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L2 teaching and learning in Waldorf schools – why performative?

Martyn Rawson

This paper outlines the theory underpinning Waldorf L2 teaching and learning and shows that this approach requires performative methods. It provides a theoretical account that aligns with and underpins other articles in this issue of Scenario. It locates Waldorf language teaching within the overall frame of Waldorf pedagogy and its aims and in doing so the paper relates this approach both to Steiner's educational ideas and to contemporary education science. The paper explains the thinking behind teaching two other languages from the age of six (grade 1) onwards and outlines the different approaches in the lower, middle and upper school. It supplements existing accounts within the Waldorf literature by opening this discourse to an interpretation of L2 pedagogy in the light of, for example, socio-cultural, usage-based approaches, the declarative/procedural model and complex dynamic systems theory and links the Waldorf approach to embodied cognition theory. The aim throughout is to explain why the Waldorf approach is or, in the author's view, should be essentially performative.

1 Introduction

In this paper I offer a historical and theoretical account of the Waldorf approach to teaching and learning other languages (here referred to as L2) and the role of the performative in this, as a foundation for the companion articles in this issue of Scenario, showing that the Waldorf approach has in fact always been performative, even before the 'performative turn' in L2 methods. I start by clarifying some key terms, including what is meant by performative in L2 pedagogy. I locate this within the overall framework of Waldorf education, its pedagogical intentions and the ideas that inform these and then explain the thinking behind Waldorf L2 pedagogy and briefly illustrate the transition of L2 methods over the course of 12 school years. Though this account builds on the existing Waldorf literature it also steps into the early 21st Century educational discourse and reimagines Waldorf L2 pedagogy in contemporary terms.

Waldorf education is one of the largest 'other education' movements in the world after Montessori. Rudolf Steiner founded the Waldorf School in Stuttgart in 1919 at the request of Emil Molt, owner of the Waldorf-Astoria Cigarette Factory (Zdrazil, 2019). Since then an international educational movement has grown with around 3,000 educational institutions in 70 countries (https://www.freunde-waldorf.de/en/waldorf-worldwide/organisations-worldwide/). Some are called Steiner schools, others Waldorf schools and still others have

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quite different names, such as my own school, the Christian Morgenstern School in Hamburg. In this article I use the term Waldorf schools to refer to all these institutions.

2 Clarifying some key terms

In any international context, it is essential to clarify what is meant by the terms used. This is not just a question of translation but also the recognition that many taken-for-granted educational terms such as *education*, *teach*, *learn*, *pedagogy*, *curriculum* have culturally specific meanings. As Wolfgang Nieke (2012) has shown, in the German language the meanings of terms such as *Bildung*, *learning* and *competence* have shifted and Rebecca Horlacher (2018) has shown that the German word *Lehrplan* has not only changed its meaning since the early 20th Century but has a different meaning to curriculum, which is often used to translate it.

Here I use the term L1 to refer to the primary language of instruction in school, and L2 to refer to the teaching and learning of additional languages. Of course, some children may have different home languages to the language of instruction in school, which adds another layer of complexity to the linguistic context. In many countries English is often seen as the 'first' L2 and English is often the preferred language of instruction in countries that actually have other home and national languages, such as India or the Philippines. My sense is that this is a complex issue, not always fully acknowledged within the Waldorf movement. A recent paper offering guidelines for Waldorf schools integrating Ukrainian refugee students and which focused on the issue of languages (Rawson, 2022) met with some critique)personal communications) within the Waldorf movement in Germany because it suggested that many schools do not have coherent policies regarding students lacking either the L1 or L2 of those schools. Either schools offer no extra support (the full immersion programme) or they are taught separately (which is not really inclusion).

The term pedagogy is used in the sense of the relationship between teaching and learning, and therefore includes the German notion of didactics. Following Nind, Curtin and Hall (2016) pedagogy comes in three modes; pedagogy as craft (e.g. classroom practice), as art (e.g. aesthetic and transformative aspects) and as science (e.g. understanding practice and learning), and this distinction is very helpful from a Waldorf perspective. The Waldorf approach draws on generative principles based on a pedagogical anthropology initially developed by Steiner (2020; see also Lutzker's articles in this issue), which are adapted to the context using a variety of methods, in the original sense of the word *methodos* meaning a path to particular goal, or way of doing something (https://www.etymonline.com/word/method), in this case, learning another language in ways that support the development of the person and guided by an ethics of care (Rawson, 2021).

