ELF5

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Editors

Yasemin Bayyurt and *Sumru Akcan*

Preface

The theme of the "Fifth International Conference of English as a Lingua Franca" was "Pedagogical Implications of ELF in the Expanding Circle". The aim of the conference was finding out how current theories and principles underlying English as a Lingua Franca studies contribute to research on possible pedagogical practices in ELF contexts.

There were 219 papers and 30 posters in total presented at 105 sessions during the conference. The sessions were organized around the following broad themes:

- ELF and Language Policy

- ELF and Language Education

- Describing ELF and Collecting ELF Corpora

- Sociolinguistics of ELF

- Contact Languages and ELF

- ELF and Multilingualism

We would like to take this opportunity to thank all contributors to this e-book, paper and poster presenters, the scientific committee members, reviewers, conference sponsors, voluntary students and web designers who helped us to put this conference together and made this book of proceedings possible after the conference was over.

Given that Turkey is a bridge between Asia and Europe, organizing this event in Istanbul was particularly relevant and timely for the promotion of ELF research. Since studies in the field of ELF take place intensively in Europe and Asia, hosting this conference in Istanbul was ideal to enable people from these two continents and other continents to meet and exchange ideas about the use of English as a Lingua Franca in their local contexts. It turned out to be a memorable event for both the organizers and the conference participants.

Yasemin Bayyurt and Sumru Akcan

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Problems Related to the Concept of Lingua Franca*

My International Colleagues and Dear Guests,

I think both Istanbul and Boğaziçi University are indeed appropriate places to discuss issues related to the concept of 'lingua franca', because both the city and the university have histories of multi-cultural heritages. Please allow me to say welcome, not in English as the lingua franca, but in my native language, "Hoşgeldiniz". I am grateful to the Department of Foreign Language Education of the Faculty of Education for the organization of this meaningful event, as well as to all of you participating in the attribution of meaning to such an important gathering, which hopefully will contribute to more humane relations and understanding across boundaries.

Coming from the area of social sciences, and not linguistics, I would like to share with you what might seem rather simplistic, and yet what a social scientist might view as important and/or problematic, concerning the concept of 'lingua franca'. What may be some questions related to the concept from the standpoint of a social scientist? One would be interested in the origins of the concept, when it was first used; whether it emerged out of local and regional needs or more universal demands; what served as lingua francas in history; what were the factors behind the changes in languages which functioned as the lingua franca of different eras; what were the relations of the concept to the power structures of the region, or as in the case of English, its relation to world structures; and whether the notion of 'lingua franca' implies the need to communicate with and to people who use different languages, indicative of equilateral human relations and communication, or whether 'lingua franca' as a concept holds within its boundaries the issue of cultural superiority and homogenization of diversity. I cannot respond to these questions; however, the immense set of tacit problems behind each of these, traces itself to consciousness. Of course, as a social scientist, I have my own hypotheses for these questions.

It seems that the term 'lingua franca' originated from the words Phrankoi in Greek during the later Roman Empire, and Faranji in Arabic during the Crusades. In both cases, contact with the 'other' seems to have occurred primarily through conquests and wars. In both Greek and Arabic all Western Europeans, with whom encounters necessitated a semantic tag, were called Franks.

There are many regional lingua francas throughout history. These seem to have emerged out of the practical need to communicate primarily through trade, as well as being the result of contact through war. Among the languages, which in broad sweeps evolved chronologically into regional lingua francas are Chinese, the Turkic languages, Greek, Persian, Latin, Arabic, Ottoman, Spanish, French, German and Russian.

An instrumental 'lingua franca' for commerce and diplomacy emerged through the Mediterranean around the time of the Renaissance. It was not a single language but a mixture of several languages including Ottoman, Italian, French, Arabic, Greek, Spanish and Portuguese. The composition of this language alludes to the commercial and diplomatic relations as well as the operating power structures around the Mediterranean at the time. At the height of the Ottoman Empire, eastern Ottoman ports and the Italian and Spanish seaborne access to these ports, where goods were transported from one end of the Mediterranean to the other, defined the commercial relations of the time. For the trading cultures, instrumental usage of language related to the exchange of goods must have become a functional necessity. It would be interesting to study the composition of this mixed language. The following questions emerge apropos of this particular 'lingua franca'. Were there discernible linguistic patterns in the usage of these different languages? If so, were these patterns aligned with the sources of the goods? Was there any reflection of diplomatic supremacy in the usage of semantic linguistic patterns of this mixed language?

Around the 17th up to the mid-20th centuries, French serves as the lingua franca of European diplomacy. The first record dates to the peace negotiations of 1678 in Nijmegen, where French was used among French, Spanish and Swedish diplomats. This, then, became a model for European Diplomacy, where Académie Française actively promoted the use of French. Even in Russian courts, the usage of French became a sign of culture and refinement. The second set of examples I would like to share is related to the unilateral usage of 'lingua franca' as a means of the colonization process. Geographical and political power structures permeate cultural settings in the case of colonization, where not only natural but also human resources of the colonized geography serve only the stipulations of the colonizers. The lingua francas of the colonization process serve at two levels with opposite value schemes; of unquestionable superiority for the colonizers on the one hand, and the imposed inferiority for the colonized, on the other. The same power structure in the use of English, for example in India and Africa; French in Africa, and Dutch in Indonesia can be instrumentally evaluated around similar principles of the use of political power over geographies, which are far away from the seat of such power. In these instances of history, the lingua franca of the era is certainly instrumental in establishing power relations and their implied transactions, only for the benefit of the colonizers.

Coming to the east, we see Chinese as the lingua franca of diplomacy until the beginning of the 20th century in Far East Asia, again related to size, political prowess and economic status. Arabic was the lingua franca of the Arab Islamic Empire from the 8th century to 1492, covering geographical areas from China, North India, Central Asia, Persia, Asia Minor, the Middle East, North Africa, Spain and Portugal. From

the perspective of a social scientist, it would be very curious to investigate the usage of eastern versus western lingua francas, and the value structures surrounding both sets.

There are also purposive content area lingua francas, such as Italian for the arts, French for ballet, Arabic for Islamic studies, and Latin for medicine. How does a purposive content area lingua franca differ from others in terms of learning motivation, and bilateral power exchanges? This would also be of great interest to the social scientist.

Coming to English as the 'lingua franca' of post Second World War world, no one would argue about the need for a shared language for political, economic, cultural and sportive transactions, when communication through technology has broken almost all barriers of time and space, as well as barriers of national, institutional, and personal privacy. Except for the French and Francophones, few would also argue that the most probable candidate has to be English, due to the present unipolar, not unified power structure of the world, where the United States of America is the key actor due to its economic and political status and influence.

However (and there is reason for this however), will English as the lingua franca of the era be a neutral language of world transaction, serving instrumentally world peace with justice and equity for all parties, or will the transactions only protect the choices of the present power structure? This is indeed a pertinent question, and to which the response is not readily available in an optimistic political framework. Another question is what happens to cultural diversity and the right to cultural heritages, when technology threatens differences and permeates cultural and individual lives with models of life-styles rooted in the culture of the lingua franca.

I do not know the answers to these questions. But until the lingua franca necessary for communication and transaction across cultures stops being partial to the origin of the lingua franca, and strips itself from unilateral supremacies, it will not merit the value of a shared language that promotes and preserves human dignity across the wonderfully diverse and enriching cultural orientations, and their historical heritage.

As I leave you with these questions, let me welcome you once more to my country, city and university, and share my hopes for an enhancing exchange of knowledge and ideas during the conference.

Güzver Yıldıran
May 24, 2012

Part I

ELF and Language Policy

English as a Lingua Franca and Appropriate Teacher Competence

Elisabeth Weber*

Abstract

Currently, language education policy in the European Union assumes that English, just like every other language of the EU, is the property of its native speakers who are therefore viewed as the ultimate authority of the language. For this reason, native speaking assistants are recruited into classrooms in order to serve as role models for real language use and guarantors of authentic culture-related information. This assumption, appropriate as it may be for other foreign languages, is not valid for English used as a Lingua Franca since the purposes and domains of use of the language are way beyond those of the native speaker. If ELF is considered as relevant for defining the subject English at schools, this calls for a reconsideration of who might provide the most appropriate assistance in the English language classroom. This paper argues that those with an experience of using English as a Lingua Franca and a professional interest in language pedagogy are more likely to support the teaching and learning of English in class. Accordingly, it proposes that the current assistant program should be abandoned and replaced by an exchange of pre- or in- service teachers of English from different lingua-cultural backgrounds in order to highlight the importance of appropriate pedagogical competences in English language teaching. It is suggested that the ELF perspective of such an exchange program would be favorable to a more realistic and relevant approach to the teaching of the language and enhance the motivation of learners. Furthermore, it is argued, it would promote in learners the idea of plurilingualism as a basic feature of common European citizenship.

Keywords: EFL, ELF, native speaker, foreign language assistant, language policy

1 Introduction

In English as a Foreign Language (EFL) classrooms all across Europe we find the situation today that the English native speaker (NS) is regarded as the ultimate authority of the language. This comes from the common assumption that every language is the property of its NSs. This view is supported not only by the general public but also by the language policy of the European Union (EU). In the following I would like to discuss the current EU Foreign Language Policy and the role of English. I will then question these underlying assumptions that act as foundation for the design of the school subject

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*University of Vienna, Austria

EFL by looking at the reason why we are actually learning and teaching English at school. The major concern of this paper will then be to draw conclusions from these considerations and see what these mean for the subject English in general and teacher competence in particular.

2   EU Foreign Language Policy and the Role of English

The Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) (Council for Cultural Cooperation, Modern Languages Division, 2001) is one of the most influential official papers on foreign language learning and teaching within the EU. Decided upon in 1996 by the Council of Europe, the CEFR considers all languages alike, giving no special status to English and its function as international lingua franca. This document serves as a corporate basis for language learning and teaching within the EU and includes descriptions of objectives, contents and methods, and should serve as an appropriate instrument to provide transparency and coherence in the language learning process. The recommendations aim to set standards to evaluate the level of language learners and provide a definition of proficiencies. It has a major impact for future generations' understanding and decisions when it comes to the question of what the legitimate reference is for learning English as a foreign language. In this document, the NS is regarded as the ultimate authority of the language as can be seen in the following measures of attainment taken from the CEFR (2001): "Pronunciation of a very limited repertoire of learnt words and phrases can be understood with some effort by native speakers" (p. 66). "Can keep up with an animated conversation between native speakers" (p. 66). "Can sustain relations with native speakers without unintentionally amusing or irritating them or requiring them to behave other than they would with a native speaker" (p. 76).

Unfortunately although an abundance of pseudo-definitions are provided throughout the document there is not a single explanation of who is actually regarded as a NS, what and for whom something is foreign. This lack of definition obviously limits the value of the entire publication. How can scales of descriptors of language proficiency be used when these are so imprecise? How can teaching and evaluation be based on something that is not defined? The CEFR was developed with the desire to enhance transparency but how can this be achieved if its basic tenets are not transparent but obscure? The document seeks to facilitate assessment but at the same time lacks reliable assessment criteria. The vagueness of terms such as "regular interaction" (p. 5) does not facilitate coherent assessment within the EU but far from it actually opens doors for ambiguity. Furthermore, the CEFR completely neglects to consider the crucial fact that a lingua franca serves a range of communication functions that are different from those of other languages.

All of this has enormous consequences for the subject English taught at school. In the CEFR there is the clear reference to the NS as benchmark for language proficiency. This idea is also supported by EU member states and their ministries of education and this attitude is reflected in various curricula designs for foreign language teaching and

learning at school. It also explains the current policy of employing English NS as foreign language assistants to join regular English language teachers to class and serve as role models there — for students and teachers alike. These NSs are regarded as guarantors of authentic communication and information on language and culture-related issues. An Austrian curriculum states that "the highest possible level of authenticity can be achieved by native speakers of the foreign language" (Austrian Federal Ministry for Education, Arts and Culture, 2005, p. 3). Asked about the reason for the implementation of NSs as language assistants in class, the Ministry of Education postulated that

> "native speakers serve as huge enrichment for foreign language education. Their implementation offers the advantage that language and the ability to express oneself orally are promoted. Apart from the native speaker competence, the Foreign Language Assistant also brings his intercultural and sociolinguistic competence to class. Consequently, it is not only the students that profit from this co-operation but also the teachers." (Office Federal Minister Schmied, e-mail communication, October 10, 2010)

Also the Fulbright Austrian-American Educational Commission (2010) that carries out this program for U.S. Americans states that these NSs "contribute substantially to the quality of foreign language instruction" (p. 5). These quotes underline the current assumptions of the role of the English NS and the reality that can be found in English language classrooms all across Europe today. The fact that a language is the property of its native speakers might be true for most languages. Let us see why this is different for English though.

3   Why We Learn and Teach English at School

In Austria, more than 96 percent of all students acquire English as a foreign language at school (Austrian Federal Ministry for Education, Arts and Culture, 2007, par. 19). The reason for this lies in the fact that English is not a language used primarily to speak with its NSs but to communicate with the world. English as a lingua franca (ELF) serves different purposes and is used in different situations and ways than other foreign languages. To take one example: Most people learn Danish in order to communicate with the Danes. This language is of rather limited use if you wish to communicate with the rest of the world. English, though, serves exactly this purpose. It provides its users with the ability to gain access and contribute to a wide range of information. This is why the vast majority of students learns English as a foreign language at school.

English is different to other European languages. It seems fundamental to accept and understand that ELF is a reality that needs to be dealt with and seen as a rich resource instead of ignoring, neglecting or impeding it. English needs to be singled out from the other European languages in the CEFR and it should be given a status of its own as a lingua franca. Then the clash of the linguistic reality on the one hand and the continuous European mantra of the alikeness of all languages on the other hand would be obsolete. It would no longer be necessary to play pretense that in the EU English is

used in the same way as every other language. It is not. Understanding this fact, the EU could reduce the pressure on EU ideals as well as on the performance on all those involved in English language learning and teaching.

It seems essential to understand that today's role of English can be an opportunity to bring people and cultures together rather than seeing it as a threat to a plurilingual society. English does not take over national or minority languages; it does not prevent EU citizens from acquiring further foreign languages. Böhringer and Hülmbauer (2010, p. 176) point out that ELF has a clear intercultural, and not an intracultural, framework and therefore it does not undermine plurilingual diversity but actually contributes to and promotes linguistic diversity as it by definition enters a relationship with other languages and therefore allows its users to overcome barriers created by separate languages. But how, one might ask, would such an understanding of ELF affect the subject English and teacher competence?

4 Consequences for the Subject English and Teacher Competence

The international use of ELF points to the need for a reconsideration of what is taught in English classrooms as a subject in Europe today. First and foremost the focus would shift from trying to learn and teach English for successful communication with NSs towards a more open approach and a focus on the functional use of English more generally. Doing so, this would also bring up the question of the implementation of NSs as language assistants. It seems vital to point out that English as a language used by its NSs is not and cannot be the same as English as a school subject where we are confronted with students who are not yet familiar with the foreign language, its systems and conventions. The students in the English classrooms are in the process of making sense of the subject matter, of understanding, practicing and making the foreign language their own in some way. Therefore, as Widdowson (2003, p. 114) points out the language needed and used in the school subject is adapted and modified to suit the special needs of the learners. The language needs to be made real and relevant for the students' purposes.

English as a school subject is constructed and designed to facilitate learning. The situation that we find in the school setting needs to focus on aspects that seem relevant and promising to engage the students in their language learning process. Teaching and learning at school offer a shortcut to proficiency in a foreign language and therefore stands in clear opposition to learning a language through natural exposure. An essential part in achieving the goal of effective and efficient foreign language learning in the school setting needs to be ascribed to the qualified language teacher. Another facet that obviously differentiates the school subject English from the language itself as it is used by its NSs is that in the school context the language is foreign and it is part of the learning process of students to familiarize themselves with its underlying principles and communicative potential. This very process would naturally lead students to draw

upon resources in those languages they are already familiar with.

How does a foreign language assistant fit in to this picture then? By definition, such an assistant lacks three essential qualities. First, he or she does not know about the pedagogical considerations to adapt and modify the foreign language to the students' needs since foreign language assistants are not required to have any qualifications in language pedagogy. The knowledge that NSs possess is mostly implicit only. However, they will not be in a position to explain the working of their language and get their knowledge across unless it becomes explicit. It is also necessary for any language teacher to be familiar with the concepts that describe language and therefore not only to have the gut reaction that something is wrong but to know precisely what it is that is wrong, how to correct it and to be able to explain it in such a way that students can understand and adapt their own language accordingly. Second, the foreign language assistant has never experienced the foreignness of the English language and is therefore lacking what makes English special to the students and regular English teachers. Third, when students acquire English as a foreign language they undergo the process of changing from monolinguals to multilinguals. Consequently, it should be clear that the teaching profile for educating multilinguals requires multilingual teachers rather than monolingual NSs of English.

What are the implications for the subject English? Such an understanding calls into question the current subject design and the assumed value and validity of NS assistants as informants in the English classroom. It seems that the native speaker is not necessarily the best option because in many ways he or she seems inadequate to support the students in their language learning processes.

5   Conclusion

What kind of assistant could be more appropriate then? I would suggest that it is multilinguals that have experience as users of ELF and a professional interest in teaching it. These seem to be more likely to offer a realistic reference point in class and serve as real role models as they are successful examples of multilinguals which is also what the students are in the process of becoming. Accordingly, I propose that the assistants should be pre- or in-service teachers from different lingua-cultural backgrounds since professionalism is an essential aspect of efficient teaching that needs to be highlighted rather than undermined as it is the case with the current NS assistants.

Such an exchange program could serve a number of purposes: First, it would offer students an authentic second role model for successfully acquiring a foreign language in class. This sort of role model is actually one that students can live up to. Second, this program would also strengthen the ELF perspective in students, helping them understand that the reason for learning English at school is not to imitate NSs but to become competent multilinguals that are equipped with a powerful tool for international communication. Third, such a program could help enhance the understanding of plurilingualism and an active interest in acquiring further foreign languages. Doing so, the sense of a common European citizenship could be stimulated.

Summing up, if we accept ELF to be a reality, then also the school subject English needs to reflect this and therefore has to undergo changes in order to fulfill the task given to teachers all across Europe, namely to provide our students with the best education and to the best of our knowledge for their future roles in society. As far as English is concerned, it is most likely that students will need to be prepared to communicate in an international setting and with members of a multitude of first languages and cultural backgrounds. Therefore, it seems necessary to equip future generations with the power of ELF. I do understand that such a shift in the paradigm of understanding the school subject English is a challenging task for most of us as we all have been socialized with a certain mindset that very likely also included the English NS as role model and language authority. Still, it seems essential that we always keep in mind why we teach English, who we teach English to and what we teach English for.

About the author

Elisabeth Weber has worked as English language instructor at secondary and tertiary level for over ten years and has been host teacher for foreign language assistants. Currently she is working towards her PhD in English linguistics, investigating into the nature of the school subject English. She is trying to strengthen the connections between ELF research, teaching theory and practice.
Email: `elisabeth.weber@boku.ac.at`

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English as Mediator in Teaching Adyghe (Circassian) Cultural Values to Repatriate Students of Circassian Origin

Elena Doludenko* and Fatima Baste*

Abstract

The paper deals with social, cultural and pedagogical implications of ELF in the multifaceted process of regaining ethnic self-consciousness by the representatives of Adyghe (Circassian) people, a Northwest Caucasus indigenous ethnic group who were displaced in the course of the Russian conquest of the Caucasus in the 19th century, especially after the Russian-Circassian War of 1862. The historic development of the Adyghe nation has resulted in numerous Adyghe diasporas scattered all over the world, many of which are desperately trying to preserve the remnants of their original language and culture by maintaining contacts with their counterparts in Russia. The English language often plays intermediary in such contacts. The repatriation processes which started with the collapse of the USSR also required a lingua franca to ensure the proper adaptation and socialization of those who had had limited or no access to their ancestors' culture and language in diasporas. English also facilitated the adjustment to predominantly Russian community, especially for the younger repatriates. The present study has been carried out at the department of Foreign Languages of Adyghe State University in Maykop, the capital city of the Adyghe province in Russia. The subjects of the study are foreign and repatriate students and faculty of Circassian origin from Turkey, Syria, Jordan, Kosovo etc. Along with the discussion of the study results, the paper contains some practical ideas for using English to promote the Adyghe culture acquisition, including those based on modern technological paradigms.

Keywords: EFL, repatriation, repatriate students, Adyghe (Circassian), ethnic self-consciousness, culture acquisition

1 Introduction

In the modern world, English is no more "regarded as a fixed, all-dominating language but as a flexible communicative means interacting with other languages and integrated into a larger framework of multilingualism" (Hülmbauer et al., 2008). As House put it, "English as a lingua franca is nothing more than a useful tool: it is a "language for communication", a medium that is given substance with the different national, regional, local and individual cultural identities its speakers bring to it." (House, 2001).

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*Adyghe State University, Russia

English is used for meaning negotiation and knowledge building when neither of the speakers shares a common language other than English. It might also serve as a complementary means of communication in the situation when the shared language is not fluent enough, or when communication is being significantly hindered by cultural distinctions.

Rather than discussing the peculiar features of ELF vocabulary and grammar, the paper focuses upon the mediating role played by English in acquiring and maintaining cultural self-awareness of the Adyghe (Circassian) students (foreign and repatriate) who opt to get the higher education in the land of their forbearers — North Caucasus, Russia.

Working as language instructors at Adyghe State University and being sensitive to the discussed issue due to some ethnic or social factors, the authors are in power to influence the process of social and cultural adaptation of the aforesaid students through the use of English, both in the classroom and out of it.

2   Historical Background

According to Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization, 709,003 Circassians are spread within the Russian Federation, and over 3 million constitute the Diaspora, of whom about 2 million live in the Republic of Turkey, 150,000 in Syria, Jordan and Israel, about 40,000 in Germany and the Netherlands, and 9,000 in the USA (`http://www.unpo.org/members/7869`). "Circassians" is a common exonym for the Adyghe, which is occasionally applied to a broader group of peoples in the North Caucasus. The Adyghe people were of the largest and most eminent nations in the North Caucasus, and are considered to be the first known settlers in the Caucasus dating back as far as 8,000 BC. In about 4,000 BC, the Maykop culture existed in the North Caucasus region, which influenced all subsequent cultures in the area. Archaeological findings, mainly of dolmens in North-West Caucasus region, indicate the existence of this major Bronze Age culture in the region. The Adyghe people were never politically united, a fact which reduced their influence in the area and their ability to withstand periodic invasions from groups like the Mongols, Pechenegs, Khazars, and others.

The Conquest of the Caucasus by the Russian Empire in the 19th century during the Russian-Circassian War, led to the destruction and killing of many Adyghes — towards the end of the conflict, the remaining Circassian inhabitants were driven out of the region, primarily to the Ottoman Empire. Like other ethnic minorities under Russian rule, the Adyghes who remained in the Russian Empire borders were subjected to policies of mass resettlement.

The disintegration of the Soviet Union in the early 1990s brought up the issue of the Adyghe repatriation, which was surprisingly favorably accepted by the then Russian government. In 1991, the newly developed Constitution of sovereign Adygheya confirmed the right of every ethnic Adyghe for repatriation. Though not devoid of numerous bureaucratic impediments and hindrances along with far-fetched political speculations, the process gradually developed: in 1993, about 3,000 Circassians returned to Nalchik and 1,000 to Maykop. However, the post-Soviet realities of Russia and

the instability of the Caucasus due to the war in Chechnya slowed down the process. Another problem was the complicated process of obtaining temporary residency and Russian citizenship. According to the law adopted in November of 1991, an applicant for permanent residence had to give up the citizenship of his or her country of origin, live five years in Russia, and know the Russian language.

Though mass repatriations with the exception of the Kosovar Circassian resettlement of 1998 have since been uncommon, single instances of return to the forefathers' land continue to take place. As the "romantic longing which had impelled so many to seek repatriation" (Colarusso, 1991) ran up against the political and economic problems of modern Russia, cautious Diaspora members prefer to probe the situation through frequent family and business visits, or by sending their off-springs to study at the institutions of higher education in Adygheya. Thus, Adyghe State University in Maykop currently has 76 foreign students of Circassian origin enrolled in various educational programs; 16 of them study at the Department of Foreign Languages.

3 Data Collection

The present study has been carried out at the Department of Foreign Languages of Adyghe State University in Maykop, the capital city of the Adyghe province in Russia. The subjects of the study are thirteen current and former foreign and repatriate students and two faculty members, all of Circassian origin, from Turkey, Syria, Jordan, Kosovo, etc. All subjects participated in a number of surveys, the purpose of which was to identify how English had facilitated their adaptation in the new cultural community. The results of the surveys and personal interviews, along with the authors' daily observations, have been analyzed to provide the background for this paper.

4 Results

Out of fifteen subjects, eight determined their knowledge of the Adyghe language as "fairly good", two — as "enough for daily communication", three — as "satisfactory", two — as "insufficient". All fifteen subjects can speak English; yet, three of them admitted that their level of English is elementary or low intermediate. Four students and one faculty know English at the advanced level, which has been confirmed by the results of institutional tests replicating paper-based TOEFL format.

A special survey was aimed at determining the Adyghe culture awareness. The questionnaire contained thirty items on Adyghe national values and etiquette, traditions, historic and contemporary personalities, folklore personages, cuisine, cultural artifacts, etc. The questions were administered in three languages (Adyghe, Russian, and English). The subjects were also requested to indicate the primary sources of their knowledge about the Adyghe culture. As it was expected, most of the cultural awareness had been shaped within the students' families; the Internet was indicated as a second primary source, which perfectly fits with our hypothesis about the role of ELF in the

Adyghe culture acquisition.

The third type of survey was administered in English and was focused entirely on the facilitative role of English in the processes of cultural and social adaptation in the new community. Three subjects denied their use of English for the aforesaid purposes. Naturally, those were the students who evaluated their knowledge of Adyghe as "fairly good". Others indicated that they use the English language either regularly or occasionally for clarification and specification purposes when communicating with their teachers and classmates. Five subjects admitted that they use English for daily communication with their friends, both Russian and Adyghe, especially in mixed companies. Two of them said they preferred English over Russian, as it was easier for them, though they understood the necessity of mastering the latter.

All subjects admitted that they continue to use English on the Internet along with their first languages for social networking and information search.

5 Discussion

Upon arrival in Russia, repatriate and foreign students experience the usual pressures of an alien culture. Even if their cultural background is not totally devoid of the ancestors' linguistic and cultural heritage, the new community representing the mixture of Adyghe and Russian values, linguistic blueprints and multiethnic artifacts (often with a prominent shift towards the Russian culture), presents not an easy challenge to its new members.

The language issue is almost always a primary problem. It is known that the Adyghe language has a number of dialects spoken by the different Circassian tribes (Kabardian, Shapsugh, Bzhedugh, Abadzekh, etc.). World diasporas that were able to preserve their tribal mother tongues do not necessarily speak the same variety of Adyghe as is spoken in Maykop. Moreover, even if the obstacles posed by differences in pronunciation are quite surmountable, the way everyday speech of the locals is peppered with Russian words can certainly be confusing and misleading. Another sad fact is that about 30% of urban Adyghe population in Russia do not speak their native language at all; about 45% know it only at a basic level, being unable to write in it. With factual predominance of ethnic Russians in the area, a disoriented foreign student on the streets of Maykop may not get the needed help unless he/she addresses a passer-by in English.

Another issue is that the Adyghe language uses Cyrillic alphabet with a number of supplementary symbols. Consequently, fluency in oral speech does not always mean the ability to read and write properly. Thus, even a simple conventional task of filling out forms or writing applications might require the help of someone able to explain things in English.

The university academic environment with its more educated community, especially the one of the Department of Foreign Languages, facilitates communication by the ease of switching to English if necessary. The study has shown that almost all the subjects are using English either to clarify things, or to ask for instructions or directions if communication in Adyghe or Russian fails for some reason.

Even Russian, though required for being enrolled in the university, sometimes fails to play intermediary role in communication with foreigners due to its extreme complexity for those who still are at a low level. Daily observations give the authors of this paper enough grounds to claim that ELF is a major tool of *socialization* for the students who come to study from abroad. An interesting fact is that sometimes English performs this function so effectively, that some of repatriates are demotivated to learn Russian at all, remaining at the basic level in it for years.

Any ethnos is characterized by the cultural and linguistic self-awareness of its members. Repatriation is a complex and sometimes painful process of regaining and reinforcing cultural identity. The pains of Adyghe repatriation are aggravated by a huge time gap between the "exodus" and nowadays. The pressures of the hosting country's language and way of life could not but push the new generations of Adyghes living abroad towards losing their indigenous tongues and traditions. Nowadays, this destructive work is being facilitated by globalization processes nurturing cosmopolitism, washing out of national values, and unification of cultures. Instilling back the culture of their ancestors in the young repatriate Adyghes is a very complicated pedagogical task, though not entirely hopeless.

There are several major components that constitute the culture of the Adyghe people: The Adyghe language, Adyghe traditions and etiquette (Adyghe Khabze), Adyghe folklore, and material culture (food, housing, clothes, etc.). No doubt, the major factor that can boost the culture acquisition for repatriates is the possibility for cultural immersion. But even then the process might not be absolutely smooth, and this is where the English language can come into play. Its primary function is to provide cultural information in a facilitated habitual way, eliminate the stress or overload of unfamiliar indigenous vocabulary, clarify the details, and promote mutual understanding.

Compulsory regional components in the curricula of every educational program allow for the introduction of elective courses with a focus on the Adyghe cultural issues. Interwoven with the ELF curriculum, these courses capitalize on the use of English for teaching cultural values of the indigenous ethnos. Pedagogical research has already confirmed the effectiveness of such a blend of local and global approaches. A good example is the methodology of teaching English through Adyghe national fairy-tales, developed at the Department of Foreign Languages. The fairy-tales have been translated into English and adapted by Kadyr Natkho, a member of Adyghe diaspora in the United States of America.

Contemporary technology offers new possibilities for those who are interested in learning new things in a new way. The Internet is known for bridging cultures together, and the Adyghe culture is not an exception. The World Wide Web features a number of websites with a focus on the Adyghe language and a variety of cultural issues.

Perhaps, the most ardent keeper and disseminator of Circassian traditions both in the real and virtual world is Amjad Jaimoukha. He is currently Director of International Center for Circassian Studies (ICCS). The publications of the Center, including its bilingual journal (in Circassian and English) *The Hearth Tree*, can be accessed via

its website. The latter contains tons of useful information published both in English and Adyghe (`http://iccs.synthasite.com`). The materials of the website, including multimedia, can be easily retrieved and adapted for classroom use.

Web 2.0 approach has provided language teachers with new tools and teaching methods which allow for more meaningful learning experiences and extensive cultural networking. The use of internationally recognized e-learning platforms, like Moodle, helps to reduce the initial cultural shock of foreign students who have not yet adjusted to Russian academic environment. While studying Russian as a prerequisite for academic enrolment in their first year at the university, repatriate and foreign students are granted access to the distance-learning system of the Department of Foreign Languages, which by far has been run exclusively in English. On the other hand, culturally-oriented blogs and wiki-projects provide their contributors with opportunities for practicing the studied language (English) in the context of their historic homeland culture.

It has been repeatedly acknowledged that ELF, as a use of English, is to be distinguished from EFL — English as a Foreign Language. Basically, "the main aim of an ELF speaker is to communicate with other non-native speakers whereas EFL takes the native speaker as a target and encompasses components of English native-speaker culture." (Hülmbauer et al., 2008). Yet, EFL curriculum apparently has slots to be filled with the activities aimed at the acquisition of practical language skills irrelevant of cultural differences. The absence of natural English language environment results in the lack of authentic tasks for the learners of English, whereas ELF offers plenty of such opportunities for all kinds of students.

6 Conclusion

The mediating role of the English language in Adyghe repatriate community determines its functioning as a lingua franca ensuring adequate communication between students and teachers of different origins. English facilitates the acquisition of the indigenous Adyghe culture; helps to relieve the stress of social and cultural adjustment of the newcomer students; ensures the ease of communication in the academic environment; provides additional access to relevant media and Internet resources.

The implications for university instructors involved in teaching repatriate and foreign students of (Adyghe) Circassian origin are as follows:

- Despite traditional orientation towards English-speaking communities and cultures outlined in conventional textbooks, it is necessary to accommodate elements of local culture and ethnic specificity in the curricula of secondary and tertiary levels.

- Extended communicative practice in the target (English) language should be focused on multiple cultural comparisons of English, Russian, Adyghe cultures, and the culture of the countries of the students' origin.

- The IT and Web 2.0 advantages of modern educational paradigms should not be

ignored. Specific language learning communities, social networks with the focus on the Adyghe culture, cultural blogs, and cultural wiki-projects will create a digital environment in which English, undoubtedly, will play its role of lingua franca, uniting countries, peoples and generations.

About the authors

Elena Doludenko, Ph.D., is an associate professor of English at Adyghe State University (Maykop, Russia). She teaches courses in translation, linguistic pragmatics, and the use of IT in language teaching and learning. Her scholarly interests are focused on pragmatic issues and CALL. She has been a recipient of several international grants.
Email: `doludenko@yahoo.com`

Fatima Baste is an English language instructor at Adyghe State University (Maykop, Russia). She teaches practical courses of English to students of various levels. Her scholarly interests include ELF, corpus linguistics and modern teaching methods.
Email: `fdaa@yandex.ru`

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A Dialectic Between ELF Policy and ELF Teaching in the Circles of English: The Crossroads for Deeper Chords and Constructs

Kristine Harrison*

Abstract

This paper explores the discourse of language rights in relation to English as a Lingua Franca (EFL) and English as a Foreign Language (EFL) and educational reforms as articulated through academia between language policy and teaching. The goal at the *policy level* is to rethink the assumptions in the policy formulation that are translated into institutional practice, the treatment of English as a 'natural' language to be learned at the cost of other languages; as well as the possibilities of Multilingual Education (MLE). The goal at the *teaching level* is a pedagogical approach that can mediate these policies in the absence of systemic change. For academia the goal is to unify and not deconstruct each other and the whole field of language and language education.

1 Introduction

This paper addresses policymakers as well as teachers, and strives to look more deeply at the implications of the English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) discourses and English as a Foreign Language (EFL) educational reforms. Rather than arguing for *either* a deconstruction *or* an essentialization, my goal is to conceptualize language through a disciplinary unity — especially between linguistics and education, by showing that the dichotomy is not necessary.

It is ultimately about language and culture rights in education in hoping to establish principles for multilingual education policies that will not leave the teacher as mediator. The basic assumptions are that education and language both have fundamental and decisive roles for individual and group prosperity and dignity. Principles in support of such can be influenced by policy, for individuals and groups to be able to choose from a fairer and less dichotomous "true/false" equation.

Such a unity in the disciplines could help reshape ideologies that inform policies. This transdisciplinary approach on the part of academia would contribute to the call for a coherent theory to elaborate and refine a theoretical framework to understand global and local language ecology and educational language policies (Phillipson, 2009; McGroarty, 2002; Tollefson, 2002; Cummins, 1999) by considering how **policies** emerge

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*University of Wisconsin-Madison, U.S.A.

including policy *processes*. Such a call is not only challenging but complex — yet at some level the debate needs simplification. It is the complexity of the situation, not the complexity of the languages themselves, that is the problem.

Both English and globally standardized Education are big businesses. Education is now used as a global panacea to disguise inequalities and blame individual actors while promising a kind of global citizenship. English is a big part of educational reforms. Academics in education and policymakers could work together to inform multilingual education policies that promote and value languages other than English. Such a goal does not contradict nor endorse any one-size-fits-all global language policy that would put linguists or English teachers out of a job. English can still be a lingua franca. In the sections that follow, I will briefly discuss English language policies, language policies in education, postmodern critiques, and the possibilities of Multilingual Education (MLE) (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2009).

2 Policies in Language and Education in Particular

Donahue argues that "critical linguists have a particularly important role to play" and debates about language policy are often over the nature of language and rights (Donahue in Tollefson, 2002), in particular language rights in education. Discursive processes naturalize policies that only serve the dominant language. The problem may be that as Clark (2006) says, defining a language is a form of policy, besides being an ontological stand (in Tochon, 2009).

Preeminence is given to English in many domains, in particular education. The role of education, languages, and language rights emerges as people, schools, and nations are ranked and compared- through assessments, PISA exams, and global indicators from OECD or UNESCO. Despite the possibility that at least two thirds of the world doesn't speak English, English is called a 'basic skill' and linked to educational rankings (Phillipson, 2012; in press).

English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) as a global communication metanarrative must be interrogated. The neo-institutionalist perspective "conceptualizes a unified world through standard policies ... emphasizing the exclusive role of States as the regulatory bodies in globalization and linguistic policies." (Tochon, 2009). English is often a big business as the "language of neoliberal market/new imperialism (Harvey, 2005 in Phillipson, 2009) and plays a large role in international institutional rankings. For the elites it is becoming the medium of instruction at an ever earlier age rather than only a school subject (Phillipson, 2012; in press), and it is increasingly used as a medium of instruction and in higher education. According to Mazrui, it's a 'sociolinguistic impossibility' to be highly educated without English (Mazrui, 2002).

Educational policymakers sustain the logic of ELF and EFL reforms as if it were a "lingua nullius" or a language that belongs to no one and therefore culturally neutral, which follows the genocidal logic of "terra nullius" — (Phillipson, 2012; in press) land that was supposedly empty and to be owned despite being lived in by indigenous groups.

3 English Policies Tied to and Articulated Through Education as a Metanarrative

Schooling is where languages often live or die. Education as another metanarrative is embraced by all and has become synonymous with schooling, especially through initiatives like Education for All of UNESCO. More than the building of schools it is a standardization of curriculum, pedagogy, and teaching methods with an education system that systematically devalues culture, language, identity (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2009). In the ensuing hierarchization of languages, many languages are losing their cultural status and have semi confident speakers. Embedded in these questions are issues of linguistic human rights, cultures, worldviews, endangered languages, and even the conception of "language" itself.

The main terrain of acting through language is education or schooling. In practice society is multilingual yet success in schools remains monolingual. The dynamic multilingualism of most societies is a pedagogical issue that is blurred by moving from societies to schools (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2009). In addition, many of the multilingual students fail, language shifts for immigrants occur by the third generation, and most indigenous languages are lost or soon to be lost (McCarty, 2009). Fishman (2006) writes, "authorities of educational systems are deeply implicated in planned language shift. Education is a very useful and highly irreversible language shift mechanism." (Fishman in Skutnabb-Kangas, 2009, p. 49). Therefore English in education needs to be rethought carefully.

4 Postmodern Sociolinguistics?

The possibility of prosperity and dignity discussed in the introduction, and importance of language and education discussed in the previous section, should be human rights; and do not contradict any so-called 'sociolinguistic realities on the ground'. "The usual **postmodern** critique (of language) misses the boat completely" (Fishman, 2006 in Skutnabb-Kangas, 2009, p. 49) and its influence on education is destructive. The deconstructivist thinking of some academics problematizes notions of 'pure' identities as well as languages, claiming that languages and identities are always negotiating.. However, I believe that the differences here shouldn't be a dualism.

For example, a 'new' sociolinguistic approach to language ecology has no 'essentialism' but rather a complex dynamic with liminality; a dynamic system; caused by "shifting understandings" and changing conditions. Language and multilingualism are rooted in social practice and the political economy, is not relational nor interdependent. Language and identity have either no relation or a contingent relation. While claiming that language is an invention, advocating to disinvent language and claiming that it reproduces the status quo (Pennycook and Mankoni, 2006), these researchers systematically complicate and create multiplicities in an infinite number of socially situated practices.

It's often claimed by some sociolinguistics that minorities don't want to maintain

their language. Heller (2007) says that the whole discourse 'requires deconstruction of naturalized assumptions about language endangerment and what sociolinguistics should do about it' (Heller, 2007). For this reason many do not like notions of linguistic human rights because they see the 'old' linguistics having a focus on form, structure, bounded, structured system; tied to the nation state and able to be enumerated.

To see a link between today's reality and the connection to languages and to care about this requires seeing a value in languages themselves. **An alternative is needed.**

5   An Alternative

Hinnenkamp (2005) answers the previous:

> "The diagnostic of language deficit ... becomes a fuzzy concept with many ingredients of deficiency, but as well useful for an appeal to responsibility to do something against its detrimental consequences ... to explain things away ... The modern emancipatory attempts may appear reductive when they clash with postmodern deconstructionism. It can be argued once again that linguistic classifications play a major role in justifying the salaries of linguists rather than helping the poor and needy" (Tochon, 2009)

Conceptual terms are used inconsistently or misappropriated (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2009) not only between disciplines but across disciplines as well as historically, diachronically and synchronically. Some of these key terms are bilingualism, multilingualism, mother tongue, etc.

The charge against rights based on the faults of enumeration and consequent language "purism" or sanitized views of languages points to the complexity of the situation, not the complexity of the languages themselves. Due to socioeconomic factors in the evolution of languages in the 21st century entails much hybridity and blurred borders but there is still such a thing as "language".

> "Languages are OF COURSE variable and changing, constructed and reconstructed... Elites might not understand that languages are often core values for individual and collective ethnocultural identities. Those who reject linguistic rootedness as a Grand Narrative of Herderian Romanticising Essentialism, may, instead of rejecting all grand narratives, as they claim, be in the process of constructing a new Grand Narrative of Rootless Hybridity as a necessary and positive ideal" (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2009).

Striving to recognize these roles of education and language and consequently protect these rights and realities, does not involve a belief in reified or static languages (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2009). Proponents of linguistic rights are forced to answer questions of 'purism' and defining what a language is. Possibly this is the biggest issue separating the two groups of 'linguists' I've identified. In the end, it's very likely that "a language is a dialect with an army. Dialects can become languages anytime as soon as they are

associated with power, values and money" (Tochon, 2009). This is the problem with English.

It may be the only thing that needs to be 'reified' — the rights of cultures and languages, and sovereignty in education. However, first, I will present the postmodern 'solution': For Pennycook and Makoni (2006), the *premodern* attitude is the solution to the whole multilingual 'problem'. Their reconstitution of languages calls for a return to the premodern polyglot attitude where languages more freely evolved in social practice. Yet it seems that to disinvent and then reinvent language as it is *really* is — social practice — requires language, culture, and educational (sovereignty) rights. This is one of those paradoxes that may just have to be accepted.

6   Multilingual Education (MLE) — Another Solution

As discussed previously, Education *and* English are used as the mantra/panacea for social injustices. Historically still tied to the nation-state ideology, in the U.S. for example total cultural and linguistic assimilation has been the norm and even in more multilingual places like Europe the nation state ideology of one language has not meant multilingual education models. The fallacies of monolingualism, early starts in English, subtractive learning of the mother tongue are often believed and naturalized (Phillipson, 2012, in press).

However, there is an alternative in MLE. Skutnabb-Kangas, et al. (2009) and many researchers across fields for over forty years have shown that a lingua franca could be taught thru culturally appropriate education. Literacy through language is a repository of a community's cultural knowledge and immersion at a young age for ideally eight years of mother tongue instruction[1] affirms children's identities. It is *not* necessary to sacrifice language through subtractive assimilationist education, and it's false to assume the need to introduce the dominant language at an early age that misleads parents to think that formal education equals English or that early English equals good education and success.

According to Cummins (2009), there is no credibility anymore that the dominant language is needed to advance in society and succeed. The language abilities required for academic success are very different from those operating in everyday conversation contexts. There is transfer across languages from L1 to L2, across languages and possibly interdependence including a clear positive relation between bilingualism and cognitive performance or metalinguistic ability (Dressler and Kamil, 2006 in Cummins, 2009).

MLE challenges coercive power relations by building a bridge between home and school that roots children's language and literacy development in their mother tongue and own culture. Recognizing the metalinguistic awareness of students, the result is that the skills are transferred and children end up with strong literacy in both languages.

