



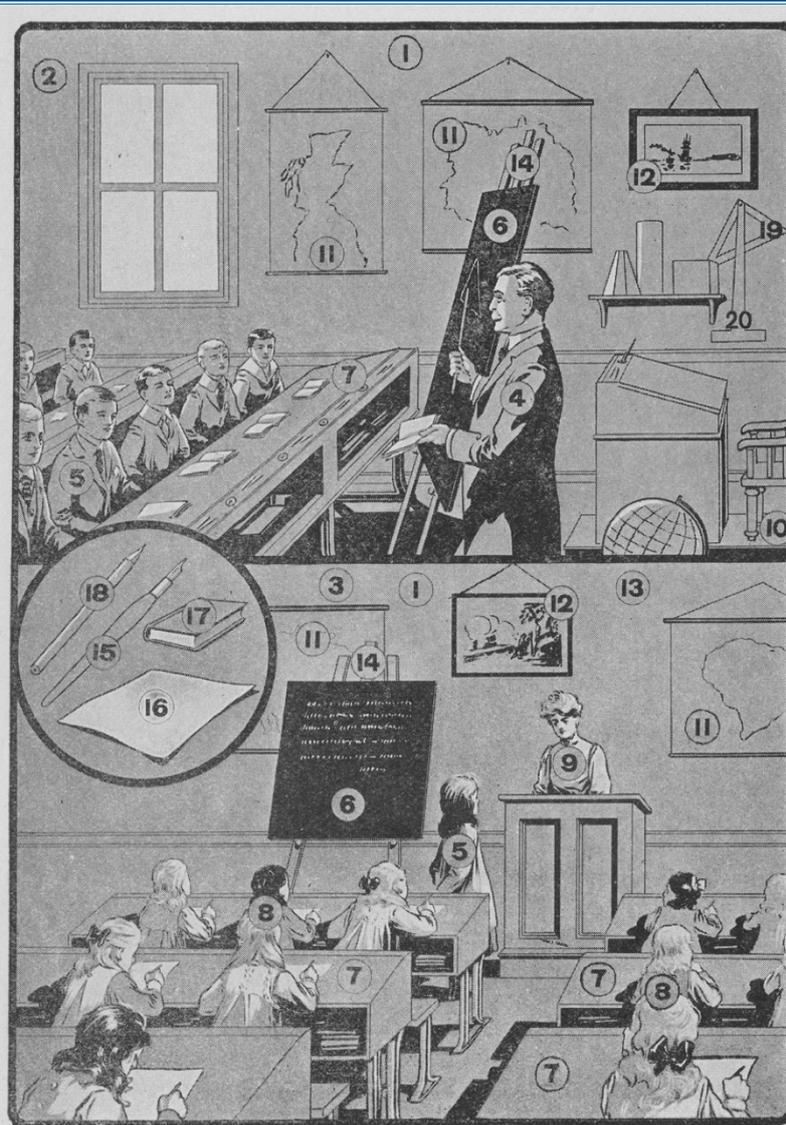
University of  
**Nottingham**

UK | CHINA | MALAYSIA

**KING'S**  
*College*  
**LONDON**

# Language Teaching: Learning from the Past

## 1. Differentiation and Diversity



Prof. Nicola McLelland  
Dr Simon Coffey  
Dr Lina Fisher

**HOLLT**.net  
History of Language Learning and Teaching

This project is funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council.



We are grateful to the following organisations for their support:



Grateful acknowledgement is made for permissions to reproduce copyright materials. Every effort has been made to trace the copyright holders and obtain permission to reproduce material. If any have been inadvertently overlooked, we will be pleased to make the necessary arrangements at the first opportunity.

## Cover image

H. Baumann: *Pictorial German Course*, 1912. University of Nottingham Manuscripts and Special Collections

## About these materials

This project addresses the need for a historical perspective in language teacher training, using research in the History of Language Learning and Teaching (HoLLT) to inform language teaching practice and policy. Taking five key themes of immediate relevance to teaching practice today, the project responds to evidence that teachers benefit from the framework that HoLLT gives them to reflect on and critique their own and others' practice and policy. Our materials translate research into units tailored to the needs of practising teachers, making explicit links to their current and future roles. They are designed to be used without expert input, so that they can be widely used and embedded in training.

These materials incorporate an understanding of the history of language teachers' specialist discipline, equipping teachers to be more critically reflective in the classroom and thus more effective as teachers, as well as to be advocates for language learning and multilingualism.