I follow Dahlin (2017) in defining curriculum as all pedagogical activities that influence the learning and development of the students, including what is taught, how, when, where and, of course, why it is taught. Though there are various published Waldorf curricula (e.g. Richter, 2019, Rawson, Richter and Avison, 2014) in different languages, such works offer orientation and suggestions rather than prescribed content and methods. Waldorf methods of L2, whilst deriving from Steiner's original suggestions (e.g. as collated by Stockmeyer, 1965/2015), have developed over the years and been more recently documented (e.g., Denjean, 2000; Jaffke, 1994; Kiersch, 2014; Kiersch, Dahl & Lutzker, 2017). Curriculum is seen as the pedagogical response to the age-related developmental tasks facing children and young people throughout their early years and school life and describes a series of learning opportunities for each subject and school year (Rawson, 2021d). Whilst the overall structure and developmental sequence is deemed to be generally valid in Waldorf schools everywhere, each country determines the languages, skills and knowledge that are deemed necessary and desirable to learn, depending on the local circumstances (Rawson, 2021a, b). The developmental tasks have three basic sources, the general human maturational processes, the local social and cultural expectations and the individual's biographical interests and needs.

In what sense is Waldorf L2 teaching and learning performative?

The term performative used here is one of many meanings deriving from the 'performative turn' (Schechner, 2006), the paradigm shift within the social sciences that grew from philosophical pragmatism (Renn, 2014) and praxis theory (Nicolini, 2012) and in particular from Austin's (1962) speech act theory, to the assumption that all social practices and institutions are performed (Searle, 2010), that culture is performed (Renn, 2014), that identity is performed (Butler, 1995), that ethnographic research is performed (Dirksmeier & Helbrecht, 2008; Spry, 2006,), that indeed new aesthetic realities are brought into being through performance (Fischer-Lichte, 2004, 2008). What was originally a metaphor along the lines of Shakespeare's "all the world's a stage" has become an ontology of becoming, an epistemology of knowing and a method of learning, including L2 pedagogy. Steiner's (1963) theory of knowledge that underpins Waldorf education is in itself performative, in that through the iterative act of generating knowledge, we bring both ourselves into being and create new realities (da Veiga, 2016). As Thomas Fuchs (2017) explains, the human brain is a relational organ, that the basis for both knowing and acting is embodiment and being embedded relationally in the world, and that all learning is preceded by movement – literally. We first grasp something with our minds when we have grasped it with our hands, moved (towards, around, with) it with our whole body.

Following Winkelmann (2020), performative learning means that it is based on aesthetic experience and recognizes the body with its senses as the basis for world appropriation.

Performative learning designs a reality that is adapted to the realities of individuals' lives. It is always a process, is changeable and reflects the plurality of life worlds and makes that which is 'strange' and unknown familiar. It is an approach that rejects hierarchically coded dualisms.

As Schewe (2013) has explained, the drama-related learning in schools has been around since the 16th century. Before that, even the medieval mystery and miracle plays had a pedagogical intention for both performers (amateur apprentice craft and trade workers) and audience (Howes, 2018). The performative turn within drama pedagogy in the field of foreign language didactics (Crutchfield & Schewe, 2017) over the past two decades emphasizes the body through sensory experience, "the emotions, the imagination and the moral intelligence as well as the rational intellect" (Crutchfield, 2021, p. 33) and involves performative experiences, using such activities as improvisation, tableau work and role play. Crutchfield cites Miladinović (2019) as referring to performative L2 teaching as post-method because it is based on principles rather than on prescribed practices, which can be flexibly adapted to the given context, a process that involves both reflection in the learner and teacher reflection and practitioner research. As I have mentioned above, this aligns with the Waldorf approach of drawing on generative principles (Rawson, 2021).

I therefore apply the term *performative* to Waldorf L2 pedagogy in the sense defined 'in a nutshell' by Manfred Schewe (2020) as "an umbrella term to describe forms of foreign language teaching that derive from the performative arts and their corresponding culturally-specific pedagogical practices" (p. 112). The term performative arts is more closely defined as a focus on "artistic processes that can but do not necessarily result in performance in front of an audience… The more a language discipline integrates performative experiences of this kind into its core curriculum, the more it can claim to be both, a language and performative arts discipline" (p. 113). Notice here that the term curriculum is also used in the wider sense I have defined above – in effect the whole pedagogical approach. The term *culturally specific pedagogical practices* applies to Waldorf L2 practices that are embedded within national Waldorf school cultures. This paper aims to provide a theoretical underpinning for the other articles in this issue that describe various aspects of practice either in the L2 classroom or in teacher education and complements both Peter Lutzker's articles in this issue on cultivating L2 teaching.

3 Overall aims of Waldorf education

Waldorf education aims to enable and support the health development of the person and equip them to participate in society as autonomous and ethical individuals (Rawson, Richter, & Avison, 2014). The education (or *Bildung*) process is understood as a cultural space that influences the way an individual engages with self (including the body), others and the world

(Rawson, 2021a). The educational philosopher Gert Biesta (2021) has suggested it can be useful to analyse the function of all schools in terms of socialisation, qualification and subjectification (or becoming a subject). Applying this to Waldorf L2 pedagogy, it means that the teaching and learning has multiple aims; socialization means enabling students to participate effectively in multilingual and multicultural social contexts and to develop identities that make this possible. In terms of qualifications, which doesn't simply refer to certificates, young people are to become qualified to participate to the best of their ability in civil society and the workplace, with all the language skills people actually need (e.g. fluency and literacy in more than one language, cultural literacy, awareness of the power of language etc.). Becoming a subject means learning to form ethical judgements and take actions based on insight and the ability to take responsibility for one's actions. It also means the ability to recognize and respect the other as person.