Yet the proponents of Multilingual Education (MLE) are challenged and not supported by others of the postmodern sociolinguist bent who stress the socially-situated

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[1]The notion of 'mother tongue' has also been deconstructed by Heller (2007) and others, but will not be taken up here.

practice and flexible views of language evolution including a dominant lingua franca. The latter argue that each situation needs its own analysis. This of course has links to the discussion above of the sociolinguistic and disciplinary debate over the nature of language and rights, as well as the complications also discussed above about how policies are implemented and articulated.

In summary, it is perfectly possible to maintain a mother tongue *and* learn a dominant language. Children's knowledge, experiences, and self-esteem are grounded in their first language. Pedagogy can be relevant to kids and transformative without privileging either system- deconstructive anarchy or romantic staticism.

In conclusion, the charge of essentialism is misfounded — these goals don't deny the need for 'contextualizing everywhere'. MLE is an international theoretical framework with much evidence and it is globally relevant. Each language can play its role. The mother tongue is a bridge between home/school, language/culture and works in complex multilingual societies too. It's a global movement seeking to provide quality education for ALL.

Lastly, all of this does not ignore the position of teachers. In the absence of socially just language policies, or good MLE, teachers are left to mediate between the policies and students and assessments with their classroom practice. Hopefully this paper will contribute to a reconceptualization of world language education without leaving it all on them.

7   Conclusion

Conceptual clarification and agreement is needed — those who work in language are divided on the issue of rights — some working to undo the legacy of colonialism through solid action and others calling for an infinite number of studies. Linguists seem to be studying language to justify their profession, and languages do not need linguists to get organized (Tochon, 2009).

Despite the way I set up the "two camps" of those for language rights and those who seem to be against, my impression is that it's a false dualism and I hope to find a third space. As McCarty (2009) writes of the Rough Rock, AZ Navajo language revitalization, it wasn't a goodwill of the U.S. Congress that made it happen but the persistence and wisdom of the people involved. Since neither can be taken as a given, and academics can't 'guide' or study each of the multitudes of situations worldwide; academics in crucial areas of language and education can at least unify.

The need for a single lingua franca tied clearly to the corporate interests of Britain and the U.S. who are also implicated as cultural imperialists raises serious questions, especially when the claim is for communication and education. The EFL reformers must begin to reject the mechanistic, standardized, top-down, globalization-led discourses that lead to subtractive learning and loss of many languages and language ability especially *through* education, and the teachers must be made aware. This is the dialectic between policy and teachers in EFL/ELF.

> "The development of these more heteroglossic multiple multilingual education programs still has a long way to go officially, even in contexts that are highly multilingual and heteroglossic. In other words, the state that controls educational systems rarely supports these practices" (Garcia, 2009).

There were centuries or millenia of polyglottism and language hybridity and social practice models, linguistic and biocultural diversity that coevolved and that differed sharply from the one we face today. Perhaps we can return to such a linguistic environment with many high level multilinguals in an environment with some "principles" that support the choice for native language. My guess is that if it were there, most people would choose their own first language.

About the author

Kristine M. Harrison is a graduate student in World Languages Education at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, U.S.A. Her research focuses on Native American language reclamation/reversal/revitalization.
Email: `kmharrison@wisc.edu`

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Part II

ELF and Language Education

Language Awareness of Prospective English Teachers in Hungary and Turkey

Éva Illés[*], Sumru Akcan[†] and Bálint Feyér[*]

Abstract

The paper investigates the target language-related challenges prospective English teachers face during their practicum in Hungary and Turkey. The research is based on a comparative study at Boğaziçi University, Istanbul and Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, where class observations and interview sessions were conducted with prospective English teachers. Linguistic challenges occurred in both contexts mainly in cases where the target language forms differed markedly from their L1 equivalents. Difficulties pertaining to the use of English could also be observed, especially with regard to spontaneous teacher-learner interactions and giving instructions in an appropriate manner. The teachers observed showed occasional gaps in their pedagogical grammar and a general disregard of varieties of English, including a lack of awareness of their own English, while treating ENL as the ideal target of learning. The initial findings of the study imply that a heightened language awareness, a reflective approach to English and familiarity with ELF could offer considerable benefits to prospective teachers in both contexts.

Keywords: Language awareness, pre-service language teachers, ELF, practicum

1 Introduction

The concern with teachers' target language proficiency and language awareness has come to the fore in teacher education in recent years. The requirement that language teachers, be they native or non-native, should be able to cope effectively with the challenges of classroom communication has been highlighted in Başyurt-Tüzel and Akcan's study (2009). The authors point out that in the case of non-native teachers, less adequate command of the target language (TL) may threaten not only the efficacy of classroom interaction, but "teachers' sense of security and confidence" as well (Başyurt-Tüzel and Akcan, 2009, p. 272).

The need to incorporate a thorough understanding of how language is organized in the knowledge base of teacher education has been recognized in the field of teacher cognition (Yates and Muchisky, 2003). The issue has then gained importance in ELF study, where researchers have suggested the inclusion of general language awareness

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[*]Eötvös Loránd University, Hungary

[†]Boğaziçi University, Turkey

in language teaching (Seidlhofer, 2005) and consequently in teacher education, as well (Doğancay-Aktuna and Hardman, 2012).

In order to suit the purposes of teaching English in the Outer and Expanding Circles (Kachru 1992), the notion of teachers' language proficiency has been reappraised. The proposed model entails both target language proficiency and an increased awareness of English as a pluricentric language (Doğancay-Aktuna and Hardman, 2012). As a result, teachers' language proficiency comprises two components, *proficiency in use* and *skills in analysis*. The former refers to "competence in effectively using the language" (Doğancay-Aktuna and Hardman, 2012, p. 106), while the latter entails meta-knowledge of various elements of a language and its use, such as phonology, lexicon, syntax, pragmatics, etc.

The present project has adopted this redefined notion of teacher proficiency and has aimed to investigate target language use and target language awareness of prospective English teachers in Hungary and Turkey within an ELF context. The joint project intends to answer the following questions:

What language problems do Hungarian and Turkish prospective teachers encounter in classroom communication during their teaching practice? Are there any difficulties which future teachers in the two countries share and which might be due to the fact that both Turkish and Hungarian are agglutinative languages?

What characterizes the language awareness of prospective English teachers in Hungary and Turkey from an ELF perspective?

2 Teacher Education Programmes in Turkey and Hungary

2.1 Turkish context

In Turkey the Department of Foreign Language Education offers a BA programme (four years) and a graduate programme (two years), leading to an MA degree in English Language Education. In the programme, students are provided with a solid foundation in the English language, linguistics, English literature, methodology for teaching a foreign language and pedagogy, in order to make them qualified teachers of English in primary and secondary schools as well as in higher education institutes in Turkey.

The practice teaching experience component at the department consists of one school experience course and a practice teaching experience course. Prospective English language teachers take their school experience course during their seventh semester. They spend one day in cooperating schools, observe classes and do peer observations, discuss their experiences with their peers and university supervisors and prepare a portfolio including tasks related with their observations. During their eighth semester, prospective language teachers spend one day in the cooperating schools per week, and do micro- and macro-teaching under the supervision of the university supervisors and teachers (mentors) of the cooperating schools.

2.2 Hungarian context

In Hungary teacher education is conducted at MA level. Students apply for MA in English Language Teaching on successful completion of their BA English or American Studies. The MA teaching programme usually takes two years. At Eötvös Loránd University (ELTE), where the research was carried out, MA in Teaching English provides a solid foundation not only in the methodology of ELT but also in SLA, language testing, pedagogical grammar, and phonetics and phonology for teachers. Students also have to pass a proficiency exam before they are allowed to begin their teaching practice.

The present research in Hungary began when the joint project with Boğaziçi University was set up in 2011. To date, five teacher candidates have participated in the study. All five candidates did their teaching practice at one of ELTE's training schools where qualified mentors assist and guide prospective teachers during their three-month practicum. Data were collected using classroom observation, which included video-recording and notes taken by the researchers. The video-recordings were then given to the participants who watched them prior to the semi-structured interviews which comprised questions about the students' language learning and teaching experiences, as well as their views of the varieties of English and ELF. The participants were also asked about the norms and models they considered suitable for themselves and their learners. The interviews were audio-recorded and were followed by stimulated recall of the observed lessons where the participants had to identify instances where they faced language problems either in their own or their learners' use of English. It is worth noting that although video-recordings and their analyses do not form part of the teacher education programme at ELTE, in their comments, participating teachers expressed the view that it would be beneficial to adopt such practice in the future.

3 Results

3.1 Linguistic difficulties

In Turkey the data obtained from 18 teacher candidates have revealed that prospective teachers had difficulties in using articles which they often omitted and produced sentences such as "We'll pass to second exercise" or "Read text, please". Furthermore, problems occurred with plural suffixes and certain prepositions. In lexis, phrasal verbs and idioms have proved most challenging.

For Hungarian candidates, conditionals and reported speech were some of the grammatical areas where they had difficulties. A further problem, which, in fact, features increasingly in Hungarian learners' use of English, was noun-verb agreement. Some features of Hungarian pronunciation, such as weak intonation and a monotonous tone of voice, were present in the English speech of Hungarian prospective teachers. There were also mispronounced words (e.g., *worm* pronounced as *warm*), some of which caused intelligibility problems (e.g., *arrangement* sounded as a noun with a *-man* ending with stress on the last syllable). The Hungarian structure in which nouns with a number other than one in front of them do not take the plural suffix was transferred into the

English use of Hungarian candidates on several occasions.

3.2   Challenges in using English for classroom communication

Prospective teachers in Turkey had difficulty in using classroom language for managing students, in discussions about off-topic issues and using language for conversational purposes.   Prospective teachers also experienced vocabulary problems when giving instructions and explaining the subject matter to the students in English during the practicum. Candidates found it difficult to modify their L2 to the students' level and used unnecessarily long and complex sentences for classroom routines and management. One way of solving linguistic problems they faced in classroom communication was avoiding the use of TL for everyday and routine communicative purposes, and frequently resorting to the mother tongue when organizing the class or giving feedback.

Hungarian teacher candidates also had difficulty in giving instructions. Similarly to their Turkish counterparts, they found it hard to modify their language to the students' level, and frequently gave instructions which were complex, both linguistically and schematically. In the case of Hungarian prospective teachers, L1 was mostly used purposefully to accommodate the learners' needs when checking the understanding of instructions or the meaning of TL lexical items. Occasionally, however, the use of the mother tongue was an escape route, a relatively easy way out of difficult situations which included complex explanations and discussions. One of the participants resorted to her L1 when she experienced physical and/or mental exhaustion.

3.3   Language awareness

In both countries the data have revealed that there are gaps in prospective teachers' knowledge of pedagogical grammar. In addition, in Hungary candidates' knowledge about varieties of English seemed very superficial and was mainly limited to British and American English. As a consequence of this, Hungarian prospective teachers have a fairly restricted view of authenticity, which for them entails Standard British English and RP only. Such an approach to what is acceptable and appropriate in the use of English then results in heavy dependence on the norms of an idealized native-speaker in an idealized speech community (Widdowson 2012).

One of the implications of such a view of authenticity is the unresolved clash of two coexisting models in the classroom. In one of the lessons, the Hungarian teacher candidate presented and practised question tags with her learners. Throughout, she insisted on the English as a native language (ENL) model (e.g., It's nice, *isn't it?*) while in her own use, the alternative ELF model dominated (*Right?*). When discussing the issue during the simulated recall session, where she referred to the pedagogically promoted ENL model as "question tag question tag", the participant said that she taught the otherwise less relevant and prevalent ENL form due to pressure from her mentor, students and their parents.

4 Discussion

The data have revealed that the TL use of the two groups of participants shares features with what has been found common in ELF contexts (Seidlhofer, 2004). The examples include the omission of articles and alternative forms of question tags. However, the hypothesis that because of the similarities in the structure of the two languages, prospective teachers in the two countries may share some of the linguistic challenges the teaching of English poses has not been proved at this stage of the research. There have, however, been considerable overlaps in the difficulties teacher candidates faced in the two teaching contexts. In both countries prospective teachers' inadequate proficiency in use resulted in a loss of classroom management efficiency and the unnecessary use of L1.

With regard to language awareness, the results in Hungary evidenced what Seidlhofer called "double standards" in ELT and teacher education (Seidlhofer, 1999). Whereas prospective teachers' English showed features of ELF use, what they taught was ENL due to outside pressures. Another contradiction in future teachers' views of ELT was that while the participants acknowledged the untenability of the ENL ideal, their pedagogic decisions were informed by ENL rather than ELF use. When asked about the role and status of native-speaker teachers, most participants agreed that while the non-native teacher can be a suitable model for learners, for the teacher, the model should be a native speaker of English. Despite the fact that the participants accepted the relevance of non-native speaker use and norms, in the classroom, they were not confident enough to promote their own ELF model. In other words, the candidates were caught in the dilemma between norm dependence and norm development (Kachru 1992).

The findings of the present research raise, yet again, issues such as identity (Jenkins, 2007), the ownership of English (Widdowson, 2003) and finding one's ELF voice (Kramsch, 2009). It seems that non-native speaker professionals working in ELF contexts are some way away from becoming autonomous learners and teachers who, through the appropriation of English, not only find their own voice but have the confidence to apply it in their teaching practice.

5 Conclusion

Even at its initial stage, the joint Hungarian-Turkish project has produced insights which could contribute to the development of ELF-oriented teacher training programmes. The findings in both locations suggest that language awareness courses including issues related to varieties of English and the use and teaching of ELF should be a compulsory component of teacher education programmes. In both countries the teacher candidates recognized the importance of TL proficiency and recommended the continuation of TL practice classes. The rationale behind these suggestions has been summed up by Seidlhofer:

"While actual teacher education curricula would of course have to be tailored

to local purposes, there are certain priorities that they should generally focus on in the education (not just training) of teachers so as to provide the essential understanding of the nature of language and its use that underpin their pedagogic practices and that would enhance their status as well informed and self-reliant professionals." (Seidlhofer, 2011, p. 204)

In Hungary, the participants, overcoming their initial fear and reservations, also realized the pedagogic benefits of video-recordings and the subsequent discussion of candidates' classes, and suggested that this method be part of the mentoring process.

One of the limitations of the research is the small sample, especially in the Hungarian context. The inclusion of more participants and a deeper analysis of the data obtained from their TL use may enable the research team to revisit the question of whether the fact that the two L1s are similar in that they are both agglutinative languages results in similar forms in the use of English of the two groups. A better understanding of prospective teachers' difficulties and dilemmas may also result in more concrete suggestions for more ELF-oriented teacher education curricula.

About the authors

Éva Illés teaches in the Department of English Applied Linguistics at Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest. She holds a PhD in ESOL from the Institute of Education, University of London. She has a wide range of experience including teaching English in Britain and Hungary. Her current research areas are pragmatics, translation, English as a lingua franca, and teacher education.
Email: `illes.eva@btk.elte.hu`

Sumru Akcan is an assistant professor in the Department of Foreign Language Education at Boğaziçi University, Istanbul, Turkey. She teaches undergraduate and graduate courses in teacher Education, foreign language teaching methodology, and qualitative research. Her research focuses on teacher education, language teaching pedagogy, and English as a lingua franca (ELF).
Email: `sumru.akcan@boun.edu.tr`

Bálint Feyér is a junior lecturer at the Department of English Applied Linguistics at Eötvös Loránd University and is currently pursuing a PhD in language pedagogy. He teaches Academic writing to undergraduate students and works as a business English teacher at various companies in Hungary. His research interests involve sociolinguistics, language variation, phonetics and phonology, language teaching and English as a lingua franca (ELF).
Email: `feyerbalint@gmail.com`

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Toward a Critical Epistemology of World Language Teaching and Learning

Timothy Reagan*

Abstract

This paper argues that conceptualisations of 'language' are both ahistorical and atheoretical, and that they are grounded in a positivistic world view that leads to misunderstandings in the context of language teaching and learning. It raises a number of questions about the underlying ideological assumptions involved in the discourse on language teaching and learning, and presents a case for the recognition of the role of power relations in such efforts.

Keywords: Language, language teaching, language learning

Linguists, language specialists, and the public have generally viewed language from a perspective that is fundamentally positivistic in orientation. As Smith noted,

> "There is an intuitive appeal to the notion that there is an external language that different people speak. Indeed, it is so self-evidently true that it would be pointless to deny it. However, when taken to its logical conclusion, the idea turns out to be problematic, as the notion of 'language' involved is different from the notion that linguists theorize about." (2002, p. 102–103)

Even more problematically, there has been an assumption that *particular* languages also exist as knowable entities. Such assumptions are embedded in our discourse, and have important implications for language teaching and learning. In educational settings, our goal is to move the student's linguistic behaviour in the target language closer to the norms of the singular reality of that language. What we do, then, is to engage in the objectification of 'language', which leads us to misunderstand the nature of language and to accept technicist views of the teaching and learning of languages.

In its everyday sense, 'language' is ahistorical and atheoretical. It is ahistorical because it presupposes that language is in some sense fixed and static — that is, it is a singular reality. Consider the case of English. The English speech community has evolved over time. From a small community on the fringe of Europe, English speakers have become the most powerful linguistic community in the world. The domination and hegemony of English in international communication is unmatched in the history of humankind. Not only has English spread, it has also evolved and changed in dramatic ways. We distinguish among Old English, Middle English and Modern English, and

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*Nazarbayev University, Kazakhstan

consider each of these a distinctive language. A speaker of Modern English finds Old English unintelligible, regardless of the connections between the two. And yet, the demarcation between these separate languages is arbitrary — there is no point at which speakers of Old English suddenly began speaking Middle English. There was a continuity in the English speech community, and speakers of one generation were always able to understand speakers of the next. From a historical perspective, any language is something of a moving target, constantly changing and in flux, and any effort to demarcate its boundaries are at best able to provide a snapshot of the language at a particular time and place.

Conceptions of language are also atheoretical. Language varies not only over time, but in terms of location, social class, age, and other ways. Wolff noted that, "no two speakers of the same language speak alike, nor does the same speaker use his/her language the same way all the time: Variation is part of language and language behaviour" (2000, p. 299). As Posner noted in her response to the question, "How many Romance languages are there?":

> "An answer to this question that has been slightingly labeled *santa simplicitas* is that there is only one: The languages are all alike enough to be deemed dialects of the same language. Another equally disingenuous answer might be 'thousands' — of distinctive varieties — or 'millions' — of individual idiolects. The usual textbook answer is 'ten, or possibly eleven', according priority to putative chronologically early differentiation from the common stock, allegedly linked to ethnic differences among the speakers." (1996, p. 189)

Posner's point is well taken: Even in a case as well documented as that of the Romance languages, the specific demarcation of distinct languages is fundamentally an arbitrary one. We see this same problem in delimiting languages in settings around the world. Although the criterion of mutual intelligibility is useful in some instances, it is far from adequate in many others. Norwegian, Swedish and Danish have a very high degree of mutual intelligibility, and yet are recognized, both by their speakers and by others, as different languages. The language boundaries in many other parts of the 'developing world' are even fuzzier, a fact which helps to explain why we are incapable of articulating a meaningful response to the question, 'How many languages are there in the world?' Furthermore, since no two speakers of a language possess and use the language in identical ways - indeed, since no *single* speaker does so - we are left with the reality that language exists only in the plural. A language is ultimately a collection of idiolects which have been determined to belong together for what are non- and extra-linguistic reasons.

The ahistorical and atheoretical conceptualisation of language has important implications for the teaching and learning of languages. By objectifying the construct of language, we reify not only language itself, but also the components of language. The grammar of a language becomes what is contained in a textbook; the lexicon means what is in the dictionary. The lack of a singular reality of 'a language' is nonetheless

important, though, since in the classroom, the teacher becomes the final, ultimate language authority and model. As Craig commented,

> "Traditionally, the [language] teacher's role has been seen as that of an authoritative expert. This view is based on the conception of knowledge as a quantifiable intellectual commodity. The teacher, as an expert in a field of inquiry or as an expert speaker of a language, has more of this knowledge than his or her students have. Because this knowledge has a separate existence outside of its knowers, it can be given, or taught, to the learners by the teacher-expert." (1995, p. 41)

This objectification of is ultimately about power (see Fairclough, 1989; Tollefson, 1995). It is about who has the power to determine standards of correctness, and about who 'owns' the language. The selection of a variety of a language as the norm in the classroom is a manifestation of the ideology of linguistic legitimacy. This is perhaps nowhere clearer than in the case of heritage and native language speakers in the foreign language classroom. As Valdés noted,

> "it is a fact that a surprising number of Spanish-speaking students... are still being placed in beginning Spanish classes for non-speakers to help them 'unlearn' their 'bad' habits and begin anew as foreign speakers. It matters not that the student is fluent and has internalized every single grammar rule that the teacher may hope to present. If he says *traiba* for *traía*, many schools will make him 'begin from the beginning'... every day teachers of Spanish casually enroll native Spanish-speaking students in beginning Spanish classes for non-speakers, in which the materials used have been designed exclusively for teaching English-speaking students. The students are expected, in the process, to acquire the standard Spanish dialect as opposed to that normally used in their own speech communities." (1981, p. 7)

Power relations with respect to language variation are not limited only to the foreign language classroom. The common tension between bilingual education teachers and foreign language teachers in the United States, especially in the case of Spanish, is often a reflection of different linguistic norms and the status differentials between the standard and the non-standard varieties of the language, and between native and non-native speakers of the language. The difference between a speaker of Spanish who uses *troca* and one who uses *camión* for 'truck' is not one of lexical choice; it is one of class, status, and power.

The objectification of language is tied to the objectification of a number of other related constructs as well: Not only 'grammar' and 'vocabulary', but also that of the 'native speaker', 'culture', 'communication', 'literacy', and so on. Consider the concept 'bilingual'. Although linguists recognise that this term refers to a very diverse continuum of different levels and types of language skills in two or more languages, efforts to provide a single, clear definition for 'bilingual' are bound to fail. In fact, if one examines the actual use of this term in the public school context in the US, one discovers that

'bilingual children' (i.e., those in 'bilingual education' programmes) are those who do not yet speak English proficiently; once they are able to function in English, they are no longer 'bilingual'.

The objectification of language leads to technicist approaches to teaching language, in which assumptions are made about the correctness of language varieties and linguistic forms, as well as about the relationship between the hypothetical native speaker, the people who actually speak the target language, and the second language user. As Ortega commented, the teaching of foreign languages in the United States has failed "to recognize the fact that both societal attitudes towards languages and power struggles resulting from ownership of a language and culture by particular groups are inextricably embedded in the definition of goals for language education" (1999, p. 243). Not only does technicism result in poor language teaching, but it serves to disguise the political and ideological contexts in which language learning occurs. A number of scholars have critically assessed this tendency in the international teaching of English (see Hall and Eggington, 2000; Holborow, 1999; Pennycook, 1994, 1998, 2000). Phillipson, for instance, argued that the belief that English language teaching is somehow a non-political or non-ideological activity:

> "serves to disconnect culture from structure. It assumes that educational concerns can be divorced from social, political, and economic realities. It exonerates the experts who hold the belief from concerning themselves with these dimensions. It encourages a technical approach to [ELT], divorced even from wider educational issues. It permits the English language to be exported as a standard product without the requirements of the local market being considered except in a superficial way." (1992, p. 67, emphasis in original)

In fact, the role of English in the international community is far from neutral or non-ideological; as Searle has argued,

> "Let us be clear that the English language has been a monumental force and institution of oppression and rabid exploitation throughout 400 years of imperialist history. It attacked the black person with its racist images and imperialist message, it battered the worker who toiled as its words expressed the parameters of his misery and the subjugation of entire peoples in all the continents of the world. It was made to scorn the languages it sought to replace, and told the colonised peoples that mimicry of its primacy among languages was a necessary badge of their social mobility as well as their continued humiliation and subjugation." (1983, p. 68)

What is especially intriguing in this admittedly polemical passage is that even as he is attacking the technicist view of language, Searle inadvertently falls into the trap of objectifying English. It is not, after all, 'English' that did anything — *speakers* of English, and political institutions representing the power and self-interest of English speakers, were the culprits. 'English' is not capable of taking action or making decisions.

In fact, it might be argued that by moving the responsibility from English speakers to the English language, one lifts the burden of responsibility and guilt from the former, very real individuals, and places it on the latter, a meaningless abstraction, thus absolving those who are in fact guilty without penance.

The objectification of language leads not only to technicist approaches to language teaching, but also serves to reinforce ideologies of linguistic legitimacy. Underlying the discourse dealing with issues of language are a number of common assumptions about the nature of language, language structure, language difference, and so on, that are often shared by educators, parents, the general public, and by students themselves. Perhaps the most powerful of these assumptions concerns what counts as a 'real' language (and what does not count).

The idea that some language varieties are not 'real' is an especially dangerous one. It is an idea that periodically emerges, almost always in response to a perceived threat to the socially dominant language. Thus, we find African American English, ASL, and various non-mainstream varieties of Spanish, French and English all sometimes dismissed as less than 'real' languages (see Reagan, 1997, 2002, pp. 57–82; Reagan and Osborn, 2002, pp. 33–54). Although the concept of linguistic legitimacy has no credibility among linguists, it is nevertheless an incredibly potent idea among the general public, including many educators. By delegitimizing an oppressed group's language, we ensure that the group itself remains dominated. It is here that the power of education to counter hegemonic forces may be most visible and powerful.

It is hard to imagine how we might exaggerate the role of language in human life. Neil Smith argued that:

> "Language makes us human ... Whatever we do, language is central to our lives, and the use of language underpins the study of every other discipline. Understanding language gives us insight into ourselves and a tool for the investigation of the rest of the universe. Proposing marriage, opposing globalization, composing a speech, all require the use of language; to buy a meal or sell a car involves communication, which is made possible by language; to be without language — as an infant, a foreigner or a stroke victim — is to be at a devastating disadvantage. Martians and dolphins, bonobos and bees, may be just as intelligent, cute, adept at social organization and morally worthwhile, but they don't share our language, they don't speak 'human'."
> (2002, p. 3)

If the centrality of language is a given, this centrality is even more true in the realm of education. Language is *the* central element that not only makes education possible, but which plays a key role in the construction of knowledge on both the part of the student and the part of the teacher. Beliefs about language, as well as attitudes toward language, function to colour and set the parameters of the educational experience, and can, in the classroom and school contexts, serve either positive or negative ends (see Corson, 2001; McKay and Hornberger, 1996; Osborn, 2003; Reagan, 2001, 2002). As Canagarajah observed,

> "If language learning is ideological... the solution is not to run away from politics, but to negotiate with the agencies of power for personal and collective empowerment. If [language teaching] is implicated in larger social processes and cultural practices, the corrective is not to eliminate that connection in favor of autonomy or 'purity', but to seek a holistic pedagogy that will enable learners to engage with those domains for a richer educational experience." (1999, p. 197)

This, I would suggest, is precisely the objective that we must pursue if we wish foreign language teaching and learning to serve progressive and emancipatory ends.

About the author

Timothy Reagan is Dean of the Graduate School of Education at Nazarbayev University in Astana, Kazakhstan. A Past President of the International Society of Language Studies, and co-founding editor of the society's Critical Issues in Language Studies, Reagan's primary research interests include educational linguistics, language policy and planning, and the linguistics of sign languages.
Email: `timothy.reagan@nu.edu.kz`

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Unproblematic and Uncontroversial: The ELF Element in an On-Line Entrance Test

David Newbold[*]

Abstract

This paper reports on a project to develop an entrance test for European university students which is more valid than the ones currently on the market, designed with an English native speaker environment (usually the UK or the US) in mind. In Europe, and notably since the Bologna Declaration of 1999, a minimum entrance level requirement (usually B1 or B2 of the CEFR) for all incoming university students has now become the norm, reflecting the need for English across a range of courses and curricula. But which English? Research carried out at the University of Venice, and sponsored by Trinity College London, suggests that much of the language students will be exposed to in their university careers - whether oral or written — is of a non native speaker variety. This includes listening to visiting professors, interacting with Erasmus students on mobility programmes, and using the Internet for research. Real life tasks such as these informed the construct of the online entrance test reported on, designed to have greater predictive value for student survival in a European academic environment in which ELF has become a daily reality for an increasing number of students, teachers, and administrative staff. The test (provisionally called TEEUS, Test of English for European University Students) was pre-trialled in Venice in 2011. As well as the rationale behind the test, the paper will look at the test structure and student feedback on the tasks (such as reactions to non-native accents), and conclude that a test with a strong ELF component may be seen by test takers as both appropriate and uncontroversial.

Keywords: CEFR, testing, validity

1   The Need to Engage with ELF

In 2006 Jennifer Jenkins called for testing agencies to engage with ELF because, she claimed, *it is changes in teaching which keep pace with changes in testing, and not vice versa.* This call has gone largely unheeded. Tests, especially those produced by the large international organizations, continue to be resolutely native speaker orientated in the language models they offer, whatever the actual or intended purposes of the test. Jenkins is clearly referring to the washback effect of tests on the teaching/learning environment, and her concern that ELF needs to find its way into the classroom. But there are more immediate reasons why testers need to engage with ELF, and they are

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[*]University of Venice Ca' Foscari, Italy

concerned with test validity, the fundamental notion that a test should measure what it is supposed to measure, and not something else. (Lado, 1961)

The well-known international tests IELTS and TOEFL, for example, were both developed to provide universities in English-speaking countries (especially the US, the UK and Australia) with information about the potential for applicants whose mother tongue is not English to successfully complete university courses in these countries. In other words, they are intended to have predictive validity. However, widespread use is made of these and other tests by European universities in which English is not the native language, but is increasingly needed by students, in the belief that they will have a similar predictive validity. With English now the *de facto* lingua franca of European universities, as an indirect result of the Bologna Process, a minimum entrance level requirement (usually B1 or B2 of the CEFR) for all incoming university students has become the norm, reflecting the need for English across a range of courses and curricula.

But which English? And, consequently, which kind of test? In this paper I will present a research project undertaken at the University of Venice, and sponsored by Trinity College London, to ascertain the real English language needs of students, and to develop a test which responds to those needs. In Venice, as in universities elsewhere in Europe, students who are not majoring in English will nonetheless be required to read, listen, interact, and in some cases write in English as part of their university career. According to Wachter (2012), 7% of all courses taught in continental Europe are now delivered through the medium of English, and the percentage is rising. Venice is no exception; a first degree course in Business and Management introduced in 2008 and intended to attract international students (from Eastern Europe and elsewhere) as well as Italians has proved successful. In 2012 the Rector of the Polytechnic of Milan announced that in future *all* courses would be English only[1], causing a flurry of publicity and protest, and the fear of 'domain loss' of the scientific/academic register in national European languages, as prophesized by Phillipson (2006).

Of course, the majority of programmes, and especially undergraduate programmes, continue to be taught in the national language. But here too the need for English is growing. International teacher mobility on Erasmus and other exchanges has made it quite common for students to have to listen to guest lecturers; the language is likely to be English, and the lecturers are non-native speakers. Students, even the stay-at-homers who do not go on mobility, will need to interact with increasing numbers of incoming international students; and, crucially, they will have to read academic texts in English.

In 2010, with B1 level on the CEFR (Common European Framework of Reference) now an entrance requirement for all students, we[2] began a needs analysis with a view to developing a valid and reliable test. We invited final year students across the four faculties in the university (Science, Economics, Humanities, and Languages) to identify the specific skills in English they had needed during their courses. 275 valid questionnaires were returned (Table 1). At the same time a parallel survey was made at the University of Lecce, in the south of Italy, which returned similar but not identical

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[1]Reported in *La Repubblica*, March 3, 2012

[2]The three researchers were Geraldine Ludbrook, David Newbold and Maria Rees

Table 1: Summary of needs analysis

Specific skill	Needed by
Reading textbooks and articles	70%
Using the Internet for research	53%
Watching film and video	23%
Attending lectures/seminars in English	21%
Writing emails	19%
Interaction with foreign students	18%
Interaction with foreign lecturers	9%
Writing letters	2%

results for students reading law and political sciences.[3]

The figures relate to the period 2007–2010. Unsurprisingly reading is top of the list, but the 21% who had to attend a lecture (or lectures) in English is indicative of ongoing change, and we suspect that the figure is rising. A small group of teachers (two or three for each faculty) were also interviewed for their perceptions of students' needs; the consensus which emerged was that the major requirement was for reading skills, but that the minimum level required was B2, not B1; however, most thought this to be an unrealistically high expectation for an entrance test.

Eight percent of respondents (22/275) had also spent a period abroad, usually on an Erasmus programme. Most of them had used English as a lingua franca, and listed further skills they had needed, such as interacting with university teachers and technical staff, or using university websites. We wanted to develop a test which catered for both stay-at-homers (90%+) and the small but growing number of students on mobility who had to grapple with ELF on a daily basis.

2 Test Construct and Specifications

Developing a test of ELF, or, as in this case, a test with an ELF component, is likely to be problematic for various reasons. There is the question of attitudes and acceptability to stake-holders (see Jenkins, 2006; Elder and Davies 2006; Elder and Harding 2008); there are test fairness issues, such as whether or not certain test takers are disadvantaged when exposed to NNS versions of English (as manifested, for example, in NNS accents); and there is the need to identify the underlying construct, or constructs, which should inform the test contents. The first two issues will be addressed in the final section of this report.

Identifying the construct posed a different challenge. ELF is by its nature a fluid phenomenon, which may be captured in individual interactions and yet which eludes codification, and which offers the would-be test developer no model of language. Al-

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[3]Given the small size of the sample ($n = 36$) I do not include the results here.

though interesting, we felt that the two main ELF corpora — the Vienna-based VOICE project, and the (particularly relevant to our purposes) Helsinki-based ELFA corpus of academic English, both with around 1 million words each, (something over one hundred hours of recorded speech), were insufficient for our purposes.

We turned instead to Bachman (2000) and Bachman and Palmer (2010), who advocate a careful analysis of the target language use (TLU) domain to identify the specific areas of language use to be assessed, and from which test tasks could be derived. The needs analysis described above had already indicated the main areas we needed to cover, but for examples of language use in a 'real life domain' (Bachman and Palmer, 2010, p. 60) we were able to use recordings made at Venice International University (VIU) as part of a parallel research project into collaborative speaking strategies in an ELF environment (Basso, forthcoming).

VIU is essentially a consortium of eleven partner universities from Europe, Asia and America, which runs semester-long programmes in the humanities. The working language is English, both in and beyond the classroom. The primary data we drew on from this source included

- recordings of lessons

- recordings of peer interactions

- interviews with students and academic staff.

This completed a framework of reference for a construct definition, which we articulated in terms of areas of language ability following Bachman (1990), and which would encompass the different TLU domains of exchange students and 'stay-at-homers' (Table 2).

From the outset, because of time and money constraints, it was clear that the test would have to be delivered by computer, and be limited to the receptive skills. In devising tasks intended to measure students' ability to function in the 'real life domain' of campus ELF, we needed to avoid the pitfalls outlined by Messick (1994) of construct-irrelevant variance (which occurs when a test measures variables unrelated to the construct) and construct under-representation. Chapelle and Douglas (2006) warn of the specific dangers inherent in computer-based tests, such as the potential difference between the context of language use in the test, and the skills that the test is meant to measure. Conversely, though, when the test methods 'mirror characteristics of the target language use situation', validity is enhanced.

An example of such enhanced validity we believe occurs in the first part of the test, in which test takers have to click on links, as they would in the real life domain, to access information.

> Example 1:
> You are thinking of applying to a German university as an Erasmus student.
> Look at the menu on a university web site. Click on the link to find out more.
> - Degree students

- Exchange students: Incoming
- Exchange students: Outgoing

A list of task types (Table 3) was drawn up, and the tasks distributed over the three sections of the test, labelled 'Making Connections', 'Retrieving Information', and 'Analyzing and Organizing Information'. These sections were designed to discriminate at different levels, ranging from A2 to B2+ on the CEFR, so that the test could be used for settings (such as Master's level programmes) in which a level higher than B1 is required.

Table 2: Test construct within a framework of 'language knowledge'

Language knowledge
Knowledge of general grammar and syntax; knowledge of general academic vocabulary; knowledge of vocabulary related to university administration; knowledge of vocabulary related to everyday student life.

Textual knowledge
Knowledge of cohesion in general academic written texts; knowledge of cohesion in informal peer interaction.
Knowledge of rhetorical organization in general academic written texts (e.g. narrative, description, argumentation, comparison-contrast); knowledge of conversational organization.

Functional knowledge
Knowledge of ideational functions (e.g. information exchange, descriptions, classifications, explanations).
Knowledge of regulatory functions (e.g. rules and regulations), interpersonal relations (e.g. greetings, opinions).

Sociolinguistic knowledge
Knowledge of varieties of English in ELF environments.
Knowledge of informal and formal register in written and spoken texts.
Knowledge of references to university procedures and student life.

Background knowledge
Knowledge of university-related procedures (e.g. enrollment, fee-paying, assessment).
Knowledge of general academic topics.

Table 3: Test tasks

Reading a university website to access information.

- Reading titles of university courses, books, lectures to identify their content.
- Reading a search engine result to access information.
- Reading short general academic texts, graded from narrative and descriptive to argumentative, and comparison-contrast texts.
- Listening to peers discussing university-related topics.
- Listening to lecturers giving information about courses.
- Listening and watching lecturers presenting their courses.

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3   Pre-Trialling and Feedback: How Test Takers Saw the Test

A first version of the test was delivered to three groups of students chosen by level (having successfully completed certification at A2, B1 or B2 levels) in the summer of 2011. Altogether 36 students took the test. This pre-trialling was intended to give information about overall level, difficulty of items, timings, administration, and appropriateness of content, through item analysis, and especially student feedback.

A basic item facility index analysis suggested that most items were working at their expected level, but the small sample meant that the results were not statistically significant. The rough and ready nature of this version was further evident in the fact that students had to do the first section of the test ('Making Connections') in a pen and paper version, since we hadn't developed an appropriate software for delivering it. Thus students were invited to indicate which link they would click on (if they could!) rather than to follow a clear instruction ('Click on the link...'), compromising the construct validity discussed above.

Sections two and three involved listening. In the second section, test takers listened to students discussing a lecture, a lecturer explaining how the assessment system works, and a student asking administrative staff for information; in the third section a lecturer introduced his course on YouTube. The recordings were all made at the VIU and involved NNS accents. Participants (at VIU) were asked to read scripted conversations, but invited to change anything they wanted to in the interests of naturalness. Altogether thirteen recordings were made, involving German, Indian, Israeli, Japanese, Swedish, Thai and Turkish students and staff; the recordings chosen were those which appeared to us clearest (in terms of quality of audio) and most spontaneous. The YouTube video (of a Dutch professor introducing a course on the nature of Justice) was professionally made by the VIU and was intended for students interested in doing the course.

Not many changes were made by the readers to the scripted material, but a number of non-standard forms emerged naturally, in spite of the standard forms in the texts

they were reading from, such as:

> He spokes very clearly.
> I can't tell you who will that be.

Such forms would not, of course, be found in any current large institutionalized test of English. After taking the listening test students completed a questionnaire on test difficulty, instructions and timings, and (of specific interest for the ELF dimension) contents and accents. All test takers found the material they had listened to either 'fairly realistic' (17/36) or 'totally realistic' (19/36). The NNS accents were perceived as unproblematic. For 23 students they were 'neither more nor less difficult to understand' than NS accents. For 9 students they were easier. Interestingly, the four students who reported that the accents were more difficult than NS were all in the lowest proficiency band, and had the worst results on the test. It is by no means clear to us that they would have performed better had the texts been recorded by native speakers; in the parallel research project quoted above (Basso, 2012) the American accent was considered to be the third most difficult for students at VIU.

The pre-trialling raised many questions, as we expected it would, which would have to be resolved if TEEUS is ever to be developed commercially; questions of validation, software, copyright, and costs. But the ELF component appears unproblematic, since in this test it is only the receptive skills which are being tested. ELF comes in through the back door, as it were, as a fait accompli in the recordings, and, probably, in some of the reading texts. The real engagement with ELF in language testing will come when an attempt is made to assess the productive skills, using ELF parameters. The key to meeting the challenge will lie in a careful identification of the TLU domain, and never losing sight of the test purpose; which we believe is also an important feature of the project reported on in this paper.

About the author

David Newbold is a researcher and lecturer in English language and linguistics at the University of Venice, Ca' Foscari. He has a long standing interest in testing, and a more recent interest in ELF. He has written English language courses and tests for a range of publishers (including OUP, Macmillan, Longman and Zanichelli) and at Ca' Foscari is responsible for a 'co-certification' in integrated skills in English developed jointly with Trinity College London.
Email: `newbold@unive.it`

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The Views of Native Speaker English Language Teachers in ELF Settings in the Expanding Circle

Rita Bennett[*]

Abstract

It has been suggested that ELF is developing separately from English, even, some say, as an independent variety of English. Along with this certain questions concerning the teaching of English to speakers of other languages become more pertinent. Some of these are: How far do native speaker teachers believe that their variety of English is the 'correct' one? This question arises from Quirk's (1990) paper and the more recent discussion treated by Gnützman (2005). To what extent should teachers working in an ELF context be tolerant of 'mistakes'? This question follows the findings of Seidlhofer(2004) that certain 'erroneous' items are highly typical in ELF and tend not to impede communication. What stance should native speaker teachers take on pronunciation? This question follows findings by Jenkins (2000) that certain items which are commonly 'mispronounced' in ELF do not impede communication. 20 native speakers of English who teach at universities and private schools in Italy, Spain and Turkey are interviewed face to face or via Skype in an open-format interview. Their responses are collated and analysed and conclusions drawn as to their position on ELF and their attitudes to its pedagogy. Through reference to the literature this paper will briefly discuss some items in the ELF debate that it has identified as being of direct concern to present teachers of English for speakers of other languages. It will explain the method of information collection and collation for the survey and then present an analysis of its results. Finally it will present some conclusions regarding how closely the views of those interviewed coincide with or differ from those of theorists in the field.

Keywords: Native speaker, correctness, tolerance

1 Introduction

It is hard to imagine that teachers are unaware of the wide-ranging discussions in recent years regarding English as a Lingua Franca. However, teachers are very busy people and their practices are bound to be more immediately influenced by the job in hand. This may well translate as adapting to the changing world around them as well as to the students in front of them.

This study was undertaken to investigate whether there was any indication that the well-documented gathering phenomenon of ELF has impacted on the classroom

practices of NS teachers working in the expanding circle. A sample of 20 NS teachers, working in Italy, Spain and Turkey were interviewed.

1.1 Theoretical basis of study

Since the object of language is primarily to communicate meaning it is not surprizing that English language teaching in recent years has tended to aim more at their students acquiring what Dell Hymes (1971) terms 'communicative competence' than 'grammatical competence' and probably most native speaker teachers of ESOL would claim to be using communicative methods. However, teachers are looked to as 'knowers' and naturally want to pass on their knowledge to their students. They may not want to be guilty of sins of omission in regard to grammar or worse still of the kind of deliberate withholding of knowledge that Quirk in 1988 famously described as 'half-baked quackery' (Quirk, 1990).

Recent research in ELF reported by Seidlhofer (2004) has shown that certain deviations, which are often frequently occurring in ELF, from standard English have no effect on the communicative value of an utterance. Jenkins (2000, 2004, 2007), in identifying a core of phonological items which can cause misunderstanding, had already found this to be true as regards standard pronunciation.

At the same time internationally-held examinations in English language like Cambridge ESOL and IELTS retain grammatical accuracy and pronunciation as criteria. Even if 'deviation' is more tolerated, the acceptance of such 'deviation' naturally implies the existence of a norm.

Widdowson discusses the question of Standard English in the Ownership of English (1994) and suggests that English as an International Language, as he then termed it, will

> "naturally stabilize into standard form to the extent required to meet the needs of the communities concerned".