Our project partners are the main language teacher associations and CPD centres in the UK. The training packages give teachers the toolkit they need to use an understanding of the past to make decisions about their current and future practice. The five themes all tackle topical concerns in language pedagogy, providing a historical perspective on each of the key themes:

1. Differentiation and diversity
2. What does it mean to teach culture?
3. Grammar: "The art of speaking well"?
4. Target language and (m)other tongue use
5. Making the case for languages - policy and advocacy

## Contents

1. How to use this handbook.....	1
2. Aims .....	1
3. Historical background.....	2
4. Introductory task.....	3
5. Definitions of differentiation.....	4
6. Definitions of differentiation in teaching .....	5
7. Differentiation by age .....	6
8. Differentiation by age: Pictures .....	7
9. Gender in the classroom .....	8
10. Gendered teaching materials .....	9
11. Social class and ability .....	10
12. Language learning and social class .....	11
13. Language learning and teaching in different school settings .....	12
14. Notions of ability .....	13
15. Reflection on historical and current practices .....	14
16. Key timeline.....	15
17. References and bibliography for further reading.....	16
18. Appendix: Video Transcripts .....	18

## 1. How to use this handbook

These materials form part of a series of material for languages teachers about the History of Language Learning and Teaching (HoLLT). The series aims to encourage teachers and trainees to consider current topics in MFL through a historical perspective. Each of the five units comprises the following:

- A two-minute introductory video
- A five-minute video
- A participant booklet which includes historical examples and discussion topics
- A facilitator booklet which includes contextual information and guidance for discussions

Use this handbook along with each of the modules in our pack. When used as part of a teacher training programme, this module is intended to supplement your existing training materials on differentiation. We assume that trainees and teachers will have a basic knowledge of standard models of differentiation such as 'differentiation by task / by outcome' (e.g. see Coffey, 2018a) or 'differentiation by content / process / product' (see Tomlinson, 2003). We hope that our module offers a way to extend models of adapting material toward a deeper understanding of how decisions around curriculum content and learning environment shape pupils' engagement with language learning.

## 2. Aims

The theme of this unit is Differentiation. The objectives are:

1. To identify the ways in which differentiation is shaped by teachers' and learners' social, cultural and political contexts
2. To broaden practitioners' understanding by examining how differentiation has been interpreted historically
3. To encourage seeing differentiated pedagogy within a wider framework of student motivation
4. To share and compare different pedagogical approaches to meet learners' differentiated needs.

### 3. Historical background

As with each of our modules, when used as part of a teacher-training programme, this module is intended to supplement your existing training material on differentiation. This module offers a historical perspective on differentiation in order to encourage participants to examine how curriculum content and the learning environment shape pupils' engagement with language learning.

The common national curriculum and a common national exam (the GCSE, or General Certificate of Secondary Education), introduced in England and Wales in the 1980s, posited the ideal that all pupils should be learning the same content in the same rhythm. This immediately brought into focus the need to formulate techniques to 'differentiate' learning – especially in mixed ability classes – through teaching strategies such as worksheets that set different tasks or through open tasks that could elicit differentiated outcomes. Most teacher manuals since the 1990s have helped teachers, especially those new to the profession, to implement these techniques, but often without a broader discussion of students' motivation for language learning or their identities as learners. In other words, there has been a focus on supporting or stretching pupils to handle a common body of content rather than questioning the curriculum itself and what it means to different learners. Yet pupils clearly have different ideas about the usefulness of language learning depending on what they have heard about it from family and friends and what use they imagine for it (Coffey, 2018b).

## 4. Introductory task

**Discuss in pairs or groups:**

- 1. How has student diversity changed in the last 100 years?**
- 2. How do you think these changes have affected language teaching?**

## 5. Definitions of differentiation

**Differentiation in language teaching:  
what can we learn from the past?**

**Let's look at what we understand by the term differentiation. Decide on a definition with your partner or group.**

## 6. Definitions of differentiation in teaching

### Differentiation: different definitions

Differentiation means planning for student differences.

Differentiation means recognizing that pupils' learning differs with regard to speed and quality.

Differentiation requires flexibility with regard to what is taught and how it is taught, as well as responding to students' needs.