4 The relationship between pedagogical anthropology and practice

Waldorf education is based on Steiner's pedagogical anthropology (Steiner, 2020), which describes the interactions between spirit, psyche and body over the life course of childhood and youth and the implications of this for learning and development (Rawson, 2021a). In doing so, Steiner makes an important distinction between spirit and psyche (in German *Seele*, often translated into English as soul). The spiritual aspect of the human being is the agentic core of the individual, the subject of the sentence "I am learning English". The psyche is the emergent psychological inner life of the person that manifests in thinking, feeling and willing. Spirituality is the person's experience of meaning and of being embedded in a meaningful bigger context (Rawson, 2021c). Furthermore, the Waldorf approach assumes that language itself also has a spiritual dimension, that is, it has a non-material, emergent and formative quality that is a wellspring of evolving universal meaning (referred to as Logos), and is the common source of the individual evolving languages. Language is embedded in the cultural lifeworld and embodied in individuals where it shapes speech organs and neural structures and psychologically shapes how we think and feel.

Where earlier generations of Waldorf practitioners tended to treat Steiner's anthroposophical anthropology as fact, there has been a shift to seeing Steiner's work as offering heuristic ideas. This approach was originally recommended by Rittelmeyer (1990). A heuristic reading of Steiner's pedagogical anthropology can lead to a series of working principles that can be applied to generate and evaluate pedagogical practice. An example for a generative working principle is the iterative interaction between sensory experience, affect, memory and recall and the activity of the individual spirit as locus of consciousness and source of agency. The implications of this for pedagogy are that the learning process should be structured in certain

ways and this informs pedagogical practice, such as curriculum and teaching methods (Rawson, 2021a). Language, for example, is learned through shared attention and communicative intentionality, senso-motoric activity and participation in social practices that involve speech and gesture within a community of practice (Tomasello, 2008, 2019). Thus, the relationship between pedagogical anthropology, generative working principles and L2 pedagogical practice can be graphically illustrated as follows:

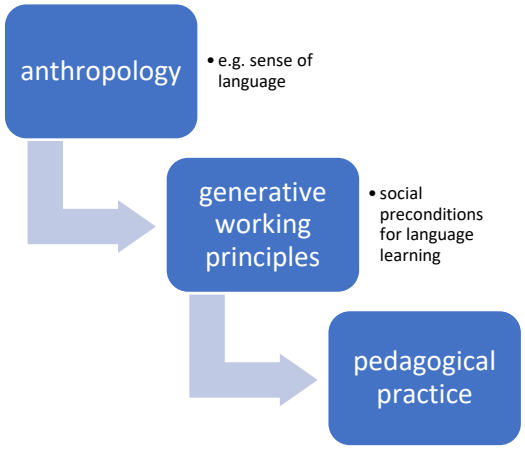


Figure 1: The relationship between the pedagogical anthropology, the generative principles and practice (e.g., performative L2 learning methods)

5 Sense of Language

One of the central ideas that has transformed Waldorf L2 pedagogy is Peter Lutzker's work on Steiner's (2020, p. 186) notion of a sensory experience of language. Building on Steiner's reference to a sense for language and drawing on extensive physiological and neurological literature, Lutzker (2002, 2016, 2017) has described the processes of language perception and the implications they have for L2 teaching. In our perception of language, we perceive not only the sounds and valence of the spoken word but the communicative intentions of the speaker as communicated and expressed through voice, gesture, body language, whole body movement and the micro-movements of the larynx along with the entire muscle system of the upper body. In the recent, revised edition of this work Lutzker (2017) has been able to update his description by referencing recent neurological and medical research, as well as new approaches to translating Steiner's anthropology into contemporary terms.

Perceiving language involves processes of sensory integration of a range of sensory inputs including the kinesic self-synchrony of the speaker, who simultaneously moves in relation to what she speaks, and interactional synchrony, in which the listener automatically and unconsciously mirrors these macro and micro-movements. Thus, language perception also involves a mimetic process that goes beyond listening and involves the recipient of speech in

simultaneous, though entirely unconscious, senso-motoric responses at various levels to the speech performance of the speaker. Lutzker (2017, p. 51) reports that people are continuously active, adjusting themselves to the presence and activity of the other communicating with us. The complexity of the evidence for senso-motoric perception of language and the arguments in support of the hypothesis for a sense of language cannot be reproduced here, but the associated mimetic-kinesic processes that accompany language perception are crucial to a performative approach.