There's no doubt that one of those communities will be the ELF community, but as Gnützman points out in 2005, (p. 115) and surely this is still the case, at present.

> "There is no solid basis for the assumption of a WSE (world standard English)"

So, until such time as this comes about teachers still have to decide what 'standard' means for them. Gnützman (2005, p. 117) also suggests that;

> "teaching models will have to become as tolerant as possible".

Teachers may well agree with him but they have to decide how tolerant, 'as tolerant as possible' is, and how they can balance the importance of communicating meaning with the need to pass exams. It has been suggested that the emergence of ELF has profound implications for the teaching of English and that

> "the concept of English in teacher education ... is in need of substantial rethinking" (Cogo, Archibald and Jenkins, 2011).

It is interesting to know where teachers themselves stand on this and whether they see their central role as equipping their students to communicate on the world stage.

1.2   Study area and questions

The study looks at what teachers have to say about their current views on the main areas below.

- **Correctness.** Emphasis on accuracy: spoken, written, pronounced. Stance on 'standard' English

- **ELF.** Stance on ELF

The original study included a third section on the inclusion of cultural items which is not reported. It is mentioned here because one of its findings, namely that 75% of teachers stated that what and how they taught was dictated to them by their institution and/or the need to pass exams, is referred to in the conclusion.

It was intended that the study should be predominantly qualitative in nature and avoid leading questions. Therefore only 6 general questions were prepared for these sections of the study. Because of their general nature, however, it was sometimes necessary to add follow-up questions. They were kept to a minimum and are indicated in the study report. The questions were rationalised and formulated as follows:

Correctness

In 2004 (p. 220) Seidlhofer, referring to the "erroneous" but communicatively unproblematic lexico-grammatical items, says that 'most English teachers would consider (them to be) in urgent need of correction and remediation'.

To quote Seidlhofer again, in 2005, p. 170 she says that despite ELF being the predominant English now;

> "in most grassroots (*teaching*) practice" ... *there is* ... "unquestioning submission to NS norms."

She goes on to say that change should begin with language teacher education. This begs the question of where current teachers stand. Do they demand such submission from their students and do they consider common errors to be 'in urgent need of correction'?

In the light of Jenkins' (2000, 2004, 2007) findings on intelligibility among ELF speakers "Do the sample teachers insist unnecessarily on NS-like pronunciation?"

Following Gnützman's call for tolerance referred to in the theoretical basis section, the study looks at how far along the road of tolerance the sample of teachers have travelled with particular reference to the above items. To this purpose, the following questions were included in the interview.

- How important do you think it is to correct student errors?

- What are the most common mistakes and could they cause misunderstandings?

- Are there typical Italian, Spanish, Turkish errors and could they cause misunderstandings?

- How do you define correct?

English as a Lingua Franca

Dewey (2011, p. 221) writes that

> "it must surely be a priority that English Language teachers . . . have at least some awareness of the many roles and guises English occupies globally."

The study sought to discover how aware our sample were of English's growing and changing role, and whether they as teachers were already placing themselves in the ELF frame. The first question is admittedly closed but it was thought that since it raises questions of the identity of ELF it would be likely to provoke a more thoughtful response.

- Do you see ELF as an independent variety of English?

- Do you see yourself as primarily an ELF teacher?

1.3   Method

20 native speakers of English were interviewed and recorded according to the above framework. The make-up of the participants were as follows.

> 20 NS English teachers working in Europe (Italy 16, Spain 2, Turkey 2)
> 2 in private language schools, 1 in a state school, 1 self-employed
> 16 in universities (14 with state school experience)
> Aged 25–60 Average 48
> 14 female 6 male
> 5 American, 13 British, 1 Australian, 1 South African

The recordings of the interviews were transcribed, and information from the transcriptions was collated and analysed.

2   Results

2.1   Correctness

How important is it to correct students' errors?

The study was interested in all forms of production and where necessary a further prompt was added such as, 'and for written English?' Results for each category, spoken, pronunciation and written, are considered separately.
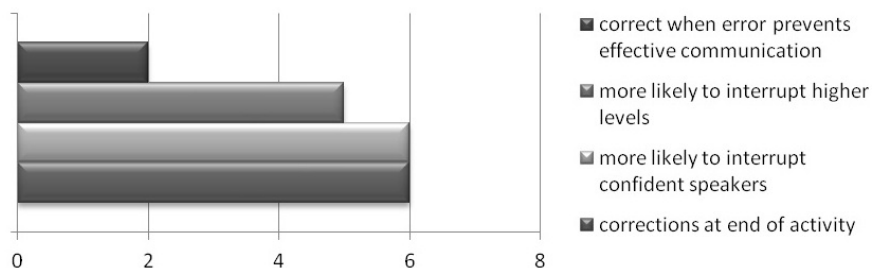
Figure 1: Considerations of low interrupters
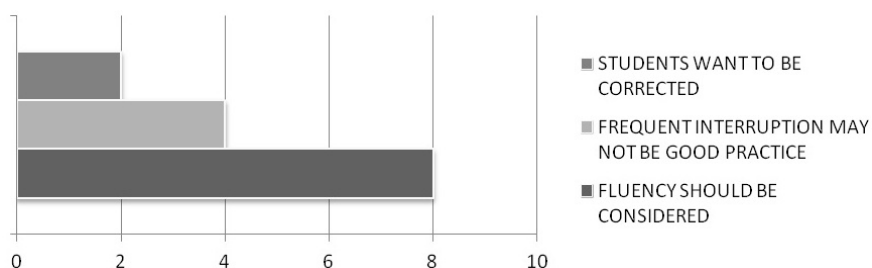
Figure 2: Considerations of frequent interrupters

Spoken. Twelve of the respondents (60%) said that they rarely interrupted students while they were speaking. All of them said that because communication was the first aim they did not want to interrupt the flow of speech. Six of these twelve said that they frequently dealt with spoken mistakes either when the student stopped speaking, or at the end of the activity where common mistakes were made. Five said they were more likely to interrupt higher level students and six that they more frequently interrupted confident speakers. Some of the teachers belonged in both categories. Two mentioned that they interrupted when mistakes seemed likely to prevent effective communication (Figure 1).

All of those who interrupted more often, (8 or 40%) stated that they nonetheless were mindful of the importance of allowing a flow of speech. Two respondents in this group thought that their students wanted and expected to be corrected (Figure 2). Half of the interrupters were apologetic about their strategy with the following comments:

"I try to hold myself back."
"I was taught not to correct but I do."
"I used to make a conscious effort to delay correction but. . ."
"It goes against all we've been taught."

On correcting spoken input in general all respondents declared themselves to be selective. The most common reason given for correction was repetition of a mistake
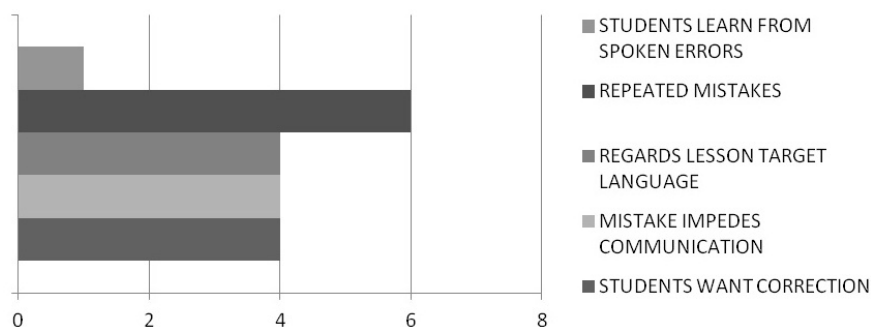
Figure 3: Reasons for correcting spoken errors (All respondents)

either by an individual or by the group. Other common reasons were that the mistake concerned the target language of the lesson, that the mistake impeded communication, or that students want to be corrected. In general respondents did not comment on how they dealt with correction but three mentioned that they preferred unobtrusive methods like echoing with a correct form. One respondent gave the ideal as asking a student to self-correct but admitted that she could not often do this because of class sizes (Figure 3).

Pronunciation. Regarding their treatment of pronunciation errors 16 (80%) respondents said that they were more likely to correct pronunciation than grammar errors in spoken production. 14 (70%) said that they always corrected if the error threatened communicative efficiency. 8 (40%) said that they corrected when the item was target language or if they were doing a specific pronunciation exercise. 4(20%) said that they corrected when a lot of students made the same error.

Written work. Respondents declared themselves to be much more attentive to written errors. 15(75%) said that they corrected all or most written errors. The remaining 5 stated that it depended on the level. Just as the frequent interrupters of spoken output had wanted to excuse their behaviour, those who did not draw attention to all written errors wanted to give reasons. They said that too much correction could discourage students or 'overwhelm' them. Two of them said that if they could understand what was meant they may not correct or question.

Five respondents reported that their ideal for correction was to indicate rather than correct errors. However they admitted that it was difficult to achieve because it was time-consuming and frequently students did not re-submit their work.

What are the most common mistakes? Are there typical Italian/Spanish/ Turkish mistakes? Are they likely to cause misunderstandings?

Respondents identified fourteen categories of most common errors and these are represented in Table 1 in order of 'popularity'.

Table 1: Most common written errors as perceived by teachers

8 MENTIONS	PRESENT PERFECT		
7 MENTIONS	3RD PERSON 'S'		
6 MENTIONS	FALSE FRIENDS	WORD ORDER	PRONOUNS
5 MENTIONS	TENSES		
4 MENTIONS	PRONOUNS	ARTICLES	
3 MENTIONS	PHRASAL VERBS	VERB AGREEMENT	
2 MENTIONS	PREPOSITIONS	LEXIS	
1 MENTION	UNCOUNTABLES	IRREGULAR VERBS	

Nobody said that they believed unconventional use of the present perfect or leaving off third person 's' (the top two reported errors) could cause communication problems. However three items in the top half of Table 1 **were** cited as a possible source of confusion; false friends, word order and tenses. Lexis was also cited from further down in the table. Some examples were given of false friends and one item 'sensible' was mentioned by one Italy-based and one Spain-based teacher. This means that communication of this word between an L1 Spaniard and an L1 Italian would theoretically succeed only if neither party was aware of its false friend status. If one or both were aware they would not know if the other party was also aware. It could be speculated that a fair number of similar examples exist and in the absence of a standard this has interesting implications in ELF contexts.

How do you define correct?

It was evident from respondents' answers to earlier questions that they did have a standard in mind, since they clearly recognized deviation from it. Despite this, the question in many cases caused consternation and needed further prompting such as 'How do you decide what is correct?' or 'Do you have a standard of correctness'?

Nine (45%) respondents gave 'comprehensible' or 'getting the message across' as a definition of correctness. Seven (35%) respondents believed that correctness depended on context referring both to classroom and real world aims. Although seven (35%) of the respondents admitted that they measured by the standard they had grown up with (British or American) all but one of these went on to say that they did not therefore believe that it was essential for their students to adhere to this

It appears then that while teachers DO have a model in mind there is little suggestion that they believe any variation from that model to be unacceptable. There is certainly no evidence of them demanding 'unquestioning submission to native speaker norms' However there is a very marked distinction between their attitudes to written and to spoken English.
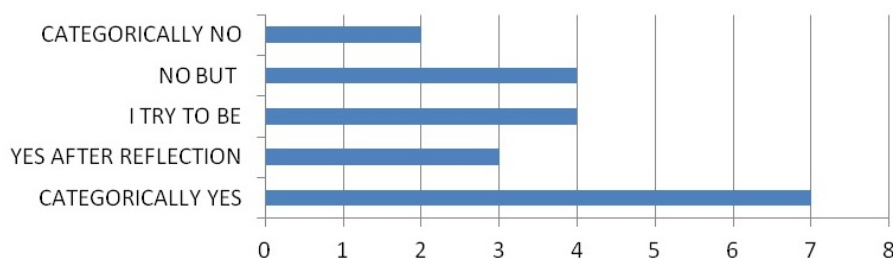
Figure 4: Do you see yourself as an ELF teacher?

2.2   English as a lingua franca

Do you see ELF as an independent variety of English?

Some respondents asked what was meant by 'independent variety' and a suggested definition was given as 'different from other varieties'.

Seven of the respondents (35%) admitted that they had never thought of it in these terms or had not considered it until very recently. Four of them came down on the side of yes, two of them 'no' and the last person could not decide. This produced a final result of 12 yeses, 7 nos and 1 don't know.

Ten(50%) further volunteered a definition of ELF as follows:

"It's more about discourse communities" (2 respondents said this)
"It's just American with odd variations."
"It isn't a variety because there isn't only one."
"It's a mixture" (of Englishes.)
"It's developing alone."
"Native speakers can access it but maybe they're not understood."
"It's not rigid, it doesn't respect the grammar."
"It's more basic with fewer idioms and culturally neutral. It's not alive in that sense but it's enough to communicate meaning."
"It's being able to cope with difference."

Do you see yourself as an ELF teacher?

A few respondents needed prompting by being asked whether they were teaching their students to talk to people of other nationalities rather than to native speakers. The results can be seen in Figure 4. The 4 no buts said that they did not see themselves as ELF teachers **but** that they were aware that that was the purpose their students would probably put their English to.

The voluntary and mostly perceptive definitions of ELF provided by half of the teachers in the sample provide evidence that they have already considered the nature of ELF and formed ideas about it. Meanwhile it cannot be assumed that the other half

have not also done so. The mainly positive response to the second question reinforces the impression that the respondents were aware of the changing status of English in the world. There was certainly no evidence here of blanket unawareness.

3   Conclusion

The survey suggested that the sample of NS teachers were aware of students' likely future needs in terms of ELF, and were accordingly tolerant of variation in spoken discourse. Their tolerance did not in general extend to written English.

It seems that there is an unresolved dilemma regarding writing. The problem could be that unlike the spoken word, the written word allows no negotiation of meaning. At the moment the survey sample appear to be acting in line with Gnützman's (2005) comment that standard English should 'continue to form the basis for the written language'. While teachers may be capable of deciding which written variants are widely 'understandable', is it reasonable or desirable to expect that they teach a range of possibilities? And if they maintain a standard of correctness for written English how can they ignore its existence for spoken forms at the teaching stage?

Since more often than not teachers must teach to internal or external exams, educational bodies and examination boards may need to reassess the relevance of their target standard to the real world of international and intercultural communication.

It seems that if we want students of English to be prepared to communicate on a worldwide basis we cannot concentrate efforts solely on teacher education.

About the author

The author, Rita Bennett, is currently working on a doctorate on the pedagogical implications of ELF at the University of Salento, Italy, where she has been teaching English language for 8 years. She has an MA in TEFL and Applied Linguistics from King's College, London.
Email: `ritabennett@hotmail.com`

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What Do Native Teachers Think of the English Used by Chinese Students?

Wang Lei[*], Herbert Pierson[†] and Walter Petrovitz[†]

Abstract

It has been observed that English has become a global language, and that the majority of its nonnative speakers (NNSs) use it as a *Lingua Franca* among themselves and others. When international students come to universities, they are no longer EFL learners (English as a foreign language) any more; instead English becomes their second language (ESL) that has to be used in their academic and daily life. This research, guided by concepts and theories in the field of ELF, particularly the Accommodation Theory (CAT), explores the attitudes that native teachers have towards the English used by Chinese overseas students with a special focus on whether teachers in English-medium institutions strive to accommodate overseas Chinese students in the classroom and ordinary communication. The quantitative and qualitative analysis of the survey responses found that while the majority of the respondents do not agree that in subject teaching teachers should accommodate their non-native students, quite a few of them still believe accommodation will help or somewhat help in their academic study. Valuable results have also been obtained with regards to what should be given priority to in the classroom of subject teaching and whether there were particular features of the English used by Chinese overseas students. The practical results will benefit ESL teachers both in the English-dominant academic world in China and arouse the attention of English-speaking academics towards the importance of knowing more about the varieties of English spread throughout the globe so that increased classroom communication is achieved.

Keywords: Accommodation, native teachers, Chinese overseas students, EFL, ELF

1   Introduction

With the flow of more and more Chinese students going abroad to study, we see a large Chinese population in many universities and colleges in the US, Britain, Canada and Australia. When those students come to the universities, they are no longer EFL learners (English as a foreign language) any more; instead English become their second language (ESL) that has to be used in their study and daily life. They communicate with native professors or peer students in the type of English they have learned in the

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[*]Zhejiang Gongshang University, The People's Republic of China
[†]St. John's University, U.S.A.

EFL classroom or talk to other international students who have learned English as ESL or EFL and use English as a Lingua Franca (ELF).

As an increasing number of Chinese students enrolled in various universities to study in the United States, the faculty members who are teaching many of these students realized the diverse nature of these students who bring a unique set of needs and experiences with them in learning English. Many native teachers felt the significant challenges facing them in dealing with those students effectively in academia teaching. The purpose of the study is to try to find out whether native teachers have noticed some common features of Chinese English users. What are those features and how far can learners' English go in terms of communication? Do native teachers accommodate their non-native English users in class? And what are their attitudes towards the English used by them, especially the Chinese students? It will examine the language choice of teachers in English medium universities by the guidance of theories in the field of EFL to explore the attitudes teachers have toward China English. The results of the research will benefit all teachers at home and abroad. It is hoped that more and more native teachers will realize the importance of knowing about one's students and their language and culture in an international setting so that better communication would achieved among teachers and students.

2   Theoretical Background

In various fields in the world, the increased number of nonnative speakers of English has prompted a growing interest in communication in ELF (e.g., Firth, 1996; Graddol, 2005; House, 2003; Jenkins, 2007; Meierkord, 2000; Nickerson, 2005; Seidlhofer, 2000, 2001). ELF is a language of communication for interactions in which the participants are not speakers of English as a native language (ENL), for whom English is the first language or mother tongue. Although, in practice, native speakers often participate in such interactions, standard native English is not used as a linguistic reference point (Jenkins, 2007). In pedagogical research, people start to look at how classroom teaching involving international students using English as a lingua franca. Seidlhofer (2001) noticed that lingua franca speakers are much frustrated when they noticed their deficiencies in English.

In the process of teaching, there are difference attitudes towards ELF, either moving towards the students or maintaining their status as native speakers of English. In promoting Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT), Giles, Bourhis and Taylor (1977) argued CAT can be applied in interracial encounters because both interlocutors may possibly converge or diverge by choosing an appropriate language available in their linguistic repertoire. CAT is used to explain the adjustments in speech, vocal patterns, and gestures that people make to accommodate others. People who put forward CAT assume that speech and behavioral similarities and dissimilarities exist in all conversations and the manner in which we perceive the speech and behaviors of another person will determine how we evaluate a conversation. In interracial encounters, the choice of any linguistic code may reflect a speaker's approval or disapproval (Coul-

mas, 2005). In pedagogical setting, in order to reach intelligibility and communicative efficiency, it is fundamental to share necessity and therefore find identification between the interlocutors who sometimes do not share the same knowledge about the language (or are not at the same level of proficiency), but they have the need to communicate.

It has been argued that language accommodation theory can be applied in and used to interpret global academic encounters in varieties of English as interlocutors invariably converge or diverge by choosing mutually appropriate varieties of English available in their linguistic repertoires. To achieve effective communication, speaker and listener should converge in their mutual goal to accomplish intelligibility. The speakers involved in the same communicative process are expected to work upon the adjustments of their language and behavior according to the communicative situation in which they find themselves.

Jenkins (2007) summarizes studies of teachers' attitudes towards EFL by saying that "the analysis reveals some sort of contradiction, ambivalence, or a possible deep-seated bias among participants, although in most such cases it stops short of exploring in depth the reasons for these phenomena" (p. 105). Various studies have been carried out to know teachers' attitudes towards EFL, but none is done on knowing attitudes toward 'China English'. Scholars of second-language learning in an intercultural perspective have also studied accommodation — both as a practice (enabling one to use one's second or foreign language more effectively) and as an achievement (i.e., as an indicator of cross-cultural competence in the second or foreign language, whether in conversing, translating, negotiating, etc.) (Boylan, 2004).

3   Method of the Present Study

To achieve the research purpose, this article draws on data collected from a questionnaire designed and distributed among university teachers in an American university. Since the survey questionnaire was circulated among university faculty on-line at a typical urban American university, we have got 70 responses from faculty in various academic disciplines. The questionnaire is generally composed of three parts. In the first part, some general information such as what is the native/first language, the subject taught and the percentage of the Chinese students in the class of the respondent was collected. The second part consists of 10 Likert-type (summated rating scale) items with five levels of agreement: *Strongly agree* = 5, *agree* = 4, *disagree* = 3, *strongly disagree* = 2, *N/A* = 1. The third part is made up of 5 multiple questions with A, B, C and D choices and five open-ended questions.

4   Data Analysis

In the general information part, we got to know that the majority of the respondents are native speakers of English (about 85%) and most of them are from the United States. The academic subjects taught involve nearly 50 different disciplines. A bit different

from what we have expected, none of them say that there is 80% or more in their class. The majority only think the percentage should be 20% or less.

4.1   Analysis of questions 1–15

The data were analyzed quantitatively and qualitatively. The former concerned with the calculation of the percentage of the choices of the respondents made and the latter consists of the analysis of the data. Questions 1–15 were grouped according to the central theme of the study issues. The following are the results of some:

1. **Are there any particular features of English used by Chinese students in their participation of subject class? (Q1, Q8)**

   Eighty per cent of the correspondents strongly agree or agree that teachers should be aware of the English used by Chinese students. It shows that teachers realize the importance of knowing their students L1 so that better communicative goals could be achieved, which is more toward the convergent end in communication. Q8 reveals an interesting result. While 64% teachers agree that there are regular, shared features in the English used by Chinese population in the class, 17 teachers (24.3%) responded that they don't know if there exist such features. The reasons might be that those features are not so salient or there are fewer Chinese students in their class, it is hard for them to notice those features as common to a group of students.

2. **Do they accommodate their international students? (Q2,Q15)**

   Question 2 asked the native teachers if they think that accommodation should be done in their classrooms. About 69% teachers express their disagreement; even thirteen teachers strongly disagree with such a behavior. We should have given a follow-up question asking for reasons. However, answers obtained from Q15 tell us that some teachers don't think language accommodation will somewhat (27.1%) or not (20%) help students in their academic study. Among those teachers who agree or even strongly agree to modify their language to accommodate their students are mostly ESL, English, composition writing teachers, etc.

3. **What are the preferences of the native teachers in subject teaching: getting meaning across or language accuracy? (Q3, Q4)**

   In order to know whether subject teachers' preferences in subject teaching, we asked three questions concerning the issue of language fluency and accuracy. Sixty-eight per cent of our respondents agree that teachers should spend more time encouraging nonnative speakers to communicate in English rather than in correcting their mistakes. Those (22%) who disagree certainly are the teachers who think correction is necessary for non-native students.

   Similar results have also been obtained from choices in Question 4 when 88.3% say that teachers' attempts to negotiate, elaborate or expand on language meaning

will enhance the English proficiency of nonnative students. It is believed that in subject teaching, to convey information relating to subject matters and to help students to learn what is being taught should be the first priority. And at the same time, they agree emphasis on meaning can also lead to language proficiency in the end.

4. **What are native teachers' attitudes towards language proficiency and subject learning, and frequent language correction? (Q5, Q7, Q9, Q14)**

Knowing how language proficiency will affect subject learning, especially whether teachers will grade their students according to their expressiveness in the language is very important. About 83% of the respondents agree that intelligibility and understanding are more realistic linguistic goals than native-like accuracy in English pronunciation and grammar for nonnative students, which suggests that in English medium classroom, it is the task of teachers to focus more on the contents of the course rather than consider the accuracy of their language. In Q9, we make a hypothesis that overseas Chinese students would attain significantly higher course grades if their English proficiency were better. The answer do show that language proficiency matters, because about 67% of the teachers agree or strongly agree the supposition.

The result gained from Q5 is quite an interesting one like a 50 to 50 game. While asked whether frequent teacher correction will enhance student English communication and performance, 32 (48%) teachers give 'yes' answers and 32 (48%) teachers say 'No'. It sounds a little contradictory to the answers obtained from Q3, because 68% of the respondents think that teacher should spend more time and effort encouraging nonnative students to communicate in English rather than in correcting the English mistakes.

5. **What do native teachers think the English used by Chinese overseas students? (Q10, Q11, Q12)**

Three questions are designed to know native teachers attitude towards the English used by Chinese students. Forty-five among seventy teachers (64%) have noticed that there are some regular, shared features in the English used by overseas Chinese students. Further question concerning the general impression of their English level reveals that 38.6% give 'good' and 42.9% 'fair' ratings. This is a quite relief to tens and thousands EFL teachers who have been exerting great efforts in the teaching of English as a foreign language in China.

Question 12 is made particularly to know what native subject teachers think are the weakest among the four skills of English. Based on the choices, we got to know 'speaking' (41.4%) and 'writing' (40%), the two productive skills, are considered to be the weakest, which is in accordance with our expectation.

6. **What are the strategies used when native teachers encounter difficulties in understanding Chinese overseas students.(Q13)**

Three proposed strategies are provided in Q13 to find which is preferred when they are unable to understand what an overseas Chinese student is trying to say. The most favored one is to ask the students to 'repeat' (59/84.3%), followed by 'guess' (29/41.4%). Fewer (15/21.4%) teachers chose 'ask another student to help'. Therefore, from the students' perspectives, there is always a chance to repeat or rephrase their meanings, which would be the strategies that we need to train our students.

4.2   Content analysis of the five open-ended questions

1. **Specific difficulties functioning in classroom academic activities in English**

   Regarding the specific difficulties noticed by native teachers are listening and understanding; lack of comprehension and understanding English idiomatic speech; not understanding assignments and class discussion; not being able to hand in written work that accurately conveys their ideas; problems with writing; poor oral presentation skills, fearful of making mistakes in speaking; difficultly with the vocabulary of academia; a tendency to be quiet and reticent; tend to stay grouped among themselves, etc.

2. **Coping strategies employed to master academic study if English language proficiency is low**

   Native teachers think that Chinese overseas students should put in a lot more time, working with written materials and making use of the writing center; devote much additional time to class assignments and projects. Some believe it might be beneficial to use dual language editions of difficult or obscure texts and others think they should work with mixed groups of students so that if they are confused they will be comfortable asking for explanations, but getting help with comprehension is the key.

3. **Distinctive features in pronunciation**

   Although some native teachers think pronunciation has not been a major issue. They can understand what Chinese students are saying and they seldom had trouble understanding their students, a few mention features such as, *r*'s and *l*'s are sometimes mixed; they tend to lose or elide over consonants. *w* for *r* and *l* for *r*; problems with diphthongs; difficulties pronouncing complex syllable codas, etc.

4. **Most common problems: Linguistic and cultural**

   Linguistically, some teachers listed the common problems that are similar to those mentioned in 1, for example, listening and writing skills can be problematic; they lack vocabulary and comprehension of English science terms; weak comprehension of spoken language and interaction in English; Inability to write coherently in English; failing to use of articles, singular/plural issues; tense in grammar and

so on. Culturally, they found Chinese students don't understanding the premises and logical reasoning used by authors in assigned course textbooks. With limited English proficiency, they can not summarize material, but for many analysis and synthesis is a more challenging activity. The following is a quotation from one teacher.

> "I think it's cultural as much as linguistic... Confucian propriety, respect for elders... it's hard to get them to debate, disagree, etc. — essential in Philosophical discussions! And the translation time in their heads takes a while, for anyone, so they are behind in the classroom discussions when one does occur."

5. **Practical suggestions for English teaching**

Some very positive suggestions were elicited by this question. Total immersion in the target language and culture is proposed. And one respond said "if ESL is being taught in China primarily for conversation and business proficiency, then there are going to be problems in expanding English proficiency to read textbooks in the humanities". Students are suggested to read and write more in English, get involved on campus in groups of English speaking students and teacher are encouraged to privilege fluency over form, aiming for clarity and effectiveness rather than trying to stamp out all 'errors', while some prefer to teach correct English grammar, sentence structure and correct punctuation. Here is one comment:

> "I would suggest that the students who will be going to English speaking countries be taught by Professors who have spent a good amount of time in an English speaking country. The Professors should try, as far as possible, to stay up-to-date on colloquialisms. In the U.S. I would be delighted if more attention were to be paid to high school English teachers and better EASL teaching and standards."

5   Discussion

Based on the analysis, the research questions can be addressed on three issues which are, first, language accommodation in pedagogical settings among teachers and international students, secondly, attitudes towards accuracy and fluency in subject teaching and thirdly, native teachers' comments on the English used by Chinese overseas students.

5.1   Accommodation

One of the purposes of this survey is to find whether native subject teachers will accommodate their non-native students linguistically, especially, Chinese overseas students or not. The analysis of the data revealed that a majority of them don't agree to accommodate their non-native students. Accommodation usually aims at reaching the

communicative goal. Then why subject teachers don't choose to accommodate their non-native students? The failure to accommodate could possibly be: Non-native students are still the minority in the class. Twenty per cent or less percent of Chinese student population could not make linguistic accommodation a salient behavior in a classroom subject teaching.

Another possible reason might be that teachers believe that as a qualified student studying an academic course in an English environment, he or she should be able to understand what is taught; or the focus of the course is not on English language itself. Therefore, there is no willingness for the teachers to simplify or adjust their language in subject teaching. Many teachers still believe it is the students their own responsibility to be proficient in the language.

Content analysis of the comments made on those open-ended questions also revealed that most of the respondents think that culturally Chinese overseas students sometimes still tend to retain to their own group, speaking their mother tongue and avoid communicating with students from other nationalities. Such behavior could be understood as a kind of divergence, though linguistically they all wish to sound as correctly as native speakers. The fact is while native teachers disagree that they should accommodate non-native students, they actually practice some sort of accommodation now and then because accommodation is typically done unconsciously.

5.2   Attitudes toward meaning and accuracy

The correction of error has always been a major theme in second language learning theories. When we consider Chinese overseas students as ELF speakers, how native speakers of English define the learners' English, and how they believe it should be used, is likely to be different and this brings with it potential problems. Clearly, their attitudes toward the correctness of their English matters much. In this study, we have given a different context in which the learning objective is the academic subjects. In such a context, the majority our respondents agree that teachers should spend more time encouraging nonnative speakers to communicate in English rather than correcting their mistakes and students' attempts to negotiate, elaborate or expand on language meaning will enhance the English proficiency of nonnative students.

5.3   General English proficiency of Chinese overseas students

The survey revealed a quite encouraging picture of the general proficiency of the English used by Chinese students. The general impression of the English proficiency level of them is fairly good. Meanwhile, the survey collected a lot of valuable information regarding to some specific problems of Chinese students, including all the four language skills — speaking, listening, reading and writing. Some teachers mentioned because of poor pronunciation, sometimes they could not make themselves understood and therefore, they become less confident in participating classroom activities. Failure to write complete sentences or coherent essays are the most common issue.

6 Conclusion

To conclude, the findings from this study indicate that in subject-teaching setting, native teachers tend not to accommodate their non-native students, focusing more on the specific course to be taught. Based on the understanding of faculty attitudes toward Chinese students whose English may well be understood as "China English", a variety of global English, this survey obtained some valuable information of the perceptions that faculty have toward "China English" and their attitudes towards linguistic issues in subject teaching in an ELF environment. Further investigations are needed to cover more native teachers and learn more about their perceptions on "China English".

The practical results of this research will benefit ESL teachers both in the English-dominant academic world and EFL teachers in China where students are being prepared to study overseas. Moreover, the outcome from this research will be motivation on the part of English-speaking academics to realize the importance of knowing more about the varieties of English spread throughout the globe so that increased classroom communication is achieved, resulting in enhanced understanding and harmony in English-medium higher education.

About the authors

Dr. Wang Lei is Professor in the School of Foreign Languages at Zhejiang Gongshang University in China, where she teaches and supervises at undergraduate and graduate level in linguistics and applied linguistics. Her research interests include discourse analysis, pragmatics, language testing and teaching English as a foreign language in China.
Email: `wlei8508@gmail.com`

Dr. Herbert Pierson is Professor in the Department of Languages & Literatures at St. John's University in New York and is the co-editor of *The Journal of Asian Pacific Communication*. His academic specializations are TESL, teacher training, applied linguistics, curriculum and instruction, language testing and assessment.
Email: `piersonh@stjohns.edu`

Dr. Walter Petrovitz is the Coordinator of the Program in Classics and Linguistics at St. John's University in New York. His publications include research on the relationship between syntax and semantics, the pedagogy of grammar instruction, and the use of linguistics in literary analysis.
Email: `petroviw@stjohns.edu`

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New Ways of Teaching English as an International Lingua Franca: Reading and Writing Skills

Reza Pishghadam[*], Ghasem Modarresi[†], Hossein Shams Hosseini[†] and Nasser Ranjbar[*]

Abstract

New technology is used to allow the web to support English as an international lingua franca. With the diffusion of computers, digital technology, and cyber-communication, accompanied by the process of globalization, the conceptions of language learning especially reading and writing have changed dramatically. If we consider literacy as a complex, social practice, then transmission approach of filling students with information and facts and training approach of instructing them in isolated decoding skills become untenable. These skills are not considered any more as decoding and encoding abilities. It is recommended that these skills be enriched with the abilities needed for the effective negotiation and communication; and critical interpretation and evaluation. Teachers of English language learning classes are expected to go beyond the basic and mechanistic levels of teaching reading and writing and equip students with the strategies to handle new demands of the new era which has been dominated by the Internet and telecommunications. Moreover, English language learning teachers are required to accompany language learning with thinking skills, which are of critical importance in today's world relationships.

Keywords: Internet, globalization, language, learning, reading, writing

1 Introduction

Computer has now become an effective component of second language learning pedagogy. Professionals in ELT, nowadays, recognize that utilizing computer technology and its attached language learning programs can be convenient to create both independent and collaborative learning environments and provide students with language experiences as they move through the various stages of second language acquisition (Lam, 2000). The practice of sharing resources, materials and ideas is one of the assumed advantages of email communication (Vinagre, 2008). Other perceived benefits refer to availability at any time, spreading the news quickly fostering social communication, and encouraging equal opportunity for participation in social interactions (Warschauer, 1999).

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[*]Ferdowsi University of Mashhad, Iran
[†]Islamic Azad University, Iran

The combination of computer technology and Internet creates a channel for students to obtain a huge amount of human experience and guide students to enter the "Global Community" (Crystal, 1999). In this way, students not only can extend their personal view, thought, and experience, but also can learning to live in the real world. They become the creators not just the receivers of knowledge. And, "as the way information is presented is not linear, second language learners can still develop thinking skills and choose what to explore" (Lee, 2000).

Moreover, learners can get various authentic reading materials either at school or from home by connecting to the Internet. And, those materials can be accessed 24 hours a day. In a word, computer technology also provides the interdisciplinary and multicultural learning opportunities for students to carry out their independent studies (Baruch, 2005). For learning interaction, Warchauer (2000) indicated that the random access to Web pages would break the linear flow of instruction. Bloch (2002) argues that "computer users often act as if they were participating in face-to-face interactions, introducing conventions and personal feelings normally used in non-computer contexts".

2   New Literacy's, New Media, New Challenges

The fundamental issue that internet in FL teaching and learning should be used primarily in dedicated multimedia laboratories is increasingly challenged by practitioners. The relentless march towards increased miniaturization in wireless applications (mobile telephones, palmtops, etc.) means that personalized communication devices are becoming widely available to almost all members of society.

Communications technology is both 'shrinking' — becoming portable and seamlessly entering everyday devices — as well as becoming all-encompassing and distributed throughout the world. This continues to have a considerable impact on how communities interact. The emergence of new genres, new communicative modes will inevitably follow. There will be a pressing need for teachers to know how to cope with linguistic challenges that transcend familiar standards and norms. Language teachers must raise to the challenge of harnessing the potential of such new devices for their own and their learners' particular needs (Gee, 1996). Whereas, in the past, education was usually a matter of unidirectional transfer of information from the teacher to the student ("top down"), we believe that new pedagogical models now need to be explored in order to prepare future citizens for cooperative, collaborative and life-long learning.

3   The New Role of the Teacher

Educationalists, researchers and administrators are now aware to a great extent that the introduction of the new media into educational institutions calls for a change in learning and teaching patterns (Roblyer, 2003). The new media:

- encourage interactive work;

- facilitate direct feedback;

- call for a change in the role distribution of teacher/learner, where learners take on teaching functions;

- enable contents to be continually updated with minimum efforts;

- provide faster access to teaching materials.

- demand more social learning in group and team work.

As Vogel (2001) explains, experts, however, emphasize that new teaching and learning media do not automatically lead to a new culture of learning but simply offer the opportunity for change. Teachers' attitudes to the new media and appropriate concepts for their use and for the orchestration of learning will decide whether the desired outcomes can be achieved and whether a major shift in the culture of learning is possible. The learning spaces beyond the institutional context (school, university, teaching institution) is of particular relevance and will change the character and contents of school-based learning and allow teachers to take into consideration the complexity and individuality of learning (Warschauer, 2000).

Teachers should become completely computer-literate and have the confidence to use the available technology adequately. They should be able to cope with the most common problems arising from the use of computers very much in the way that average car drivers can cope with commonly occurring problems with their motor vehicles, i.e. no specialist knowledge of the machine, but knowing what to do when routine breakdowns occur.

4 The Role of the Learner

As Vinagre (2008) explains, the learner also has to adjust to a new role in the learning process. S/he must take on new responsibilities, often working without any supervision whatsoever. Classes will become much more learner-centered, with learners' time and effort devoted to authentic reading and writing tasks related to authentic communication with (native speaker) partners. For the first time, learners of a language can now communicate inexpensively and quickly with other learners or speakers of the target language all over the world. They have access to an unprecedented amount of authentic target-language information, as well as possibilities to publish and distribute their own multimedia information for an international audience. Having and manipulating language data in multiple media provides learners with the raw material they can use to re-create the language for themselves, using their own organizing schemes. Activities will encourage students to explore and be creators of language rather than passive recipients of it furthering the idea of the learner as an active participant in learning.

5 Interaction between Teacher and Students

The teacher is no longer the only source of information about the language, nor is s/he the sole provider of texts and exposure to target language materials. S/he will need to

apply (new found) skills to guiding learners through the labyrinths and excesses of the information society to a principled approach to learning which can be appropriated by learners to help them on the path to self-determined acquisition of language skills and knowledge. The most successful teacher in an ICT rich environment is a good learner (Roblyer, 2003).

The learner is no longer regarded as a receptacle into which the teacher pours wisdom and knowledge, but as an agent of change, reacting and interacting with the mass of materials that s/he encounters. The classroom situation begins to reflect that encountered in modern companies, which have adopted flat, non-hierarchical structures where maximum benefit for all is to be reaped by pooling knowledge and resources in informal exchanges.

6   New Media and the Culture of Learning

Different cultures also show different strategies for learning. For instance, in the Middle East, the culture of learning is more that of memorization and repetition while as for eastern people it is more that of inference and critical thinking. The new media not only facilitate a changed culture of learning in institutional contexts, they also demand such changes. They provide new opportunities and challenges by:

- offering a wider range of teaching contents (especially teaching methods);

- enabling more self-directed learning, offering a range of choices, individual learning pathways and freer forms of learning;

- offering teachers and learners the chance to plan and organize courses together (empowering learners to influence the choice of teaching contents);

- facilitating communication between learners and between learners and the teacher via the Internet.

7   Reading

Conceptions of reading have undergone different changes over time from the belief that reading is a passive skill to the idea that reading is psycholinguistic decoding of letters and words, demanding skimming, scanning, and guessing words from contexts (Chastain, 1988). Reading from the screen is less a passive act of decoding a message from a single authoritative author and more a self-conscious act of creating knowledge from a variety of sources (Landow, 1992). If we consider reading a social practice that happens in particular sociocultural contexts (Gee, 1996) then in this information era which is dominated by English language and majority of people in the world to some extent are familiar with the ABC of reading, teachers of English language are expected to go beyond the mechanistic view of reading, familiarizing students with the strategies to tackle the problems they encounter while they are surfing the net. In light of the

Internet, readers encounter different relevant or irrelevant articles and books, different people from different walks of life, and different pieces of reliable and unreliable news, which demand new skills to analyze them, and as Warschauer (2000) stated, readers should be equipped with the following skills:

- Finding the information to read in the first place (through Internet searches, etc);

- Rapidly evaluating the source, credibility, and timeliness of information once it has been located;

- Rapidly making navigational decisions as to whether to read the current page of information, pursue links internal or external to the page, or revert back to further searching;

- Making on-the-spot decisions about ways to save or catalogue part of the information on the page or the complete page;

- Organizing and keeping track of electronic information that has been saved.

These may seem like esoteric skills for a class of beginning English learners who are still trying to figure out how to decode simple words. But as English expands in the 21st century as a language of international communication, the number of learners who master basic English skills will grow.

8   Writing

Throughout human history, speech has been used for interaction and writing for its permanence, used for interpretation and reflection (Harnad, 1991).Writing, unlike speech, can be accessed and analyzed again and again by a limitless number of people at different times. It is for this reason that the development of writing and later print are viewed as having fostered revolutions in the production of knowledge and cognition. What is of critical importance in education is the intersection between interaction (speech) and reflection (writing) and this is the Internet that paved the way for this intersection. For the first time in history, human interaction takes place in a text-based form, and there is no longer any divide between speech and writing, writing equals speaking, meaning that, while you are writing in fact, you are speaking. A main difference is that the social dynamics of computer-mediated discussion have proven to be different from face-to-face discussion in relation to issues such as turn-taking, interruption, balance, equality, consensus, and decision-making (Warschauer,1999).

Paper and pencil writing is a slow and clumsy way of exchanging ideas but on the net, the synchronous communication allows students to take part in discussion groups and online chats to express themselves. Therefore, if writing is the equivalent of speaking on the net; therefore, students are needed to be familiar with lots of skills to communicate effectively and quickly. Moreover, the Internet is a good place for the projection of identities. Writing for the Web has emerged more recently. Studies by Lam (2000) and

Warschauer (1999) have shown the central role of identity in Web-based writing; due to its highly public and multimodal nature, the Web is an ideal writing medium for students to explore and develop their evolving relationship to their community, culture, and world. This can contribute to a sense of agency, as learners take public action through their writing (Kramsch, A'ness and Lam, 2000; Warschauer, 2000).

In sum, the Internet is rapidly shifting the terrain of writing. Before the Information revolution, writing was viewed as a mechanical correctness and grammaticality, and sometimes a little emphasis put on argumentation, persuasion, and justification skills in English classes. Writing was treated as an orphan child and escaped teachers' notices. To project your identities, to introduce your own culture, to make friends, to write and publish articles, to develop web sites, to land a suitable job, to join a discussion group, and to publicize your products, you need to know more than basic and mechanistic level of writing. New situations require that students know how to argue, justify, persuade, and communicate effectively. So grammaticality plays second fiddle to the critical writing.

9   Conclusion

As it has been stated, the new era — cybercommunication, cybervillage, and globalization — requires multiliteracies which have opened up a new paradigm for second language learning especially reading and writing instruction in the academy. The pedagogical implications and classroom applications have to be worked out in the future. Generally, English classes are just sites of language learning and no more than that. Activities, tasks, exercises are usually arranged in a way to make students highly proficient in English language. However, the new era demands more than that: Critical thinking and interpretation are a must of this age. To engage in the creative and critical process of reading and writing, we have to stop focusing on the basic levels of reading and writing skills. We have to teach our students strategies for critical evaluation and rhetorical negotiation so that they can express their views easily and read and evaluate materials critically.