**Read these definitions and compare them with your own.**

## 7. Differentiation by age

## Age

P R E F A C E. xi

mon subjects in life. In learning four or six words, and some sentences, every day, more or less, according to his capacity and the other things he learns, he will get the materials of the language ready, against the time he learns how to make use of them in speech, and will be thereby enabled to practice the rules of the language as soon as he is put in the Grammar. I have made Rudiments for the use of Beginners of the youngest sort, which comprehend what is necessary for them to learn from their very first setting out, 'till they are put in the Grammar. There is no manner of occasion for any other book for them to learn to read. After learning the Tables therein contained, their Master or Mistress (for this book is chiefly calculated for young Ladies schools) must put them immediately to the Vocabulary and Sentences, reading, as I have said, every word and sentence to them first, and making them repeat the same after them; and when the children can read half a dozen of words and some sentences well, they must learn the same by heart. As for Youth of ten or twelve, and above, who do not learn Latin, or are already pretty far advanced in their Latin Grammar, they must, at the same time that they begin to learn reading, also learn a lesson out of the second part of the Grammar, more or less, according to their capacity: for a Scholar, or one of a ripe understanding, will, in a few days, get a sufficient knowledge of this part to enable him to enter into the third, which is the most essential. But as to young scholars, they must learn it accurately, omitting those more particular observations that are printed in a small character. The teacher must therefore read distinctly the lesson to them, explain to them whatever they do not understand, and make them read after him the French words and sentences of examples: and moreover, when they have learnt in several lessons a whole chapter, they must be examined upon all they have gone thro' in that chapter, the master asking them short questions, to answer which they must necessarily repeat their rules, and thereby assure him of their understanding them. He may, for that purpose, give them for a new lesson the whole chapter to be learnt again.

When the scholar is come to the verbs, he must first perfectly learn the rules of formation of the Tenses and Persons, of which the master must direct him to make the application upon the first regular verbs that he shall learn: and when he can conjugate perfectly well the two Auxiliaries, with the two or three first regular verbs, he may proceed to the next chapters of Adverbs, Prepo-

“Young learners of six or seven should simply learn a few words and then some sentences each day. Understanding grammar should be reserved for Youth of ten or twelve, and above.”

Louis Chambaud: *A Grammar of the French Tongue* (1750)

1. Chambaud assumes young pupils should engage in rote learning. What is the place of rote learning in differentiated teaching practices?
2. What are the ways in which you use rote learning in your teaching? How does this vary by year group?
3. Do you agree that grammar is not worth teaching until the age of 12?
4. What should be the role of primary schools in teaching grammar? What do you know about current approaches to language teaching at primary school?

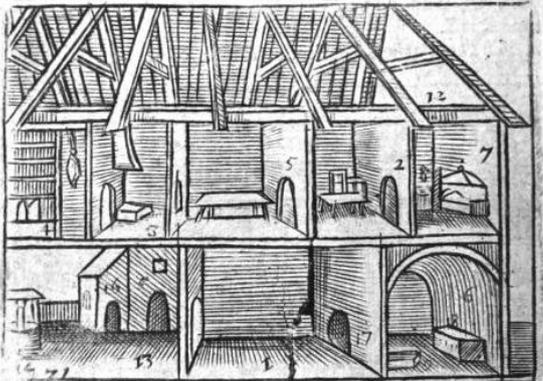
## 8. Differentiation by age: Pictures

( 3 )

	<i>Cornix cornicatur, à à</i>	A a
<i>The Crow crieth.</i>		
	<i>Agnus balat, b è è è</i>	B b
<i>The Lamb blaiteth.</i>		
	<i>Cicàda stridet, cì cì</i>	C c
<i>The Grasshopper chirpeth.</i>		
	<i>Upupa dicit, du du</i>	D d
<i>The Whoopoo saith.</i>		
	<i>Infans ejulat, è è è</i>	E e
<i>The Infant crieth.</i>		
	<i>Ventus flat, fi fi</i>	F f
<i>The Wind bloweth.</i>		
	<i>Anser gingrit, ga ga</i>	G g
<i>The Goose gagleth.</i>		
	<i>Os halat, hà'h hà'b</i>	H h
<i>The mouth breatheth out.</i>		
	<i>Mus mintrit, ì ì ì</i>	I i
<i>The Mouse chirpeth.</i>		
	<i>Anas tetrinnit, kba, kba</i>	K k
<i>The Duck quaketh.</i>		
	<i>Lupus ululat, lu ulu</i>	L
<i>The Wolf howleth.</i>		
	<i>Urfusmurmurat, mummum</i>	M m
<i>The Bear grumbleth.</i>		
B 2		<i>Felis</i>

( 88 )