6 Which languages and how many?

One of the distinguishing features of Waldorf education at its inception was the introduction of two other languages in grade one (at the age of six) with a total of six 45-minute L2 lessons per week (or equivalents in alternating blocks) In the original Waldorf School these were French and English. The reasons were both pragmatic and idealistic; English was the world language in 1919 and French was the language of the traditional, bitter enemy to whom Germany had just lost a war. Later, Waldorf schools in Germany introduced Russian as an alternative to French as 'second' other language, also to promote peace and understanding with a historically and politically 'foreign' culture (a task that has tragically become ever more important and challenging since the war in Ukraine). Today over 40 Waldorf schools in Germany now teach Spanish instead of French. Around the world the choice of other languages retains this dual aspect of pragmatic and idealistic reasons. In China many Waldorf schools teach German (because German was the original Waldorf language) or Japanese and English. In the US likewise some Waldorf schools teach German for the same reasons, but more frequently Mandarin Chinese, Spanish and sometimes Japanese for pragmatic reasons. In the UK Waldorf schools struggle to offer more than one other language (French or German and occasionally Mandarin Chinese). In New Zealand the state requires all schools to teach Maori.

Waldorf education assumes that having only one other language (i.e., other than the language of instruction, which may or may not be the home language) has a tendency to create a binary, 'mother-other' perspective, whilst learning three languages (first language and two others) triangulates different perspectives. There is considerable evidence (summarized in Huang, Steinkrauss & Verspoor, 2020; Sanz, 2000) that learning more than one language at the same time is beneficial, though the reasons given in Waldorf education are based on the notion of multiple perspectives. Learning other languages, especially using a strong emphasis on orality, teaching in the target language and having a strong cultural focus are important methods with the purpose of enabling the learners to think, feel and act in the mood of or out of a feeling for the language, thus supporting multilingual skills.

As Hunfeld has argued, encountering another language in texts in another language can be a "Vorschulung für die Begegnung mit Fremdheit in konkreter Wirklichkeit"('a pre-schooling for encountering otherness in concrete reality', 1996, p. 112). Following Hunfeld, this confrontation with difference to one's own world view is not merely to be endured and tolerated but should be understood as an extension to and modification of one's previous world view and thus an experience that opens us to other ways of seeing things. Hunfeld's hermeneutic approach, which very much aligns with the Waldorf approach (at its best), does not aim for quick understanding, but rather for respectful and gradual openness to what is new, different and other, to a dialogue with the other (see Rawson on working with Shakespeare in this journal). Hunfeld's postcolonial perspective, as illustrated in his reference to Robinson Crusoe, that avoids the gesture of mastering, controlling, instrumentalizing the other language is still very apt today.

Rumpf (2010) observes that there are two modes of encountering the world through learning. The first involves going out and capturing the objects we are interested in, dissecting and analysing them in order to reduce, master, control and instrumentalise them for our purposes. In terms of L2 learning, this means learners encountering the language as already analysed into sequences of rules and vocabulary lists and then learning to apply these to grammar exercises and vocabulary tests. The other approach involves opening ourselves to the otherness of the Other, getting up close, immersing ourselves in the other's experience, accepting ambivalence and gaps, being able to listen to what the other is saying and showing us and, building on shared intentionality, coming to common understandings. This second, phenomenological approach assumes that the encounter with the unknown and unfamiliar, with the not-me/not-us world, with the 'foreign' world, is transactional and will change both subject and object. It is a fundamentally relational approach, one that seeks to reduce the *foreignness* whilst opening to the *otherness* of the other language and its speakers. It seeks not to master Spanish (or Russian or French etc) but to join it, appreciate it and be adopted by it. In terms of L2 learning it means immersion and participation in social practices and culture in the language, both which are enhanced by performative approaches.

Learning how to relate to the world through different languages, especially if translation does not continuously mediate this experience and drag it back to the safe and familiar territory of the first language, does offer the learner the perspective of several lenses on the world, enriched by the accompanying affective experiences. When these perspectives are embedded in authentic cultural practices (e.g. poetry, literature, cinema, fashion, music and food) then over time – and admittedly it does take a long time - one begins to feel comfortable if not actually at home in other worlds. Mediation, which is not word-for-word translation, is a high-level skill based on good knowledge of both languages and so is left to the upper school.

7 How is L2 learned in Waldorf schools?

L2 teaching in Waldorf schools involves teachers using embodied communication based on mimetic learning, gesture, pantomime, body language, speech and narrative exclusively in the target language in order to stimulate the children's imagination of familiar experiences and thus their situational understanding (Kiersch et al, 2017). This approach makes assumptions about the basis of natural language learning similar to those made in Tomasello's (2003, 2008) socio-cultural, usage-based theory of first language acquisition, though modified in age-sensitive ways. Natural language learning relies on shared intentionality, willingness to communicate and cooperation within a learning community. Children learn the language spoken in the community of practice they grow up in through observation and participation. In a second stage they can understand and reflect on language use.