About the authors

Reza Pishghadam, Ferdowsi University of Mashhad, Iran. He is associate professor of TEFL, and a member of the national association of Elites of Iran. He published more than 100 articles. His major interests are psychology and sociology of language.
Email: `rpishghadam@yahoo.com`

Ghasem Modarresi, Islamic Azad University, Quchan, Iran. He has been teaching English language for five years at universities. He published 10 articles and presenter at different national and international conferences. His major interests are educational linguistics and testing and assessment.
Email: `qasem.modarresi@gmail.com`

Hossein Shams Hosseini, Islamic Azad University, Quchan, Iran. He has been teaching English language for fifteen years at universities. He published 7 articles and presenter at different national and international conferences. His major interests are language teaching and learning.
Email: h_shams_h@yahoo.com

Nasser Ranjbar, Ferdowsi University of Mashhad, Iran. His major interests are language teaching and testing.

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Translation Problems of Intermediate Italian Learners of English in Using Bilingual Dictionaries

Nalan Kızıltan*, Rita Bennett* and Julia Boyd*

Abstract

In foreign language teaching, dictionaries play an indispensable and important part. Therefore, language learners must be trained to be competent dictionary users of both bilingual and monolingual dictionaries. They use these dictionaries to find lexical equivalents either at word level or at sentence level. This study aims at discovering which cognitive and translation processes intermediate Italian learners use to make decisions on choosing appropriate words or phrases while they are translating a passage from the foreign language (English) into their mother tongue (Italian). The subjects have been given a sentence and a text to translate and have been allowed to use a comprehensive bilingual dictionary and have been encouraged to 'think aloud'. Their verbalizations have been recorded on audiotape and transcribed. In this way, evidence on mental strategies of the students during translation and during dictionary reference acts has been discovered in order to understand some of their translation problems. It has been seen that they have used 11 translation processes and 14 cognitive processes. In conclusion, it is hoped that this study will inform teachers of foreign languages on how to tackle translation. To see what happens in the translator's mind, TAP may be used both by teachers and students of translation to research and highlight areas for improvement in their translation and cognitive strategies.

Keywords: Thinking aloud, cognitive processes, translation, bilingual dictionary

1 Introduction

In translation tasks in foreign language learning, dictionaries play an indispensable and important part. Learners use monolingual or bilingual dictionaries to find lexical equivalents either at word or sentence level. However, they need to know that there are not necessarily direct connections between the lexical representations of the two languages at the form and conceptual level. As the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis points out "no two languages are ever sufficiently similar to be considered as representing the same reality. The worlds in which different societies live are distinct worlds, not merely the same world with different labels". (Sapir, 1929, p. 214). Additionally, learners need to

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*University of Salento, Italy

know that there are not necessarily direct connections between SL and TL in terms of how subject, object, and verb are typically ordered within sentences. This grammatical complexity of sentences may be problematic for them. In order to solve the problems at the lexical or sentence level, they can refer to both bilingual and monolingual dictionaries. However, using dictionaries may not have a significant effect on the quality of translation. Quality of translation is affected though by the complex mental operations of the memory. Translation is a complex cognitive process in which world knowledge, translational competence, the components of which are "(1) language competence, (2) textual competence, (3) subject competence, (4) cultural competence, and (5) transfer competence." (Neubert, 2000, p. 6), intercultural competence, pragmatic competence, and social factors are all integrated.

In order to help learners to use dictionaries appropriately, we need to know what goes on in their minds during translation. Therefore, some cognitive studies have used the think-aloud protocol (TAP) as the tool of investigating cognitive processes in translation.

Think-Aloud Protocol

TAP is a process-oriented approach to gain immediate access to the black box, the translator's mind. Translators are asked to utter everything that goes on in their minds while they are translating, and this is tape recorded. This procedure is referred to as think-aloud protocols (TAPs). Krings (1986), Gerloff (1986), Hönig (1988), and Kiraly (1995) have gathered introspective data from subjects involved in translation activities, not only to look into the translator's black box but also to improve translation skills instruction.

Definitions and data classification

In TAP, behaviours, strategies, and process are important elements.

Levels of comprehension processes

We analyzed the protocols according to three main levels of comprehension processes:

- The textual level

- The linguistic level

- The notional level

1.1   Aim of the Study

This study aims at understanding what goes on in the translator's mind, analyzing translation and cognitive processes which intermediate Italian learners use to make decisions on choosing appropriate words or phrases, while translating. The study uses TAP in order to discover translation problems of intermediate Italian learners.

1.2 Research Questions

This study discusses the following questions regarding the intermediate students:

1. What are the translation processes used?

2. What are the cognitive processes used?

3. To what extent is a bilingual dictionary helpful for them?

4. What problems do they meet in looking up words?

1.3 Method

Four male and six female intermediate Italian learners of English aged 18 to 35 were given five sentences and a passage from English to Italian and five sentences and a passage from Italian to English to translate with access to a bilingual dictionary. For each session they were given 30 minutes and encouraged to 'think aloud' in Italian or English. They were asked to verbalize everything that went through their minds during the translation task. We did not intervene during the experiment and some measures were taken to minimize 'artificiality'.

1. To get reliable data from the subjects, each subject was given a bilingual dictionary, "Il Nuovo Oxford Parvia: Il Dizionario:Inglese/Italiano; Italiano/Inglese".

2. Before the experiment started, each subject was asked to translate a sentence from English to Italian to familiarize themselves with TAP in a short warm-up session.

3. During their translation process and during dictionary reference acts, verbalizations were recorded on audiotape.

Transcripts were made of all audio recordings.

Considering the length limitation of this article and the ongoing nature of the study only one sentence and the text, translated from English into Italian, have been analyzed here.

2 Data Analysis and Discussion

The data analysis has been divided into two parts: The Sentence Translation Task (A), The Text Translation Task (B).

When we analyzed the think-aloud protocols of the ten subjects for the sentence and text translation task, we discovered that they use almost the same types of translation behaviours: Misreading the words (MIS), Reading the text (READ), Alternating between the SL and TL sentence and the text (ALT), Intra-linguistic repetition (REP), Paraphrasing (PAR-ST, PAR-TT), Translation (TRA), Dictionary Consultation (DIC-OXF), Lexical and Contextual Monitoring (MON-LEX, MON-CONT), Making extra-linguistic comments (COM-PRO), Making Linguistic Comments (LIN.COM-JUST-STY-LANG), using interjection (INTJ) The produced translations of the subjects

show very equal quality in terms of semantic accuracy. We have focused in particular on the coherence of the conceptual representation of the sentence translation task (A) and the text translation task (B) and the productivity and efficiency of the translational strategies relative to the problems of the subjects in using a bilingual dictionary. In the analysis of the protocols, we noted fourteen major cognitive processes:

- Repetition

- Resourcing

- Translation

- Grouping

- Note-taking

- Deduction

- Recombination

- Imagery

- Auditory Representation

- Key Word

- Contextualization

- Elaboration

- Transfer

- Inferencing

2.1   The sentence translation task (A)

She had nothing suitable to wear but thought she would just have time to run something up before the wedding.

The sentence in the translation task is a complex compound sentence, which consists of one independent clause and one dependent clause with the coordinator "but".

The dictionary was not used by the subjects with the same level of success.

Of the 10 subjects, only one of them did not use the TAP. He directly translated the sentence into Italian. Before they translated they read the given sentence once. Only three of them read the sentence repeating the unknown phrasal verb "run something up" three times. Their language competence helped most of them to understand that it was a phrasal verb. Besides, while they were looking up the phrasal verb, they repeated it several times. Repeating the phrasal verb seemed to help them to focus and find the correct verb in the Italian language. However, they did not make any guesses for

the meaning of this word. In the dictionary entry, they read all the meanings of "run something up". Only three of them misunderstood the sentence.

Additionally, they were able to find the correct word for "suitable" and "wedding", since they were able to guess their meanings. However, some of the subjects, not being aware of their appropriateness uttered "suitable credo sia per addatto... (I think that's adatto)... Ma per sicurrezza controllo... (but I'll check to be sure) suitable...OK. Adeguato... adatto. In fatti... appropriato... allora Lei non ha niente di addatto da indorsare." (OK She had nothing suitable to wear). "Wedding" vuole dire matrimonio... wedding... OK... matrimonio...

The difficulty arises from the type of the sentence. Three of them were unable to understand that they had to translate a complex compound sentence.

Another level of the difficulty comes from their misreading of the word "thought". Half of the subjects misread it as "though, through". Therefore they translated the sentence with "nonostante (despite) and anche se (even though)" which changes the cohesion of the sentence completely. It is possible that the omission of the pronoun 'she' directly before the verb might have misled them here.

At the syntactic level, most of the subjects misunderstood the tense. They used past continuous tense instead of conditional perfect tense. One of them used transfer process in the translation of the clause which is given by the introductory verb "thought". She used Imperfect Subjunctive (avesse fatto) instead of conditional perfect tense. In the Italian language, after the verb "pensare" (think) in the main clause, the verb in the subordinate clause is conjugated according to the subjunctive.

2.2 The text translation task (B)

The sentences in the text translation are not complex. There are compound sentences combined with "but, then, and". It is a narrative text, which talks about the personal experience of Mr. Paliwaler Patel and focuses on a series of actions indicating Mr. Patel's success in making a great deal of money. Therefore, the text consists of orientation, complication and resolution. Half of the subjects managed to translate the whole text whereas the other half translated up to the complication part of the text. This could have been because while they were looking up the unknown words, they read all the meanings in the entries given for the vocabulary items and as a result they spent too much time.

The dictionary was not used by the subjects with the same level of success for this translation task. The subjects who translated the whole text seemed to refer to the dictionary at most 18 times.

All the subjects used the TAP. They started translation, uttering "Allora" which means "so, well, OK" as a transmissional expression between each task. While they were looking up the words, they uttered the following.

- "vediamo" "let's see"

- "tradurrei" "I would translate"

- "direi" "I would say"

- "ah! Ecco!, eccola! (capisco)" "oh! That's it! I see!"

- "ecco, non ne sono sicuro" "well, I'm not sure."

- "Non è questo... non è quello" "it is not this one ... or that one, either"

- "È difficile trovarlo" "it is difficult to find"

- "quindi" "so"

- "Bisogna vedere come tradurre" "let me see how I can translate"

- "OK, cerco" "OK, I'll look it up"

- "Mi pare" "I think.."

- "Infatti" "sure enough"

- "ahh" "ah!"

- "in questo caso" "in this case"

On the textual level, none of them read the whole text before starting the translation. They were able to divide the text into meaningful chunks. This indicates that they are good at the linguistic level. They were able to guess the grammatical categories:

> "...advanced... avanzato... superiore... no... Verbo... verbo (verb... verb)... avanzamento... avanzato... aumento anticipo..."

It was seen from the TAP that the subject was able to guess the grammatical class of the word she was looking up in the dictionary. Through consulting the dictionary and contextual monitoring, the subject translated the sentence well.

In terms of the notional level, whereas the older subjects were able to use their world knowledge for Zululand, a place in South Africa, they were unable to use it for 'the Mall':

> "... mall che vuol dire... Mall mall...? chiedo? se è un nome... PAUSA. Penso che sia... s'intende Mall la quartiera Africana (it may mean a district) mall... centro, zona... primo negozio nel lo... no lo lascio cosi (I'll leave it as it is) perché secondo me è il nome (in my opinion it's a name)... per cui la quartiera africana... si... quartiera africana. (The African district)"

As is seen in the TAP, the subject does not know that "Mall" is a shopping centre.

For the younger subjects, even "Zululand" seemed problematic due to their lack of world knowledge.

Besides, the adult subjects were able to translate the deictic item "him" in the clause "but his father, ..., had advanced **him** the money to buy his first shop in the African Mall."

At the morphosyntactic level, the deictic item is "gli"; however, most of the subjects used "li". They did not understand the reference of the deictic item. The deictic item "him" is an indirect object in the given clause; but they regarded it as a direct object and plural. This could be because they confused it with "money".

All the subjects were able to translate the text up to "This had been a great success."

The subjects were able to translate "un grande successo" for "a great success"; this was probably because they found the word in the dictionary entry as it was given in the text. However, some of them gave the literal translation of 'be' instead of the correct Italian translation of 'have'.

In the following sentence "Mr.Patel bought goods for virtually nothing from traders in distress and then sold them on at minimal profit.", only the word "distress" was problematic for one of the five subjects. While he was looking up the word in the dictionary, he repeated it eleven times. "... in di stress... distress... distress... distress... distress... distress... distress... distress... distress... distress call distress... far.penare distress... angoscia... essere... angosciare... attività..." It indicates that the subject was not comfortable with the word given. Therefore for its translation he chose the meaning in the first entry.

For the word "virtually", the subjects were able to find the appropriate word easily; this was because in the dictionary only one entry "praticamente" is given.

The subjects seemed good at the textual level. One of them showed it well, saying:

> "... quindi... no... no... indicating cause and reason... no credo che sia quello... indicating consequence... perché... no... indicating person's attitude... to visit for... no... stressing particular feature... for further information... no... non è neanche questo... ah.allora c'è un'espressione"

For the verb "blossom" and "the phrasal verb "run on", the subjects substituted the word they found with these words:

> "Trade blossomed... quindi il commercio fiori... anche se cerco communque blossom... allora... fiorire, sbocciare... svilupparsi... quindi il commercio si sviluppò meglio..."

For the rest of the text the subjects seemed to have translated more successfully; probably because not all the words they looked up were ambiguous although they are not always given in the first entries in the dictionary.

Only one of the subjects reread the translated text, saying:

"Quindi adesso riguardo i tempi" (so, now I'll check the tenses). She did not make any changes while doing contextual monitoring.

3   Conclusion

The think-aloud protocol verbalizations helped us to understand translation problems of the learners. The subjects only used the dictionary to look up the unknown words or the translations for the meanings which they were not sure of. For the other ones

they used their intuition. They had difficulties in deciding on the correct meaning of the word they were looking up in the dictionary if there were many denotations in the entry. They read all the denotations in the entry before they decided.

When we analyzed the think-aloud protocols of the ten subjects for the sentence and text translation task, we discovered that they use almost the same types of the following translation behaviours: Misreading the words, (though for thought); Reading the text (READ) (before and after translation they read the text), Alternating between the SL and TL sentence and the text (ALT)(comprò buoni... comprò goods... comprò articoli; ...centro commerciale... no shopping), Intra-linguistic repetition (REP) (trade commercio... no no attività commercio), Paraphrasing (PAR-ST, PAR-TT) (he had not had a great deal... allora... si nulla di eccezionale dai... in his pocket), Translation (TRA), (their translations); Dictionary Consultation (DIC-OXF) (vediamo trader-trader), Lexical and Contextual Monitoring (MON-LEX, MON-CONT) (comprò goods vuol dire beni for virtually nothing...), Making extra-linguistic comments (COM-PRO) (Zululand... quindi in un parte remota, o di Zululand dipende se è una città o meno...), Making Linguistic Comments (LIN.COM-JUST-STY-LANG) (...the African Mall... mall sarebbe la strada principale (it must be main street)... la strada principale... mall... cerco mall...), using interjection (INTJ) (ummm, ahh!, ecco!).

Through the translation processes above, naturally they used the following Cognitive strategies: Repetition, Resourcing, Translation, Grouping, Note-taking, Deduction, Recombination, Imagery, Auditory Representation, Key Word, Contextualization, Elaboration, Transfer, and Inferencing.

The subjects used the dictionary a lot. This indicates that the bilingual dictionary is a real referent book for them. In the interviews conducted with them they indicated that the dictionary helped them a lot. They tried to look up the word as it was given in the context. Therefore, when the word in the dictionary entry was not given as they expected, i.e. as in the text, they had problems in finding the correct meaning in another language. They had difficulties in finding the correct meaning of phrasal verbs. If the context given was not clear enough for the learners, they knew that the dictionary would not help them to translate the phrasal verb.

Last but not least, it should be borne in mind that in translation tasks, the learners need to be prepared well to use bilingual dictionaries appropriately.

About the authors

Nalan Kızıltan is a visiting professor in linguistics at University of Salento, Italy from Ondokuz Mayıs University, Turkey.
Email: `kiziltannalan@gmail.com`

Rita Bennett is a language assistant and doctoral student at University of Salento, Italy.
Email: `ritabennett@hotmail.com`

Julia Boyd is a language assistant at University of Salento, Italy.
Email: `j.boyd@email.it`

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Something Old, Something New — Coursebooks for Teaching ELF

Éva Illés*

Abstract

Although there have been changes in the way coursebooks present and teach English, their methodology still reflects the traditional communicative approach which is based on the assumption that parameters of future contexts of use are predictable and definable in reference to native-speaker norms. ELF communication, however, which is characterized by diversity and contexts of use where the norms are fluid and relative, seems to require a different, more process-oriented view of ELT. For the teaching of ELF therefore, materials engaging learners in the communication process on their own terms both linguistically and schematically can provide better conditions for preparing learners for the challenges that ELF communication presents with its wide variety of first languages and multiplicity of cultures. This paper aims to demonstrate why an old coursebook series can be made suitable, with some modifications, for the teaching of ELF. The *Access to English* books, which were published in the 1970s, comprise well-written and motivating narratives and dialogues that bear a close resemblance to literary works. By displaying elements of fiction, the texts present an alternative reality, the interpretation of which involves learners in the kind of problem solving that the unpredictability and diversity of ELF communication poses. The union of an old coursebook series and a different communicative approach to the teaching of English may thus offer a fruitful means of developing materials for the teaching of ELF.

Keywords: Communicative approach, ELF communication, teaching materials, literary texts

1 Introduction

The main concern of this paper is the practical application of ELF in English language teaching. ELF research has been closely connected to ELT and was, to some extent, instigated by ELT practice. One impetus for the investigation of ELF was the apparent clash between the reality of the use of English in international contexts and the dominant, native-speaker oriented approach in ELT. The controversy, which characterized the appraisal of non-native speaker language use too, has been highlighted by Seildhofer (2001) as follows: "... it is highly problematic to discuss aspects of global English, however critically, while at the same time passing native speaker judgements as to what is appropriate usage in ELF contexts" (p. 137).

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*Eötvös Loránd University, Hungary

Therefore, apart from the investigation of the ELF phenomenon itself, one of the issues ELF research has to address is how ELT can be brought into alignment with the experience English language learners have in international contexts of use outside the classroom. The issue the present paper is concerned with centres around a particular problem within this wider field, and the aim is to find out what kind of coursebooks would be suitable for preparing learners of English for successful communication in the prevailing ELF contexts.

2   ELF Contexts of Use

For a communicative approach to ELT, which entails the contextual, i.e., pragmatic aspects of language use, ELF is best perceived as "a specific **context**: English being used as a lingua franca, the common language of choice, among speakers from different linguacultural backgrounds" (Jenkins, 2009, p. 200, my emphasis). ELF contexts of use are particular in that they represent "continuously negotiated, hybrid ways of speaking" (Seidlhofer, 2011, p. 4), which involve participants from a wide range of linguistic and cultural backgrounds. "In this linguistically and culturally diverse environment, the success of the interaction, among other things, depends on the mutual effort of both parties in accommodating to each other's often very different linguistic and schematic needs" (Illés, 2011, p. 6). ELF interactions often require increased negotiation of meaning and problem solving as the usual reference points and modes of interpretation cannot be taken for granted and may not work.

One of the consequences of ELF use for ELT is the need for a process-, rather than a product-oriented approach to the teaching of English (Illés, 2011). Traditionally, ELT has been concerned with the product of language education which has been defined in reference to correctness and appropriateness in native-speaker communication. Pragmatic research in language teaching has been limited to identifying the differences between native and non-native speaker realizations of functions, and encouraged conformity to native-speaker patterns of language use. As a result, approaches to developing pragmatic competence have been restricted to "simplistic explanations of form-function correspondences" (Murray, 2010, p. 293). Since in ELF use there is no one set of norms that can be taken as a yardstick, the focus in ELF-oriented ELT should shift to the process of online meaning making. In the classroom dynamic and non-idealized real-life contexts should be created where the learners engage on their own terms, rather than imitate idealized native speakers, and solve issues of appropriateness as and when the particular interaction requires.

3   Literature in ELF

Widdowson (1983, 2004) has long argued that the teaching of literature can provide conditions for individual learner engagement and online meaning-making activity, in other words, for contexts that bear a close resemblance to those in ELF communication.

"The writer of literature is really in the problem-setting business, and the reader of literature is in the problem-solving business *par excellence.* And because there is no right solution, such activities provide plenty of scope for discussion, certainly as much as problem-solving activities that don't involve literature." (Widdowson, 1983, p. 32)

"What is distinctive about literary texts (. . .), is that they provoke diversity by their very generic design in that they do not directly *refer* to social and institutionalized versions of reality but *represent* an alternative order that can only be individually apprehended. They focus (. . .) not on the social contours but on personal meanings." (Widdowson, 2004, p. 135)

Since in literature the reader deals with an alternative reality where familiar frames of reference cannot always be applied for the interpretation of a text, the procedures for making meaning are more obvious than in everyday contexts where the participants can assume a fair amount of shared linguistic and schematic knowledge, which allows them to leave much unsaid (Widdowson, 1983). Literature also engages learners as language users with considerations that "are the same as the ones you would need to deal with in a mother-tongue situation" (Widdowson, 1983, p. 32). It seems, therefore, that literature can provide conditions for the kind of enhanced interpretative work that learners of English face in ELF situations.

Using texts which display qualities of literary pieces can thus make suitable teaching materials for an ELF-oriented language education. As the following example demonstrates, texts of literary quality can be used at beginner level as they need not have complex language in order to engage learners in interpretative procedures on their own terms. The starting point in this example is a passage which is limited to the display of semantic meaning in that the text does not really evoke any kind of schema in reference to which the passage could be interpreted in the same way as in an L1 context.

"This is a man. He is John Brown; he is Mr Brown. He is sitting in a chair. This is a woman. She is Mary Brown; she is Mrs Brown. She is standing by a table. Mr Brown has a book. The book is in his hand; he has a book in his hand. Mrs Brown has a bag . . . " (Widdowson, 2003, p. 120)

The redrafted version of this passage below has retained the linguistic simplicity of the original but with the minimal changes that have been made, the text may now, for example, invoke the 'two people having/embarking on an affair' schema. The unfinished story creates the suspense which arouses the readers' curiosity, who will probably want to read on and find out who the man and the woman in this scene are and what Mr Brown's idea might be. The rewritten passage has a clear communicative purpose and the target language is used to serve the realization of this purpose, very much like in L1 contexts of use.

"This is a man. He is John Brown; he is Mr Brown. He is sitting in a chair. This is a woman. She is not Mary Brown. She is standing by a table. She

> has a look in her eye. Mr Brown has an idea in his head. He has a book in
> his hand ..." (Widdowson, 2003, p. 120)

The difficulty teachers face if they intend to exploit literature for language teaching
purposes is how and where to find texts that meet the particular needs of their stu-
dents. Although there are graded readers published for learners of English, they usually
serve as complementary materials to develop language skills through extensive reading.
ELT coursebooks also contain passages for reading but they are seldom engaging on a
personal level since they have a wide international target audience. As a Hungarian
educationalist noted: "Coursebooks are written for everybody but they don't address
anybody" (Nikolov as cited in Medgyes, 2011, p. 49; my translation). For teachers
who use or have to use coursebooks, an effective solution would be if the texts in the
coursebooks bore a close resemblance to literary works and engaged learners as users of
the target language. Interestingly, a coursebook series which was published in the 1970s
fits the bill and, as far as the textual input is concerned, could be used as a starting
point for designing materials for an ELF-oriented language education.

4   Access to English

Although it was published in the 1970s, the *Access to English* series has remained
popular to this day (Illés, 2009). To a large extent, the popularity of the books can
be put down to the fact that they represent fiction and tell the story of a hapless
young librarian, Arthur Newton who is hopelessly in love with a colleague, Mary. The
beginner and the intermediate level books of the series are about the disasters and
everyday adventures of Arthur who, at the end of the second book, wins the heart and
hand of Mary. Although the storyline follows a widely used pattern, the various chapters
(what would be units in most ELT coursebooks) are so engaging and well-written that
learners often get involved in the life of this shy penniless librarian and relate to him
in the same way as they do when they read literary fiction (Illés, 2009). The exchange
below, which was posted on YouTube following a video version of a restaurant scene
from the first book, bears testimony to this personal involvement decades after the series
was published:

> "I've heard that by the end of the series, Arthur actually marries Mary.
> Does anybody know if this is so?"
> "Yep, Arthur and Mary actually fall in love and at last they are getting
> married. I really enjoyed the "happy end" after 3 years of witnessing em-
> barrissing (sic) moments with Arthur."
> (Retrieved from `http://www.youtube.com/watch?feature=endscreen&NR`
> `=1&v=OJwylAOZP4I`)

The engagement with the story of *Access to English* can be explained by the fact that
the texts display features of literary discourse and use literary devices, such as humour
and suspense. In addition, the characters are not two-dimensional, static personae but

people with individual characteristics and evolving life story. The books present not only a love but a detective story as well with twists and turns that make learners, and in fact teachers, treat the coursebooks as if they were pieces of literary fiction. The following scene is an example of how an everyday encounter can be turned into a puzzle, which in return, turns learners into curious language users who engage with the text both linguistically and schematically:

> JEWELLER: "Good afternoon, madam. Can I help you?"
>
> MARY: "Yes, I brought my ring in to have it repaired last week. You said it'd be ready by Monday. Here's my ticket."
>
> JEWELLER: "Ah, yes, madam. Would you just wait a minute, please?"
>
> ARTHUR: "What's happening? He's a long time, isn't he?"
>
> DETECTIVE: "Excuse me, madam. We're police officers. Is this the ring you brought in last week?"
>
> MARY: "Yes, it's my engagement ring. What's this all about?"
>
> DETECTIVE: "Would you please come with us, madam? We'd like to ask you a few questions. And you, sir, if you please."
>
> (Coles and Lord, 1975, p. 98)

Another advantage of the coherent storyline of the series is that the narratives and the dialogues always present lexis and grammar in context where form and function are closely interrelated. Particular grammatical structures are included not for displaying the form and general rules of use but comprise an integral part of the text and appear as and when required by the particular situation. It is probably only the discerning eyes of a language teacher that can identify the grammar input in the following passage:

> "Mary was delighted. The fortune teller had told her that she would get a proposal very soon. How right she was! Of course, she accepted and it was a very happy couple that left the fair that evening. Just near the common there was an old eighteenth- century pub with a garden outside where they went to sit and talk about their future. What a lot of plans they had to make!" (Coles and Lord, 1975, p. 130; grammatical structure: exclamations)

The *Access to English* series, and its first two books in particular, provide the kind of motivating texts which can stimulate authentic language use in the target language. By actively involving learners in interpretative procedures, the series can prepare learners for successful communication in diverse ELF contexts. *Access to English* and other coursebooks which include texts that possess qualities of literary works can thus serve as points of departure and reference for the development of ELF-oriented teaching materials.

5 Conclusion

The main concern of the present paper has been the pedagogic application of ELF research in language teaching. The study has focussed on the practical issue of materials design, and argued that coursebooks containing texts which provide conditions for students to actively engage as language users in interpretative procedures can prepare learners of English for communication in ELF contexts of use. It seems that the union of something old, that is notions that have been around in ELT for decades (e.g., the exploitation of literature in ELT and coursebooks with literary fiction and texts) and something new, i.e., the study of ELF, can offer insights for materials development in language pedagogy.

About the author

Éva Illés teaches in the Department of English Applied Linguistics at Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest. She holds a PhD in ESOL from the Institute of Education, University of London. She has a wide range of experience including teaching English in Britain and Hungary. Her current research areas are pragmatics, translation, English as a lingua franca, and teacher education.
Email: `illes.eva@btk.elte.hu`

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Non-Native English Speaker Accents in Swiss Elementary Schools: A Summary of Pre-Service Teacher Research

Laura Loder Büchel[*]

Abstract

This paper summarizes the work carried out by pre-service elementary school teacher trainees at the Zurich and Schaffhausen Universities of Teacher Education during a Research and Development course entitled "Everybody Should Speak American, Right?" in 2011. The main goal of the course was to teach pre-service teachers basic research methods and provide them with the chance to develop materials through the context of discovering to which degree aspects of English as a Lingua Franca are taught to elementary school children in Switzerland through several tasks including observations, textbook analysis, surveys and development of pronunciation activities. Some findings include: a mismatch between textbook recordings and the Englishes heard on a regular basis in Switzerland; a general openness towards various native speaker norms of English though not necessarily towards a non-native variety; and children's general feeling of not understanding various Englishes but actually performing just as well on listening tests of native and non-native varieties. This paper provides an overview of these findings in the hopes of filling a void in the research with younger learners of English.

Keywords: Non-native accents, primary school, elementary school, Switzerland, student research

1 Course Overview

Students at the Zurich and Schaffhausen Universities of Teacher Education are required to take a "Research and Development" course aimed at providing basic skills in research methods as well as space to develop materials for their future careers. The main aims of "Everybody Should Speak American, Right?" was to see how English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) is experienced, understood and represented as a principle of teaching in the elementary school English classroom in Switzerland. The instructor wanted to encourage students to get away from the idea that 'real' English is that of native speakers and that norms, classroom exchanges, and links to culture should only be from the few countries where English is the official / national language. The full course syllabus, student products and survey are located on the course site at `http://elf.edacross.org`.

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[*]Zürich University of Teacher Education, Switzerland

2   Contact with Englishes and Reflection in Textbook Recordings

To set the stage for the course and for the justification of the topic, students became familiar with Kachru's model of the concentric circles (1985). The first assignment was thus to clearly show that students' daily contact with and observation of English in Switzerland is not with native speakers (NS) of English but rather with non-native speakers of English (NNES). In order to do so, students were asked to list which Englishes they hear on a daily basis. Organizing their contacts according to Kachru's concept of the concentric circles shows the following:

- Inner Circle Englishes; 18 mentions

- Outer Circle Englishes: 3 mentions

- Expanding Circle Englishes: 60 mentions

There was some difficulty in categorizing this data as students were not always sure where the speakers they overheard or had contact with were from and some assumptions of accents were based on appearance and not linguistic knowledge. The Kachru model also has its difficulty when one thinks that English language teaching starts early in many countries — like Switzerland — but yet is not an official language.

Nevertheless, the results are quite interesting though perhaps to be expected for a landlocked country in the middle of Europe: Students clearly have much more exposure to NNES than NS. Not seamless in logic, though possibly representative, is the assumption that this is representative of children's future exposure to English. Of course children are not yet sitting on the train every as they travel to university or work, but seeing as Swiss children commute to larger towns for high school and sport practice at a fairly early age, then we can project what we have learned about university students' exposure to Englishes onto children's soon-to-be situations.

The second step was to look into the compulsory elementary school English textbooks to see if there was any mention of criteria for accent selection and to see if there is a match between what the students hear outside of the classroom and the recordings within the textbooks. It was found that there was no ELF approach to choosing recording accents and that the variation of accents in the textbooks was a pedagogical choice based on the content of the lesson (e.g. an Indian accent used in a Mumbai setting). Though there are a few outer and expanding circle recordings many of the accents were "faked" and the majority of the recordings are in British English and some American, Canadian and Australian.

There is certainly accent variation in the recordings, which is a positive attribute of these textbooks, but the accents are not representative of the larger concept of English as a Lingua Franca. In order to be more representative of what the Swiss students hear in their everyday lives, there would clearly need to be more recordings in various Asian and Spanish Englishes and recordings in French and Eastern European Englishes (these

are non-existent in the textbooks). This need was thus the basis for student projects and materials development in the remainder of the course.

3 Attitudes towards and Experiences with English as a Lingua Franca

Students had the task of learning to put together a survey to find out about pre-service teacher attitudes, beliefs and understanding of ELF. With the understanding that English is spoken by more non-native speakers than native speakers, the importance of certain elements in teaching — encouraging familiarity with non-native accents, developing ELF criteria in acceptance of correct and incorrect utterances, choosing 'country neutral' high-frequency target words — are essential to "globally minded" English teaching. This survey is relevant as the pre-service teachers surveyed will soon be the next generation of teachers in Switzerland promoting English standards and norms.

This survey was a group negotiation activity spurred by Murray (2003) and Erling (2004) as well as the students' own experiences and understanding of ELF. Students developed questions they thought would be relevant to the topic and to their classmates. Categories of questions were created, questions were written, peer edited and the survey was put on the web.

3.1 Description of participants

The survey was filled in by 134 primary (70%) and secondary (30%) school pre-service teachers (16% male, 84% female). It was sent to 600 students with a return rate of 22%. The majority (55%) are due to graduate in 2013, thus in the middle or towards the end of their course of study. A small number of students grew up bilingually (4%) with the majority having learnt English in secondary school (83%). In their daily lives, the majority do not use English on a regular basis (63%). At the time of the survey, 57% of the students had already acquired the necessary proof of level (C1 or C2) to teach English at the primary or secondary level.

3.2 Selected results and interpretations

The following results are a sample of what can be pulled out of the data. Generally, students supported the idea of a communicative approach to teaching as seen through Table 1 where they had to rate certain elements of teaching English. Had they not placed an emphasis on a communicative approach, perhaps grammar, reading and writing would have played more of an important role.

Sixty-two per cent of the students were unfamiliar with the term "English as a Lingua Franca". Therefore, we wanted to know if more primary pre-service teachers had heard of ELF than secondary pre-service teachers as we assumed that secondary teachers, having a much more in-depth education in English language and linguistics than primary

Table 1: Importance of skills

	Teaching reading	Teaching grammar	Teaching speaking	Teaching listening	Teaching writing
very important	42%	17.2%	91.8%	67.9%	19.4%
important	90%	69.4%	7.5%	29.1%	66.4%
not very important	1%	11.2%	0%	1.5%	13.4%
completely unimportant	0%	1.5%	0%	0%	0%

teachers, might be more aware of the term. A chi-square test was performed to examine the relation between course of study and having heard of ELF or not. The relation between these variables was not significant, $\chi^2(1, N = 134) = 2.65$, $p < .103$. Secondary teachers have not heard of ELF any more than primary teachers.

A series of statements was provided to find out how pre-service teachers feel about various aspects of English as a Lingua Franca. Table 2 shows the questions and the average scores.

Ninety-three students refrained from answering the question 17, though of those who did respond, they tended toward disagreeing with the question, perhaps indicating that they think teachers need a native-norm to teach.

When asked if they were ever corrected in favor of a specific standard, 56% said that they were corrected to speak British or American English and 80% of those corrected were not bothered by this. When asked if they would accept Euro-English textbooks, only 5% checked that it would be acceptable.

These descriptions demonstrate some basic tendencies: future teachers would prefer to have a native-speaker model as a reference than a "Euro-English" model and they find native speakers the "experts" in the language but are open to British/American mixes.

We further wanted to delve deeper in to the scale results to find out how those having heard of ELF or not (more or less knowledge on the subject) and those using English on a daily basis or not (more or less exposure) reacted to different questions. We analyzed the data through contingency tables and below and in Table 3 is a summary of those items which came out as having significant differences in distributions.

- When asked if they would be happy about a standardized European norm for teaching English, the frequency distributions differed significantly $\chi^2 = 12.15$, $df = 4$, $p = .02$ between those having heard of ELF before or not. Likewise to this same question, the frequency distribution differed significantly $\chi^2 = 10.5$, $df = 4$, $p = .03$ between those who use English on a daily basis or not.

- When asked if English teachers should make their learners comfortable with non-native speaker accents in the classroom, the frequency distributions differed significantly again $\chi^2 = 20.16$, $df = 4$, $p = .001$ between those having heard of

Table 2: Scale questions

1) I completely agree 2) I agree 3) I disagree 4) I completely disagree	Average
1. I think a standardized Euro-English is the best for teaching.	2.94
2. The Swiss teachers I have observed during my studies speak English well enough to teach it.	2.15
3. When I am speaking to a native speaker of English, I try to speak in the way they do.	2.22
4. I think British English is the best for teaching.	2.85
5. I think teachers should insist that learners not mix, e.g. British and American English.	2.84
6. I get irritated when I read or hear something in mixed American / British English.	3.29
7. When I find someone does not speak English as well as I do, I try to "talk down"	2.49
8. It doesn't bother me when I read /hear something in mixed British/American English	1.82
9. I will not correct my students' pronunciation as long as I can understand them.	2.96
10. I would be happy if there was a standard European norm for English.	3.04
11. I think American English is the best for teaching.	3.11
12. English teachers should stick to native speaker models when they chose recordings to play in class.	2.08
13. English teachers should make their learners comfortable with non-native speaker accents in English language teaching	2.21
14. When I teach English, I will try my best to stick to a native-speaker norm	1.84
15. Native speakers of English should decide what is correct in the language or not.	2.33
17. I think Swiss-English is fine for teaching	3.00

ELF or not.

- When asked if native speakers should decide what is correct in the language or not, the frequency distributions differed significantly again $\chi^2 = 18.5$, $df = 4$, $p = .001$ between those having heard of ELF or not.

- When asked if English teacher should stick to native speaker models when they chose recordings to play in class, the frequency distributions differed significantly again $\chi^2 = 10.9$, $df = 4$, $p = .028$ between those who English on a daily basis or not.

Table 3: Items with significant differences in frequency distributions

	Those having heard of ELF	Those not having heard of ELF	Those using English daily	Those not using English daily
A standardized Euro-English is the best for teaching.	Slight disagreement	Disagreed more strongly	Distribution evenly spread	Disagreed more strongly
English teachers should make learners comfortable with non-native speaker accents in English language teaching	Agreed more strongly	Distribution evenly spread	No significant difference	
Native speakers of English should decide what is correct in the language or not.	Strong agreement, strong slight disagreement	More even distribution	No significant difference	
English teachers should stick to native speaker models when they chose recordings to play in class.	Relatively even distribution, more disagreement			Strongly agreed — slightly disagreed

4   Discussion

These results indicate that very generally, amongst pre-service teachers little is known about the term "English as a Lingua Franca" and that native-speaker norms, though acceptable as mixed, are still prevalent despite the fact that Switzerland is surrounded by languages and cultures and English is often a vehicle of communication between people of different countries. That said, that students are not so concerned about mixing standards is perhaps a positive change from the past and indicates a gradual openness towards global English. However, the fact that very few students mentioned liking their own accents in English, but that they rather strived towards a more native model indicates that our judgments about what is necessary to teach English are still bound by native-speaker influences and that Swiss-English is not as respected as it should be.

Though not significant, that fewer secondary school students had heard of ELF even though they are enrolled at the university and study literature and linguistics much more in-depth than primary teachers do, leaves the feeling that the topic of ELF should definitely be treated in the secondary course of study.

Students who did not regularly use English tended to disagree more strongly with

statements in support of non-native speaker norms than their peers who do use English regularly, thus the idea that exposure influences points of reference for acceptable models. Thus, those who have less exposure tend to be more critical towards non-native varieties and were much more adamant about it not being a good thing than those who use English regularly. This could indicate that they are less aware of English in the world around them and what this means in terms of exposure. It could also indicate that they abide by a more traditional definition of the use of English. Again that here those having not heard of ELF should only agree and tend to disagree more than those having heard of ELF indicates that perhaps they are unaware of English in the expanding circles and stick to more traditional models and have a rather monolithic view of what is acceptable. Likewise, an awareness of ELF can make people more tolerant towards statements referring to non-native norms and perhaps willing to ponder. The fact that no one having heard of ELF disagreed that non-native accents should be used in the classroom indicates that ELF awareness can contribute to future teachers' mentalities in selecting materials.

This study is just a sampling of attitudes towards English as a Lingua Franca. The questions written are our understanding of what ELF is and are not a judgment call about what is better or worse, but simply what we think needs to be done in order to make students aware of ELF and also to see what an understanding of ELF could entail in the classroom. Perhaps we did not ask enough about with whom students speak English to and the range of accents they hear outside the classroom, though within our course we did do this and we hope this is slightly representative of both other students and a younger elementary-school aged population. Perhaps if students having taken the survey understood how a non-native speaker norm could be used (e.g. excluding grammar items from the language curriculum that are not necessary for mutual understanding), they may have answered some questions differently. Despite this, the survey is grounds enough for a decision to include mention and analysis of ELF into the compulsory pre-service teacher training courses.

5 Conclusion

Much more was done in this course than the above-mentioned survey. Students re-recorded various texts from the textbooks and tried these exercises out in primary classes. Procedures and findings were quite varied, but there was one thing in common — learners performed just as well with native as with non-native accents. Furthermore, one group found that even though learners said that they would not understand a certain accent (Indian English), they actually performed just as well as those who had the exercise with other accents (American and Swiss). Students prepared a range of same text/different accent recordings and film clips of interviews with same question/various speakers, as well as ideas for implementing these elements into lessons. Students analyzed textbooks and created pronunciation activities based on the Lingua Franca Core. They created a list of ideas for starting with an EFL approach with beginners and making learners aware of where learners can use English in the world. Project design

and materials development varied and there is much room for criticism in things such as recording quality and test design. However, these projects were learning experiences in developing listening tests, in creating sound and film materials and the process was the important part.

This paper provided an overview of the findings from a productive course with pre-service teachers in the hopes of filling a void in ELF research and materials development with younger learners of English. It sheds some light on how English as a Lingua Franca is experienced in Switzerland and highlights directions for further research at the elementary school level. This study was colored by the instructor's and participants' willingness and interest in creating classrooms which support diversity of accents, of cultures and which don't stick to inner-circle standards in the belief that ELF is a positive change to "traditional" classrooms. However, there is a long ways to go in convincing other students who did not take this course — as while others might be relatively accepting of mixed native standards, they are not quite ready for non-native speaker norm. Seeing is believing and hopefully future courses and ideas implemented into other compulsory courses will be a step in the right direction!

About the author

Laura Loder Buechel is a lecturer at the Zurich University of Teacher Education. She holds an M.Ed. from Northern Arizona University in Multicultural/Bilingual Education. Her research interests include teacher effectiveness, English language teaching methodology and teaching English as a Lingua Franca.
Email: `laura.buechel@phzh.ch`

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A Learner-Tailored Approach to EAP as a Lingua Franca Instruction

Chang Xinping* and Liao Haiqing*

Abstract

ELF as a phenomenon has existed for a long time, but in-depth studies of the reasoning behind this concept and its implications on actual classroom practice have been scarce. One of the variants of ELF is English for Academic Purposes (henceforth EAP). With the increasing demand for international interaction in English in the world academic platform, Chinese scholars aspire to the mastery of this special genre of the English language. This thesis reports a two-year free summer training program designed particularly for learners with such purpose in China. Language for academic listening and writing was incorporated into this program as the main content. A learner-tailored approach was employed to facilitate learners' ability to communicate in EAP as a lingua franca in the world academic circle. Five principles of *being humanistic*, *needs-based*, *culture-accommodating*, *learner-centered* and *task-based* were applied to the whole process of the design and implementation of course content and classroom activities. The questionnaire survey at the end of the program indicates a positive attitude towards our course design principles. The program helps us conclude that ELF classroom practice can achieve its distinctive goal of serving international cross-cultural communication if its orientation is clearly set and learner-tailored approach is well implemented. Theoretically, this study inspires us to a reconsideration of our language teaching purpose and principles involved in our choice of language materials and content and our curriculum design.

Keywords: Learner-tailored, EAP, short-term program, Chinese situations

1 Introduction

English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) is frequently used for general purposes nowadays. However, there are different varieties of English acting the role of a lingua franca within different circles. One type of English performing this kind of role is *English for Academic Purposes* (henceforth EAP). We consider EAP as a variant of ELF in this thesis, taking into consideration its basic nature.