*The Parts of a House. LXXII. Partes Domus.*



<p><i>A House is divided into inner Rooms, such as are the Entry, 1. the Srove, 2. the Kitchen, 3. the Buttery, 4. the Dining Room, 5. the Gallery, 6. the Bed Chamber, 7. with a Privy made by it, 8. Baskets, 9. are of use for carrying things and Chests, 10. (which are made fast with a Key 11.) for keeping them. Under the Roof, is the Floor, 12. In the Yard, 13. is a Well, 14. a Stable, 15.</i></p>	<p><i>Domus distinguitur in Conclavia, ut sunt Atrium, 1. Hypocaustum, 2. Culina, 3. Cella Penuria, 4. Cœnaculum, 5. Camera, 6. Cubiculum, 7. cum Secessu (Larrina) 8. adstructo. Corbes, 9. inserviunt rebus transferendis, Arca, 10. (quæ Clavâ, 11. recluduntur) adservandis illis. Sub Tecto, 12. est Solum (Pavimentum) In Area, 13. Putens, 14. Stabulum, 15.</i></p>
--	---

*and*

J. A. Comenius: *Orbis Sensualium Pictus* (*Visible World in Pictures*), 1729

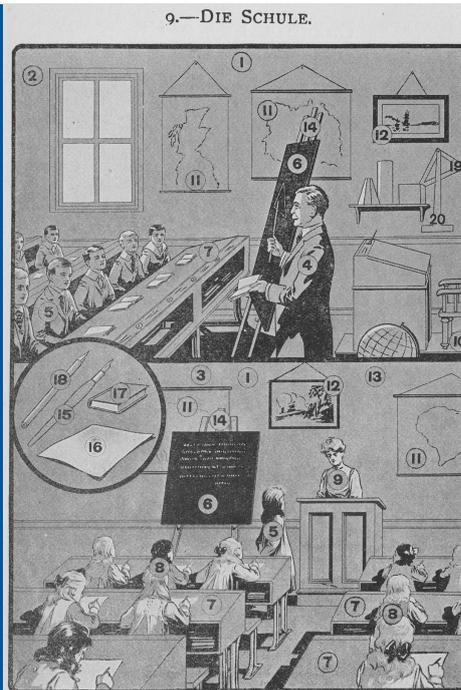
From the preface to the *Orbis Sensualium Pictus*:

“The young A b c scholar will easily remember the force of every character by the very looking upon the creature, till the imagination being strengthened by use, can readily afford all things; [...] he may proceed to the viewing of the pictures, and the inscriptions set over'em. Where again the very looking upon the thing pictured suggesting the name of the thing, will tell him how the title of the picture is to be read. And thus the whole book being gone over by the bare titles of the pictures, reading cannot but be learned.”

1. What is the purpose of these pages?
2. How old would their intended reader be? Explain the reasons for your answer.
3. Can you think of similar materials used today? How are these used?