For L2 learning orality has perhaps not been granted the significance it has for the mother tongue. Sanders (1994) emphasizes that,

> literacy fits over orality like a protective glove, following every contour and outline that orality hands it. Orality provides rhythms, the intonations and pitches, the very feelings that find final expression in writing. Orality thus serves as a preparation - a necessary and powerful foundation - for the construction we call literacy. Children need to hear language in order to learn language (p. 35).

Why should this not also be the case for L2 languages, albeit in modified form? If our pedagogical aim in learning second languages is not merely functional and utilitarian, but a contribution to the formation of the whole person by opening up other ways of experiencing the world that involve the whole person, that involve tentative, respectful, empathic encounters, then the significance of orality in L2 learning has not only functional aspects, but formative ones for the developing person.

7.1 The first three years at school

Over the first three years the teaching of L2 is entirely oral and literacy is only introduced in grade 4 (see Jaffke in this journal; also Jaffke, 1994). Thereafter, a strong emphasis on orality is retained and teachers regularly use dialogue, role play, scene playing, recitation, song, storytelling, games and drama, all in the target language, in their lessons (Kiersch et al, 2017). The intention is to immerse children in the language and enable them to participate in meaningful classroom practices that use the target language as a communicative medium, in ways that encourage them to be active and alert yet also relaxed, since these conditions support the sense for language (Lutzker, 2002, 2016, 2017) that underpins language learning.

It is vital to encourage a relaxed, enjoyable learning atmosphere in the classroom that combines having fun with a sense that our work is learning and performative elements help create this state of relaxed alertness.

Learning another language involves encountering a linguistic world that initially is 'foreign'. Therefore, it is necessary to take steps to normalize the situation as quickly as possible, for example, by encouraging and enabling children to participate in familiar practices and activities that they basically understand and enjoy and then leading them gradually into another imaginative world, that of the other language, where they are able to appreciate the otherness of it step by step as they appropriate its ways seeing, feeling, being, talking and even ultimately, thinking. Such classroom practices include guessing games, pointing tasks, body geography verses ("these are my toes and this is my nose"), action rhymes, seasonal songs, verses and tongue twisters, role play, using puppets and storytelling. The focus is very much on quickly learning whole sentences through question and answer and dialogue with scaffolded building blocks of sentence parts and a range of options using whole phrases, for example:

> Q: What's the weather like today? Can you see out of the window?
>
> A: Today it's: raining / wet and winding /grey and cold / cold and frosty / snowing / the sun is shining / it's warm and sunny etc.

This can be varied by asking about the weather yesterday, thus using past tense forms and later by adding phrases like "I hope it will be…at the weekend".

This is introduced by the teacher with appropriate gestures (opening an umbrella, shivering with cold, etc.) and pointing, with the teacher posing the question and providing answers. The children repeat both question and answer and quickly learn to distinguish between them. The next step is the teacher asking the question and the class answering collectively, then individually and then each child can ask her classroom neighbour the question and the other offers one of the possible answers. This simple structure of scaffolding can be almost endlessly varied; what are you wearing? How did you come to school today? What is your favourite food, colour, etc.? Using pictures, the range of vocabulary can be extended beyond what is visible in the classroom but nevertheless familiar. The sentences and words can be embedded in scaffolded role plays, such as going to the market:

> Mr. Patel: Good morning Mrs MacGregor, how are you today?
>
> Mrs MacGregor: Good morning Mr Patel, I'm very well, thank you.
>
> Mr. Patel: What can I offer you today? I have some lovely yellow bananas.

> Mrs MacGregor: Let me look at my shopping list. Ah yes, I need some vegetables and fruit today. What vegetables do you have today?
>
> Mr. Patel: I have some nice crunchy carrots and some fresh green beans.
>
> Mrs MacGregor: Please give me a pound of carrots and ….

Such scenes can be enacted by pairs all over the classroom. To support the role play, shopping bags are required and cardboard cut-out fruit and vegetables, which the students have themselves made in the lesson, with all the vocabulary that belongs to dealing with scissors, card, colouring, clearing up the offcuts, numbering ("I'd like 15 red apples and 15 greens ones please"). Very early on children should learn typical phrases for classroom practices like "How do I say….?", "What does that mean?", "Can I go to the toilet, please?"

By the end of three years (i.e., at the age of 9 years) the children have an extensive vocabulary of everyday things, activities, adverbs and adjectives they are familiar with, prepositions and most common verb forms all on a usage basis – and usage means, using, doing, performing, becoming. The classroom practices being enacted not only bring the children into becoming speakers of the language, but in doing so The point is to stay broadly within the children's actual experiences and things that can easily be pantomimed, pointed to or shown on images and stick to activities they are familiar with. The same applies to story material. By sticking to a standardized narrative framework (e.g. setting the scene, naming and recalling the main characters, using familiar vocabulary) and adding in elements they are familiar with, teachers can create simple, situated stories such as the following:

> Once there was a girl called Aymee and her younger brother Wayne. They live with their mum Shirley in a flat in Brixton in London. They have a dog called Idris, who wags his tail. They have to take Idris for a walk every day before and after school in the park. The children go to school at the Honeywell junior school. Shirley, the mother, works as a bus driver. She drives a big red London bus. Every day the alarm rings at 6 o'clock and the children get up. Their mum Shirley is usually already up and is making the breakfast. Aymee goes to the bathroom first to brush her teeth and wash her face. Then she wakes Wayne who always sleeps through the alarm. Aymee eats muesli every day with fresh fruit. Wayne eats Choco Pops and doesn't like fruit.