The English program we are reporting here is a response to Seidlhofer's (2001) call for more attention to research on ELF. It was initiated also as a response to the increasing demand for more training in EAP by many Chinese researchers who have been trying to voice their academic findings either in written form or oral form in the

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*Sun Yat-sen University, The People's Republic of China

world academic circle, but complaining about misunderstanding or non-understanding after their attempts. A lot of confusions about the felicity problem in English language use and different cultural conventions in the academic circle put Chinese scholars at a loss as to how to behave appropriately with ease in English when communicating with scholars of different language backgrounds. It is under these circumstances that we suggest a training program for researchers and potential researchers (MA/MSc and Ph.D. candidates) of different discipline backgrounds with the aim to help them develop faster the ability to achieve mutual understanding in the international academic platform in the medium of EAP as a lingua franca on the one hand, and help us explore some teaching principles on the other hand. Our report will be around the following questions:

1. What were the principles we held when designing the training program?

2. What were the possible difficulties that the trainees might encounter when they communicate with their colleagues in English in their fields?

3. How did we accommodate the students' needs in the short period of training?

4. How did we make our choice of the teaching content in accordance with our teaching aim and the learners' needs?

5. How did the students respond to our training program?

2   The Principles for our EAP Program

2.1   ELF as a dynamic open language system

ELF, as "*any use of English among speakers of different first languages for whom English is the communicative medium of choice*" (Seidlhofer, 2011 p. 7, cited from Baker, 2011 p. 124), conveys a different view of language and language use, which is in accordance with our understanding. The basic understanding of language in this view is that language itself is a meaning-making process, and language user's choice is meaning. This view of language emphasizes the creative use of language users in the process of communication, which is in line with the functional view of language which has been well advocated and described by the Hallidayan school (Halliday, 1975, 1978, 1994). ELF, thus, is basically an open system which is process-oriented and communication-oriented with a multi-cultural perspective whose view should be the basic guidance for our actual classroom practice.

2.2   EAP as an academic lingua franca for academic communication

EAP has been given attention as a special genre in language teaching since the 1980s when the communicative approach in ELT (English Language Teaching) started to spread. "In disciplinary domains such as sciences and engineering, language is seen as

a tool for communication, and knowledge is also transmitted through other means such as formulas, diagrams, and graphs. It is in these domains that academic English is most often used as a lingua franca in education and research." (Kuteeva, 2011 p. 8). EAP, according to ETIC (1975, cited from Jordan 1997 p. 1), "is concerned with those communication skills in English which are required for study purposes in formal education systems".

Oriented by this definition and understanding, the study of EAP in the past was focused mainly on the study skills, aiming to help students in English countries to accomplish their academic tasks. Obviously, this understanding confines EAP within the scope of academic study mainly while weakening the communication aspect. Books and articles (e.g. Jordan 1997) around EAP are mainly discussing the problems of learners' study skills, but seldom is the attention given to the communication skills and the communicative nature of language. Most of the discussion is still around how to help the learners to acquire native-like language competence rather than identifying learners' own creativity in language use. Cultural convention differences have been noticed, but not given much consideration. A standard-English attitude is the main stream.

In China, EAP has been given little attention because the most important task, since the opening and reform policy in the late 1970s, has not been to train EAP study skills, rather, the general English proficiency for communicating with the outside world. However, with the increasing demand for communicating with the outside world academia, EAP has been finally pushed to the front. When examining the basic nature of EAP, we find that we cannot fully agree with the definition given by the British Council. EAP, in regard to the Chinese situation, should not be only concerned with the study skills involved in formal education system, but also the development of language users' communication skills, attitude, knowledge and strategies in the meaning-making process involved in academic exchanges, especially when English starts to be used as a lingua franca in many fields. Thus, when EAP is practised in classrooms, it is necessary for a shift of attitude towards the language and teaching principles that have been popular for so many years.

2.3   A learner-tailored approach to EAP teaching

Taking into consideration the English learners' needs in their international academic communication and based on the above discussion of ELF and EAP, we draw our basic theoretical teaching principles for our learner-tailored approach in this program as follows:

Being humanistic: EAP situations involve frequent public language use, whose special features cause a lot of difficulties for language users. Hence, EAP teaching should particularly take learners' emotional factors into consideration to minimize the stress of speaking in public. This aspect is made prominent in particular based on our understanding of the differences between the Chinese culture and the Western culture. In Chinese culture, a person who is too expressive is considered as showy, which is a very negative comment. Hence, since childhood, parents

would teach their children to learn to keep quiet in public places. Most Chinese generalize this inculcation to their linguistic behavior which leads to frequent silence even in places where expressing their opinions is necessary. The negative effect of keeping quiet in public places also leads to the paucity of practice in public speaking, which in turn leads to learners' diffidence in this area. Therefore, understanding this part of the convention in Chinese culture means that in EAP teaching, we need to respect and understand the Chinese students' culture and their linguistic behavior on the one hand, and to help them adjust their attitudes and their linguistic behavior to EAP situations on the other hand. Therefore, for Chinese EAP learners, one of the important parts in teaching is to help them establish confidence in public speaking and in managing their linguistic behavior in public places by leniently channeling them to that stage, rather than pushing them.

Being needs-based: As learners come from different parts of China, a needs analysis is a must when initiating this kind of program. The needs analysis should be around what learners do not know, what learners already know, what learners can do, what they cannot do, what they are afraid of, and what they are confident in. This will provide us sufficient information for our planning, implementation and evaluation of our program.

Being culture-accommodating: One of the differences of EAP learning from general ELF learning is that EAP use in academic situations is comparatively formal, but understandings of linguistic formality also differ in different cultures. Speech acts loaded with cultural values such as showing respect, refuting, complaining, expressing different opinions, etc. often cause a lot of difficulties to English learners all over the world. Culture, hence, is a very important component during learners' linguistic formation process. Therefore, EAP teaching should always take the pragma-cultural element into consideration.

Being learner-centered: By "learner-centered", we do not mean to hand over the class to the students' control. Rather, we believe learners' autonomy also needs fostering. Learners still need guidance, e.g. raising the awareness of certain language phenomenon, content choice, activity designing, etc. Thus, we believe, a real learner-centred approach should be based on teachers' delicate plan of each class period, channeling learners to independent learning, thinking, active participation in activities, and active use of the language, and then making sure that learning really takes place.

Being task-based: Tasks for this program should be clearly targeted, integrated, and reflect learners' perceived needs. It can be a task like working together to raise a good question for a presenter or discuss the possible problems in a certain listening patch. The purpose of the tasks is to develop the learners' cooperative spirit in discussion which is a very important part in international conference seminars or workshops or discussions.

The above five principles also apply to the choice of the teaching materials. According to Jordan (1997), the basic choice of teaching materials and language should guarantee the basic authenticity, relevancy and appropriacy principle for EAP teaching.

3   Design and Implementation of the Program

3.1   An initial analysis of the possible population

This program is a free program offered by the university with the financial support of the Ministry of Education as a kind of social service and a means to publicize the university with the purpose to encourage communication between the society and the university. The program aims to help the following groups of people: 1) postgraduate students at universities, 2) potential postgraduates, 3) researchers with different disciplinary backgrounds. They are expected to come from either within our university or all over China. The program was initiated in July, 2010. Now that it is open to the society and free, we had no idea how many people would enroll. However, we could only afford to offer two classes with each containing 30 students. The first session of the program was planned to start on July 5, 2010 and ended on July 20 which covered two weeks while the second session started in July, 2011. We will take the second session — the latest one as an example to introduce our program. In the second session, the number of students who enrolled the program is 47, coming mainly from three cities (Guangzhou, Shenzhen, Xi'an) with 16 different disciplines. 16 of them major in natural sciences while 31 of them in social sciences among which 8 of them major in English language and literature. However, later attendance record indicates that these 8 English majors all dropped the class. A survey of those 8 English majors later showed that the program was a bit easy for them, which was within our expectation, because English majors have been trained in their university years about academic writing in some way. Finally, with seven others dropping the class because of personal reasons, our observed students are 32 non-English major students.

To accommodate the training well to the learners, we conducted an initial prospective analysis to help us determine the content for the program. The analysis was a subjective one based mainly on our teaching experience and our knowledge of the English syllabus and curriculum drawn up by the Ministry of Education and employed by most of the Chinese universities. The analysis helped us conclude that listening, speaking and writing skills for EAP should be our main concern in the program, because most universities do not include the EAP part in their curriculum for the non-English majors. A basic outline of our potential learners' difficulties was also produced on the basis of our analysis, as listed below:

1. Input that they might need:

    (a) academic writing conventions in English;
    (b) academic lecturing conventions in English;
    (c) citation conventions;

      (d) conventions in speaking in EAP situations;

  2. Improvement they might need:

      (a) understanding of politeness in different cultures;

      (b) transferring their study habits to EAP situations;

  3. Difficulties they might encounter:

      (a) comprehending spoken English (especially long stretch of speaking);

      (b) entering a discussion;

      (c) forming appropriate questions in EAP-related situations;

      (d) forming good sentences to express opinions.

The analysis of the potential learners' difficulties and problems forms the basis for our selection of our teaching materials and techniques in class.

3.2 The selection of content

Based on our initial analysis, we made the following choices of the language skills (Listening, Speaking and Writing) and related EAP activities for our teaching content (See Table 1). Our program limited the content to the mentioned skills in Table 1 based on our knowledge that most Chinese non-English majors learn English by means of reading mainly in class or outside of class. They have little difficulty in reading about their subjects in English, but they have few opportunities to speak or write in class because their English classes are generally large.

Two textbooks were recommended to students for their reference apart from handouts delivered to them during the training practice. The books are: (1) *English for International Academic Exchanges* by Jia (2008), and (2) *Learn to Listen, Listen to Learn: Academic Listening and Note-taking* by Lebauer (2000/2006).

In terms of the linguistic forms involved, this program based its choice on the following three aspects: 1) vocabulary, 2) genre patterns, and 3) EAP-related conventional formulaic expressions. ELF is frequently discussed on its functional, collaborative and co-operative nature (Kaur, 2012 p. 193), but its forms are not given much attention. One of the reasons is that it is changing every day. But when we come to the pedagogical part, the form part has to be brought up to the front. This is the most difficult part for its pedagogical implications.

3.3 The selection of teaching methods in the learner-tailored approach

Discouraged by the negative image of show-off type in Chinese culture, most Chinese students are shy in expressing themselves in public places or expressing their opinions straightforwardly. But inside their hearts, they also look forward to communicating with others, only that they are a bit more passive. This way of learning is in contradiction to their needs in interacting with their colleagues in the academia, and easily causes them

Table 1: The content covered in the training program

Receptive skill: Listening	Productive skills	
	Writing	Speaking
Features of Academic listening	Features of discourse genre	Features of academic speaking
Types of genre: • lecture, • instruction, • conversation, • discussion, • presentations; • **Skill:** Note-taking skills	Types of genre: • proposals, • reports, • personal statements, • invitation & response letters, • abstracts, • literature reviews, • research articles	Types of speaking situations: • Giving oral presentations • Giving lectures • Participation in seminars / discussions • Giving instructions / verbalizing data • Asking questions
• Comprehending long stretches of lecture for main ideas; • listening & comprehending informal fluent conversations	• Basic formats, • styles and conventions of the types of genre; • formats of references; format of CVs	• Conventions of interrupting, • asking questions, • expressing comments, • opinions and criticisms in different cultures
• Identifying cues, markers, intonation patterns, variations of sounds and intonations in different varieties	• Summarizing, • paraphrasing, • synthesizing, self-monitoring	• Presentation skills: visual aids, body language, delivery, signposting, etc. • Participating skills: asking for clarification; expressing disagreement; asking questions

to fall into embarrassment in actual communication. Taking this into consideration, the program encouraged the lecturers to adopt a compromised teaching methodology which takes into consideration the learners' needs to develop their skills in presenting, questioning, discussing and opinion expressing, and also their long-cultivated Chinese character, and hence, finally we decide to incorporate such methods as *mini-lectures, pair work, group work, random selective questioning, teacher-student on-spot question and answer, mini-presentations, reading aloud in public, small projects, individual exercises* and *mock conferences* into the whole process.

Two teachers were employed with one male teacher being responsible for the listening part and an American female teacher being responsible for the writing and the speaking parts. Before the teaching, we held several small meetings discussing the nature of the program and our teaching principles, and we had also demonstrated our principles by some examples to instill into the two teachers our teaching beliefs. Both teachers are well-trained in English teaching, and they are in full agreement with our teaching

Table 2: Distribution of learners' disciplines (based on the enrollment list)

No. of students	No. of disciplines	No. of universities	Levels of Students
47	15	5	3 (8 PhDs, 23 MAs/MScs, 1 BA)

Note: 15 students dropped the class because of the reasons explained in Section 1, Part 3.

principles, which can be seen from students' comments later. We also kept in close touch with the lecturers during the process so as to make some necessary adjustments.

Methods like *question & answer*, *group work* and *mini-presentations* are mainly used for the listening and speaking part with the aim to raise learners' consciousness of the EAP features, and encourage learners to speak up how they feel and what they think after their listening. For the writing part, apart from the instruction on the writing of conference abstracts, proposals and research paper, learners were also guided to finish a project on abstract and proposal writing and presentation of their work at a mock conference which aims to facilitate their learning by experiencing.

During the process, teachers were not encouraged to work fast to accomplish a task, rather to accommodate their teaching to the learners' difficulties and needs. This kind of approach left the learners an impression of sincerity and immediacy which is more individualized and humanistic, as can be seen from the learners' comment in the survey. We believe this approach can reduce learners' stress of learning, and arouse their interest in keeping on their effort.

3.4   The evaluation

A questionnaire and a small test on the listening and the writing parts were conducted at the end of the program. Scores were not given prominence here because most learners came to learn out of their real interest and need, thus, they were only for our reference to see how students basically performed in the program. The survey, however, serves to provide information for the effect of our program and students' opinions about our program design.

4   Display of the Survey Results and Discussion

The following is the results on the basis of the survey conducted in the second session (July, 2011) of the program. Table 2 shows that students are from different universities in China with different subject backgrounds. "Levels of students" here refers to the learners' academic degrees. This group of students is mainly postgraduate MA/MSc or PhD candidates. We can predict their possible needs and their motivation to learn EAP with this information.

Table 3 indicates that most enrolled learners are strongly motivated to learn EAP (70.2%).

Table 3: Learners' aims of participating in this program (The number of the students excluding the 8 English majors)

Learners' aims of participation	No. of Students	Percentage	Total	
1. Learn more about English use in EAP situations	33	70.2%		
2. Learn about the university	5	10.6%	39	100%
3. Other	1	2%		

Note: 7 students retreated during the process because of personal reasons. Finally 32 students followed the program closely.

Table 4 indicates that 65.6% of the students are satisfied with the teaching. The reasons for those 34% of dissatisfied students were found from the questionnaire result which are: 1) The program was too short; 2) They wanted more mock conferences in class. These are reasonable complaints, but our program was also constrained by the limitation of fund and time.

The results also told us that among the 32 students, 90.6% of the students felt it helpful to attend this program, with only 9.4% of the students not giving any responses. This suggests a positive effect of our course design and teaching methodology. Table 5 indicates that 84.3% of the participants were very positive about our course design, while Table 6 shows that 84.3% of the students were positive about our program content coverage, which indicates that our prospective needs analysis works well.

Sometimes students' learning can also be influenced by different logistics. So in our survey we added one question about their feelings of the logistics during the training. 87.5% of the students chose 'satisfied', 3.1% of the students selected 'not satisfied', while 9.4% of them didn't give any responses. This indicated that learners learned happily here when they were in this program.

In order to learn more about how learners felt about our program, we also put some open-ended questions in the questionnaire which finally elicited such comments as indicated in Table 7. The participants' comments were generally very encouraging. Hence we have gained a lot of confidence in our learner-tailored approach which embodies our EAP teaching principles of *"being humanistic, being needs-based, being culture-accommodating, being learner-centered, and being task-based"*.

Table 4: Students' degree of satisfaction with the teaching

Categories	Satisfied		Not satisfied		No response		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No. of Students	21	65.6%	11	34.4%	0	0%	32	100%

Table 5: Students' degree of satisfaction with the course design

Choices	Satisfied		Not satisfied		No response		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No. of Students	27	84.3%	0	0%	5	15.6%	32	100%

Table 6: Students' degree of satisfaction with the content coverage

Choices	Satisfied		Not satisfied		No response		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No. of Students	27	84.3%	0	0%	5	15.6%	32	100%

However, our program has also brought us a lot of confusions in the process. The shortage of detailed descriptions of the forms of EAP as a lingua franca is a big block for us in choosing our teaching materials. However, we feel that, unlike general English teaching, ELF teaching should always stick to the idea of how to help learners to achieve that kind of shared understanding. In this regard, unlike other language courses which give a lot of time to language accuracy and form, ELF teaching sometimes has to sacrifice this for fluency and to help learners achieve mutual understanding. Berns (2009) and Kaur (2010) also noticed this aspect and have provided examples for this part.

5   Conclusion

The role of EAP as a lingua franca in international academic communication is becoming more important, which can be seen from the participants' enthusiasm about our program. The program was only a small attempt at this special language teaching by means of our learner-tailored approach with the aim to signify the necessity of learning EAP as a lingua franca on the one hand, and to experiment our teaching principles on the other hand. The significance of this study lies in that 1) the study pushes us to think about the criteria in selecting the teaching materials for this special learning; 2) the study also sets us thinking about the methodological principles in EAP teaching. We believe that there is no perfect teaching methodology, but there is methodology which is appropriate for different groups of learners. When we advocate ELF, we are actually advocating a kind of attitude toward language and people: A dynamic and multi-perspective attitude in opposition to the old standard-oriented attitude.

Questions also arise during and after our program. One of the questions is: when we criticize Standard English, how can we make it clear that what is not standard English especially when we come to academic writing? Should we correct learners' mistakes or should we let it be if it does not affect meaning conveyance? What if we keep the

Table 7: Students' degree of satisfaction with the course design

Some Selected Positive comments:	Negative comments:
1. "We like the way the foreign teacher handles the class. The content and exercises are very good. The mock conferences are great!" 2. "This training gives us more opportunities to practice using the language." 3. "Our Chinese teacher is very patient and considerate." 4. "The strategies for listening are very practical." 5. "The program is very practical, and just to our needs." 6. "We are very grateful to FLS for offering us this program. We have learnt a lot."	1. "The program is too short." 2. "The program is well-designed, but it is not well-advertized. Not many people know this program." 3. "Our teachers spoke too fast." 4. "It will be better if students were given more opportunities to discuss in class." Students' suggestions: 1. More hours of training 2. More practice in speaking 3. More introduction about how to study abroad

so-called errors in terms of ELF when we want to publish our articles in well-known journals? Do journals in the academic circle accept ELF-based article? Teachers of EAP have encountered problems of such kind when they have to make a decision. However, although we are still faced with a lot of confusions, the principles we employed in our implementation of the program, we believe, are applicable to English language teaching in general.

About the authors

Chang Xinping is an associate professor at the School of Foreign Languages, Sun Yat-sen University, Guangzhou, P.R. China. Her research focuses on second language acquisition, discourse analysis, language teaching and language testing.
Email: `flscxp@mail.sysu.edu.cn`

Liao Haiqing is an associate professor at the School of Foreign Languages, Sun Yat-sen University, Guangzhou, P.R. China. Her research focuses on discourse analysis and second language acquisition.
Email: `flslhq@mail.sysu.edu.cn`

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The Role of Internet in the Acquisition of English: The Future of English Language Teaching

Krassimira D. Charkova[*] **and Denitza D. Charkova**[†]

Abstract

The present research was conceived in view of the growing role of technology and internet, the globalization of English, and the changing nature of English language learning in the Expanding Circle as defined by Kachru (1986, 1996). Namely, it set out to examine and re-examine three interrelated issues: a) the affordances of an English-based internet environment for language learners in the Expanding Circle; b) learners' perceptions of the utility of English; and c) the traditional paradigms of English foreign language environments vs. English second language environments. The participants were 95 Bulgarian college students in intensive English programs at a Bulgarian university. The research instrument included Likert scale and open-ended questions. The data were analyzed through statistical and content analyses. The results show that Bulgarian learners of English outside the Inner Circle have a continuous access to language input through internet and other multimedia English resources. The majority of the participants reported between 75% to 100% of their internet use as being in English. As a result of the consumption of specialized and general internet resources, they have experienced language benefits vis-a-vis building up their knowledge of formal and informal vocabulary, reading, writing, and communication skills. In their narrative comments, participants repeatedly defined English as a "*global, international, or world language*", connecting people of various cultures, religions, and geographic parts of the world. They associated English with global communication, access to information resources, people and cultures from all over the world rather than with native speaker varieties and their cultural heritages. Both quantitative and qualitative results raise the question of whether in a world permeated by English, there are still foreign language learners of English. This study's findings suggest that the traditionally made distinction between EFL and ESL environments may no longer be as clear-cut as it used to.

Keywords: Global English, independent learning, international English, affordances of English-based internet resources, revisiting ESL vs. EFL environments

1 Introduction

The onset of the 21st century has been defined by the diffusion of information across geographic borders (Fischer and Konomi, 2005). Internet has become the main vehicle

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[*]Southern Illinois University at Carbondale, U.S.A.

[†]Plovdiv University "Paisii Hilendarski", Bulgaria

for gathering and exchange of information and for intercultural communication through relationship networks such as Facebook or discourse facilitating tools such as Google chat, Skype, and email.

This unprecedented technological advancement has paralleled the growing role of English as a global language (Crystal, 1997; Graddol, 1997, 2006) and has consequently made English the major language of the Internet. In 1997, the British Council published Graddol's phenomenal forecasting about the *Future of English* in the 21st century. In this document, Graddol rightly predicted that economic, technological and cultural changes may significantly affect the way English is learned and used in the 21st century. He defined English as a "language in transition" (Overview) which will be shaped by the forces of globalization, technological and scientific developments, local cultures and languages and will thus diverge from native speaker varieties such as British or American English. Graddol also acknowledged the important role of technology and internet in the global spread of English and the way it is learned and used.

Although the beginning of the 21st century has provided ample evidence validating Graddol's (1997) predictions, it seems that the field of English language teaching and learning is still rotating around the old contrastive paradigms of English second language (ESL) versus English foreign language (EFL) contexts. The main criterion for contrasting the two learning environments has been based on the availability or lack of direct contact with an authentic native speaker variety of English. In recent years, the dichotomy of ESL vs. EFL has been expanded to accommodate the world-wide spread of English as a global language. Kachru's (1986, 1996) seminal work has provided scholars in the field with a categorization "encapsulating historical, sociolinguistic, acquisitional, and literary elements (Caine, 2008). Shortly, Kachru managed to illustrate the pluricentricity of English and its world-wide spread in a simple diagram known as the Three Concentric Circles of English. In the Kachruvian categorization (1996), speakers of English in the Expanding Circle have been distinguished from speakers of English in the Inner Circle, based on the same criterion as in the EFL vs. ESL contrast. That is, learners in the Expanding Circle are not surrounded by an authentic language environment like their counterparts in the Inner Circle.

This contrast between ESL and EFL contexts (or Outer and Inner Circle) has taken a central place in the field of English language teaching and learning. A general assumption has been made that ESL and EFL contexts are different and this difference affects how English is learned and acquired. However, the question arises whether the distinction between Inner and Expanding Circle environments is still as valid in our present world permeated by modern technology and English as a global language. Can we ignore the fact that the affordances of modern technology have offered unlimited access to English language resources and numerous opportunities for independent and self-regulatory learning? A decade ago, Lamb (2002; 2004a; 2004b) noted that learners of English were learning independently, outside of school, from TV, songs, personal computers, and other resources. Lamb argues that his participants' autonomous learning practices were driven by an aspiration towards a bicultural identity, incorporating their own culture and a more global culture mediated through the English language.

Lamb's research(2002; 2004a; 2004b) is among the few studies which have examined the interconnectedness between technology, the growing role of English as a global language and autonomous learning practices. Most other research has focused on discreet pedagogical applications of modern technology for language teaching in the classroom. This study aims to draw attention to the need for empirical research about the changing nature of English language learning in a world interconnected by technology and global English. In fact, this is an issue that calls for a cohort of studies in different parts of the world in order to help understand the process in its depth.

2 Methodology

The present study was designed in the framework of exploratory survey research, including both Likert scale and open-ended questions. The methodology followed the approach advocated by Hair, Anderson, Tatham and Black (1998), who recommend applying as few assumptions as possible to the data analysis and letting 'the data talk' (p. 672). The following research questions guided the process of data collection and analysis:

Q1: What are the affordances of English-based internet resources for Bulgarian learners of English?

Q2: How do English learners perceive the utility of English? Do they view English as a means to succeed in English speaking countries and integrate with Native Speaker cultures or as a means for more global realization and integration?

2.1 Research instrument

The data collection instrument included Likert scale and mixed- type questions. The Likert scale questions examined the frequency of use of internet resources in English, on a scale of 5 - 0, where 5 = daily used, and 0 = never used. The internet resources included in the instrument were of two main categories: a) Intentional learning resources which learners use with a specific language purpose, such as online dictionaries and specialized websites for learning English; and b) Incidental learning resources which are not meant for a specific language learning purpose, but by using them in English, learners may also improve and build up their English. Among the incidental learning resources, four were informational, including *online articles*, *online news*, *blogs*, and *YouTube*; one was a relationship building website, namely *the social network Facebook*; and three were discourse facilitating internet-based tools, including *email*, *Google chat*, and *Skype*. Each Likert scale question was followed by another question about purposes and/or perceived benefits for users' English language, measured on a dichotomous scale of 1 = used/beneficial for this purpose and 0 = not used/beneficial for this purpose. To assure the reliability and validity of the research instrument, internet resources included in the survey were selected with the help of consultants of the same student population from which the sample was drawn. In the final version, only the most popular resources were left and less popular ones were excluded. The internal consistency of the Likert

scale questions was also ascertained statistically by means of Cronbach's alpha test which produced a coefficient $\alpha = .846$. Following George and Mallery (2009) who define a value of $\alpha > .8$ as indicating good internal consistency, the Likert scale questions were considered consistent with the underlying construct of this study.

2.2   Participants

The participants were 95 Bulgarian college students, enrolled in intensive English programs at a Bulgarian university. Their level of proficiency could generally be defined as high intermediate to pre-advanced based on their year in the program and curriculum. Among them, there were 61 female and 34 male participants. The mean age was 21, with an age range of 19–26. Thirty-nine percent of the participants were also learning another language in addition to English, including German, French, Italian, Spanish, Russian, Japanese, Turkish, Greek, and Hindi.

2.3   Data Analysis

Since this study involved two types of data, quantitative and qualitative, two methods of data analyses were employed, statistical for the quantitative responses, and content analysis for the open-ended responses. The statistical analyses were performed through SPSS (version 18) and included descriptive statistics and two dependent t-tests.

For the open-ended questions, content analysis was performed to identify common trends and themes in the participants' views about the possibility to learn English outside of school in Bulgaria and the utility of knowing English. The most interesting quotes were also identified and used in the summary of the results in order to illustrate particular opinions or experiences.

3   Results

3.1   The affordances of Internet for Bulgarian learners of English

The analysis of the participants' responses revealed that the majority of the participants (69%; $N = 65$) reported that 75% to 100% of their internet use was in English, 25% ($N = 24$) indicated 50% of their daily internet use to be in English, 6% ($N = 6$) reported 25% of their internet use as being in English, and none of the participants reported not using English while being on internet (See Figure 1).

Participants were also asked to indicate the frequency of using English language resources online. The reader should be reminded that the frequency scale ranged from 5 to 0, with 5 = daily used and 0 = never used. The results are summarized in Figure 2.

From the two intentional learning resources, *online English dictionaries* were more frequently used with a Mean = 3.48, indicating that on average, participants consulted an online dictionary about once a week. The participants who never or rarely used an online dictionary were a minority, accounting only for 12.6% of the whole sample.
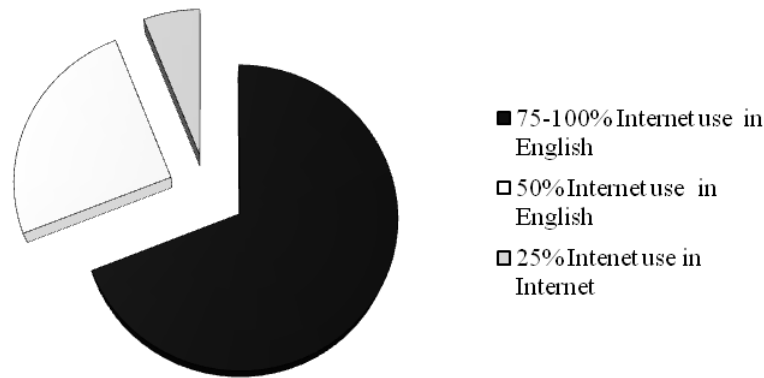
Figure 1: Percentage of internet use in English

On the other hand, *online English learning websites* were not very popular among the participants, yielding a mean use of 1.32, suggesting an overall rare use.

Participants' purposes for using online English dictionaries and specialized English learning websites were examined as well. Percentages were calculated based on the number of participants who indicated a particular purpose. Since most of the participants checked more than one purpose, the sum of the percentages exceeds 100%. The most common purpose for using dictionaries was to check the definition of target words or phrases. This was followed by a synonym check, example sentences and pronunciation check. The most common reason for using specialized English language websites indicated by 53% of the participants, was for building up their grammatical competence and proficiency.

The other category of internet resources involved incidental learning through use of information-based sources, such as *online articles*, *online news*, *blogs*, and *YouTube*. The frequency statistics showed that *online articles* were the most frequently used with a Mean of 4.33 and a frequency distribution ranging from *once a week* to *daily use*. The highest percentage of participants (91.6%) indicated using *online articles* in English from *2–3 times a week* to *daily*. The options *never*, *rarely* and *1–2 times a month* were not selected at all. The second most favored information resource in English was *YouTube*. The Mean value of 3.93 shows that, on average, participants used *YouTube* about *2–3 times a week*. *Online blogs* and *news* yielded frequency of use falling in the range of *1–2 times a month* to *once a week*.

The majority of the participants reported beneficial effects from reading *online articles* in building up their general vocabulary knowledge (77%) and reading skill (81%). *Online news* were also reported as beneficial for developing participants' reading skill (67%) and knowledge of specialized vocabulary terms (78%), such as political and economic terms, weather and sports related words and phrases, and others. On the other hand, *blogs* were reported useful only for learning and practicing casual English (62%). *YouTube* videos provided incidental language benefits in terms of vocabulary building
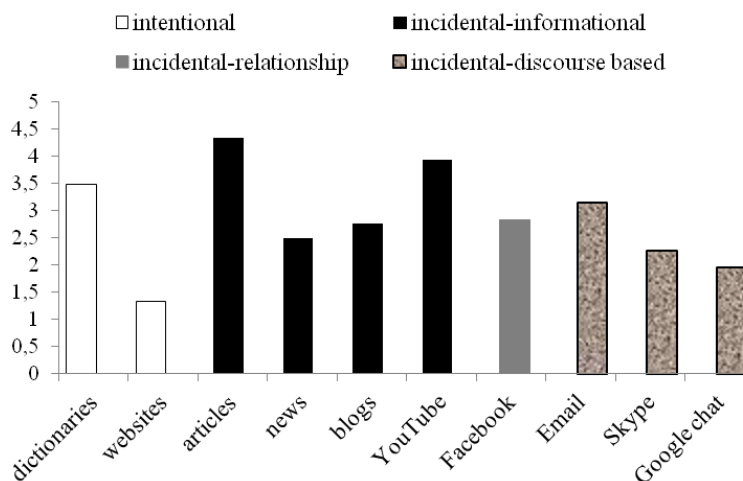
Figure 2: Reported frequency of use of online English language resources

(62%), everyday vocabulary learning (63%), pronunciation (60%) and for developing participants' listening skill (70%).

The next resource included *Facebook*, categorized as a relationship building internet-based resource. The use of *Facebook* in English yielded a Mean of 2.82, suggesting an average frequency of use between *2 to 4 times a month*. The main benefit from using *Facebook* in English, as stated by a 19 year old female participant, was learning or practicing "*chat language*". This observation was made by 79% of the participants.

The final category of internet resources included discourse facilitating tools, such as *Email*, *Google chat*, and *Skype*. Among them, *Email* was the most frequently used as the majority of the participants reported writing emails in English between *once a week* (49.5%) to *2–3 times a week* (26.3%). Moreover, participants perceived *Email* as a formal mode of communication which helped them improve their *writing skill* (71%), *formal English vocabulary* (67%), and overall *communication skills in English* (45%).

In contrast to email use, the frequency distributions of *Google chat* and *Skype* were a lot more varied, ranging from *no use* to *daily use*. On average, *Skype* was used about *2 times a month*, whereas *Google chat* was used *once a month*. For both these resources, participants reported benefits for learning casual English (78% for *Google chat* and 55% for *Skype*) and developing general communication skills (67% *Skype* and 52% *Google chat*).

3.2   Opportunities for learning English outside of school in Bulgaria

Participants were also asked to answer the question if it is possible to learn English outside of school. Sixty-four percent undoubtedly agreed that it was possible to learn English on their own, 30% selected the option *somewhat*, and only 6% provided a negative answer. The numerical data are better understood in view of participants'

narrative explanations. All 95 participants provided extensive comments in support of their answers. These were analyzed in view of the three categories "Yes", "Somewhat" and "No". Repeatedly, the participants in the "Yes" category pointed out the availability of English language resources as the main factor in their independent learning of English. A 19 year female participant enthusiastically wrote: "*Yes, not a day goes by without using English. We are surrounded by it. I mostly use internet in English, watch movies, even make jokes in English. Even the default settings of mobile phones are in English.*"

As seen from the above quote, in addition to the internet-based resources, participants also mentioned offline multimedia resources in English. This was an interesting emerging trend in view of the fact that this study's focus was narrowed down to the affordances of Internet-based resources. Despite the fact that offline English language resources were excluded from the survey for the sake of brevity, the majority of the participants mentioned listening to *popular songs* in English and *watching English movies* with or without subtitles. A great number of them also noted the role of *cartoons* and *computer games* in English, especially in their childhood experiences of learning English.

Overall, the participants in the "Yes" category expressed the opinion that the abundance of internet and other multimedia resources in English opens up numerous opportunities for practicing their English language and expanding their vocabulary knowledge, something that they noted schools do not offer since the teaching of English mainly emphasizes on grammatical knowledge. A 22 year old male participant wrote: "*Yes! Learning by internet and other multimedia resources expands your vocabulary and confidence in using English to a level at which universities or schools can not.*"

The "*Somewhat*" answers constituted a smaller proportion of the data (30%) and although the participants in this category agreed that one can learn English outside of school, they shared three main concerns: a) that one can only learn **basic** English through independent learning and will not be able to reach higher levels of proficiency; b) that one can learn English from the available multimedia resources, but one **cannot achieve grammatical accuracy**; and c) that one needs to have very **strong motivation** to learn on one's own.

The "*No*" category constituted only 6% of the answers. Yet, some very insightful comments were provided, recognizing the importance of the systematic teaching of a language which can only be provided by English language teachers. A 24 year old female participant explained her negative response by writing: "*No, because one needs systematic learning which can only be provided in school or by a teacher.*"

3.3 The utility of knowing English

The second research question examined participant's views about the utility of knowing English, specifically focusing on whether they perceived English as a means to succeed in English speaking countries and integrate with NS cultures or as a means for more global realization and integration. This section summarizes the results from the qualitative

and quantitative data. To the question "*Is it necessary to know English*", 90% of the participants provided an answer "Yes", 9% selected "Somewhat" and 1% selected "No".

Participants were also asked to explain their answers in words. All 95 of them provided written comments which were analyzed for common viewpoints through content analysis. The results showed that 86% of the participants viewed English as a language of professional success and development, allowing them access to information input in different areas. In the narrative comments of 58% of the participants, it was repeatedly mentioned that a person's education is lacking if they do not know English. Moreover, the participants explicitly mentioned that knowing English is a required skill by employers not only in English speaking countries, but also in their own country or elsewhere in the world. This idea is eloquently supported by the following quote taken from the comments of a 25 year old female participant who wrote: "*English is not a foreign language any more. Its use is required in many fields, such as business, economics, even in countries like Bulgaria where it is not an official language. It is required for any position in a company as a necessary skill.*"

The majority of the participants (75%) recognized explicitly the status of English as a global language and as the main language of communication among people from different parts of the world, not necessarily from English speaking counties. "*Hell, yes, it is important [to know English]! You cannot achieve much without knowing English. English connects people from all religions, cultural and racial backgrounds, although Chinese and Russian have grown Exponentially*", wrote 21 year old male participant.

Learners' view of English as a global language, connecting people from different cultures was also supported by the quantitative data too. Specifically, participants were asked to indicate whether they were using internet resources with a focus on British English and British culture, American English and American culture, or whether their intention was to use English as a vehicle for information gathering and communication with people of various L1s and cultures. The data were analyzed through two dependent t-tests as the mean tendencies towards British and American cultures were compared statistically with the mean tendency towards English as a language of global communication and culture. In addition, the effect size *Cohen's d* was also calculated in order to help understand the practical importance of the differences.

The comparison of participants' interest in British culture and language with their interest in English as a global language, not attached to any particular culture, showed a significantly higher inclination towards the latter, $t(94) = -7.45$, $p < .001$, *Cohen's d =* .76. A similar tendency was observed when the Mean scores for interest in US English and culture and interest in English as a global language were compared statistically. That is, participants were significantly more interested in learning English as a global language rather than American English, associated with US culture, $t(94) = -8.10$, $p < .001$, *Cohen's d = .83*. Judging from the values of the effect sizes (Cohen, 2008), it can be concluded that the participants showed the greatest preference towards English as a global language, followed by preferences for American English, and showed the least interest in British English and culture.

4   Discussion

4.1   Technological advancement and the autonomous learning of English

The unprecedented advancements in technology and the predominance of English as the main language on internet have opened up infinite opportunities for learners outside the Inner Circle. This study's findings show that learners of English outside the Inner Circle have continuous access to language input through the abundance of internet and other multimedia English resources. The majority of the participants reported using English as the main language on internet, i.e. between 75% to 100% of their internet time. As a result, they have experienced both language benefits from the use of specialized and general internet resources. Overall, this study's findings support Lamb's (2004) observation that more learning happens outside rather than inside educational institutions. In their narrative comments, the majority of the participants expressed the opinion that it is possible to learn English without formal lessons thanks to the abundance of English language resources in their environment. The general view of the participants was eloquently expressed by the comment of a 25 year old female student who emphasized on the fact that in Bulgaria "*English is not a foreign language any more*".

4.2   The status and utility of English through the eyes of the participants

Participants repeatedly defined English as a "*global, international, or world language*", connecting people of various cultures, religions, and geographic parts of the world. "*I have friends from Russia, Egypt, Sweden, USA, GB, France, Spain, and we all use English when we communicate*" [Female, 25 year old, also studying French]. They implicitly recognized its function as a lingua franca, i.e. as a means of communication between people of various L1s. The quantitative data showed that participants' associations of English transcended native speaker varieties, such as British or American English. They viewed English as a language removed from native speaker roots, a language of a more global nature connecting them to the world. This collective opinion of the participants provides further empirical support for Lamb's (2004) conclusion that "*English loses its association with particular Anglophone cultures and is instead identified with the powerful forces of globalization.*" (p. 3). Furthermore, it reiterates Lamb's observations that present day learners of English view English as a tool empowering them to create their new cultural identities, incorporating elements of their own culture with those of a global world culture.

4.3   ESL versus EFL environments: Is the contrast still relevant?

So far this discussion has focused on the affordances of Internet and modern technology in the acquisition of English and on learners' contemporary views of English as a

language of global communication. However, these two issues should not be viewed in isolation from the field of English language teaching and learning because they have important implications for its present and future. Specifically, this study's results raise a question about the validity of the traditional distinction between EFL and ESL environments. If 75%–100% of an individual's internet use is in English, does it matter where this individual is geographically, in Bulgaria, China, the US, or the UK? And if direct access to the target language or lack of it is a defining feature of ESL vs. EFL environments, can we still claim that EFL environments are distinctively different from ESL ones?

While it is true that access to direct communication with native speakers is still limited in the Expanding Circle, access to the English language has become unlimited. When we add to this the present status of English as a global language and its function as a lingua franca, should we still distinguish between learning environments in view of native vs. non-native speakers? If learners of English see themselves as citizens of a global world where English is the main tool of communication and professional success, then the field of English language teaching and learning should embrace this generation's aspirations and revisit its old paradigms. "*English **is not** a foreign language any more*", echo the words of one of this study's participants already cited several times in this paper. This tendency has already been recognized and explored by scholars in the paradigms of English as a Lingua Franca and World Englishes (e.g. Jenkins, 2006; Seidlhofer, 2005; Widdowson, 1997) who have advocated a new approach to the teaching of English which accommodates the most recent developments in the world and the status of English as a global language. However, the issue still remains controversial because it calls for major changes in the way we teach and assess English language learners. The present study adds further evidence in support of these scholars' views and attempts to bring this paradigmatic change to the attention of all parties involved in the field of English language teaching, assessment and research and thus promote subsequent modifications in existing practices.

About the authors

Krassimira Charkova is a senior lecturer in the Department of Linguistics at Sothern Illinois University, Carbondale, IL, USA. She holds a PhD degree in Curriculum and Instruction with a specialization in TESOL. Currently, she teaches a variety of courses in the MA TESOL program which includes a diverse group of students from over 20 countries. Her research interest is in second language acquisition, teacher training, and the changing role of English language teaching and learning in a world of globalization, world Englishes and modern technology.
Email: `sharkova@siu.edu`

Denitza Charkova is a lecturer at Plovdiv University "Paisii Hilendarski", Bulgaria. She has an MA degree in Linguistics and Translation and a BA degree in Journalism and European studies. Her research interests are in the field of language teaching and learning with a specific focus on young learners. She is fascinated by the changing

nature of English language learning under the influence of the bigger societal changes.
Email: `d.charkova@gmail.com`

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Teaching Business English and Arab Learners

Mira M. Alameddine[*]

Abstract

Arabic and English language differ in many ways. Arab speakers face several problems while learning English, such as phonological and morphological difficulties. When teaching English for Arab students, teachers have to keep in mind that the Arabic writing system goes from right to left and that the letters are written with-respect-to their position in the word.Keeping this in mind, teachers of business English need to consider several factors when teaching Arab learners how to communicate in business using the English language. They need to become familiar with the problems their Arab learners might face while acquiring the business communication skills that these learners need at work. This manuscript discusses some of the major problems that some Arab learners, as ELF learners, might face in learning business English, which is L2. It also sheds light on the teachers' work and role in guiding their learners to overcome these obstacles when present. Some of the major problems discussed in this work are: i) negative transfer, ii) different writing strategies, iii) knowledge of prepositions, and iv) collocation patterns. Teachers have to, therefore, prepare their learners to overcome negative transfer, provide them with hands-on activities and authentic business environment that will help them develop the correct expressions, and familiarize them with the English logic and culture, so their messages become direct to the point and well understood.
Keywords: Business English, Arab learners, teaching

1 Introduction

English language is seen as a valuable language for Arabs, for it is at the moment the lingua franca of the world. That is why more and more Arab learners are attending English schools, English being in high demand in the business world. They want to acquire the language because in the future, this acquisition will set them apart from other candidates at work. Arab learners not only are learning English, but want to learn business English, too. They need this skill to complete work-related needs. Hence, these learners join business English courses in the hope that the skills learned will land them good positions in multinational corporations located in the Arab world. These corporations want their employees to be able to communicate with international business people, respond to daily routine requests in the form of emails, memos, letters or any other typical taste at work (Donna, 2000). This task is not easy for Arab

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[*]Rafic Hariri University, Lebanon

Business English learners who many face problems in writing in English. They could face phonological, morphological and structural difficulties (Sanks and Suleiman, 1993).

As such, business English instructors need to take into consideration the four problems that learners might face while studying business English. These problems are: i) negative transfer, ii) different writing strategies, iii) prepositional knowledge, and iv) collocation patterns.