## 9. Gender in the classroom

### Gender

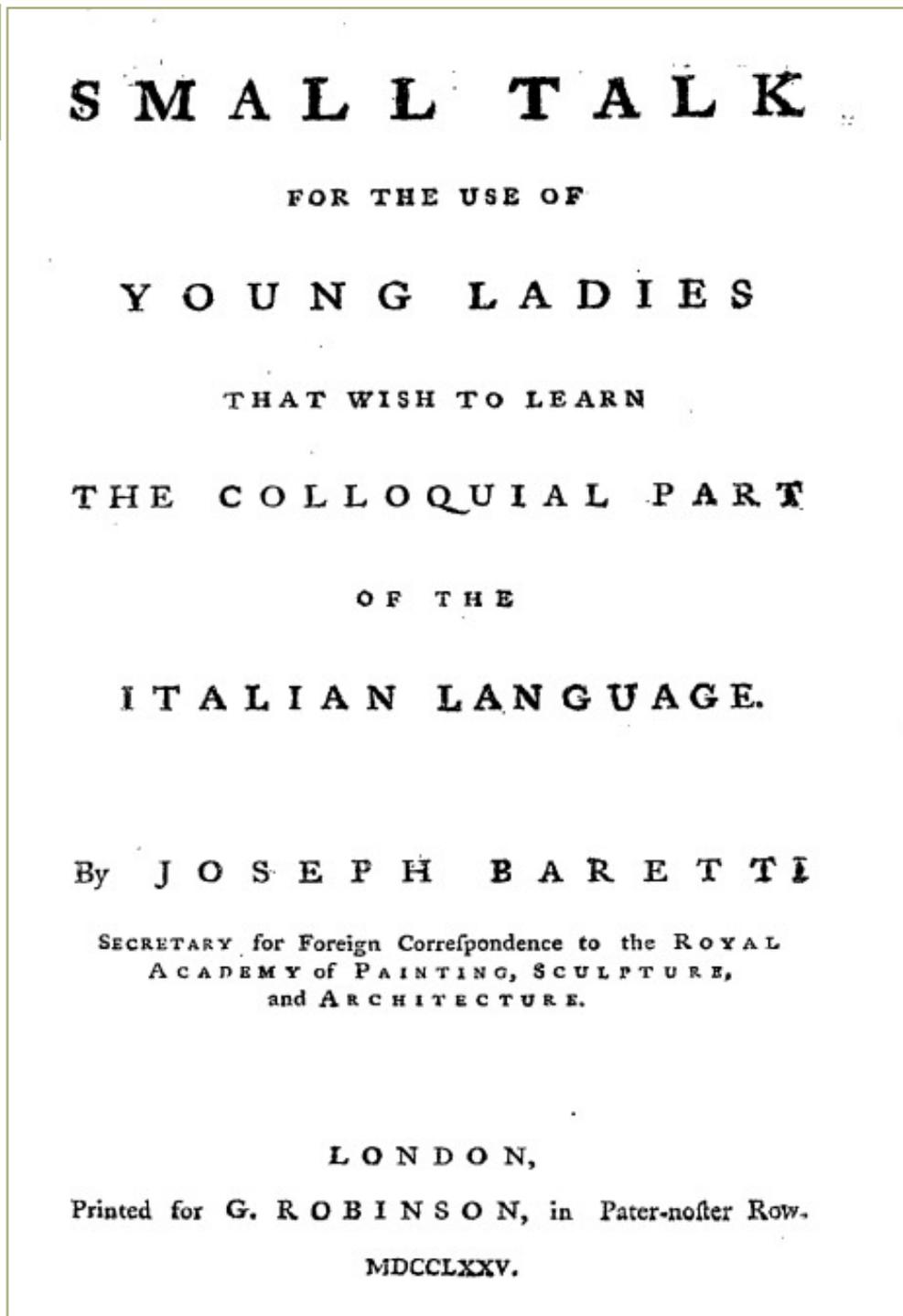


“I know nothing – nothing in the world – I assure you; except that I play and dance beautifully, – and French and German of course I know, to speak; but I can’t read or write them very well. Do you know they wanted me to translate a page of an easy German book into English the other day, and I couldn’t do it.”

(Seventeen-year old Ginevra Fanshawe in Charlotte Brontë: *Villette*, 1853)

1. Do you think boys and girls learn languages differently?  
Is it fair to teach them differently?
2. Is there such a thing as ‘boy-friendly’ teaching approaches?  
Why are these thought to be boy-friendly?
3. Identify some of the current social trends that might influence girls’ and boys’ choices with regard to learning languages.

## 10. Gendered teaching materials

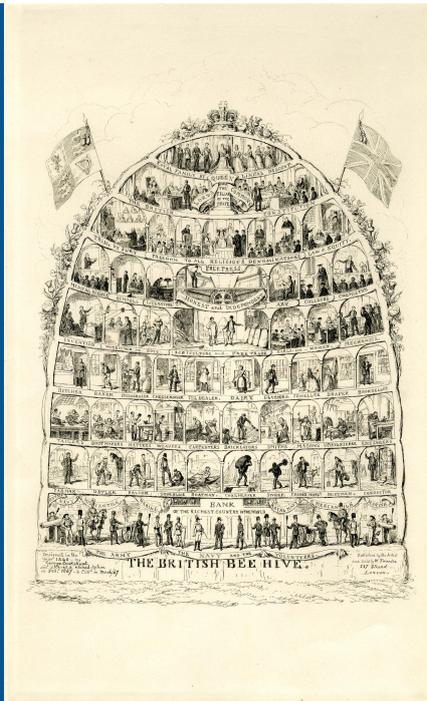


Book cover

Joseph Baretti: *Small Talk for the Use of Young Ladies That Wish to Learn the Colloquial Part of the Italian Language* (1775)

## 11. Social class and ability

### Social class and ability



George Cruikshank's  
British Beehive (1867)

**Research has found that students from a middle-class background tend to ask for help and receive it more often than their working-class peers.**

**In a language-learning context, how might our impression of students' social backgrounds influence the tasks we give them, the expectations we have of them, and the help we provide?**

## 12. Language learning and social class

A

1.—LA FAMILLE DANS LE SALON.



1. Le tableau. 2. Le grand-père. 3. La grand-mère. 4. Le père.  
5. La mère. 6. Le fils, le frère. 7. La fille, la sœur. 8. Le bébé.  
9. Le fauteuil. 10. La pipe. 11. Le livre. 12. La lettre.  
13. La table. 14. Le piano. 15. La balle. 16. La poupée.