The story progresses with familiar crises (the alarm does not go off, there is no milk, they miss the bus, Wayne forgets his sports kit, the dog gets lost etc). The teacher can invent episodes that include the changing seasons, birthdays and visits to the father at the weekend. The narrative can be adjusted to the location (USA, Canada, New Zealand, etc., anywhere they speak, in this case, English). Other teachers may choose to tell folk tales. These have to be

simplified to the extent that the children will broadly understand the figures and what they do, because they can identify the situation. At the same time, a variety of culturally specific elements can be woven into the story without explicit explanations, which can come later.

Participating in everyday social practices and activities, enacting them, reciting poetry and performing action rhymes has the effect of attuning pronunciation but also generating a feeling for the language, in particular, individual words. The Waldorf approach assumes that the spoken word shapes the speech organs and sensitizes the learner to the affective dimension of language, which expresses how native speakers of that language relate to the world; for example, the word *tree* expresses a different experience of the botanical species than the words *Baum, árbol, träd, coeden*, in German, Spanish, Swedish or Welsh respectively. Steiner (1995, p. 31) uses the metaphor of the mother tongue being like 'soul milk' that nourishes and structures the child's mind and ability to relate to others and the world. We can say that orality is the 'soul milk' that prepares the child for literacy.

As Kiersch et al (2017) point out, Steiner's understanding of language involves conscious, semi-conscious and unconscious dimensions that are embodied when the child takes in this 'soul milk'. As Barfield (2002, p1-2) has shown for the English language, it carries its sedimented history of cultural meanings within it. He starts his book by exploring the word *electric* and its origins in the Greek word *élektron* meaning amber, which was first used in English by Francis Bacon who was aware of amber's property of generating static electricity when rubbed on wool or fur. Whilst learning a language naturally, children are unaware of these historical origins and layers of meaning, nor can they have the original experiences associated with the word that may have shaped its sounds (Tomasello, 2019). Nevertheless, these unconscious meanings are embodied when the word is used and learned. The Waldorf approach assumes that teachers' awareness of at least some of these meanings as well as the aesthetic valence of the words, particularly as used in speech and in speaking poetry, where the exact meanings of the words are not given but rather implied in the way the words are spoken, will enrich their teaching.

7.2 Classes 4 to 8 (the middle school)

In class four (age 10) children are introduced to literacy in L2 lessons. They start by reading texts, such as a verse that they know by heart, and also use this to practise writing. In this phase they reactivate the extensive vocabulary of everyday things and activities that they have embodied through usage in the first three years. Now 'word-hoards' are built up of words with related contexts, phonetic value and spelling and the rules of sentence structure and tenses are systematically and explicitly introduced. The children move from reading what they already know to reading unfamiliar texts, in which the content is interesting and age-

appropriate enough to maintain interest, since learning literacy is a hard slog. Teaching English phonics in L2 requires a systematic approach, given the significant variance between sound and spelling.

Reading is developed through a series of readers and eventually the students move on to extensive reading, in which they choose what they want to read from a range of books provided and then do regular book reports. Throughout the middle school (grades 5 to 8) the L2 lessons are based around conversation, recitation of poetry, role play, working with and producing texts including creative writing and working through the grammar (see interview with Albert-Jahn in this issue), though generally lexis drives grammar (Bleyhl, 2007). Indeed, the Waldorf approach aligns in many ways with Bleyhl's (2007) conclusion that L2 learning depends essentially on learners gaining experiences through participation in classroom practices in the language, by cultivating understanding and self-activity and that spoken language in context is primary, including teachers modelling informal and formal speech, clear articulation and speech melody. The emphasis in Waldorf L2 teaching and learning in the upper middle and upper school is encouraging students to read widely in the language, develop their writing in the language (e.g., through creative writing) and to talk (in the target language) about everything that interests them and is important to them. Steiner (2020, p426-7) described translating back and forth between the languages as highly uneconomical of time. If one engages the students' interest in real issues, the awareness of grammar and syntax will "wie von selbst herausbekommen"(i.e., will emerge, p. 426). Steiner emphasized listening comprehension and the description of events that the students have witnessed (p. 518) as preceding reading unfamiliar texts. We now know that this process is much enhanced when the teacher uses the methods of storytelling and mime to enhance comprehension. As he put it, it is less the reflection on what the teacher (or another speaker) says or answers, than the activity (das Tun) that is important, "sodass also auch das Willensmäßige, das Bewegungsmäßige im Sprachenunterricht kultiviert wird" (so that engaging the will and movement are cultivated in L2 lessons"(p. 519).