2   Negative Transfer

Transfer means "to cause something to pass from one place to another" (Merriam-Webster, 2012). Negative transfer is what Samuel Jackson explained in 1791 as to "use two languages familiarly and without contaminating one by the other, is very difficult." In negative transfer, learners use their prior knowledge of L1 to produce L2. This might lead them to forming unacceptable forms of the language. One of such hindering is distorted word order. In Arabic (L1), sentences usually start with *verb+subject+object*, while English sentences (L2) are *subject+verb+object*. For example, business English learners could end up with a sentence such as "*Finished Rola with the project yesterday*" instead of "*Rola finished with the project*". These learners might also come up with strange expressions due to translating them from L1. For example, "*The party then tasted a wonderful sense of share*" meaning that they all enjoyed having worked together and their product was successful. Hence, L1 negatively affects the performance of L2 (Lado, 1964). It has been studied in the past 30 years (Habash, 1982; Okumna, 1999), with findings yielding the same conclusions: L1 causes obstacles in learning L2.

3   Differences in Writing Strategies

Writing is greatly affected by culture. Culture is "the way (people) do things . . . and solve problems" (Dudley-Evans and St. John, 1998, p. 6). Each culture has its own rhetorical pattern and logical organization (Bruce and Rafoth, 2004). Arabic writing reflects, therefore Arabic logic and culture. This makes Arabic writing full of embroidered literary style. In opposition, English rhetoric is produced in objective impersonal style (Sanks and Suleiman, 1993). Other differences in writing strategies exist as reflected in the sentence structure. Arabs have problems in verb formation and tenses (Rabab'ah, 2007), and produce a lot of run-on sentences with 'and' since Arabs heavily use 'wa'/and in connecting their ideas. For example, some learners end up with sentences such as "*The employees should work over time and documented the hours they completed* and *realize how important reaching our objectives* is." As the explanation reveals, Arab learners also have problems in subject-verb agreement.

These difficulties cause serious problems to Arab learners since they produce communication that does not fulfill the purpose of business. Business language is characterized by "sense of purpose" (Ellis and Johnson, 1995, p. 7) which is to reach an end and send a message. The message's success depends on how well the message is understood; and

to be understood, the message's language has to be clear, precise and logical. Hence, messages like these listed are serious problems in business communication:

- I have been writing this proposal *since a long time ago.*

- Our employees *working* hard.

- *You have* a project to present today?

- The corporation *have prepared* for the bidding for a very long time.

4 Prepositional Knowledge

One of the major problems for Arab learners while learning English is using prepositions correctly (Lakkis and Abdul Malak, 2000). Learning prepositions in English is difficult (Pittman as cited by Lakkis and Abdul Malak, 2000) and so is teaching it. This difficulty increases when the learners are Arabs. This is because prepositions in the Arabic and English languages serve different purposes. Although there are some prepositions in English that have their counterparts in Arabic, there are many others that don't. This fact makes it more difficult for Arab learners to acquire the English language.

When learning L2, learners usually resort to many helpful techniques to facilitate their acquisition. One of these techniques is by depending on their L1 prepositional knowledge. This act should serve as a helping tool in understanding the use of L2 prepositions. This technique, however, might not be effective for Arab learners studying English because there are many verbs in Arabic that don't use prepositions while their English counterparts do. Hence, some Arab learners don't use prepositions with verbs such as like, compete, engage or wait because these verbs in Arabic don't take prepositions. For example, an Arab learner could end up with "*Our projected resulted ▲ a 15% increase of profit*" and "*The committee had waited ▲ the end-of-year analysis to determine their next plan of action.*" Sentences like "*We have been working together ▲ long time*" will also surface.

Finally, there are many prepositions in English that do not have literal counterparts in Arabic. Scott and Tucker (1974) concluded in their study that most English prepositions do not have a "one-to-one correspondence" in Arabic. Moreover, some Arabic prepositions can be translated to more than one English preposition, and some prepositions in English can have different usages in Arabic. These problems usually make it difficult for the Arab learner to know which preposition to use in a given situation. Hence, sentences like these usually arise: "*In my way to work*" and "*Our analysis* about *the project help the CEO decide* on *what to do.*"

5 Collocation Patterns

In his 2009 study, Sadighi concludes that collocation patterns play an important role while learning a new language. Collocation patterns is the "group of words which

occur repeatedly in a language" (Carter, 1998, p. 51) and "the way words combine in a language to produce natural-sounding speech and writing" (Oxford Collocations Dictionary, 2011). The way words combine or associate in L1 can affect the acquisition of L2, particularly when L1 is Arabic and L2 English. Learners acquire a new language and use it in context. With Arab learners, the usage of language and collocating the words requires them to depend on their native language to collocate the words in English. So these learners usually end up saying "*do mistakes*" instead of make mistakes, or "*raise an objection*" instead of present an objection.These awkward expressions become problems for Arab learners when communicating at work using English as their medium of communication.

6   Conclusion

As discussed, Arab learners face problems while learning English. While trying to communicate using the English language they translate from Arabic cannot communicate easily and even end up with badly structured sentences. Business English instructors, whether Arabs or not, have to make sure that they are able to help their Arab learners overcome the obstacles explained above. They should provide their learners with activities that facilitate the acquisition of the English language. They should also give them real-life situation activities that provide them with the correct business terminologies and hands on activities to render them more accurate in presenting and formulating their messages. only by providing their Arab business English learners with hands-on business case studies can business English instructors help their learners overcome any hindrance that might stand between them and learning Business English.

About the author

Mira Alameddine has a Master's degree in Education, emphasis in teaching English as a second and foreign language from the Lebanese American University (LAU), Lebanon and is specialized in teaching ESP, particularly Business English and Technical Writing for Engineers. She has been a part time faculty instructor at Rafic Hariri University (RHU) since Spring 2007. Ms. Alameddine is currently pursuing her PhD at the Lebanese University, and her PhD Dissertation is on evaluating the Lebanese Curricula and choosing best effective curricula that develops maximum amount of talented learners.
Email: `alameddinemm@rhu.edu.lb`

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Adding ELF Perspectives to English Language Training Programs for Japanese Company Employees

Akiko Matsumoto Otsu[*]

Abstract

The present study investigates how Japanese business professionals perceive their needs to communicate in English as a lingua franca, and how an actual training program for such learners is conducted in order to help them acquire necessary skills. A case study of a construction company in Japan is taken up for this purpose. The participants of the study are four employees who join an intensive English language training program provided by their company with a prospect to be assigned overseas projects in the near future. First, in order to clarify the contexts of where and how these employees use English, a written questionnaire and interviews were conducted. The findings show that, though they have various professional backgrounds, all of the four employees have in common a need to improve their oral communication skills. More specifically, it was identified that they have difficulties in small talk rather than in exchange of technical information. Secondly, non-participant observation of the actual language classes was carried out. An interaction between a teacher and a student is analyzed in detail in this paper. Class instructions that do not take into account these students' actual business contexts sometimes hinder them from acquiring necessary skills. The discrepancy in attitudes toward the use of English between teachers and students is explained using the conceptual categories of "language-focused" and "content-focused" speakers of English introduced by Ehrenreich (2009). Finally, possible pedagogical implications are proposed to improve corporate language training programs. Considering that businesspeople are likely to use English mostly in ELF (English as a lingua franca) situations, the current program should incorporate ELF perspectives to the curriculum, and teachers should not spend too much time and energy in correcting "mistakes" of students, but focus more on contents of interactions as if they are in actual job situations.

Keywords: English as a lingua franca, English for business purposes, language needs, classroom discourse

1 Introduction

One of the challenges that Japanese companies competing in the global market face is to have their employees acquire necessary communication skills to work with colleagues

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[*]Daito Bunka University, Japan

and clients of different language backgrounds. The present study investigates how Japanese business professionals perceive their needs to communicate in English as a lingua franca (ELF) for business purposes, and how the actual training program for such employees is conducted, taking as a case study of one construction company in Japan. Discrepancies between the needs and the measures to fulfill them will be identified in detail. Subsequently, although this is a part of a larger research project which is at a preliminary stage and the findings should not be over-generalized, possible pedagogical implications on corporate language training are proposed.

Whereas there are notable research papers concerned with Japanese corporate language needs and/or training programs (Cowling, 2007; Handford and Matous, 2011; Koike, et al. 2010; Morrow, 1995), the quantity of research conducted on Japanese companies is still very small compared to the business-related linguistic research conducted in other Asian countries or in Europe (e.g. Aiguo, 2007; Louhiala-Salminen, Charles and Kankaaanranta, 2005; Wozuniak, 2010), and there are even fewer papers discussing the subject from an ELF perspective. Therefore, the present study aims to contribute to an accumulation of case studies of qualitative research on the use of ELF at Japanese corporations.

2　ELF Users in a Business Context

The use of English in the international business world has been a focus of both ELF research and ESP (English for Specific purposes) or more specifically, EBP (English for Business Purposes) research but with different points of view.

2.1　ELF and ESP/EBP

Most ESP research has been more directly concerned with genre or register analysis without paying much attention to the issue of the ownership of English (e.g. Widdowson, 1994) and has tended to operate within a native-speaker model. Moreover, ELF perspectives are not yet integrated into ESP education: as Gnutzman (2009, p. 533) argues that "it has been common practice for native speaker of British and/or American English to serve as more or less undisputed reference models for the teaching of ESP".

Meanwhile, noteworthy ESP research papers that analyze the use of English as a business lingua franca have been published in the special issue of *English for Specific Purposes* edited by Nickerson in 2005, which is entirely devoted to the theme of English as a lingua franca in international business contexts. The more that businesspeople use English as a tool for communication among non-native speakers, the more necessary and relevant it is for ELF and ESP/EBP researchers to collaborate and share findings together.

2.2　Content-focused speakers vs. language-focused speakers

In order to analyze the situations business people are at on using English, categories introduced by Ehrenreich (2009), namely content-focused speakers and language-focused

speakers are very insightful. According to the author, business professionals are focused on content because for them "business matters most, with language skills only being assigned a subordinate function" (p. 129). In other words, as Seidlhofer (2011) argues, "ELF speakers quite naturally as users give priority to communicative effectiveness rather than formal correctness" (p. 17). By contrast, students or teachers tend to be more language-focused and tend to see ELF communication as something flawed and remain "ardent supporters of ENL" (Ehrenreich, 2009, p. 128).

Following this conceptual distinction, the present study pays attention to this discrepancy in attitudes towards ELF among businesspeople, students and teachers. It should be noted, however, that the boundaries of these categories are not definite but fluid. Especially in the case of business professionals who are in a language training program, one person is both a businessperson and student, both identities are relevant, so they may become more language-focused at one time and content-focused at another, depending on context.

3   Background to the Study

The company taken up in the present study, which will be referred to here as Itabashi Corporation[1], is one of the leading construction companies in Japan. Their core business activities are conducted primarily in Japan, but since the domestic market is already mature, the company is struggling to advance into overseas markets, mainly in Asian countries, where English is used as a lingua franca, "a contact language used only among non-mother tongue speakers" (Jenkins, 2006, p. 160). In order to increase the number of personnel who can function successfully in English, Itabashi Corporation outsources its language training course to an outside language training provider, Chiba Institute.

Participants in the program are employees who are expected to be assigned overseas projects in the near future, but whose English is still at false-beginner to pre-intermediate level.[2] This paper focuses on four students who participated in an intensive course which ran from January through mid-March 2012.

The program designed by Chiba Institute for Itabashi Corporation is remarkably intensive compared to other in-house language programs for Japanese company employees: students are exempted from work and study at the institute for ten weeks, from 9:30 am to 5 pm, Monday through Friday, which makes a total of 288 hours of study.

4   Methodology

Following Michael Long's (2005) argument that it is vital to utilize multiple sources and methods, a questionnaire, interviews and class observations were conducted on learners,

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[1]All names of organizations or personnel in this study are pseudonyms for the protection of corporate or personal information.

[2]Employees who have enough English skills to function well in English or those who have urgent business go directly for overseas assignments without any formal training.

teachers and other staff members involved in the language program. Out of these data, this paper discusses mainly the findings from the questionnaire and interviews with the learners, and a small part of class observation.

A written questionnaire was designed with reference to the pre-course information questionnaire (Dudley-Evans and St. John, 1998) and the Rotterdam foreign language needs questionnaire (Reeves and Wright, 1996). It was written and filled in in Japanese, the mother tongue of both the participants and the current researcher.

Semi-structured and unstructured interviews were conducted in Japanese on the basis of the six criteria for an interview proposed as guidelines by Kvale (1996), recorded with an IC recorder with the permission of the interviewees, and later transcribed for further analysis.

Finally, for non-participant observation, I sat at the back corner of the classroom silently and took notes as well as audio-recorded the class. Parts of the classroom interactions are transcribed following the transcription conventions in Liddicoat (2007).

While the intensive program was carried out, I served as a learning advisor who met the students weekly and gave advice on how they could improve their English answering questions from them[3].

5 Findings

5.1 Participants' backgrounds

The four participants were from different departments of Itabashi Corporation and did not know one another previously. Three already had some work experience using English while the other one was going to be dispatched to an overseas office soon and was in the process of gathering information on overseas assignments himself. Therefore, all of them had specific images of using English for business purposes. Individual information on the four students, Hajime, Tatsuro, Satoshi, and Koichi is as follows:

Hajime is a deputy manager who works at a machine production facility of Itabashi Corporation. He joined the company 14 years ago and has been involved in the construction of six tunnels in Japan for discharge pipelines, subways, and highway express ways. He had few opportunities to use English for work until the year 2010. Because his supervisor wanted to develop personnel who can function in overseas projects, Hajime was sent to New Zealand in February and to Singapore in October 2011 for approximately two months each, and took part in construction plans for tender offering processes taking quotations and planning the construction.

Tatsuro is an architect who has worked at Itabashi Corporation for eight years and has joined several overseas projects, for example, a project building a flagship store of an Italian brand in Tokyo. Although most of the people involved were not native speakers of English, documents and plans were drawn in English and meetings were also held in English.

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[3]I volunteered for this role because I knew, from a pilot study I conducted previously, I needed a reason or an excuse to meet these busy business people regularly and build a rapport with them.

Satoshi is a section chief of the nuclear power station design department who needs to use English when he visits the U.S. to make technical suggestions and advice to his clients, and to attend conferences with clients and colleagues of various language backgrounds.

Finally, Koichi works in the department of construction project management and will be dispatched abroad, most likely Taiwan, soon.

To summarize, the four students need to use ELF for business purposes presently or in the future. Although they do not know the term, they are all familiar with BELF situations in their own fields, and three of them have some actual work achievement in those situations.

5.2   Students' perceived language needs

As one striking result of both the questionnaire and interviews, a need to improve oral communication skills was identified. Furthermore, out of different oral communication skills, the importance of small talk was especially emphasized. Small talk, as Holmes (2005) notes, "serves a range of functions in the workplace. It is often used for primarily social functions, expressing friendliness, establishing rapport, and maintaining solidarity among people in the workplace" (p. 353).

During the first interviews, the students pointed out the importance of small talk, and said they expected to acquire social English through the training course rather than to learn technical terms and expressions in their specific target situations. Hajime said:

> "For example, when I talked with people from foreign, English-speaking countries, I did not know what to say other than "Nice to meet you". After the greeting, I wanted to do something like, talking about general things and then getting into a specific business discussion, but I couldn't do it at all. Such trivial talk is more difficult for me than technical talk… If it's my special field, I can somehow talk … even if it's not proper 'talk', I can get the message across." (translated from Japanese by the current author)

In order to figure out why students, who are well-experienced and competent business people in their fields, feel less confident in small talk in English than in technical discussion, the actual classroom interaction is analyzed in the following section.

5.3   Communication between language-focused teacher and content-focused student

Excerpt 1 illustrates the way two interlocutors, Chris (a British teacher) and Hajime (the deputy manager) talk in English with different foci.

Excerpt 1
At the very end of a class one day, Chris and the four students were discussing the assignment for the weekend.
C: Chris, H: Hajime