B

## A German Living Room?

Carl Teufel published a grammar for Chinese learners of German (1906-8). For Teufel's learners, the piano is a curiosity, to be seen only in the teacher's room.

The living room described by Teufel is a room used for work as well as relaxation — it may be warm or cold, dry or damp, healthy or unhealthy; there are sewing materials, an embroidery frame, and a spinning wheel.

The broom, brush and duster are also all kept in the living room; for children who misbehave, there is a rod in the corner.

'The family in the living room', P.E.E. Bernier: *Pictorial French Course*, 1901

1. What does the picture (A) tell learners about French people and how they live?
2. Compare Teufel's description of a German living room (B) with the picture. What differences do you notice?
3. Not all French families live in the manner suggested by the picture (A), and not all German families have living rooms like the one described by Teufel (B). Why might the living rooms be depicted/described in these ways?

## 13. Language learning and teaching in different school settings

What are some of the obvious differences between these two classroom settings?



Pen and watercolour reproduction of a 16<sup>th</sup>-century mural found at Eton

Image © Stephen Conlin 2011. All Rights Reserved.  
Commissioned by Eton College

Language learning might look different in different settings.

1. How does language learning differ across school settings?
2. Brainstorm some assumptions about how language teaching and learning would 'look' and 'feel' in different contexts.
3. How would you differentiate based on the school's location, class sizes, pupils' cultural backgrounds...?

## 14. Notions of ability

**A**

“[T]here are a certain number of children, more often boys, who are non-linguistic, and the poorer the neighbourhood, the more numerous they are – first, because they come from non-cultural homes, and secondly because literary English is largely a foreign language to them, which by the way, always seemed to me a conclusive reason for abolishing French in the elementary schools at least in the poorer neighbourhoods in which the King’s English is really a foreign tongue.”

(Cloudesley Brereton, British educationalist and writer, 1930)

**B**

“Teaching grammar to moderate-ability classes is largely a waste of time. [...] Their limited capacity for conceptual thought does not allow them to use what they have learned in order to understand or compose meaningful utterances in German.”

(Report: *German in the United Kingdom: Problems and Prospects*, 1976)

1. Is there such a thing as ‘language intelligence’?
2. Is there such a thing as a ‘non-linguistic child’?
3. What assumptions is Brereton making here? Is his statement about ability or social class?
4. Today, we might speak about educational or cultural capital. How does this notion influence the way we teach languages?
5. How much do we link pupils’ learning to their existing frames of reference?

## 15. Reflection on historical and current practices



Working individually, note down some responses to the following questions and then discuss them with a partner.

1. List three things you have learnt about historical approaches to differentiation.
2. What insights have you gained with regard to your own approach to teaching different groups of learners by looking at historical attitudes and methods?
3. What type(s) of differentiation would you like to see in an ideal education system?
4. Is differentiation – catering to learners of all abilities and ages – desirable, or might we ever (as in most of history) go back to a time when not everyone has the opportunity to learn languages?  
What would be the advantages and disadvantages of that?

## 16. Key timeline

<b>597</b>	First cathedral school established in Canterbury
<b>1506</b>	Johannes Reuchlin publishes the first European grammar of Hebrew
<b>1576</b>	Earliest manual to include English published as <i>Colloquia ou Dialogues avec un Dictionnaire en six langues: Flamen, Anglois, Alleman, François, Espagnol, &amp; Italien</i> in Antwerp
<b>1605</b>	Peter Erondell's <i>French Garden</i> is one of the earliest publications aimed specifically at female students
<b>1870</b>	The Elementary Education Act made education compulsory for all children in England and Wales up to the age of ten.
<b>1872</b>	French approved as 'specific subject' as part of elementary curriculum; Girls' Day School Trust founded
<b>1880</b>	Elementary education made compulsory for children between the ages of 5 and 10; German approved as 'specific subject' as part of elementary curriculum
<b>1888</b>	First manual of Commercial German published (Joseph T. Dann's <i>German Commercial Correspondence</i> ); Cambridge Syndicate introduces a commercial examination with foreign language element
<b>1895</b>	Teaching of at least one modern language required in higher grade and science schools receiving government grants (as part of commercial classes or as literary subjects)
<b>1906</b>	Earliest known manual of German for Chinese learners published by P. C. Teufel
<b>1910</b>	Institute of Linguists established to support "British-born linguists" in commerce
<b>1918</b>	Secondary education made compulsory up to the age of 14
<b>1947</b>	Tripartite school system established; this consisted of selective grammar schools, secondary modern schools, and secondary technical schools
<b>1951</b>	Introduction of GCE O-Level and A-Level examinations
<b>1965</b>	Gradual introduction of comprehensive schools in the UK; introduction of Certificate of Secondary Education (CSE), which covered grades C-G or 4-1
<b>1988</b>	National Curriculum introduced in England and Wales; General Certificate of Secondary Education introduced in the UK
<b>1998</b>	Tiered GCSE structure unified across specifications: foundation tier (grades G-C) and higher tier (A*-D)
<b>2004</b>	Languages become optional after age 14
<b>2015</b>	School leaving age raised to 18

