European Schools system and by various groups of European Schools pupils, are affected by the interplay between curricular factors and contextual, extracurricular factors. The results suggest that pupils in these multilingual schools reach global levels of L2 proficiency that are comparable to those attained in other models of bilingual education, although they also highlight an extensive range of variation in rate and outcomes that seems to depend on factors such as L1 background and the status and availability of the TL both within the schools and in their wider context.

The next two chapters provide the reader with analyses of learners' perceptions in relation to intensive exposure experiences. Chapter 7, by Carmen Muñoz, explores the significance that intensive exposure experiences have for learners through the analysis of their responses to a question in an oral interview concerning a turning point in their learning trajectory. The analysis reveals that in most cases turning points are identified in intensive exposure settings, especially in stays abroad but also at home, both in formal settings and in informal immersion environments created by learners themselves. The chapter also analyses the themes that emerge in participants' responses: agency, practice, language improvement and linguistic assimilation are illustrated with learners' accounts and linked to the different contexts in which they appear more frequently. These qualitative findings complement previous results that showed the significance of input for instructed learners in a quantitative manner, specifically through significant correlations between a number of input measures and language test scores.

In the next chapter, Elsa Tragant examines learners' perceptions in order to investigate the impact of an intensive experience abroad as reported by students in an Erasmus exchange programme. Her study focuses on the