7.3 The upper school

In the upper school (grades 9 to 12) the approach shifts away from teaching the language as such to using the language as the medium for exploring themes of interest to young people and cultural studies of the countries in which the target language is used using literature, news articles, websites, film and other media and including drama productions and writing, as well as performing and enacting poetry (see Sievers in this issue on working with media and Rawson on Shakespeare in this issue).

7.4 Learning L2 through participating in practice

Vygotsky's (1981) observation was that all higher mental functions manifest first on the social plane as an inter-psychological process to be superseded by an intra-psychological process and that such higher capacities as language and thinking (in the sense of conceptualizing) develop through participation in human interaction that is mediated by material artefacts (e.g., tools, and books and computers) and non-material artefacts like language, symbols, numbers and concepts. In L2 terms the child learns to participate orally in guided interactions and this gradually enables the subsequent ability to think conceptually in the language which comes with the transition from orality to literacy, since literacy requires internalized speech in reading and externalizing thoughts in writing. The implications of this for learning about grammar and syntax is that consciousness and understanding of forms and rules comes with literacy, though based on embodied orality. Furthermore, Vygotsky's notion of the zone of proximal development has led to the idea of assisted performance, often referred to as scaffolding, using a term first coined by Bruner (1978), in which the teacher prompts and supports dialogue, thus enabling language development. The competent speaker, as a rule the teacher, scaffolds the learner's next steps in linguistic development (by speaking the lines, by providing sentence chunks and vocabulary). Lantolf et al. (2020) report on research that even suggests that peers can effectively scaffold each other's language use, not necessarily in novice-expert relations. Ohta (2001,p.76) has observed that "when learners work together…strengths and weaknesses are pooled, creating a greater expertise for the group than any of the individuals involved."

Particularly important from a socio-cultural perspective is the notion of natural or spontaneous concepts that children learn through participation, such as the rules of a simple guessing game in the lower grades (e.g., What is in Mr Rawson's bag today?), or the use of prepositions of space, which can be easily demonstrated (the key is in, near or under the box etc.), and what Vygotsky (see Eun, 2010) called scientific concepts which generally have to be taught. Objects such as tables, doors, and windows are fairly universal, though of course there are often cultural and stylistic differences, and thus can be counted as natural concepts because they are familiar concepts and therefore relatively easy to learn in the other language. Other concepts such as citizenship, common ownership or grammatical concepts such as present perfect usually need to be taught explicitly. The distinction between implicit and explicit learning has been defined as follows:

> Explicit learning is input processing with the conscious intention to find out whether the input information contains regularities and, if so, to work out the concepts and rules with which these regularities can be captured. Implicit learning is input processing without such an intention, taking place

> unconsciously (Hulstijn, 2005, 131, cited in Vanpatten, Keating & Wulff, 2020, p. 12)

In Waldorf L2 pedagogy the path usually leads from implicit to explicit teaching of grammar rules, spelling and text types. Furthermore, this also relates to the distinction between what is known as procedural and declarative knowledge, the former including language 'caught' through participation in immersion situations, the latter uses explicit information through intentional and conscious instruction. Paradis (2009) points out that young people gradually, change their primary mode of learning from procedural to declarative knowledge in adolescence. It seems reasonable to assume that procedural knowledge, which effectively means knowing how to do things (and what the activity is called), is the primary mode of learning in L2 until the young person's cognitive development is capable of understanding complex concepts and applying those to language. Most students, who are not natural linguists, won't be able to learn linguistic usage by applying rules until well after puberty, usually in the upper school from grade 10 (age 16) upwards. Language teachers are often natural linguists, just as music teachers are musicians, and this may lead some of them to assume that declarative knowledge of grammar and syntax is relatively easy, and of course there is always a small group of students in a class for whom this is true. Like maths or sport, natural ability makes life much easier in those fields. We are, however, primarily teaching those who are not natural talents, who can be given tasks suited to their ability, and the teaching can focus on the others.

Drawing on Rogoff's (1995) taxonomy of three planes of socio-cultural activity in learning, Bransby and Rawson (2020) identify four general phases of learning: participation, guided discovery, guided application and appropriation. Applied to L2 learning (see Figure 2) this means the first three years involve *participation* in classroom practices in the language involving only orality. On the basis of a degree of established orality, literacy is introduced in the 4th grade (age 10) involving the *guided discovery* and *guided application* of basic skills and the rules governing them. At this stage sets of constrained language skills (Paris, 2005), such as basic vocabulary and sentence structures, are taught that form the foundation for the subsequent development of unconstrained language skills in the L2 language arts (e.g., communicative fluency, literacy including text comprehension and production in a wide range of forms). *Appropriation* means using the language in cultural contexts, e.g. cultural and historical studies, literature, project work, self-expression and creative writing and the analysis of these media. In the process of appropriation, the learner experiences the values inherent in cultural activities and is able to begin critically questioning within the culture, and for example being able to analyse texts and other media. Each new step is reinforced through application and practice and cultural understandings are assimilated, particularly during the

phase of appropriation, essentially through engaging with authentic literature and other media. It is important to stress that just orality goes through all age groups at levels that match students' interests and abilities, so too does participation in practices, which vary according to age and interest.