## 17. References and bibliography for further reading

- Adams, M. (2015) *Teaching Classics in English Schools, 1500-1840*. Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Brereton, C. (1930) *Modern Language Teaching in Day and Evening Schools: With Special Reference to London*. Warwick, University of London Press.
- Brown, G. and E. Wragg (1993) *Questioning*. London & New York: Routledge.
- Coffey, S. (2018a) Differentiation in theory and practice. In Maguire, M., Skilling, K., Glackin, M., Gibbons, S. & Pepper, D. (Eds.) *Becoming a Teacher. 5th Edition*. (pp. 178–193). Milton Keynes: Open University Press.
- Coffey, S. (2018b) 'Choosing to study modern foreign languages: Discourses of value as forms of cultural capital'. *Applied Linguistics* 39/4: 462-480.
- Converey, A. and D. Coyle (1993). *Differentiation: Taking the Initiative*. In A CILT Series for Language Teachers. London: CILT (Centre for Information on Language Teaching and Research).
- Cruickshank, K., S. Black, C. Honglin, L. Tsung, and J. Wright (2020) *Language Education in the School Curriculum: Issues of Access and Equity*. London & NY: Bloomsbury Publishing.
- Heacox, D. (2012) *Differentiating Instruction in the Regular Classroom*. Minneapolis, MN: Free Spirit Publishing.
- Ingram, G. (2008). *Meeting the Needs of Your Most Able Pupils: Modern Foreign Languages*. London and New York: Routledge.
- McBurney, H., Park, D., Rickerby, S. and Shekede, L. (Eds.) (2012) 'The early sixteenth-century school scene in the Head Master's Chambers', in Howe, E., H. McBurney and D. Park (Eds.) *Wall Paintings of Eton*. London: Scala Publishing.
- Jarman, T. L. (1963) *Landmarks in the History Of Education. English Education as Part of the European Tradition. Second Edition*. London: John Murray.
- Lawrence, W. (2015) *Learning and Personality: The Experience of Introverted Reflective Learners in a World of Extroverts*. Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- McLelland, N. (2015) *German Through English Eyes*, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz. Open access: <https://www.harrassowitz-verlag.de/pdfs/web/viewer.html?file=/ddo/artikel/79861/978-3-447-10148-6-Free%20Open%20Access%20Download.pdf#pagemode=thumbs>
- McLelland, N. (2017) *Teaching and Learning Foreign Languages: A History of Language Education, Assessment and Policy in Britain*, London: Routledge (Chapter 3).
- McLelland, N., and R. Smith (eds.) (2018) *The History of Language Learning and Teaching I-III*, Cambridge: Legenda.
- McNamara, S. and G. Moreton (1997) *Understanding Differentiation: A Teachers Guide*. London: Routledge.
- Munro, J. (2012). Effective strategies for implementing differentiated instruction. 2009 - 2019 ACER Research Conferences. 14. Available at: [https://research.acer.edu.au/research\\_conference/RC2012/27august/14](https://research.acer.edu.au/research_conference/RC2012/27august/14)

Myhill, D. (2006) 'Talk, talk, talk: teaching and learning in whole class discourse', *Research Papers in Education* 21/1: 19–41.

Tomlinson, C. A. (2003) *Fulfilling the Promise of the Differentiated Classroom*.

Alexandria, VA: Association for Supervision & Curriculum Development.

## 18. Appendix: Video Transcripts

### Introductory video

Teachers know that different learners need to be taught in different ways – that is what we today call “differentiation”. While the term differentiation is relatively new, the practice of differentiation has been around for a long time, forever. In this session we will the ideological underpinnings of historical approaches to teaching specific groups of learners. On other words, we will look at some ideas from the past to help us reflect on what we do today.

Age, social class, gender, and notions of ability have always been central to the practice of differentiation, but teaching methods and beliefs around these categories have changed over time. For example, the ideal of ‘Languages for all’ – meaning that every pupil of whatever social background should have equal opportunities to study language meaningfully - has only been with us relatively recently, since the 1960s.

Children’s age was thought to be a significant factor in what they were able to learn. For several centuries, the teaching of modern languages followed historical methods based on the teaching of the Classics, Latin and Greek, – so that young children learned grammar through rote memorization and more analytical approaches were reserved for pupils of secondary school-age.

Assumptions we might make today about ability and learning preferences were often linked historically to the vision of society at different times, including what was considered the appropriate learning for different social classes.

Gender is another factor. At present, girls are often assumed to be more competent language learners than boys: girls generally outperform boys in exams and represent the vast majority of post-16 language students. Traditionally, though, boys were thought more suited to learning grammar, and it was the grammatical facts that made languages a worthy subject, helping develop boys’ mental rigour while girls’ language education was largely centred around developing on communicative competence to prepare them for their role in society as pleasant conversationalists.

We hope that this session encourages comparison of past perceptions with your own views of language learning tailored to different students.

### Main video

Differentiation has become a ubiquitous term in education. While the term may have been in common use for only a short time, the challenges felt by a teacher confronting a diverse group of students are not new. What has changed are the categories that define student diversity and the names given to differentiation practices that have been developed within these.

Before the 1960s, language teaching mainly took place in grammar schools, and most pupils at secondary modern schools, who made up the majority of the school population, did not study languages or only took introductory courses. Comprehensive schools, established from the 1960s onwards, taught languages to all pupils.

Structural differentiation includes the use of different curricula or types of school for different learners, and teachers also differentiate according to learners' interests, motivations and requirements.

The term 'differentiation' defies clear definition as teaching is always contextual.

Children of different ages are generally taught in different ways.

From classical times onwards language learning began with rote-learning before progressing on to the analysis of extended texts for secondary phase learners.

The expectation that learners would memorise parts of the target language without necessarily understanding them continued for many centuries. Louis Chambaud, who wrote a French grammar in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, suggested different methods for younger and older learners.

Some teachers think that boys are less interested in or less apt at languages than girls. Training materials produced since the 1990s encourage 'boy-friendly' approaches.

In fact, language learning has been gendered in different ways throughout history, and not just because access to education was gendered. The differences in teaching assumed different interests, aptitudes and future roles for boys and girls. Most children were taught largely at home, if at all, until the 18<sup>th</sup> century. From this time sons of the gentry and middle classes were expected to participate in formal education and to travel abroad to perfect their language learning. Young men were socialised to be confident in their use of languages. It was only at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century that fluency in speaking foreign languages started to be seen as an unmanly attribute.

French and German were commonly taught in girls' schools in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. They were taught in boys' schools too, but Latin always took precedence. Boys were taught grammar and translation, whereas girls' education emphasised conversational competence and literature rather than grammar.

History shows, then, that gender differences in language aptitude are not a given and the assumptions people have made about girls' preferences for or abilities in languages are a relatively recent trend.

Learning foreign languages can meet practical needs and fulfil broader educational purposes. But languages have also been learnt for reasons of social standing, what we might today call 'cultural capital'.

In medieval England, the first books for French were aimed at the children of the ruling class because being able to speak the prestigious French of Paris elevated their status. German language learning books for English learners in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries included extracts from Goethe's and Schiller's works for similar reasons.

Hierarchical systems of education made perfect sense within a society structured as a divinely ordained hierarchy.

A mural dating from the early 16<sup>th</sup> century, uncovered at Eton in 2005, is considered the oldest wall painting of a classroom scene in Europe. The Latin inscription means ‘The teacher’s excellence is to notice pupils’ different capabilities’. Just what that means is, of course, the challenge.

In the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century it became common practice to group learners by ability.

Different school types prepared different groups for their place in society: grammar schools taught languages as part of a curriculum designed to shape pupils’ minds whereas secondary modern schools taught the practical skills needed by the workforce.

But the distinction made between pupils of different abilities was conflated with older distinctions of social class.

In 1930, poet, scholar and schools inspector Cloudesley Brereton described what he called the “non-linguistic child”. It is clear that disadvantage is equated here with a lack of ability.

History thus shows us various models of differentiation: we could offer language teaching only to some students; learners of different genders and abilities could be taught in different settings; and content and goals could differ. We can question whether all language learners need to be able to read literature in other languages, or whether practical skills and language awareness can also be useful to many learners.