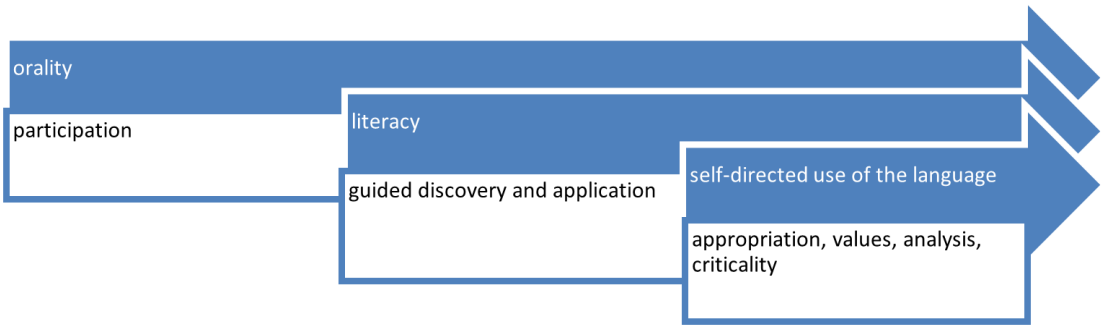


Figure 2: Applying Rogoff's levels of participation to L2 pedagogy

8 Conclusions: the centrality of performative L2 learning

Even (2020) offers a characterization of what performative teaching means; it

> transcends drama methods and drama activities and, indeed, might not feature dramatic performances at all. Instead, it points to a different mindset of what it means to teach – and to learn – away from mere presentation of facts, standardized procedures, and static knowledge towards an approach to teaching and learning that is characterized by teachers and learners making their own connections, forming relationships, co-constructing knowledge, seeing mistakes as learning opportunities, and regarding the process of learning as essentially dynamic and unpredictable (Even, 2020, p. 4).

L2 learning depends on the perception of whole person communication in the classroom and participation in a rich linguistic environment of classroom practices in the target language. Furthermore, by using activities and practices learners are already familiar with, themes that interest them and when they have the sense of agency in their learning, then 'strangeness' of the other language is overcome in participation and the learners can experience what Rosa (2019) calls experience of resonance. Teachers therefore have to model both these conditions. The implication of this approach is that Waldorf L2 teachers are required to create rich language environments in which children are encouraged to participate in classroom practices in the target language. They need to be able to communicate bodily and verbally in the target language in ways that stimulate the learners' sense of language and enable them to understand empathically. Furthermore, without the props of books for the first three years, this requires teachers to be able to engage large classes in a continuous flow of activities in

the language. Given the unpredictable nature of the classroom environment, the ability to respond to the unexpected in spontaneous and meaningful ways requires considerable improvisational skills.

All teachers, but especially L2 teachers, need what Loebell (2017) calls creative agency in unexpected situations. As Skillen (1997) notes, L2 teachers need to continue using 'applied orality' even after literacy has been introduced, which means that teachers need to be adept at storytelling, have enhanced whole-body communicative skills to ensure that gesture, tone of voice, articulation and intended meaning align, and be able to improvise. The classroom needs to be a safe space in which learners are relaxed enough to cope with the ambiguity of not fully understanding, that they feel able to improvise in the target language and respond situationally without fear of making mistakes. Learners need to feel they can communicate and be understood in the target language. It therefore helps if the teachers can empathize with students' hesitancy in letting go and taking risks. Like any performance artists, teachers have to be able to quickly learn through reflection and feedback from peers and be able and willing to transform themselves professionally.

Waldorf L2 pedagogy is at heart performative, in the wider sense of the performative turn, because it is concerned with engaging the whole human being in producing speech and literacy in ways that can be aesthetic and therefore transformative. L2 learning in not merely a matter of transmitting knowledge of the other language; it involves enacting a language and its sedimented historical meanings and thus to some extent- though there is actually no upper limit to this – it about persons becoming in the other language. In the narrower sense it is performative because it expects teachers and learners to enact speech acts, perform linguistically and because it uses recitation, dialogue, role play, song, scenic presentations and sometimes full-blown drama. The skills that L2 teachers need to conduct this kind of teaching are best learned performatively through improvisation, theatre clowning, enacting poetry and speech. It is not an easy way to teach and requires teachers to be artistic performers rather than simply instructors using books and the paraphernalia of teaching materials available today. Although getting past the instructor stage requires that teachers are willing to engage in what are often unfamiliar artistic and performative practices, when it can be sustained, it is a pathway that is deeply rewarding for all involved.

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