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1  C:  ok guys (0.4) have a very nice (0.1) oh we've got a couple more minutes (0.4) so
2         (3.0)
3  H:  ahem (clearing throat)
4         (1.5)
5  C:  Hajime, do you have any questio[ns↑]
6                                      [u:m]
7  H:  um:: (0.4) ah:: (0.5) what (0.1) what (0.1) um:::: what means
8  C:  WHAT↑=
9  H:  = what means
10 C:  that's not engLISH Hajime=
11 H:  =[um↑]
12 C:    [what] MEAns↑
13 H:  what=
14 C:  =WHAT [DOES]
15 H:          [what]
16 H:  what does↑
17 C:  uh huh
18 H:  um::[what da] (0.2) what does you say mean?
19 C:      [mean]
20       (0.7)
21 H:  um↑what does you say (0.5) enormous↑
22       (1.5)
23 C:  now say that again in GOOD english (0.2) Hajime=
24 H:  =um↑
25       (0.2)
26 C:  WHat [Does]
27 H:       [what] does you
28       (1.0)
29 C:  say (0.1) enor (0.2)no No (0.1) WHat WHAT DOES=
30 H:  =does
31 C:  [enormous]
32 H:  [enormous]
33 C:  Mean↓
34       (0.2)
35 H:  mean
36 C:  what doe[s enormous mean ]
37 H:          [da enormous mean]=
38 C:  =say it again
39 H:  what does enormous mean=
40 C:  =AGAIN
41 H:  ¿what does enormous mean¡
42 C:  good (0.1) good question and an the answer is...
```

In line 3, Hajime cleared his throat to show that he was going to say something. Chris noticed the sign and called on him in line 5. Hajime wanted to ask what some words meant, but the word order of Hajime's question in line 7 was not grammatical. Chris must have recognized that Hajime wanted to ask definitions of some words, but instead of letting the student continue the question, he said "what" very loudly with a rising intonation and started to correct Hajime's sentence saying that "that's not English". Hajime was aware that he had difficulties to compose a question in a correct word order, but his focus was still on the content of his question (lines 18 and 21). Then Chris told Hajime to say it "in good English" (line 23) with an emphasis on the word "good", and had him repeat the question in the right word order very strictly, as if Hajime had been a child who just started learning English.

In actual job situations, this kind of correction is never made, no matter who the interlocutors are, regardless of the native or nonnative status or the work relationship between them. The four students know the reality well, but at the same time, having been corrected this way many times for a long time including their school days, they are afraid of making "mistakes" even when they should pursue communicative effectiveness rather than grammatical correctness.

Therefore, it is assumed that the course participants go back and forth between the two different identities on using English. On the one hand, they are content-focused ELF users who possess first-hand experience of working in ELF situations and give priority to communicative effectiveness rather than formal correctness. Particularly, when they discuss or negotiate business matters, they are very focused on content and able to communicate without hesitation. On the other hand, when they do not have a specific topic but need to socialize with colleagues or clients in English, they feel nervous about making "mistakes" and regard themselves as insecure communicators. In such contexts they are more like EFL (English as a Foreign Language) learners who are more language-focused. Seeing English as a foreign language to learn, they do not own English as their communicative tool and keep trying hard to conform to an ENL (English as a Native Language) norm. This seems to be why they feel less confident in business small talk in English.

6   Pedagogical Implication

From the findings above, his study presents possible pedagogical implications that are in line with the two previous studies as follows. In order to help business people to become effective communicators as ELF users, just as Seidlhofer (2004) claims, "teachers should be careful not to allot too much time and effort to correct typical "errors" but spend more time to let students talk as if they are at their actual work" (p. 220). Furthermore, in order to find out what learners think necessary or effective, as Ehrenreich (2009) argues, Business English trainers need to "learn from their learners" (p. 147).

Active business people are different from students at school in that they have specific job situations and purposes of study for using and learning English. Teachers and other staff members involved in planning an EBP program for them can provide effective and

truly customized training only by respecting these learners' backgrounds and language needs.

7 Conclusion

To summarize, the present study has found that there is a discrepancy between Japanese business people/students and a native English teacher in the perceptions of English use. The four participants have or will have opportunities to use English mostly in ELF situations. The language skills most needed by them were the ones for oral communication, especially small talk. In order to fulfill these needs, the current EBP program for them appears to be in need for a change by incorporating ELF perspectives in curriculum and teachers should help students have an awareness and confidence as ELF users rather than ELF learners.

About the author

Akiko Otsu is a lecturer at Department of English, Faculty of Foreign Languages, Daito Bunka University, Tokyo. She is also working on her PhD dissertation at Waseda University. Her research interests include ELF and ESP in the context of the Japanese business world.
Email: `akiko@ic.daito.ac.jp`

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Accents and Teaching Practices: Roles and Implications for Language Teaching and Learning in the Expanding Circle

Ratchaporn Rattanaphumma*

Abstract

The paper reports findings on undergraduate students' attitudes towards English language teachers' English accents and teaching practices. Instruments employed in this study were questionnaire survey conducted with 348 non-native students of English and semi-structured interviews gained from 23 students. The findings showed that native teachers of English' accents gained the most preferable choice while expanding circle English accents ranked the second. In terms of teaching practices, native teachers of English' teaching practices received the highest preference, whereas expanding circle teachers' teaching practices gained the second highest. This can be discussed that native accents represent the best practices and have been highly valued. Similarly, Thai English accents can be clearly interpreted due to shared linguistics features of L1. It is suggested that a lingua franca approach should be practical to expanding circle contexts. Moreover, a model of collaboration between three groups of language teachers should be promoted.

Keywords: English accent, teaching practices, English language teaching and learning, Kachru's three concentric circles of Englishes

1 Introduction

English has become a global language. The language can be made the official language of a country, to be used as a medium of communication in such domains as government, the law courts, the media, and the educational system. Moreover, the language can be made priority in a country's foreign-language teaching (Crystal, 2003, p. 3). According to Graddol (2006, cited in Seidlhofer, 2011, p. 1), the future development of English as a global language has led to the enormous global demand for learning English, with learners becoming ever more numerous, and beginning at an ever earlier age. Consequently, there have been an increase number of English teachers with a wide variety of language backgrounds (Moussu and Llurda, 2009, cited in Holliday and Aboshiha, 2009, p. 670) and it has been confirmed by Liu (2009, pp. 1) that the majority of English teachers worldwide are non-native English speakers: NNESTs. More discussion has been made in the expanding circle countries where English has played

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*Assumption University, Thailand

as a foreign language and in this settings (ELF) such as China, Japan, Korea, and Thailand, learning English from instructors whose mother tongue is the same as their students' is not only realistic but also very successful (Medgyes, 1994).

In Thailand, English is not usually necessary for people's daily communication but it is an important foreign language that Thai people use for various purposes, such as for studying and for communicating with foreigners. It has been one of the requirements for qualified employees to be competent in the four language skills. Therefore, the demand for English language teaching in Thailand exceeds the supply of language schools and institutions (Weawong and Singhasiri, 2009, p. 37). However, when considering English language teachers, one basic consideration is whether they are native speakers (NSs) or non-native speakers (NNSs). Todd (2006, p. 1, 3) notes that NS teachers are perceived as being somewhat "better" but the predominance of NNS-NNS use of English in Thailand means that the goal of learning English should be EIL rather than any NS norms of English.

This paper reports findings on the questionnaire survey and semi-structured interviews conducted with non-native students of English at Assumption University, Thailand. According to Kachru's concentric model (1985), three circles concept of world Englishes is introduced: Inner Circle, Outer Circle, and Expanding Circle. The concept rests on the status and functions of Englishes, including their identity-conferring capacities, that is dynamic and not presumed to be controllable by any agency or group, "native" or otherwise (Kachru and Nelson, 2006, p. 27).

2   Research Questions

This study addresses three research questions.

1. What are students' attitudes towards English accents of English language teachers who are categorized in Kachru's concentric model: Inner circle, Outer circle, and Expanding circle?

2. What are students' attitudes towards teaching practices of English language teachers who are categorized in Kachru's concentric model: Inner circle, Outer circle, and Expanding circle?

3. What are the relationships between students' attitudes towards teachers' English accents and towards teaching practices among university students?

3   Methodology

3.1   Population

The population in this study was undergraduate students who enrolled in the Foundation English IV in the academic year 2/2011 at Assumption University in the academic year 2/2011. The enrollment number of students was approximately 2,626 and the

estimated number of all native and non-native English teachers was 150. Finally, the sample size selected by random sampling was 348 students.

3.2 Instruments

The instruments employed in this study were the five-point Likert Scale questionnaires and semi-structured interviews. To optimize the validity, the questionnaires were validated by three experts' judgment to judge the congruence between the questionnaire statements and accent constructs together with English language teaching constructs. The overall content validity of language attitudes part was .81 and teaching practice attitudes was .99. Likewise, the questionnaires were tried out with 76 students (non-native speakers of English who were both Thai and non-Thai) who enrolled English IV in semester 2/2011. It was found that the reliability of the questionnaires was 0.90. In order to obtain relatively rich and accurate data based on data from the questionnaires, the interview data collection was followed up the questionnaire survey in semester 2/2011. Twenty-three students from English IV classes were randomly selected to be interview samples.

4 Findings

4.1 Research question 1

What are students' attitudes towards English accents of English language teachers who are categorized in Kachru's concentric model: Inner circle, Outer circle, and Expanding circle?

Students' attitudes towards English accents of English language teachers

Questionnaire survey: The results of the five-point Likert Scale were analyzed by descriptive statistics to find the mean (M) score and standard deviation (SD). The data analysis shows the mean of students' attitudes towards English accents of three groups of language teachers is 3.85 ($SD = 0.72$). To compare the mean of three groups, the mean of students' attitudes towards Inner Circle teachers' English accents is the highest at 4.23 ($SD = 0.52$), whereas the mean of students' attitudes towards Expanding Circle teachers' English accents is the second highest at 3.89 ($SD = 0.62$). The mean of students' attitudes towards Outer Circle teachers is the lowest among the three groups at 3.86 ($SD = 0.65$) (Table 1).

4.2 Research question 2

What are students' attitudes towards teaching practices of English language teachers who are categorized in Kachru's concentric model: Inner circle, Outer circle, and Expanding circle?

Table 1: Students' attitudes towards English accents of three groups of language teachers (the first three highest mean items)

Rank No.	Language Attitudes	$\bar{x}$	SD	Degree of Attitudes
1	I don't care where my English teacher is from, as long as his/her accent is acceptable.	4.09	1.00	Positive
2	I don't care where my English teacher is from, as long as his/her accent is easy to understand.	4.05	1.02	Positive
3	I don't care where my English teacher is from, as long as his/her accent is clear for me.	4.02	1.01	Positive

Table 2: Students' attitudes towards teaching practices of three groups of language teachers (the first three highest mean items)

Rank No.	Language Attitudes	$\bar{x}$	SD	Degree of Attitudes
1	My English teacher is patient, polite, and enjoys helping students acquire new skills/knowledge.	4.00	0.93	Positive
2	My English teacher encourages students to ask questions.	3.96	0.96	Positive
3	My English teacher uses and gets students to use correct classroom language.	3.94	0.84	Positive

Students' attitudes towards teaching practices of English language teachers

Questionnaire survey: The results of the five-point Likert Scale were analyzed by descriptive statistics to find mean (M) score and standard deviation (SD). The mean of students' attitudes towards teaching practices of three groups of language teachers is 3.86 ($SD = 0.65$). To compare the mean of three groups, the mean of students' attitudes towards Inner Circle teachers' teaching practices is the highest at 4.14 ($SD = 0.50$), whereas the mean of students' attitudes towards Expanding Circle teachers' teaching practices is the second highest at 3.89 ($SD = 0.60$). The mean of students' attitudes towards Outer Circle teachers is the lowest among the three groups at 3.56 ($SD = 0.71$) (Table 2).

4.3   Research question 3

What are the relationships between students' attitudes towards teachers' English accents and towards teachers' teaching practices among university students?

The correlation coefficient was used to find the relationships between students' attitudes towards teachers' English accents and teaching practices. The findings show that the coefficient is 0.75 and this indicates a positive correlation between students' attitudes towards English accents and teaching practices of three groups of language teachers.

5   Discussion

Students' attitudes towards English language teachers' English accents

The findings show that the native teachers' English accents gain the most preferable choice. Although academics generally take a neutral position on the pros and cons of native speaker and non-native speaker teachers of English, the general public perceives native speaker teachers as preferable because they provide a better model of English (Todd, 2006, p. 1). It could be said that standard languages in general represent a kind of linguistic "best practice" — a set of behaviors that claims to excel all others (Burridge, 2006, p. 14). Like what Kachru and Nelson (2006, p. 102) propose , "...the UK and US are the concepts of Standard British English and General American English, which are codified in grammatical descriptions, dictionaries, and manuals of usage". In addition, the findings suggest that the accents of native speakers of English are very powerful. This is what Kirkpatrick (2007, p. 185) points out that American English is, without doubt, the most influential and powerful variety of English in the world today. However, it is striking to see that expanding circle English accents gain the second preference. In this study, expanding circle English accents refer to Thai English accents and this can be explained that the accents are associated with ideas of interpretability. Interpretability is defined as the perception and understanding of the speakers' intentions, or meaning beyond words/utterance (Nelson, 1995). In this group, both students and teachers share the same L1 both linguistically and culturally. It can be inferred that native speakers of Thai can clearly interpret when they hear English lecture or conversation spoken by native speakers of Thai who share the same L1.

Students' attitudes towards English language teachers' teaching practices

With the high preference on native English speaking teachers' teaching practices, this can be explained that students contend that native teachers are a good language model for them and present them with clear and interesting language points. This attitude is in line with Kirkpatrick's (2007, p. 185) statement i.e., there is no doubt that the choice of a native speaker model advantages the American and British English language teaching industries. The main reasons for this are that these native speaker models have prestige and legitimacy, and English language teaching materials based on such

models are readily available. It should be noted that when a teacher is a native English speaker, students are likely to favor a native of a teacher. This attitude has strongly existed in Southeast Asia including in Thailand, where Todd (2006, p. 1) agrees that when considering English language teachers, one basic consideration is whether they are native speakers or nonnative speakers. Generally in society, and perhaps especially in Thailand, native speaker teachers are perceived as being somehow "better". Todd illustrates students' preferences for native English speaking teachers. For example, "Native speakers are the best teachers of their own language." Even though students contend that native English teachers are a good language model for them, Thai students perceive that Thai English teachers explain grammar rules very clearly. This may be due to the fact that Thai students share the same L1 and second language learning experiences with Thai teachers. In terms of error analysis, it can be said Thai teachers tend to understand well about the usage of Thai students' grammatical features and know how to solve or correct students' mistakes. According to interview data, all Thai respondents agree that most Thai English teachers teach language learning strategies more effectively than native teachers. Teachers can predict or foresee possible grammatical mistakes that students tend to make. However, there are some areas of students' concerns such as the emphasis on minor grammatical mistakes and heavy correction that Thai teachers seem to overemphasize and this can cause negative attitudes towards their teaching practices.

Positive correlation between students' attitudes towards English accents and teaching practices

The positive correlation indicates that students perceive three groups of language teachers as qualified and effective. Students agree that English accents can be one of the main factors to promote or impede the teaching practices. In views of students, even they have preferences towards Inner Circle teachers' accents and teaching practices, they contend that teachers' accents and teaching practices of the other two groups seem favorable to some extent. The results reveal that three groups of language teachers have been viewed as effective language teachers who possess both acceptable accents and qualified teaching skills. Most students tend to perceive that standard/acceptable or clear accents help enhance the better teaching practices.

> "Of course, if a teacher has clear accent, I will understand her/his teaching better. For example, if a teacher assigns any task or assignment or when he or she tries to explain any grammatical points, it will be easier to understand what she wants us to do." (Thai student)
> "If that English accent is hard to understand, I think it is harder to understand her lecture or instructions." (Thai student)
> "I agree that good accents make the teaching better." (Filipino student)
> "Clear accents make me understand the lecture more easily." (German student)

In views of students, accents bring neutral, positive, or negative attitudes towards classroom teaching. Teachers whose accents are standard may possibly hinder students' learning performance if their teaching is not in good quality. On the other hand, a teacher whose accent is not as standard as native speakers' accents could be seen acceptable if he/she is competent in classroom practices. Since there is a positive correlation between students' attitudes towards English accents and teaching practices of three groups of language teachers, it should be concluded that both native and nonnative teachers (in this context) are in the level of good quality of language teaching.

6 Implications of the Findings

Since students have no negative attitudes towards both native and nonnative English accents, a lingua franca approach should be advantageous for both students and teachers (Kirkpatrick, 2007, p. 193). As mentioned by Todd (2006, p. 3) earlier that English in Thailand is primarily used as a lingua franca between NNSs of English rather than a means by which NSs communicate. Therefore, the predominance of NNS-NNS use of English in Thailand means that the goal of learning English should be EIL rather than any NS norms of English. It is added that the standard NS norms for English should be viewed as possible varieties of EIL among a plethora of other possibilities. By adopting this approach, students will be exposed to many varieties of English including the native varieties. It is implied that the aims to teach and learn English in ways that would allow for effective communication across linguistic and cultural boundaries the focus of the classrooms moves from the acquisition of the norms associated with a standard model to a focus on learning linguistic features, cultural information and communicative strategies that will facilitate communication (Kirkpatrick, 2007, p. 194). In terms of teaching practices, a model of collaboration between three groups of teachers should be promoted. It can be clearly seen that all groups have their own advantages and disadvantages perceived by students. As suggested by Liu (2007, p. 120), in addition to team teaching, there are numerous professional development activities and opportunities such as arguments, debates, persuasion, professional training, peer monitoring, and project management training. In this context, it seems effective when teachers who have different skills, strengths, and weaknesses come to collaborate in team-teaching: native speaker teachers focus on standard accents and language model while nonnative speaker teachers focus on grammar teaching and language learning strategies. Like what Liu (2007, p. 112) concludes that both native and non-native teachers have qualities that the other does not possess.

About the author

Dr. Ratchaporn Rattanaphumma holds the Doctoral Degree from English as an international language (EIL) program from Chulalongkorn University. She is currently a full-time lecturer at Assumption University, Thailand. Her areas of interest are language and attitudes, English as a lingua franca, and English as an international language.

Email: `ratchapornr@gmail.com`

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Visual Media and English as Lingua Franca

Roy F. Fox[*]

Abstract

This paper proposes that non-native English speaking students and teachers employ visual media almost as much as they use language. The interactions between these two symbol systems more effectively develops students' thinking and language abilities. Also, when students' visual and verbal language explore personal issues, their learning is again intensified and deepened.

Keywords: Visual media, writing, language, healing

This paper proposes that non-native speakers of English best learn this language when they are liberated to focus first on communicating what is most important to their lives at the time—often their own problems, concerns, questions, and even traumas. Also, of course, such topics often lead students to the outside world of facts, figures, and academic discourse. However, the difference is that students are truly motivated to explore language—for their own purposes and satisfactions, and not merely to satisfy their instructor's or textbook's requirements. When students are internally motivated, they explore the world more broadly and deeply, resulting in learning that is far better internalized than rules and commandments about "correct English."

On the other hand, total freedom can intimidate students, so I believe they should have some initial guidelines before they are turned loose to construct their own learning. My guidelines for instructors, explained in the following sections, are simple, but encompass a broad spectrum of language and learning possibilities. After each guideline, I will briefly explain its theoretical and research rationale. I will conclude with an illustration of student work.

First, encourage students to write about their problems and questions—to write for therapeutic purposes. "Wellness" and "healing" simply mean physical and mental health. I define using language for "wellness" and "healing" as engaging in writing, reading, speaking, listening, and viewing that in some way connects to any kind of traumatic experience—any experience which harms, worries, fears, saddens, scares, or makes writers ill or anxious; any experience which creates feelings of physical or psychological pain, including violation, dissociation, isolation, alienation, confusion, depression, or inferiority. Such topics can include suicide, violence (physical, psychological, and virtual), racism, broken homes, substance abuse, learning disorders, illiteracy, homelessness, hunger, self-mutilation, anger and other mental health issues, gangs, body image, gender identification, bullying, AIDS/HIV infection, unwanted teen pregnancy, and sexually-transmitted diseases (STDs). The variety, severity, and ubiquity of

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[*]University of Missouri, U.S.A.

such problems demand that we help writers work their way toward a less fragmented selfhood. Also, of course, such writing inevitably leads students to rigorous critical thinking, including reading, analysis, synthesis, and research skills. These activities can simultaneously address academic standards, goals, and objectives, such as the Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR).

Using expressive writing as a way of healing positively affects our physical and psychological health. According to Anderson and McCurdy (2000), "... the chief healing effect of writing isto recover and to exert a measure of control over that which we can never control—the past" (7). The term, "healing" must be interpreted realistically, as well:

> Healing is neither a return to some former state of perfection nor the discovery or restoration of some mythic autonomous self. Healing, as we understand it, is precisely the opposite. It is change from a singular self, frozen in time by a moment of unspeakable experience, to a more fluid, more narratively able, more socially integrated self" (7).

Lepore and Smyth (2002) and other researchers have concluded that expressive writing is linked to a general improvement of our immune systems. Pennebaker (2004, p. 8), summarizes the physiological benefits of expressive writing, which include "better lung function among asthma patients and lower pain and disease severity among arthritis sufferers (Smyth, Stone, Hurewitz, et al., 1999), higher white blood cell counts among AIDS patients (Petrie, Fontanilla, Thomas, et al., 1998), and less sleep disruption among patients with metastatic breast cancer" (De Moor, Sterner, Hall, et al., 2002). Pennebaker also summarizes expressive writing's psychological effects, as one of experiencing "immediate feelings of sadness but long-term effects of happiness; lower levels of depressive symptoms and general anxiety; improved performance in school; enhanced ability to deal with one's social life; reduced feelings of anger; increased employability or success in job interviews; and increased feelings of connection with others, [or] social integration" (8–11). Expressive writing therapies are now used in major medical organizations, including Duke University, the City of Hope Cancer Center, and The John Wayne Cancer Institute. Writing is used in the treatment of physically and psychologically abused women, AIDS/HIV patients, soldiers experiencing Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder, and suicidal people (Anderson and MacCurdy 2000).

Second, require students to integrate visuals and media into most of their written pieces, including photographs, videos, music and song lyrics, etc. The field of Semiotics extends from the ancient Greeks, to Poinsot's A Treatise on Signs in 1632, to Eco (1976). From Da Vinci, to William James, to the Gestalt psychologists, we have learned much about images and visual thinking. Cognitive psychologists also focus on the significant role played by mental imagery in thinking: Kosslyn, Thompson, and Ganis (2006); Neisser (1976), and Salomon (1979) share Paivio's (2001) conclusion that perception and imagery are at least as fundamental as language, when it comes to how we think. Stokes' (2001) meta-analysis concludes that "using visuals in teaching results in a greater degree of learning." John-Steiner (1997) conducted detailed case studies of the

thinking and creative processes of professional scientists, artists, musicians, writers, and others, documenting the rich interplay of visual and verbal thinking in these successful professionals. Visual thinking also positively influences the writing of those people whose second language is English (Huh, 2010; Huh and Fox, 2011). Emerging visual media forms, such as Second Life have been vigorously adopted by education, business, libraries, museums, and other professional organizations. (See, for example, the "Virtual Worlds Group" of EDUCAUSE `http://www.educause.edu`).

Other studies have explored how imagery may directly affect physical and psychological issues. In Healing Images: The Role of Imagination in Health (Sheikh, 2003), Sheikh, Kunzendorf, et al., in "Physiological Consequences of Imagery and Related Approaches," review imagery's effects on blood pressure, blood flow, sexual response, body chemistry, ocular changes, electro dermal activity, electromyography (EMGs), and the immune system. Other topics include imagery and cancer, smoking cessation and weight management, cerebral laterality, music, and pain management. It is long past time to recognize basic research findings that very effectively serve writing as healing: that words generate other words—and images-as images generate other images—and words (Paivio, 2001); in short, that images are central to thinking: "We think by means of the things to which language refers-referents that in themselves are not verbal but perceptual" (Arnheim, 1986).

Third, communicate to students that expressive language fluency is fundamental for critical thinking. Students must constantly practice informal, expressive language with each other and by "free writing," or composing as fast as they can *without* editing themselves or worrying about correctness. Why? Because ideas come first. If students fear making a mistake, their language becomes "stunted"—they censor themselves, cut themselves off before they even begin. The language most often used for purposes of healing is "expressive language"—informal prose that does not overly concern itself with matters of correctness, conventions of academic discourse, or "proper" tone. Expressive language often is marked by the following characteristics: sentence fragments, images, concrete and observable details, simile and metaphor, direct address, litany, listing, use of first and third person, contractions, abbreviated syntax, asking questions of oneself and answering them, expressions of doubt and qualification, speculation, and hypothesizing. Expressive language lifts burdens off of our shoulders, rendering problems visible, giving them shape and form, so that we can better see them and define them and analyze them in different ways. This, in turn, helps us "distance" ourselves, rhetorically and emotionally, from them. Demystifying problems makes them less scary. It is an act of unifying or "suturing" our splintered selves, so that we can become more "whole."

When students construct their own knowledge they actively participate in discovering and assembling patterns of meaning (e.g., Bruner, 1996), as opposed to having meaning constructed by someone else and "fed" to them, which often happens in traditional lecture instruction. Students have to be committed to the topics they write about; they have to be invested in their subjects. This cognitive and affective investment often requires that students exercise choice as much as possible. Under such circumstances, students can become deeply absorbed in their activities, to the point of

becoming unaware of the passage of time and of their immediate surroundings. These "flow experiences" become intrinsically rewarding for writers (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990), in turn, promoting writing fluency.

When writers compose for healing purposes, they grapple with words and ideas, tugging and pulling between many types of *oppositions*, including 1) the whole idea, tone, or attitude they wish to convey vs. the individual parts (e.g., words, phrases, and sentences); 2) the past time period in which the traumatic experience occurred vs. the current time period; 3) the need to focus on negative experiences vs. the impulse *not* to sound completely negative; and 4) the experiences they wish to *show* in their writing (i.e., sensory images and details objectively conveyed) vs. the more general statements of the experience's overall effect.

I should stress that when writers or speakers know that their language will be evaluated, they "censor" themselves and avoid saying things that their reader may not accept. Striving to please one's audience, then, cannot be considered expressive language. This is why teachers do not have to evaluate *all* expressive language, especially those focused on writing to heal. When evaluation is needed, teachers may grade on the basis of completion. Or, near the end of a term, students could select which pieces to have graded and revise them according to evaluation criteria.

Also, when writers perceive varying degrees of distrust with their readers, they not only censor themselves, but they also write considerably fewer words, in total, as well as fewer words per minute (see for example, Elbow 1998). This *lack of fluency* often means that writers do not allow themselves sufficient time and language to arrive at their intended meaning. That is, visible language generates more language and more thinking, in turn extending the thinking-writing cycle. Writers need to generate enough ideas in their writing for them to discover exactly what it is they want to say, what they most want or need to write about. As well, fluency must be practiced and learned, where students are allowed to write whatever they want, as fast as they can, for, say, ten minutes.

When writers practice daily or several times per week, they generate more words per minute (Fox, 1980). If students lack fluency, then they are likely unable to generate the details of any problem or issue that are needed in order to more fully comprehend it, analyze it, or revise it in productive ways. The reverse is also true: when students do indeed place trust in their readers, they usually develop increasing confidence in themselves as writers, have reduced fears of evaluation, and hence increase their production rate. We have long known that students' peers have more effect on them than do adults. Therefore, writing for healing is greatly enhanced when students read and respond to each other's writing. If such groups are planned and executed sensitively, then they become "support groups"—not just for helping the writer to clarify and improve his or her writing, but also for providing the kinds of emotional support and encouragement required to "lay bare" personal traumatic experiences.

Fourth, engage students in collaborative and cooperative learning through small group work—their ideas, plans, drafts, revisions, images, and responses to common readings. There are no rules for the register or level of formality in which they speak;

Figure 1: *Han is Diagnosed with Throat Cancer*

the only rule is that they somehow *communicate* with their group members. Students sometimes "correct" the English used by another group member, but in my experience, this has never hindered the group's main purpose of communicating about specific ideas and texts. Each group sets its own norm for what is needed to successfully communicate with each other. It takes time for students to build rapport and trust each other, so they should practice with non-threatening tasks, such as, creating a short story together, planning and acting out a brief scene from a novel or short story they have read, etc.

In Figure 1, a non-native speaker from Vietnam focused on his friend, Han, who was suffering from cancer (and died). This image was created early in the course.

Figure 2, *Monster: A Self-Portrait of Mr. Cancer*, was created near the end of the course as part of an assignment called, The Monster and the Angel, in which students were to write a letter to their personal "monster"—a traumatic experience or issue, as well as a letter to their "angel"—a very positive force in their life or the best "counterpoint" to their monster. Further, students were asked to physically re-construct the image of the monster, into a completely new image of the angel. Figure 3, *The Angel: My Lucky Star*, is Tuan's new image, created by tearing up the *Mr. Cancer* image into little pieces and re-structuring it into the star.

Students were also asked to describe their "movements" or changes in this transformation. The following is excerpted from his longer writing:

- Physically tearing the monster apart into hundreds of pieces, and assembling them into a new, more positive piece brought positive feelings.

- I could put the monster out of my mind. I thought of the relationships between colors I would use to make a new image; I brainstormed positive and neutral ideas for the new piece, the content of the new photo; and I thought of how to make the most sense with the scattered pieces. I had an idea that perhaps my dead friend
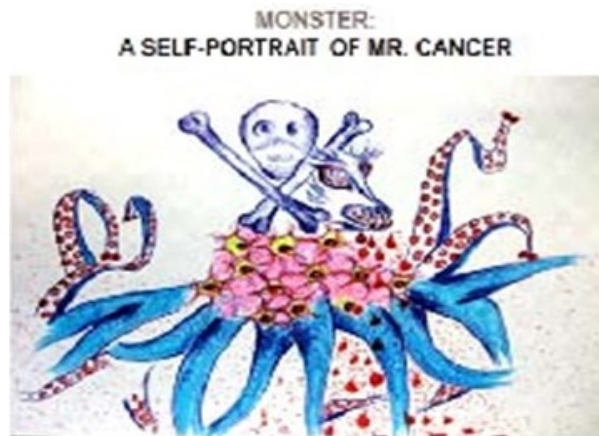
Figure 2: *Monster: A Self-Portrait of Mr. Cancer*

was enjoying his new life in some weird after-life world. And I thought of how to do some kind of tribute to him.

- I came up with the idea of using colors (blue and red) and contrast (bright and darkness) to convey my message: the battle between the good and the bad (dragon and monster!). It's not easy to say who wins eventually. The star also represented hopes I had for the cure of such a chronic disease. The letter "H" was also the epitome of positive attitude/thinking/music my friend had, which helped him prolong his life. Plus, H was the initial of his name.

- I moved from 'blaming Mr. Cancer' to 'accepting his intervention' as I believed in the coexistence of the evil and good. Yet a more critical question arose: 'How to fight against it.' Maybe a combination of a good diet, sound plans of study, work, and recreation, and regular health check could be the answer.

In an interview, this writer explained how these projects helped his learning of English. He also noted that some writing assignments (e.g., objective reporting, different genres) "transferred" into other, more traditionally academic classes. Most important, this writer seems to have generated most of his ideas, connections, and thinking through interacting with images, such as his idea of creating the introduction of Mr. Cancer as similar to a driver's license, bearing a photo and identifying information (not included here). In developing his dramatic image of Mr. Cancer, this writer's thinking echoed back and forth between images and words (i.e., his reading about the genius octopus), but seems dominated by imagery sources. Throughout this work, this writer extensively interacted with his small peer group, as they engaged in conversations that helped each other to generate and draft ideas, organize them, write them, revise them, respond to them. This cycle of students *using* language and imagery to make sense of their own most serious issues develops their language abilities. In so doing, students and teachers

Figure 3: *The Angel: My Lucky Star*

alike are nurturing the heart of English as lingua franca.

About the author

Roy F. Fox is Professor of English Education at the University of Missouri, USA. He currently directs the Missouri Writing Project, a site of the National Writing Project. He has authored many books, chapters, articles, and poems. His book, *Facing the Sky: Writing through Trauma*, will appear in 2014 in the Lauer Series on Rhetoric and Writing, published by Parlor Press.
Email: `foxr@missouri.edu`

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English as a Lingua Franca in Portugal: What Students Want, What Teachers Teach

Luis Guerra[*]

Abstract

This study seeks to show how Portuguese students and teachers view learning and using English today and how their attitudes can influence or be influenced by ELT policies and practices. It made use of two semi-structured questionnaires, one for students ($N = 247$) and another for teachers ($N = 26$). The subjects were part of four educational institutions — two universities and two polytechnic institutes. The methodology used in the analysis of attitudes toward the English language should be diversified, integrating several means of data collection and focusing on the identification of central aspects related to learning and teaching the language such as native and non-native varieties and cultures, native and non-native speakers' use of English, learner's goal, ownership of English, intelligibility of English, native and non-native teachers and motivation to learn English. Essentially, subjects displayed positive attitudes toward learning and using English as a Lingua Franca. Furthermore, most subjects viewed learning about culture positively, displayed a favourable attitude towards non-native speakers and their English, attached intrinsic value to both native and non-native teachers, and referred that the Portuguese learner should aim to become a competent user of English as an alternative to aiming to achieve native proficiency. However, at the same time they seemed to adopt a linguacentred view of English which emphasized the British variety and culture. By recognizing students' and teachers' attitudes toward learning and using English, this study also hopes to contribute to the ELT field by helping set approaches of investigation into the role of English as a Lingua Franca suggesting relevant areas and methodologies such as ELT in basic and secondary education, basic and secondary school teacher training programmes in universities, materials writers, teaching ESP in universities, and ELT policies for basic and secondary schools.

Keywords: Native and non-native varieties/cultures, motivation, learning goals, language ownership, native and non-native teachers

1 Building a Paradigm of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF)

1.1 Intelligibility in ELF

Smith (1983) states that "it is often maintained that the educated native speaker is more likely to be intelligible to others than the educated non-native speaker" (p. 49).

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[*]University of Evora, Portugal

Some people claim that the model for production should be an English native variety. This choice of model of a standard variety is required because "the use of other models will lead to such a great diversity of non-native varieties of educated English that soon persons speaking English may not be intelligible to their listeners" (p. 49). However, later on Smith (1992) declares that native speakers are not "always more intelligible than non-native speakers" (p. 76). Smith suggests that intelligibility may seem to depend on the familiarity a speaker has with a variety or accent of English: the greater the familiarity, the more likely the user will understand, and be understood by, speakers of that variety.

1.2   The nativeness paradigm and ownership of English

According to Medgyes (1992), non-natives cannot become native speakers because they are norm-dependent, in other words, their English "is but an imitation of some form of native use" (p. 343). Medgyes considers that there is an implicit aim of non-native speakers to 'become' native speakers, at least in linguistic terms. Medgyes does not consider that non-native speakers might not want to conform to native speaker norms. This belief seems to be quite strong in the nativeness paradigm debate, as Cook (1999) aptly states that "an objection that is sometimes raised to the argument against the native speaker model is that it is the L2 users themselves who want to be native speakers" (p. 196).

Smith (1983b) draws attention to the fact that when considering EIL, as far as native speakers are concerned, there is more than just being aware and tolerant toward different pronunciations. First of all, native speakers should know how other people — native and non-native speakers — structure information and argument when using English. Also, they should be sensitised to the probability of misunderstanding and be prepared to deal with it.

Widdowson (1994) suggests that the general assumption in ELT is that the English language belongs to the English, the speakers of proper and genuine English and those who control the language. But Widdowson recognizes that Standard English is an international language, no longer property of England or any other Inner Circle country: "It serves a whole range of different communities and their institutional purposes and these transcend traditional communal and cultural boundaries" (p. 382). In a sense, these communities, as language creators, are owners of the language.

1.3   Native and non-native varieties and cultures

Modiano (2001a) identifies two major areas in the teaching of English as an international language and their scope: language varieties and culture. Modiano (2001b) also stresses that when students need to learn English as a tool for intercultural communication, they are supposed "to develop the ability to comprehend a wide range of varieties but also strive to utilize language which has a high likelihood of being comprehensible among a broad cross-section of the peoples who comprise the English-using world" (p. 162).

As far as teaching culture is concerned, Seidlhofer (1999) calls attention to the cur-

rent situation in ELT: "Most practical matters which impinge directly on teachers' daily practice, such as textbooks, reference works, supplementary materials, examinations and qualifications still make almost exclusive reference to notions of the native speaker culture as the (uncontaminated?) source providing the language to be taught" (p. 234). In order to promote cultural equality, Modiano (2001a) states that "a multiplicity of teaching practices, and a view of the language as belonging to a broad range of peoples and cultures, is the best that language instructors can do" (p. 340). Modiano (2001b) maintains that "the ideologies which underpin globalization and the vision of cultural pluralism are more in tune with a lingua franca perspective as opposed to ELT platforms based on culture-specific varieties" (p. 159).

1.4   Learners' goal and motivation

Gnutzmann (1999) refers that although BrE and AmE will continue to be the theoretical model, learners do not necessarily have to conform to these standards. He believes that "expecting learners to comply with the set of linguistic norms would probably put unnecessary pressure on them, since they would hardly be able to fully live up to such expectations" (p. 165). Cook (1999) adds that the move beyond the native speaker seems to rely more on a change of perspectives about models rather than following these specific suggestions: "Together with the change in attitude, placing more emphasis on the successful L2 user and on using the L1 more in teaching can bring language teaching to the realization that it is helping people use L2s, not imitate language speakers" (p. 204).

To date, the most influential motivation theory in the field of second language acquisition has been proposed by Robert Gardner and associates. Gardner has introduced the most widely known concepts in the field: Instrumental and integrative orientations. Based on Gardner's work, Oxford (1996) says that while integrative orientation is related to a desire for learning the language for the purpose of cultural/linguistic integration within the culture of the second language community, instrumental motivation "is motivation to learn the language for a practical purpose, such as getting a better job, earning more money, entering a better college or graduate school, and so on" (p. 3).

Dörnyei (1990) calls attention to the fact that in a foreign-language learning context "learners often have not had sufficient experience of the target-language community to have attitudes for or against it" (p. 49). He refers to the fact that Littlewood (1984) had already pointed out that "this is particularly true of learning an international language, in which the aim of learning is not so much to get in contact with the native-speaking community, as to communicate with others who have also learned it as a foreign language" (p. 49).

1.5   Native teachers vs. non-native teachers

Seidlhofer (1999) criticizes the view that native speakers are seen as 'infallible informants' as their language has not been 'meddled with' for pedagogic purposes, giving them advantage over non-native teachers (p. 237). Phillipson (1992) believes that

the native speaker may be better qualified than the non-native speaker because the native speaker teacher can demonstrate fluent and appropriate language, appreciate the cultural connotations of the language, and assess whether a language form is correct or not. However, he stresses that while on the one hand, these are not crucial virtues in teacher training, on the other hand, well trained non-native teachers can acquire these skills. In these circumstances, Phillipson refers to the fact that non-native teachers may be better qualified than native teachers for a number of reasons. First, they have gone through the complex process of acquiring English as a second/foreign language. Second, they have insight into the linguistic and cultural needs of their learners. Third, they may have a detailed awareness of how mother tongue and target language differ and consequently what is difficult for L2 learners. Finally, they have first-hand experience of using a second or foreign language.

2   The Study

2.1   Research questions

The research questions of this study were formulated based on two central aspects: the *theory* and the *practice* of EIL in Portugal. The specific research questions that try to frame the study are:

1. How does the *practice* of ELT in Portugal today represent EIL? What are the students' and teachers' attitudes toward EIL?

2. How do the current ELT *policies* and *materials* for basic and secondary education in Portugal represent EIL?

3. Do the representations of EIL in *policies* and *materials* and in the students' and teachers' *minds* and *practices* converge or diverge?

The concept of EIL was investigated based on the identification of the following pivotal aspects related to ELT: (1) Varieties of English; (2) cultural issues; (3) international role of English; (4) language fluency; (5) ownership of language; (6) the roles of native and non-native speakers; (7) motivation toward learning English.

2.2   Data collection

This study made use of two semi-structured questionnaires, one for students ($N = 247$) and another for teachers ($N = 26$). The aim of the questionnaires was to identify the subjects' attitudes toward EIL. Moreover, semi-structured interviews were conducted with 10 students and 12 teachers who had previously answered the questionnaires and had volunteered for the interviews. Basically, the interviews aimed at supplementing the findings of the questionnaires. This research also aimed at carrying out a thorough and substantial analysis of the current ELT educational policies in Portugal and classroom materials used in basic and secondary schools. Eleven documents, 31 books (textbooks,

workbooks, teacher's books and pupil's booklets reaching almost 3,800 pages) and seven audio cassettes/CDs were examined.

3   The Results

3.1   The linguistic dimensions of ELF

Overall, subjects tended to display a more linguacentred attitude to learning and using English. More specifically, students stated that they like the British accent better than any other and would like to speak English with that accent. However, many subjects pointed out the relevance and importance of the American variety of English. But when asked about the coexistence of both BrE and AmE in the international sphere or in their own experience of learning and using English, many stressed that they consider BrE the 'correct' and target variety although many subjects think that it is important to know the differences between BrE and AmE. But there is no doubt that subjects hold more positive attitudes toward these two standard varieties than other native or non-native varieties of English. Subjects reported being more familiar with BrE and AmE.

Moreover, not many students or teachers believed it is important to learn about non-native varieties of English and few subjects reported being familiar with non-native English. The subjects' lack of interest in non-native varieties might be related with the little or no contact they had with them in their past English language education.

At times subjects displayed a more internationally oriented perception of the English language. The vast majority of subjects believed it is very important to learn about international features of English. Furthermore, many students and teachers accept mixing the American and British varieties when using English. But the subjects who believe they should be consistent in a single variety claimed that BrE is the norm to be followed.

All in all, students and teachers seem to have very similar attitudes toward the English language. Sometimes, though, teachers were closer to a more international approach to English as when a higher percentage of teachers reacted positively to learning international features of English and incorporating non-native varieties (ESL and EFL) in class and when more teachers than students reported being familiar with native and non-native varieties of English.

3.2   The cultural dimensions of ELF

All in all, students and teachers viewed learning culture in ELT quite positively. However, if, on the one hand, they regarded British culture, American culture, international cultural aspects not specific to any country, and other English native cultures as important, they did not have the same opinion about ESL and EFL cultures.

In addition, subjects clearly pointed out British culture as the most important culture in ELT, followed by American culture. However, students and teachers also referred to the importance of international cultural aspects in language classes. These

results may indicate that at the same time subjects appreciate British and American culture, they are also interested in approaching English as a lingua franca.

When comparing students' and teachers' attitudes to the cultural dimensions of ELF, it can be said that teachers reacted more positively to learning/teaching culture in language classes than students did. This can be tentatively explained by the fact that some of the teachers in this study have an academic background of literature and cultural studies. One striking difference between the two groups of subjects is that teachers viewed Portuguese culture as much more important in English classes compared to the students' opinion about it.

3.3   Language affiliation

On reflection, subjects tended to recognize the value of NNSs and the English they use. In particular, most students and teachers believed that NSs should be more tolerant toward the English used by NNSs. However, while most students thought that NSs should try to use English in a way to make it easier for non-natives to understand, most teachers said that NSs should use English the same way when communicating with other NSs.

Most subjects also agreed that the Portuguese learner should aim to be a competent speaker and writer of English, instead of working toward a native target. Nevertheless, some students were inclined to accept a native model when writing in English. For these subjects, while there is some flexibility in spoken English in terms of having a Portuguese accent and occasionally making grammatical mistakes, grammar mistakes are not supposed to happen in written English. Moreover, the majority of the students referred to the fact that their English is a mixture of AmE and BrE and with features that are consequence of the influence of their first language.

The role of the NS is also reduced as most students and teachers identify English as a global language for international communication which belongs to whoever uses it. However, subjects were not able to indicate if it is easier for them to understand a NS or a NNS of English. Furthermore, most subjects tended to be aware of the value of both native and non-native teachers in ELT, attaching different but intrinsic value to each group of teachers.

Finally, students displayed an approach which emphasizes the international role of English rather than the contact with native speakers when they recognized having instrumental and "international use" motivation for learning and using English.

All things considered, subjects seem to adopt a pragmatic and international attitude toward the English language. Most of the time, students and teachers distinguished the uses and features of native and non-native English and regarded the native speakers not as model providers but as one of the different groups of users of English as a lingua franca.

4   Conclusions and Implications

The findings in this study help justify a novel approach to ELF in ELT which takes into account the following aspects:

- a balanced presentation of linguistic and cultural aspects of English

- introduction of the differences between AmE and BrE

- presentation of native and non-native varieties and cultures

- development of international topics

- understanding the local culture

- acknowledgement of native and non-native speakers' use of English

- recognition of the value of native and non-native teachers

- granting ownership of English to native and non-native speakers

- working on learner's instrumental and international use motivation to learn English

Finally, this study may make a contribution to the debate on the teaching of English in basic and secondary schools and universities. The knowledge that results from recognizing students' and teachers' attitudes toward learning and using English and identifying the major features of the current English syllabi and pedagogic materials used in basic and secondary education may help improve the following areas:

1. ELT in basic and secondary education

2. Basic and secondary school teacher training programmes in universities

3. Teaching ESP in universities

4. Materials writers

5. ELT policies for basic and secondary schools

As the role of the English language in the world evolves, the facts and truth of the past become the challenges of the future. In order to draw and accurate and reliable picture of the international penetration of English, we need to deepen our understanding of the minds and practices of those who learn and use English in a foreign context. This study offers a contribution to ongoing research, in the hope that it may stimulate debate and provide a possible model for future work.

About the author

Luis Guerra, University of Evora, has taught EFL/ESL/ESP/EAP and General English in Brazil, US, UK and Portugal. His research interests are the pedagogical implications of ELF, native and non-native varieties, learner's attitudes toward ELF and the role of English in the Expanding Circle. He has recently published the book 'Teaching and Learning English as an International Language in Portugal: Policy, Practice and Perceptions' by VDM Verlag.

Email: `lspg@uevora.pt`

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Plain English as a Lingua Franca in the Legal English Classroom

Aleksandra Łuczak[*]

If you can't explain it simply,
you don't understand it well enough.
A. Einstein

Abstract

The aim of the Plain English Movement is to eliminate complex, lengthy, over verbose language from academia, government, law and business. Plain Writing Act of 2010 was signed into law on October 13 2010. In the UK there are efforts made to create Plain Language Act as soon as possible. Law students studying Legal English however, still have to deal with highly intricate, far from being plain, legalese texts. The biggest problems they encounter is drafting in plain English and understanding authentic documents composed in traditional way. Therefore, they need to be taught how to comprehend, paraphrase, simplify, amend, define and redraft Legal English texts in modern, lucid English. Plain English becomes the bridge between centuries-old tradition and a new philosophy promoting the pragmatic approach to Legal English. It becomes a sort of Lingua Franca that needs to be developed by Legal English students as this will allow them to become more linguistically efficient lawyers in the international context. The paper is an attempt to draw up a collection of recipes for the Legal English classroom in which students are trained in the use of Plain English. The features of the Plain English style are contrasted with legalese in order to identify the skills which students of Legal English need to develop if they want to become successful drafters. Core activities that improve the knowledge of Legal English and develop the writing skill are presented. The paper might also be a guide for teachers who run or consider running Legal English classes.

Keywords: Plain English, legal English, ESP, English for Specific Purposes, writing

1 Introduction

History influenced the developments and evolution of the English legal language across the centuries. After the Norman invasion and the battle of Hastings in 1066 French became the language of legal documents in Britain for 300 years, although the people of Britain still spoke English which was never used in legal matters.

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[*]Kozminski University, Poland

Before that period legal texts in Britain were drafted in Latin which possessed the status of the lingua franca of those times. Latin was introduced to Britain with the Roman invasion of 55 BC; however, it started to influence the language significantly with the spread of Christianity that begun with the arrival of St. Augustine in AD 597. Later linguistic influences included Old English which was brought with the invasion of the Angles, Saxons and Jutes and Scandinavian impact with the raids of the Vikings in the VIII century.

The first reform came with the Statute of Pleading (1356) which stipulated that "all Pleas which shall be pleaded in [any] Courts whatsoever, before any of his Justices whatsoever, or in his other Places, or before any of His other Ministers whatsoever, or in the Courts and Places of any other Lords whatsoever within the Realm, shall be pleaded, shewed, defended, answered, debated, and judged in the English Tongue, and that they be entered and inrolled in Latin".

During the next decades English was adopted for more and more kinds of legal documents and statutes began to be written in English alone from 1489.

Contemporary Legal English in its pure form, the so called legalese, still has features which derive form French and Latin and reflects the urge of many writers to sound sophisticated and educated by the use of too many unnecessary, empty words. Generations of legal writers educated on legal texts drafted by other lawyers copy the antique, verbose style loaded with long sentences, bad punctuation, foreign syntax, archaic words, lists of synonyms, passive voice structures and technical vocabulary. They obscure the meaning, cause confusion and misunderstandings, are "wordy, unclear, pompous and dull" (Melinkoff, 1963, p. 24).

2   Plain English

The first voices for reform can be found in documents dating back to 1845 when Lord Broughman postulated reforms not only in the substance of law but also in its language (Law Review, 1845, p. 405).

Stuart Chase is often quoted as the proponent of Plain English who complained about "gobbledygook" in texts in his book *The Power of Words* published in 1953 (Redish, 1985; Shriver, 1997).

Consumer movement of the second half of the twentieth century created the need for clear legal language that would be understood by laymen/non-lawyers/clients/mere mortals who expected to be able to understand what they sign at the first reading. New means of communication which emerged and developed during that time also nourished the necessity for lucid, accurate and understandable meaning in texts.

Martin Cutts (1998), a research director of the Plain Language Commission in the United Kingdom, defines Plain English as "the writing and setting out of essential information in a way that gives a cooperative, motivated person a good chance of understanding the document at the first reading, and in the same sense that the writer meant it to be understood".

Plain English has often been criticised for advocating simple, leading to simplistic,

drab, kindergarten, babish and unsophisticated English which lacks precision. But this precision expressed in legalese is unfortunately unintelligible.

Quoting Einstein, it is much harder to simplify than to complicate and the drafter or speaker must understand the issue in depth if they intend to explain it simply. Plain language is said to focus on the reader and various research proved that readers prefer plain language, because they locate information faster and understand documents better (e.g., Cutts, 1993, 1998; Kimble, 1997).

Besides, Plain English documents are easier to update and more cost-effective. Therefore, it seems reasonable to encourage the use of Plain English in these areas of law which are of interest to the public, e.g. employment, family, criminal, consumer protection, inheritance.

3   American Government Regulations

In 1972 the U.S. President Richard Nixon created Plain English momentum when he decreed that the Federal Register be written in "layman's terms". Soon after, in 1973, Citibank converted its promissory note to Plain English which turned out to be a really successful move not only in terms of their customers' reception but also in terms of cost efficiency.

In 1978 U.S. President Jimmy Carter issued Executive Orders intended to make government regulations cost-effective and easy to understand; however, they were rescinded by R. Reagan. Nonetheless, by 1991 eight states had passed statutes related to Plain English.

President Obama signed the Plain Writing Act of 2010 on October 13, 2010. According to this law federal agencies must communicate with the public in such a way that the public can understand and use. On January 18, 2011, Obama issued a new Executive Order, "E.O. 13563 — Improving Regulation and Regulatory Review" which obliges American regulatory system to make sure that their regulations are accessible, consistent, written in plain language, and easy to understand.

4   British Government Regulations

The first efforts of introducing new style in the UK were made in the 1960s by Anthony Parker who published Modern Conveyancing Precedents (1964) which used ordinary English, were shorter but produced the same legal effect. Unfortunately, since that time very few authors of precedents books have followed suit.

The Plain English Campaign (PEC) was formally started in 1979 by Martin Cutts and Chrissie Maher after the latter, as a sign of protest, shredded government documents in public in Parliament Square. Since then the Campaign was active in fighting gobbledygook, jargon and misleading public information.

Martin Cutts left the PEC in 1989 and formed the Plain Language Commission (PLC) in 1994. Both organizations offer the services of editing documents in Plain

English and award their accreditation marks (PEC — the Crystal Mark and PLC — the Clear English Standard) to documents written in clear language.

Tax Law Rewrite is a project established in 1996 aimed at rewriting UK's primary tax legislation into Plain English without changing its meaning. So far eight acts have been redrafted and are available on the Tax Law Rewrite pages. The redrafted legislation includes among others Income Tax Acts, Corporation Tax Acts, Capital Allowances Act.

Civil Procedures Rules (for England & Wales) were implemented in 1998 with the intention of simplifying legal proceedings, making them more accessible for general public and easier to understand for non-lawyers. The new Rules introduced new vocabulary. Some Latin terms were replaced with their Anglo-Saxon alternatives, e.g. *ex parte* with *without notice*, *inter partes* with *with notice*. Other replacements included among others: *child* instead of *minor* or *infant*, *claimant* instead of *plaintiff*, *application* instead of *summons* or *motion*.

Chrissie Maher is now campaigning for the UK government to enact Plain Language Act similar to the US Plain Writing Act. An e-petition will be still open for signing until September 2012 on: `http://epetitions.direct.gov.uk/petitions/17809`.

In 2011 the Times launched the first newspaper in Plain English which is available online on `http://www.thetimesinplainenglish.com/`

5   Plain English and Teaching

In the legal context the most important language skill and at the same time the biggest weakness of lawyers is writing. This skill requires special attention and intensive development during Legal English courses. Plain English constitutes a correct model which can be contrasted with legalese which law students and graduates have to read, understand and work on. In this sense Plain English becomes a sort of a lingua franca in the Legal English classroom and the guidelines for writing in Plain English can form a base of any writing course for legal purposes. The guidelines for writing in Plain English (e.g., Butt and Castle, 2006; Garner, 2001 Haigh, 2012; Rylance, 1994) correspond to the rules of effective writing for any special purposes, including legal, academic, Business, medical etc.

Garner (2001) draws up a comprehensive list of principles for Plain English writing including legal writing, analytical and persuasive writing, legal drafting, document design and continued improvement. The exercises accompanying the book can be accessed on `http://press-pubs.uchicago.edu/garner/`. All these exercises are based on authentic legal writing which are used as a basis for paraphrasing, redrafting, editing in Plain English.

Most of these principles help develop the transferable abilities typical of writing which might constitute the scaffolding for the future development of the writing skill irrespective of purpose. Plain English is considered the equivalent for good English writing. Therefore, the guidelines for writing in Plain English should be included in a well modelled writing course, since they comprise the rules for producing well structured, comprehensible and concise texts.
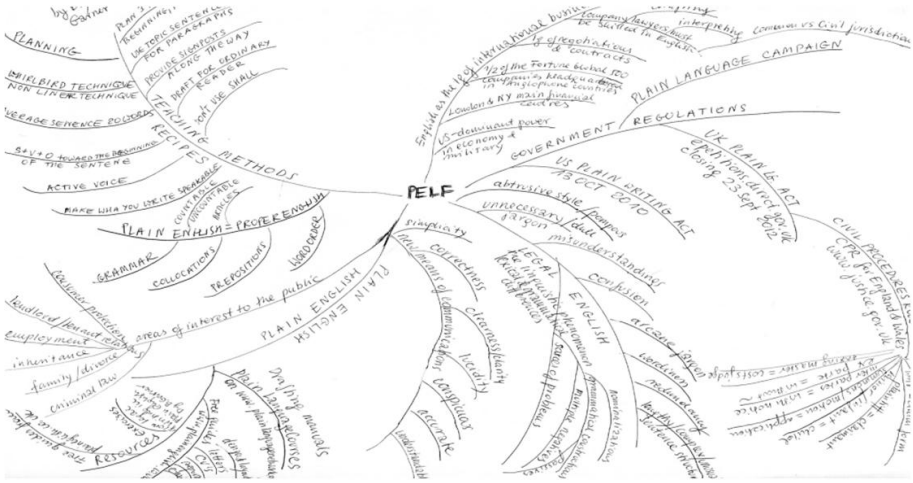
Figure 1: Whirlybird synopsis of this paper and the presentation delivered during ELF5 Conference

The skills which law students and graduates need to develop if they wish to draft texts in Plain English include:

1. Planning:

    (a) using a nonlinear, whirlybird (i.e. resembling the mind map) approach, as shown in Figure 1, is recommended for lawyers;

    (b) arranging the material in a logical sequence, e.g. using chronology when presenting facts;

    (c) dividing the documents into sections, and sections into smaller parts;

    (d) adding headings for the sections and subsections.

2. Paragraphing and organizing writing:

    (a) beginning each paragraph with a topic sentence;

    (b) linking paragraphs and signposting within paragraphs;

    (c) limiting the length of paragraphs to 3–8 sentences/150 words;

    (d) knowing the reader — an ordinary person and not a sophisticated lawyer;

    (e) applying correct punctuation.

3. Phrasing and paraphrasing (legalese into Plain English):

    (a) avoiding verbosity; reducing the average length of a sentence to 20 words;

    (b) relying on S-V-O word order;

    (c) favouring active over passive voice;

(d) creating lists with parallel phrasing for parallel ideas;

(e) avoiding multiple negatives;

(f) understanding legalese but replacing it with Plain English alternatives, e.g. "hereinafter Seller" with "the Seller", "prior to" with "before", "in the event that" with "if";

(g) minimizing the use of "to be", e.g. court is in agreement, fines are dependent, judge is of the opinion...;

(h) avoiding nouns created from verbs, e.g. conduct an examination of, make provision for, take into consideration...;

(i) shortening wordy phrases, e.g. "a number of" to "many", "at the time when" to "when", "subsequent to" to "after", "the majority of" to "most".

The above summarized plain language skills need to be developed by law students and graduates if they wish to pursue careers in the environment of international law firms and follow the guidelines for modern communication and writing in Plain English. Plain language can be practised while performing the following tasks which will help them prepare for future professional duties:

1. *Reading comprehension* to compensate for the lack of experience and insufficient language proficiency students need exposure to texts written in legalese to practice reading and understanding, develop specialist vocabulary;

2. *Translating* texts drafted in legalese can form the basis of translation tasks which develop and check students' knowledge of vocabulary, grammar, the use of appropriate register and tone;

3. *Defining* i.e. explaining the meaning of legal terms or clauses contained in legislation or contracts in Plain English, e.g. by using their synonyms, opposites, or formulating short and clear Plain English definitions;

4. *Summarising* to develop students' analytical, comprehension and paraphrasing skills as well as reading and writing skill by producing a brief but faithful summary of the original text using their own words;

5. *Modern legal correspondence* to train the students in drafting modern correspondence bits and present with the up to date layouts and models of the letters, to equip them with the knowledge of standard phrases for letters, e-mails and memoranda;

6. *Grammar for law* especially sensitive areas will comprise questions (both direct and indirect), passive voice, articles, countable and uncountable nouns, word order, prepositions and collocations;

7. *Drafting and redrafting* (contracts, memoranda, briefs, law suits);

8. *Editing and proofreading.*

Apart from the textbooks mentioned earlier in this section, there are many online resources which develop the skill of writing in Plain English available:

1. Plain language course on: `http://www.faa.gov/about/initiatives/plain_language/basic_course/` which teaches basic tools to help create plain language;

2. Plain Train on `http://www.plainlanguagenetwork.org/plaintrain/` with tips and techniques for improving communication skills with the use of plain language;

3. Free guides on `http://www.plainenglish.co.uk/free-guides.html` offering advice on design and layout, writing letters, cv's and reports, glossary of alternative terms (or undesirables);

4. Thirty-nine rules for writing Plain English by W. D. Lutz: `http://www.plainlanguagenetwork.org/Resources/lutz.html`;

5. A Plain English Handbook: `http://www.sec.gov/pdf/handbook.pdf`;

6. Free Plain English guides from Plain Language Commission on: `http://www.clearest.co.uk/pages/publications/freeguides`;

7. Plain English Bibliography: `http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Publications/2006/02/17093804/5`.

6   Conclusions

Traditional style of legal writing is confusing, very often incomprehensible to readers, loaded with unnecessary words and lengthy. The first signs of the battle to fight it could be spotted over a century ago. However, there is still a lot to do. Generations of young lawyers-to-be are still educated on texts written in legalese and immersed in the sea of bad writing.

Legal English classroom has the potential of becoming the space where students' awareness is raised and plain language skills trained. Students who come to law schools are often unaware of the complexity of Legal English and appreciate the clarity and conciseness of the plain style. Therefore, spoiling them with legalese training would be irresponsible.

Plain English means good, modern, standard English. Writing in Plain English means drafting lucid, well structured, error free texts that will be intelligible to readers and will save time and money for the legal profession. However, writing such texts requires their authors to explore the vast knowledge of law and Legal English in order to convey the right meaning with the right words.

Plain English, therefore, becomes the sort of a lingua franca in the legal context — the means for efficient communication between lawyers in the international environment and the identification of modern drafting. The guidelines and manuals of Plain English

are good resources for any writing course and a lodestar of the new approach that should now be adopted.

Apart from writing, other tasks typical of legal profession, such as explain, defining, interpreting, summarizing, also require the language that will be understood by the lawyers worldwide and their clients, usually laymen.

Plain English can become the bridge for the lawyers and their clients who deal with legal matters, very often across various legal traditions and systems. Plain English has a chance to play the role of their lingua franca — a medium that will help them understand all the intricacies, both legal and linguistic.

About the author

Aleksandra Łuczak (PhD, MA) graduated from the Institute of English Studies at Warsaw University in 1994 where she also defended her doctoral thesis in 2006. Since 1997 an ESP teacher at Kozminski University in Warsaw where she runs Business English and Legal English courses. She also lectures on Academic Skills, Plain English Writing, Business Culture and Law in Film. The author of numerous articles on teaching English for Specific Purposes and Legal Purposes. Cooperates with language schools and training institutions providing them with teacher trainings. Her interests also include the use of the latest technologies in language teaching.
Email: `luczak@luczak.edu.pl`

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The Comprehension of English Idioms by Turkish ELT Students

Merve Kıymaz[*]

Abstract

The aim of this study was to find whether ELT students of English at METU comprehend English idioms in written language thoroughly. The main data source for this study is the Turkish ELT students at METU, whose ages vary between 18 and 25. The research is planned as a quantitative research. Participants filled out two multiple-choice tests first including idioms without context, second in context. This study showed us that Turkish students who are studying in FLE department at METU comprehend idioms that have Turkish equivalents better than the others which have not Turkish equivalents and Turkish students use their Turkish background knowledge in comprehension of English idioms. It was also found that idioms in context were comprehended better than idioms without context. However, we could not find a correlation between idiom comprehension and the students' class grades so future researchers can focus on this issue.

Keywords: English idioms, L1 to L2 transfer, background knowledge, words in context, comprehension of idiomatic expressions

1 Introduction

We think that Turkish students learning English as a foreign language have difficulty in comprehension of idioms and metaphors even though they are advanced learners of English. Our aim in this study is to find out whether this situation is a valid problem among the students at METU. This study carries socially and academically significance in that as prospective teachers of English, we will find out to which extent the students have difficulty in comprehending metaphors and idioms so we hope to help our students to overcome their comprehension problems with the help of this study. Thus, this paper is about whether Turkish learners of English at METU whose ages vary between 18 and 25 comprehend English idioms in written language. In our study, we aim;

- To analyze and assess how much advanced learners of English at FLE Department at

- METU comprehend idioms and metaphors in written language.

- To find out as the ELT students' level of English at METU progresses, whether the understanding of idioms in written English progresses either or not.

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[*]Middle East Technical University, Turkey

- To search out whether ELT students' level of English at METU comprehend and idioms in written language better if the idioms used in context or not.

- To investigate whether ELT students at METU use their background knowledge of Turkish to interpret the English idioms.

2 Overall Design of the Study and Research Questions

The research is planned as a quantitative research primarily because of the fact that we are assessing the idiom comprehension of ELT students through employing some comprehension questions in tests as a data collection method. As will be explained in full in the following sections of this section, for data-gathering, one data collection method will be used: multiple-choice test. As regard data sources, one group was involved; students. The data were collected through self-designed instruments. The instruments consisted of two types of tests. First, we applied a test as a pre-test to evaluate students' comprehension of English idioms. Then, we applied a second test to the participants to assess their comprehensions of misunderstood idioms in context. Besides these, in the tests, after each question a fill-in-the blank type of question was given to evaluate if the participants relate their previous knowledge of Turkish to the comprehension of English idioms. Furthermore a pilot study was applied to check the validity of the tests to be given. In terms of data analysis, descriptive and correlational statistics were used in connection with the scales, all of which were quantitative procedures. The open-ended questions were analyzed via a qualitative procedure.

2.1 Participants

The main data source for this study is the Turkish ELT students at METU, who vary between 18 and 25. Thus, all of the data sources are human sources since the study centers on the idiom comprehension of students. For the multiple-choice tests, data from the students are collected from 60 volunteered Turkish ELT students at METU from freshmen, sophomores, junior and seniors. Fifteen volunteers were chosen from each group. We chose Turkish ELT students at METU especially because we think that for idiom comprehension which comes later after learning process, a student should be proficient in a language so that we could have valid data at the end of this study.

2.2 Data collection instruments

There is a major data collection method applied in this study; multiple-choice test. Both of these instruments are piloted and tested for validity and reliability. In this section first the data collection instruments; multiple-choice tests are explained then the piloting of the tests.

The instruments

The main instrument of this study is a self designed multiple-choice test as will be explained in detail in the following subsection. We use two tests to evaluate the participants' idiom comprehension first without context and second in context.

Multiple-choice tests

The main data collection instrument of the survey is the multiple-choice test which comes in two versions: the pre-test and the second multiple-choice test for the evaluation of comprehension of idioms in context. Both are self-designed. In this study we refer to the first multiple-choice test as pre-test and the second multiple-choice test as in-context test. Firstly, in the pre-test we focus on idiom comprehension from the point of the importance of the meaning without context and the participants' Turkish knowledge about Turkish idioms. Thus we choose fifty English idioms which half of them appear also in Turkish. These idioms either have some similarities in meaning with Turkish idioms or students can interpret them looking at the words' meaning separately. For example English idiom 'keep your cool' can be interpreted looking the words meaning and also 'soğukkanlı olmak' idiom appear in Turkish we think that Turkish students could be able to comprehend these types of idioms. The other twenty five idioms completely don't exist in Turkish and also Turkish students are not able to interpret these idioms from the word's meaning separately. These idioms only can be understood from the English knowledge acquired through learning. For example 'kick in the teeth' is an English idiom whose meaning is a bad and sudden disappointment. Because Turkish has not such an idiom concerning the meaning of each word could not help students to interpret the meaning. Some of the idioms used in this study are adopted from the Arıca's thesis, *Yabancı Dilde İmgesel Anlamlı Dil Öğelerinin Ögretimi* and others were chosen randomly from the site (`http://www.usingenglish.com/`) via Internet. The correct answers to the questions are supplied from the Cambridge Idioms Dictionary (2006) or from the site (`http://idioms.thefreedictionary.com/`) via Internet. We created four different possible answers for each question in the tests. After each question we created blank for participants to write how they come up with this conclusion if they think they conclude the meaning through their Turkish knowledge. This part would give some qualitative data for us. Through the answers we can conclude if they use their previous knowledge of Turkish in comprehension of English idioms or not. The second test, in-context test, is prepared as a multiple-choice test also. In this test we use only the idioms that students do not comprehend in the pre-test. Thus, we eliminate some idioms that we think participants could comprehend through their previous Turkish knowledge. Through this test we try to understand their comprehension of idioms in context. So we use unknown idioms of the pre-test in context in questions this time. We provide the same possible answers for each idiom either. The only difference in this test is that the idioms in questions are provided in context. In this part also after each question we created blank for participants to write how they come up with this conclusion if they think they conclude the meaning through their Turkish knowledge.

3   Results

In this section, the results are analyzed in relation to the sub-questions. Since our aim in this research was to find out whether comprehension of idioms is a serious problem among the ELT students at METU, the first sub-question to this problem was "Do the Turkish students who are studying in FLE department at METU comprehend idioms in written language properly?" Our claim to this question was that if some idioms have Turkish equivalents, probably Turkish students would comprehend these idioms better than the idioms which have not Turkish equivalents. Data for this question were collected via two different multiple-choice tests including some open-ended questions. In this section, firstly the results that the tests yielded were reported, which was followed by open-ended questions' results. For analysis, descriptive analysis was used to detect participants' comprehension of each question. Then, correlational analysis and cross-tab analysis were used to detect the correlations between idioms in context and without context, to find an answer to our question "Do the advanced learners of English at METU, comprehend idioms in written language better if the idioms are used in context?". We also explained the question that if the students' level of English at METU improves, does the comprehension of idioms and metaphors in written language develop either, using co-relational statistics.

3.1   Description of the data and overview of analyses

As regard data sources, 60 Turkish METU students were involved in our study from different class grades such as 15 freshmen, 15 sophomores, 15 juniors, 15 seniors. The data were collected through self-designed instruments which consisted of two types of tests. First, we applied a test as a pre-test to evaluate students' comprehension of English idioms then; we applied a second test to participants to assess the participants' comprehensions in context. Besides these, in the tests, after each question a fill-in-the blank type of question was given to evaluate if the participants relate their previous knowledge of Turkish to the comprehension of English idioms. We chose Turkish ELT students at METU especially because we think that for idiom comprehension which comes later after learning process, a student should be proficient in a language so that we could have valid data at the end of this study. At the end of this study, we expect to find that the participants — Turkish students — comprehend idioms that have Turkish equivalents better than the idioms which have not Turkish equivalents and also comprehend idioms in written language better if the idioms were used in context.

4   Discussion

In our study, our findings showed that the English idioms which have Turkish equivalents were comprehended better by Turkish ELT students at METU. Our findings supported our first hypothesis in which we claimed that some idioms occur in Turkish and the Turkish students could comprehend these idioms more easily. This claim indicated that

Turkish students use their linguistic knowledge such as literal meanings of the words in idioms separately in comprehension of the meaning of the whole idiom. For example, in comprehension of the idiom "white lie", participants inferred the meaning of the idiom by processing the literal meaning of the each word in the idiom. Thus, they gave answers as "beyaz yalan". In this study, we found out that idioms are comprehended better if they were used in context which supported our second hypothesis which is Turkish ELT students of English at METU could comprehend idioms in written language better if the idioms are used in context. In one of the researches that Littlemore conducted about overseas students' comprehension of metaphors, she concluded that both schematic and contextual knowledge are involved in the interpretation of unknown metaphors which our study supports the idea she put forward (Littlemore, 2001). In our study the participants responded to the idioms which are in context better than the idioms out of context which means the students comprehend questions better with the help of contextual knowledge. There is a parallel coherence between our research results and Littlemore's research results in that both studies support that contextual knowledge affects idiom comprehension in a positive way. The result that Turkish students in FLE department at METU comprehend idioms that have Turkish equivalents better than the others which have not Turkish equivalents also led us to our next question whether Turkish students who are studying in FLE department at METU use their background knowledge in comprehension of the idioms which have equivalents in Turkish. In the end of this research, we found out that participants gave certain answers as equivalents to some idioms. For example; Turkish students gave possible equivalents such as "el atmak", "el vermek", or "el uzatmak" to English idiom "to lend a hand". These answers are all meaningful if we consider the meaning of the Turkish idiom which means all students responded to the English idiom correctly. These translations showed us that in comprehension of English idioms Turkish students use their Turkish background knowledge. This result overlapped the findings of Irujo showing the notion that advanced learners of a second language whose first language is related to the second can use their knowledge of idioms in their first language to comprehend and produce idioms in the second. The findings of her study that students use their knowledge of idioms in their first language in comprehension and production of second language idioms matched ours (Irujo, 1986). Unexpectedly, we could not find a correlation between idiom comprehension and the students' class grades. Students made the same mistakes more or less no matter what class grade they belonged to because background knowledge of L1 and context usage were more effective in the study we thought. In this study, we could not find class grade as a variable. However, other studies may focus on teachability of idioms so that class grade could be resulted as a variable. One of the limitations in this study was the number of idioms in each test. In the beginning of the study we thought that we could apply our tests to more people but during the process of application of the test, the number of the questions became a problem for us. In the beginning, we tried to apply these tests to more people but later we realized that the participants' were unwilling because of the number of the questions. So, we decreased the number of the participants so that we would have a reliable data.

About the author

Merve Kıymaz is a senior English Language Teaching student at Middle East Technical University. During February–September 2012, she was Erasmus exchange student at University of Cologne.
Email: `mervekiymaz35@gmail.com`

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The Perspectives of Turkish Prospective Teachers on "ELF" and Their Awareness of It in Their ELT Programs

Burak Tomak* and Pınar Kocabaş†

Abstract

English is one of the widely-used languages in the world as Konig (1990) confirms this by stating that roughly 700 million people speak it. In some countries, it is used as a mother tongue whereas in other countries it is used as a second language, which means they use it as an official language even though they have their own native tongue. In Turkey, English is considered as a foreign language and it is taught/learnt for international communication with other nations. Thus, this study was conducted with 94 students enrolled in two different prestigious state universities located in Istanbul so as to determine their awareness of the recent trends in ELT by taking "ELF" into account. The participants of this study are all first year students who are attending ELT department as freshmen. The aim of this study is whether they are aware of this "ELF" issue and to find out what they expect from their department curriculums to meet their needs. Questionnaires were given in two different state universities in Istanbul to two different groups showing similar characteristics. Results of this study emphasize the importance of awareness-raising lectures to these first-year-students of ELT and the educational implications will be discussed by giving some advice on the ELT curriculums of these universities.
Keywords: ELF, Turkish prospective teachers

1   Introduction

English was not chosen as a language to be taught in schools in Turkey out of blue. However, before looking at the situation in Turkey, a brief looking at the English spread in the world will also be beneficial to understand the situation in Turkey. Konig (1990) mentions that roughly 700 million people speak it. Phillipson (1992) claims that the spread of English is due to the British cultural imperialism. Crystal (1997) seems to be on Phillipson's side by confirming that a language does not become a global language simply because of its intrinsic properties. He elaborates on the issue by saying that British colonial dominancy was replaced by the twentieth-century American superpower. It is also mentioned in an article on CNN.com in 2000 that 'Julius Caesar conquered Gaul with the Roman legions, but the U.S. is doing it with Mickey Mouse, and the

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*Marmara University, Turkey
†Yıldız Technical University, Turkey

Internet' (Flynn, 2000). Therefore the spread of English is seen as a unique phenomenon, both in terms of its geographical reach and depth (Kachru, 1982; Smith, 1983; Kachru, 1992; Phillipson, 1992; Pennycook, 1994; Kachru and Nelson, 1996). Thus, the spread of English in Turkey cannot be treated without knowing the issues about the spread around the world. However, there are some factors that have affected the spread within the country's borders.

The circumstances of the Turkish should be explained as Canagarajah (2005) suggests that nothing can be understood without the exploration of the knowledge in local context instead of global context in order to understand the global-local negotiations. Westernization movement and close relations with the West have all led to initiation of English learning and teaching process. But especially after 1980s, the inclination to learn/teach English is even much more obvious. Atay (2005) mentioned the political and economic reasons behind the spread of English language in Turkey. There were also some other factors such as globalization in the 1980s and the presence of American popular culture via entertainment and advertising, the pace of English growth, particularly the growth of English-medium education (Alptekin, 1992; Dogancay-Aktuna, 1998; Büyükkantarcıoğlu, 2004).

2 Methods

2.1 Participants

There were 94 students who participated in this study. All of them were attending ELT departments in two different state universities in Istanbul. They were all freshmen in their undergraduate studies. Fifty of them were students of an urban state university whereas 44 of them were students of a rural state university. Twenty-seven per cent of the participants were male while 72.3% of them were female and these participants had different backgrounds because they came from different regions of Turkey including the Marmara, Black Sea region and the eastern parts of Turkey as well.

As for their educational background of the participants, 61.7% of all participants graduated from Anatolian Teacher Training High Schools and 26.6% were graduates of Anatolian High School. Seventy-six per cent of the participants from urban-state university graduated from Anatolian Teacher Training High Schools whereas 45.5% of the participants from the rural-state university graduated from the same type of high school. Only 16% of the participants from urban-state university graduated from Anatolian High Schools while 38.6% of the participants from rural-state university graduated from the same high school type.

2.2 Data collection and analysis

Data were collected by the two researchers working in two different state universities in Istanbul. An anonymous questionnaire prepared in English was used as an instrument to collect the data. The questionnaire was created by these researchers after reviewing the literature on this topic considering both the international and Turkish context. After a

while, a scale was created and sent to four colleagues to see their opinions on the items in the questionnaire. Just after having compiled the whole feedback, the researchers redesigned the layout so as to create a more user-friendly questionnaire and made some changes in the sentence structures. Next step was the administration of the scale to ten students in the target group in order to get some feedback, that is, if the items could be clearly understood and if the target group had any suggestions to increase the efficiency of the scale. Their answers were found consistent. The questionnaire consisted of 36 items as a whole but 15 items were ordered to form the core of the questionnaire, in which participants circled out the best option to express their attitudes and opinions, either by directly marking on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree, 5 = strongly agree) or by first making agreement/disagreement (Yes/No) and continuing with the relevant box which included several items which determine their attitudes again on a 5-point Likert scale.

3   Results

The questionnaire was analyzed with the help of statistical software and either the descriptive statistics or frequencies of the items were assessed on the program.

Almost all of the participants wanted their English to be widely understood by all speakers of English. Prospective teachers were in a great dilemma on whether they should deal with varieties of English language or they should be stick to the Standard English. Fifty per cent wanted to deal with it whereas 50% did not want to have such an experience. The urban-state university students wanted to be loyal to the standard accent with 60% of them rejecting the idea of dealing with different accents whereas the students of the rural-state university seemed to be more willing with 61.4% of them saying yes.

For participants who wanted to deal with varieties of English, they said that they would teach it when they became a teacher. The ones who preferred to deal with varieties also said it was a sign of their efficiency in English in an international setting with the mean of 4.3.

The participants thought that knowing varieties of English would improve their communication with non-native speakers (4.4). The ones from urban-state university strongly agreed with it (4.8) while the ones from rural-state university agreed with it (4.1). Participants also agreed that varieties enriched their knowledge of local features in non-native English cultures (4.1). Again, urban-state university students strongly agreed with it (4.5) whereas rural-state university students just agreed with it (3.8).

The participants who did not want to deal with the varieties agreed that it was important to have correct and standard English (4.3). The ones from urban-state university strongly agreed with it (4.5) whereas the ones from rural-state university agreed with it (4.0). One of the main reasons why these participants did not want to deal with varieties of English was that they wanted their students to learn Standard English (4.4). The ones from the urban state university strongly agreed with this reason (4.5) while the ones from rural-state university agreed with it (4.1). The participants

said they had no idea about whether they did not want to teach the varieties just because they found them confusing (3.1). Almost all of the participants (4.5) strongly agreed with the reason that present sources for English classes, like dictionaries and coursebooks were based on British or American English. The participants said that they did not want to deal with the varieties because it was too far applicable to teach all varieties of English in a short period of time. They all strongly agreed that standard proficiency exams both in Turkey such as KPDS or ÜDS and abroad such as IELTS or TOEFL tested their knowledge of Standard English which they would have to take with a mean of 4.5. They also said that it was more beneficial to focus on Standard English than to learn other varieties of English for their future career with a mean of 4.4. The participants from urban-state university strongly agreed with this reason (4.6) whereas the ones from rural-state university just agreed with it (4.1).

When it came to the native-speaker instructor choice, 89.4% of the all participants preferred them to non-native speakers. The percentage of the ones preferring a native speaker in urban-state university was 90% as well as it was 88.6% in the rural-state university. They said because they considered them as the only source they could perfect their English. Almost all the participants said that they could provide them with authentic English language such as proverbs and idioms with a mean of 4.5. The participants from two different universities highly differed in that the ones from the urban-state university agreed that they took them as their role-model (3.9) while the ones from the rural-state university could not decide on whether they took them as their role-model or not (3.4). However almost all of the participants agreed that it was necessary to know English or American culture because culture and language cannot be separated from each other (4.2). The participants also had no idea about whether it is not necessary to know English or American culture with a mean 2.9 in total.

The participants agreed that it was difficult to explain Turkish culture with English words such as Turkish proverbs, idioms and so on. Participants did not have an idea on whether English coursebooks and dictionaries should include more local native usages such as North American or Asian English usages. Most of the participants agreed that that it was important to be grammatically correct with a mean of 4.2. However, the participants from the urban-state university seemed to give more importance to grammar accuracy than their counterparts in the other university. Participants also agreed that it was important to have the pronunciation of the standard accent with a mean of 4.4. Again, the students from the urban-state university strongly agreed with this statement whereas the ones from rural-state university just agreed with it. The mean results were 4.6; 4.2 respectively.

They all agreed that it was important to have enough knowledge of British and American culture with a mean of 3.8 in total. The participants differed in the fluency issue. The participants from the urban state university strongly agreed with the idea that they should be fluent when they speak English with a mean of 4.8 while the ones from the rural-state university agreed on the importance of it with a mean result of 4.4.

Researchers also tried to determine whether these students were interested in different varieties of English out of the university context. Therefore, they were asked

in the questionnaire whether they were exposed to different varieties of English (other than standard forms) through authentic learning tools such as films, books and the internet use. To evaluate the data in this particular item as a whole, exactly half of the participants agreed that they watched films or videos in different varieties of English such as Indian English or Asian English. In the urban state university, while 52% of the participants stated that they watched films or videos in different varieties of English, 48% of them stated that they did not watch any of them. As for the participants from rural state university, 47.7% of them watched those videos or films. Another issue measured in the questionnaire was listening to songs in different varieties of English. 52% of the participants answered positively in the urban state university, but 48% of them answered negatively. In the rural state university, results were more promising as 61.4% of the participants circled out "Yes" while 38.6% of them marked "No".

4   Conclusion

When results were compared, in the urban state university, participants had a slight tendency to use correct grammar, appropriate vocabulary etc., that is, they tended to use Standard English more than their contemporaries in the rural state university. The reason behind this could be the majority of native or native-like teachers in ELT department at this particular university. Also, it can be concluded that due to the presence of native or native-like instructors from whom the participants took courses in the urban state university, ELF issue is less likely to be introduced in its curriculums or to be adopted either by instructors or students. Therefore, the students were likely to take them as their role-model and they considered other varieties as inferior and they associated the speakers with low status. What is more, in the rural state university, there were not any native-speaker instructors available. Thus, students attending the rural-state university were exposed to the English of Turkish oriented lecturers. Additionally, it was known that there were more student exchange opportunities (Erasmus Life-long Learning Programme) than the other because it was the leading university in Turkey in this respect (Yüksek, 2012). Therefore, this might increase their awareness of English as an international language with the help of this student exchange program, which made it possible for these students to have foreign friends coming from different parts of Europe.

Another important point is that since the participants in the urban state university preferred to use Standard English more, it also influenced their teaching preferences. For clarity, they did not think that they would teach other varieties of English when they became a teacher of English to a great extent as it can be said that there is a direct association between learning preferences and teaching preferences. Borg (2003) confirmed it that there was a direct connection between teacher's beliefs and the way they taught in the class.

The educational implication of this research is that these prospective teachers, even though they were freshmen, should be introduced to other varieties of English in their curriculum. They should be made aware that English does not belong to the United

States and the United Kingdom any more and other nations are also using it for their own purposes. What is more, these other varieties of English cannot be considered as inferior or wrong. They should be conscious about these important current changes in the field. Furthermore, they should know the coursebooks that they are going to use when they become English language teachers will include other varieties of English such as Indian English. Therefore, these students should be supplied with these facts in the curriculum of ELT departments.

About the authors

Burak Tomak graduated from the ELT department of Ataturk Education Faculty at Marmara University in Istanbul in 2009. He got his M.A. on ELT from the METU in 2012. He is now a Ph.D. student in the ELT department at METU. He has been working in the School of Foreign Languages at Marmara University as an instructor.
Email: `buraktomak@hotmail.com`

Pinar Kocabaş took a Bachelor's degree in English Language Teaching at the Faculty of Education at Istanbul Marmara University in 2009. She started her professional career in School of Foreign Languages in Istanbul Yıldız Technical University as an instructor of English in 2010.
Email: `bunarada@hotmail.com`

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Attitudes of Turkish Prospective EFL Teachers Towards Varieties of English

Dilek Uygun[*]

Abstract

This paper presents the interim results of a survey which explores Turkish prospective EFL teachers' attitudes and beliefs regarding standard and non-standard varieties of English. With the current status of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) and with new varieties of English emerging throughout the world, teacher education programs are faced with the challenge of preparing pre-service teachers for teaching English as a lingua franca (e.g., Jenkins, 2006; Seidlhofer, 2004; Sifakis, 2007; Snow et al., 2006). On the route to making the necessary adjustments in teacher training, a clear understanding of the prevailing attitudes of prospective teachers to varieties of English is required. The present study investigates Turkish prospective teachers' views about: (a) their own English accent, (b) native and non-native speaker accents, (c) teaching a standard variety, and (d) exposing students to different varieties of English. The data were collected through a questionnaire distributed to 102 students attending the ELT department of a state university. The analysis of participants' responses regarding the aforementioned issues illustrates that there is a difference between prospective teachers' evaluation of their own accent for teaching English and their evaluation of their accent for personal communication. The results also demonstrate that prospective teachers' beliefs about the importance of native speaker norms are stronger in relation to their own pronunciation as teachers compared to their beliefs about these norms in relation to their learners' pronunciation practices. In addition, the results suggest that Turkish prospective teachers' own experiences and familiarity with a specific variety of English have an important role in their preference for teaching that variety. The results of the study are discussed with reference to their implications for teacher training, including suggestions for ways of raising prospective teachers' awareness of ELF related issues.

Keywords: ELF, Turkish prospective teachers, EFL, attitudes, pronunciation

1   Introduction

The increase in the number of non-native speakers (NNS) of English and the emergence of different varieties of English all over the world gave rise to several questions regarding the use of native speaker (NS) models in language classrooms. With the introduction of the concepts of English as an international language (EIL) and English as a lingua

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[*]Marmara University, Turkey

franca (ELF) it has been argued that NS models create unrealistic and unattainable goals for L2 learners (Alptekin, 2002; Cook, 1999) and that adjusting to an audience of NNS is much more important than adapting to NS norms (Crystal, 2003; Jenkins, 2006; Seidlhofer, 2005).

Within this context, as the use of NS models in pronunciation teaching is also questioned, research indicates that learners still have a tendency to set inner-circle standards for their own pronunciation and aspire to sound like native speakers (Derwing, 2003; Timmis, 2002; Scales et al., 2006). Teachers' views on the matter again demonstrate that they hold a strongly norm-bound perspective and prefer standard NS pronunciation models in their teaching practices (Jenkins, 2005; Sifakis and Sougari, 2005).

Up to present, much of the research conducted has paid little attention to what prospective teachers (PTs) think or believe about native speaker norms for pronunciation. Among the few studies conducted on Turkish PTs' views on this matter, a study by Öztürk, Çeçen, and Altınmakas (2009) explored PTs' knowledge, thoughts and beliefs about ELF. The semi-structured interviews carried out with 10 PTs indicated that although the participants acknowledged the status of English as an international language, they still held norm bound attitudes and considered NS models as the ideal ones for teaching. Coşkun (2011) investigated Turkish PTs' attitudes towards teaching pronunciation within an EIL perspective. The study indicated that a majority of the PTs believed that the goal of pronunciation teaching was to achieve NS pronunciation and that the ideal pronunciation teacher should be a NS of English.

The present study reports on the partial findings of a larger scale study on PTs' attitudes towards native and non-native varieties of English. It focuses on two research questions which were not addressed in previous studies:

- Is there a difference between PTs' perception of their accent for teaching English and for using English in personal communication?

- Is there a difference between PTs' views about NS norms in relation to their own pronunciation and in relation to their learners' pronunciation?

In addition to these research questions, PTs' beliefs and preferences about teaching a specific variety of English and their views about exposing learners to different varieties of English are investigated to find out to whether they are aware of the implications of EIL and ELF on teaching and learning English.

2 Method

2.1 Participants

The participants were 35 male and 67 female prospective EFL teachers attending the ELT department of a state university in Istanbul, Turkey. They were all senior class students who already completed the first semester of their two-semester practice teaching at institutions of primary and secondary education. Age of the subjects ranged

from 19 to 36 with a mean of 22.08. All the participants were non-native speakers of English. The onset age for learning English ranged from 5 to 17 with a mean of 10.6.

2.2   Data collection, instrument, and procedures

Data collection for the study was conducted by using a questionnaire which was first pilot-tested with 22 prospective teachers and then revised. It consisted of two parts. The first part collected demographic information about the participants. The second part aimed at eliciting participants' views about their own accent and about their future teaching practices. In this part there were 12 items for which the respondents were required to mark their responses on a five-point Likert scale (strongly agree, agree, undecided, disagree, strongly disagree) and state their reasons where necessary. The items related to participants' beliefs about their own accent were adapted from a learners' attitude study by Kang (2011). There was also one item for which the participants were asked to choose the accent which was thought to be the best for learners and state their reasons for that particular choice.

The data were processed and analyzed using SPSS software. Wilcoxon signed-ranks test is conducted to see whether there are significant differences between:

- participants' evaluation of their own accent for teaching English and for using English in personal communication.

- participants' preference for NS accent regarding their own pronunciation and preference for NS accent regarding their learners' pronunciation.

For the questionnaire items where participants were asked to provide reasons for their particular choices, the responses were classified using the method of thematic analysis (Willis, 2007). The following section presents the results regarding only the questionnaire items which were selected for the particular purposes of this paper.

3   Results

3.1   PTs' views about their own pronunciation

The results revealed that for the majority of the participants pronunciation is an important issue. As demonstrated in Table 1, an overwhelming majority reported that they were concerned about their accent (78%), wanted to improve the way they sound very much (97%) and agreed that they would feel more confident with better pronunciation skills (95%).

The results regarding the prospective teachers' evaluation of their own accent (Table 2) showed that while a majority of the prospective teachers, that is, around two-thirds (68%) agreed on the acceptability of their accent for teaching English, only one-third of the participants (29%) were completely satisfied with their pronunciation agreeing that they had excellent pronunciation skills.

Table 1: PTs' views about their own pronunciation

	Strongly agree		Agree		Undecided		Disagree		Strongly disagree	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
I care about my pronunciation.	19	18.6	61	59.8	7	6.9	13	12.7	2	2.0
I want to improve the way I sound very much.	61	59.8	38	37.3	1	1.0	2	2.0	—	—
If I have better pronunciation, I will be more confident in English.	71	69.6	26	25.5	4	3.9	1	1.0	—	—

Note: $N = 102$

Table 2: PTs' evaluation of their own pronunciation

	Strongly agree		Agree		Undecided		Disagree		Strongly disagree	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
I have excellent pronunciation skills.	3	2.9	27	26.5	29	28.4	34	33.3	9	8.8
My pronunciation is acceptable for a teacher of English.	14	13.7	55	53.9	27	26.5	6	5.9	—	—
My pronunciation is acceptable in personal communication.	16	15.7	75	73.5	9	8.8	2	2.0	—	—

There was also a difference between participants' evaluation of their accent for teaching English and their evaluation of it for personal communication. A Wilcoxon Signed-ranks test showed that participants' evaluated their accent more acceptable for general communication than for teaching English ($Z = 3.81$, $p < .001$). This difference indicates that PTs are more concerned about the acceptability of their accent in teaching settings compared to informal, casual contexts where they seem to feel more confident with their accent.

Table 3: PTs' beliefs about the importance of having NS accents

	Strongly agree		Agree		Undecided		Disagree		Strongly disagree	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
It is important for me to sound like a NS.	74	72.5	18	17.6	4	3.9	4	3.9	2	2.0
It is important for my learners to have a NS accent.	25	24.5	46	45.1	13	12.7	16	15.7	2	2.0

3.2 PT' views about having a NS accent

The importance of NS norms for PTs was demonstrated both by the overwhelming majority (90%) agreeing on the importance of sounding like a NS in their own pronunciation and the majority (70%) agreeing on the importance of having NS accents for learners (Table 3).

The results of a Wilcoxon test indicated that PTs consider NS accent to be more important for their own pronunciation rather than for their learners' pronunciation, $Z = 6.02$, $p < .001$. This significant difference between PTs views regarding the importance of NS norms for their own pronunciation and for their learners' pronunciation suggests that PTs believe NS pronunciation to be more essential as a part of their teaching competence rather than as a part of their learners' competence.

3.3 PTs' views about teaching a specific variety

The analysis of responses regarding the type of accent preferred for learners demonstrated that more than half of the participants (66%) had a particular preference for teaching a certain variety, either General American English (GA) or British Received Pronunciation (RP). As for the reasons given by the participants to account for their particular choice, some participants stated that GA was the "more common", "more popular", "more widely used" variety while for some others RP was the "more real", "better", "more prestigious", "original", "world-wide accepted" variety. Participants' preference for a specific variety seem to be dependent on their personal "likes" or "dislikes" for one or the other variety as well, exemplified by responses such as "I like it", "I don't like it", "It sounds better to me", "I like its sounds".

The responses also suggest that participants' familiarity with one or the other variety also plays an important role in their preferences. The particular variety preferred was usually stated to be the "more clear", "understandable", "easier to understand", "easier to speak", "more familiar" variety by the participants.

Although one-third of the participants (33%) stated that they had no particular preference for a specific accent, their accounts demonstrated quite different views on

Table 4: PTs' views on exposing learners to NNS varieties

	Strongly agree		Agree		Undecided		Disagree		Strongly disagree	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
It is necessary to expose students to samples from NNS.	16	15.7	56	54.9	15	14.7	11	10.8	4	3.9

the matter. In one group of responses the emphasis was on *correctness* and *native-likeness*, indicating that there was no need to make a choice between GA and RP as long as learners' pronunciation was "correct", "real", "native-like", "free of errors". Another group of responses centered on *intelligibility* and indicated that any accent was acceptable as long as, "learners' pronunciation is understandable", "learners can express themselves clearly" and "there is no communication break-down". Among these responses there were also several references to the current status of English as a lingua franca and an international language with specific emphasis on the increasing number of NNS of English and decreasing significance of having NS accents. A few responses pointed out that learners should be given the chance to decide which accent to choose.

3.4 PTs' views about exposing students to NNS accents

The responses associated with exposing learners to NNS varieties showed that a significant number of participants (71%) agreed upon the necessity of providing learners with samples of NNS accents (Table 4).

Although PTs seemed to agree on the importance of exposing students to NNS accents, the underlying reasons for their choice illustrated two different stands on the issue. According to one group of responses, familiarity with NNS accents was important for developing learners' communicative and intercultural competence. Exposition to NNS accents would help learners, "to communicate better with NNS", "to appreciate differences", "to see that differences among speakers are natural", "to understand that every speaker reflects through his/her accents a part of his culture". Another group of responses reflected the norm-bound views on the matter. According to these accounts, samples from NNS would help learners to distinguish "right", "correct", "good" accents from the "wrong", "incorrect", "bad" ones.

Responses which disagreed on exposing learners to NNS samples also demonstrated strong norm-bound attitudes towards pronunciation. Participants stated that NNS samples would provide students with "bad", "wrong" examples of English which might be "confusing", "distracting" for learners. A few responses just indicated that exposing to students to NNs accents is "not an important issue" and "not necessary at all".

4   Discussion and Conclusion

The results, in general, demonstrate that Turkish prospective teachers hold a NS norm-bound perspective regarding pronunciation, which becomes even stronger when PTs' attitudes toward their own accent are considered. The significant difference between PTs' views regarding the acceptability of their accent in teaching English and in using it for personal communication, as well as the difference between PTs views regarding the importance of NS norms for their own pronunciation and for their learners' pronunciation, suggest that PTs' concerns about having the *right*, *correct* accent is closely associated with their roles as teachers of English. As teachers they feel obliged to represent the NS norms and believe that they are expected to obey these norms (Sifakis and Sougari, 2005). The results also indicate that in general PTs are aware of the global spread of English and the increasing number of NNS but they do not yet seem to be aware of the implications of these on the goals of teaching and learning English. Awareness raising, to some extent, can be realized through teacher education which involves:

- Discussions of the implications of EIL and ELF on language learning and teaching, so that PTs can develop a better understanding of the changes in goals and practices of ELT and promote their learners' awareness as well.

- Studies on learners' and teachers' attitudes towards varieties of English conducted in different contexts, so that PTs can realize their own norm-bound, NS model oriented attitudes towards learning/teaching English, and understand that these norm-bound attitudes do not have a place in ELF context.

- Exposure to NNS samples, so that PTs can see the possibility of communicating effectively with a NNS accent as well and can have more confidence in their own accent.

These are some general suggestions which can be made within the limitations of this study. With further, in depth research on teachers' and learners' beliefs, perceptions and thoughts regarding varieties of English, it would be possible to identify the teacher/ learner problems associated with implementing an ELF approach to teaching and learning English and suggest more specific solutions to these problems.

About the author

Dilek Uygun is a lecturer at the ELT department of Marmara University, Istanbul, Turkey. She got her Ph.D. in linguistics at Boğaziçi University, Istanbul. Her research interests include syntactic theory, language variation and language acquisition. Recently, she has been investigating Turkish EFL teachers' views and awareness of the variations in English dialects in EFL context.
Email: `duygun@marmara.edu.tr`, `uygundi@yahoo.com`

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Re/Considering the English Language Teacher Education Programs in Turkey From an ELF Standpoint: What Do the Academia, Pre-Service and In-Service Teachers Think?

Dilek İnal* and Esra Özdemir*

Abstract

This paper aimed to explore the perceptions of Turkish ELT academia, pre-service and in-service English teachers on the concept of ELF and the necessity to make it a part of the English language teacher education programs in Turkey. Three subject groups, each consisting 100 subjects, from 42 cities in Turkey participated in the study. The research instrument was pilot tested with 115 participants and resulted with 0.86 Cronbach-Alpha value. Descriptive statistics and one-way ANOVA were employed to assess how participants position themselves with respect to the concept of ELF; and whether there was a significant difference among the groups with respect to the paradigmatic changes such as participants' perspective of native/non-native, standard/non-standard dichotomy and about language learning and teaching in the context of ELF. Independent Sample *t*-Test was conducted to reveal the dependency between ELF familiarity, academic instruction on ELF and participants' attitudes towards ELF. The findings revealed that pre-service teachers embrace ELF significantly more than the academia and in-service teachers. Academia's approach to ELF was twofold; they tend to provide both EFL and ELF perspectives in educating teachers, but in evaluating ELT paradigms and learning/teaching activities, they are pro-normative. In-service teachers, on the other hand, keep the middle ground in all dimensions of the survey. The results also indicated that there was a dependency between ELF familiarity, academic instruction on ELF and participants' attitudes towards ELF.

Keywords: English as a lingua franca, changing paradigms in ELT, native/non-native dichotomy, standard/non-standard dichotomy, English language teacher education programs

1 Introduction

In his book *English Next*, Graddol states that despite the many changes taking place in the world, interest in learning English remains the same, leading to more people than ever wanting to learn English (2006). Marking that this growing popularity has become "one of the few enduring facts of global modern life," Graddol draws attention

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*Istanbul University, Turkey

to the one change that takes place not in relation to the English language but in its very nature. This is English as Lingua Franca—*English in its new global form.* It is the language of business, technology, science, the Internet, popular entertainment and even sports (2006).

English has indeed consolidated its status as the contact language of the world. The global spread created an unprecedented demand for English language learning/teaching, which warranted education systems to respond to it on different institutional levels, taking into account the particulars of their immediate contexts as well as the global needs. Turkey is one country where English has long been enthroned as the primary foreign language and the Turkish education system allocates significant resources to its teaching. Particularly in educating English language teachers at university level, the existing policy dictates an updated curriculum, asking academics to make room for paradigmatic changes concerning the domain of language learning and teaching.

Today, as discussions centered on the position of English as a lingua franca and its implications on ELT are taking center stage around the world, Turkish academia is inevitably keeping pace with these discussions and making a note of ELF and its concomitant debates. Although the present English language teacher education program does not include ELF among the required courses, it often emerges as an elective course at undergraduate or graduate levels, designed to raise awareness in prospective English teachers towards the many issues entailed by the concept.

2 Methodology

This study aimed to investigate the perceptions of Turkish ELT academia, pre-service and in-service English teachers of the concept of ELF and the necessity to make it a part of the English language teacher education programs in Turkey.

2.1 Participants

The study was conducted with 300 participants. There were three subject groups; (Group 1) Turkish ELT academia, containing professors, associate professors, assistant professors, lecturers, and research assistants working at the ELT departments of the universities in Turkey, (Group 2) pre-service English teachers who were senior students of ELT departments, and prospective English teachers, and (Group 3) in-service English teachers who were teaching at the primary and secondary schools in Turkey. Each subject group contained 100 participants and their demographic profile revealed participation from 42 cities of Turkey.

2.2 Research design and procedure

The research adopts both a quantitative and qualitative design. However, since the qualitative study is still in progress at the interview stage, only the first phase of the study will be presented, and the results of the quantitative analyses will be discussed here.

A questionnaire was composed and used as a research instrument to collect quantitative data from the participants. Following the preliminary Demographics Part, the questionnaire included 38 statements based on a Likert Scale of 5 (from 1-strongly agree to 5-strongly disagree), with reverse items, marking a tendency towards or refraining from ELF as a model for English language teaching. The statements were prepared on the three dimensions that were defined in respect to the literature review and the research questions of the study (Dimension 1: *Paradigmatic Changes*, Dimension 2: *Teaching and Learning*, and Dimension 3: *English Language Teacher Education Programs*). The addition of the points gained from each statement revealed each participant's total score on the survey. The highest score meant the strongest disposition to embrace ELF.

Overall, the research intended to answer the following questions:

What are the perceptions of academia, pre-service and in-service teachers of English regarding:

- the concept of ELF?

- the necessity to make it a part of the English language teacher education programs?

The first research question was basically addressed by Dimension 1—*Paradigmatic Changes* of the questionnaire. The statements that were construed to elicit participants' appraisal of the basic issues concerning ELF, such as the native/non-native and standard/non-standard dichotomy in English language, were to indicate their inclinations towards ELF. The second research question, on the other hand, concerned Dimensions 2 and 3. The statements belonging to Dimension 2 aimed at revealing the participants' basic understanding of the practice of English language learning and teaching; such as progress and proficiency in English. The statements prepared for Dimension 3 sought to investigate participants' acknowledgement of the place of ELF in the English Language Teacher Education Programs in Turkey.

The research instrument was pilot-tested with 115 participants, and resulted with 8.6 Crombach-α value. The survey was posted on-line and a printed version was made available for some of the participants. The first 100 participants from each group who answered all the questions of the survey were chosen as the subjects of this study.

2.3   Analysis and findings

Descriptive statistics, one-way ANOVA and post-hoc, and sample t-test were employed to analyze the data. A .05 level of significance was used in all of the statistical analyses.

As mentioned earlier, a higher score from the survey meant a stronger ELF tendency. The following bar chart displays the distribution of the overall scores gained by the three groups from the survey. Although the difference between the highest score (131) and the lowest score (63) is highly striking, this bar chart shows that the distribution of the points are relatively close to each other among the three groups. It must be marked, however, that the highest point was scored by a participant from the academia (see Figure 1).
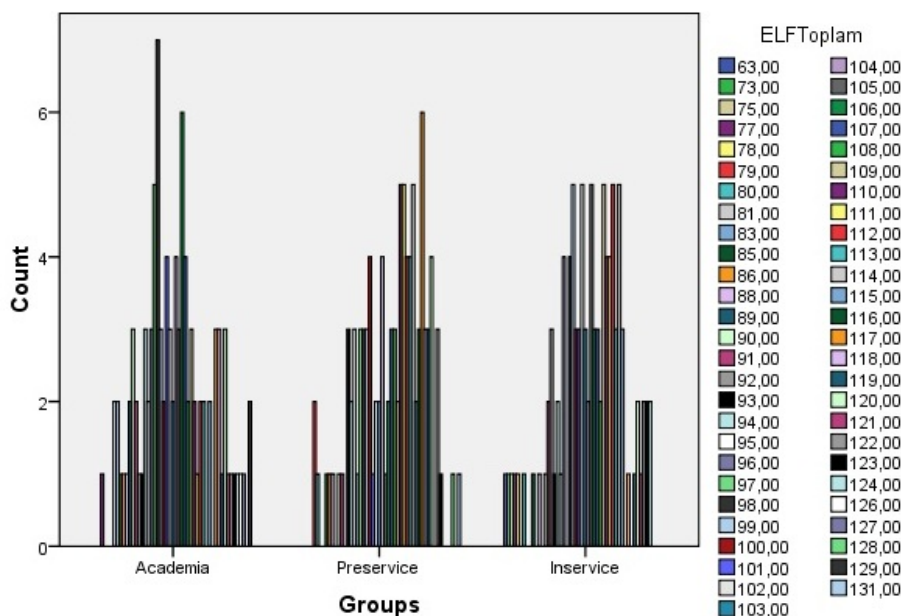
Figure 1: The distribution of the overall scores

What are the perceptions of academia, pre-service and in-service teachers of English regarding the concept of ELF?

The first research question aimed at revealing the subject groups' perception of ELF through both inter-group and intra-group comparisons. The first step was to assess how participant groups positioned themselves with respect to ELF.

How do the participants position themselves with respect to the concept of ELF? The mean scores indicated that the pre-service teachers had the highest score (107,0900) from the test, meaning that pre-service teachers are more inclined towards an ELF approach. Analysis of the mean scores (ANOVA), however, did not result in a statistically significant difference among the groups ($F(2, 297) = 2.85$, $p = .059$). This indicated that the three groups position themselves in a similar distance and way with respect to ELF. As the significance level of ANOVA was slightly above .05, a post hoc was conducted for group comparisons. The post hoc test revealed that there was one pair of groups whose mean scores differed in a statistically significant way from each other at the $p < .05$. These groups are the academia and the pre-service teachers and the difference between their scores ($p < .029$) is above the significance level. The difference between pre-service and in-service teachers, on the other hand, is slightly above the significance value ($p < .057$) whereas the difference is not quite significant for the academia and in-service groups (see Table 1).

Participants' perception of ELF was also investigated via the mean scores the groups

Table 1: Total mean scores of the three participant groups (ANOVA)

Total Group	N	Mean	Std. Deviation		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Academia	100	103.5700	11.49814	Between Groups	733.927	2	366.963		
Preservice	100	107.0900	10.87681	Within Groups	38204.660	297	128.635	2.853	0.059
Inservice	100	104.0200	11.63587						
	300	104.8933	11.41181	Total	38938.587	299			

obtained on each dimension. In order to examine how paradigmatic changes were acknowledged by the participants (Dimension 1: paradigmatic changes); how participants perceived ELF in teaching and learning (Dimension 2: Teaching and Learning); and whether there was dependency between having received ELF instruction and ELF familiarity, and one's approach towards ELF (Dimension 3: English Language Teacher Education Programs) ANOVA was conducted as an analysis means.

Is there a difference among the groups with respect to the first dimension?

The descriptive statistics of the mean scores for Dimension 1 showed that preservice teachers performed the highest mean score (29.0500). In accordance with the scores obtained overall, the groups are ranked in the same order depending on their mean scores. ANOVA displayed that there was a statistically significant difference among the groups for Dimension 1 ($F(2, 297) = 6.01$, $p = .003$). Following ANOVA, post hoc was performed and the results indicated that there were two pairs of groups whose mean scores differed in a statistically significant manner. The results showed that the difference between academia and pre-service teachers ($p < .001$), and in-service and preservice teachers ($p < .032$) are above the significance value but the difference was not quite significant for the academia and in-service teachers' scores. These results indicated that the pre-service group showed the highest inclination towards ELF by favoring non-standard and non-native paradigm in the context of ELT (see Table 2).

Is there a difference among the groups with respect to the second dimension?

The mean scores for Dimension 2 showed that pre-service teachers performed the highest mean score (40.9300), and the rank order did not change. However, the mean scores were very close, which was reflected onto an insignificant difference among groups in ANOVA ($F(2, 297) = 2.39$, $p = .093$). Although post-hoc was not a required step, post-hoc analysis was conducted to identify whether there was a difference between pairs of groups. Post-hoc results showed that the difference between pre-service teachers and

Table 2: Paradigmatic changes (ANOVA)

Total Group	N	Mean	Std. Deviation		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Academia 100	100	26.9500	4.16667	Between Groups	225.360	2	112.680		
Preservice 100	100	29.0500	4.40013	Within Groups	5561.210	297	18.725	6.018	0.003
Inservice 100	100	27.7300	4.41040						
	300	27.9100	4.39921	Total	5786.570	299			

Table 3: ELF teaching and learning (ANOVA)

Total Group	N	Mean	Std. Deviation		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Academia 100	100	39.4500	4.87702	Between Groups	122.427	2	61.213		
Preservice 100	100	40.9300	4.97520	Within Groups	7606.010	297	25.609	2.390	0.093
Inservice 100	100	39.7500	5.31887						
	300	40.0433	5.08405	Total	7728.437	299			

academia was above the significance value ($p < .040$), but the difference was not quite significant for the academia and in-service groups, and pre-service and in-service (see Table 3).

Is there a difference among the groups with respect to the third dimension?

The descriptive statistics of the mean scores for Dimension 3 revealed very close results among groups. However, the striking fact in the results was that this time the rank order changed in favor of academia (37.1700). One way to interpret this was to recognize the active involvement of the academia as practitioners in the ELT education programs. ANOVA, on the other hand, displayed that there was not a statistically significant difference among the groups for Dimension 3 ($F(2, 297) = .808$, $p = .447$) (see Table 4).

Do the participants' attitudes towards ELF depend on ELF familiarity?

Within Dimension 3, the study aimed to investigate the dependency between ELF familiarity and participants' attitudes towards ELF. The mean scores of the participants who

Table 4: Education programs (ANOVA)

Total Group	N	Mean	Std. Deviation		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Academia	100	37.1700	4.21411	Between Groups	24.180	2	12.090		
Preservice	100	37.1100	3.53595	Within Groups	4442.740	297	14.959	0.808	0.447
Inservice	100	36.5400	3.82290						
	300	36.9400	3.86517	Total	4466.920	299			

Table 5: Dependency of ELF attitudes on ELF familiarity (Independent sample *t*-test)

	ELF familiar	N	Mean	SD	SE_x	t test		
						t	df	p
ELF Total	Yes	242	106.2769	11.16204	.71752	4.420	298	.000
	No	58	99.1207	10.69198	1.40393			

marked 'yes' is considerably higher than the mean score of participants who marked 'no'. The result of independent sample *t*-test revealed a dependency between participants' ELF familiarity and their approach towards it ($M = 106$, $SD = 11, 1$), $t(4, 4) = 298$, $p = .00$), indicating a positive correlation between ELF familiarity and ELF tendency (see Table 5).

Do the participants' attitudes towards ELF depend on academic instruction on ELF?

The study also aimed at investigating the dependency between academic instruction on ELF and three participant groups' attitudes towards ELF within Dimension 3. Independent sample t-test results revealed that there was a dependency between receiving academic instruction on ELF and their approach towards it ($M = 106$, $SD = 11.1$), $t(2, 4) = 298$, $p = .015$) (see Table 6). There was not much difference between the mean scores of the groups. A closer look at Table 6 and a comparison with the previous one reveals that out of the 242 participants who were familiar with ELF only 142 participants reported to have received academic instruction on it. This indicates that familiarity with ELF is not bound to academic instruction only. It may come from a variety of resources, and this forms one of the questions that have been included in the semi-structured interviews of the second phase of this study.

Table 6: Dependency of ELF attitudes on academic instruction
(Independent sample *t*-test)

| | ELF familiar | N | Mean | SD | SE$_x$ | *t* test | | |
						t	*df*	*p*
ELF Total	Yes	142	106.5845	11.57599	.97144	2.454	298	.015
	No	158	103.3734	11.07961	.88145			

Conclusion

The findings of the research revealed that pre-service teachers embrace ELF considerably more than the academia and in-service teachers. This is significant in the sense that at present they are both learners and future practitioners. Depending on where they stand they may either idealize ELF as a new model of ELT which would not repeat "the mistakes of EFL" and plan to implement it in their future teaching or, as learners, they may feel empowered by the "freedom" provided by it. Either way, results indicate that pre-service teachers are more inclined to question the validity of the normative perspective to English language teaching, are more eager to adopt a non-native perspective in teaching, believe that nonnative speakers of English can use English for a variety of purposes just as well as native speakers, think that in teaching/learning English intelligibility is of utmost important, and the way English is taught should reflect the needs and aspirations of nonnative speakers who use to communicate with other non-natives, and would like ELT programs to allocate more space to ELF.

Academia's approach to ELF is twofold; they tend to provide both EFL and ELF perspectives in educating future English language teachers, but in evaluating ELT paradigms and the practice of learning/teaching activities, they are pro-normative. Academia's mean scores were the lowest in the first and second dimension but when it comes to language teacher education programs, they obtained the highest mean score. If academia is seen as an establishment in itself which is pushed towards producing academic work whose features are restricted by the norm-setting groups, then it may be natural for them to uphold the preeminent varieties and standards. But, when it comes to actually teaching the group at hand who are the pre-service teachers, they would like to provide both perspectives and educate English teachers for a "globalized world" just like defined in the curriculum.

In-service teachers, who are handed down a curriculum, teaching materials, and a timetable, keep the middle ground in all dimensions of the survey. It may be that they do not perceive themselves as "decision-making agents of change"; but instead as professionals who make the system work without having much to say. Hence, they may feel inclined to draw the boundaries of their classroom activities within the limits of the given curriculum's acknowledgement of the status English.

The results also indicated that there was a dependency between ELF familiarity,

academic instruction on ELF and participants' attitudes towards ELF. Thus, ELF instruction and familiarity have a positive effect on participants' approach towards ELF, resulting in an awareness of the need to include ELF in the teaching curriculum.

The results of the statistical analyses reveal tentative and limited conclusions due to the fact that the qualitative data is still being gathered. A more encompassing conclusion is aimed at with the completion of the second phase of the study.

About the authors

Dilek İnal has been working as an assistant professor at the Department of English Language Teaching of Istanbul University. Her interest areas are teacher training and development, English as Lingua Franca, World Englishes, cultural and literary studies. Email: `inald@istanbul.edu.tr`

Esra Özdemir has recently started working as an assistant professor at the ELT Department of Istanbul University. Her research areas are instructional pragmatics, intercultural communication and ELF. Email: `esraoz@istanbul.edu.tr`

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Healing English Pedagogy's Achilles Heel: Testing ELF in Light of a Democratic Complementary Model

Seyyed Bagher Mirshojaee[*]

Abstract

If we consider one part of language pedagogy as a place of especial vulnerability looking from ELF standpoint, that spot will be language testing. Each variety of World Englishes (WEs) has its own norm. Based on their norms, their proficiency can be defined operationally. But the problem gets worse when it comes to testing English from a global perspective since we do not know whose norms should be used. The problem with TOEFL and IELTS tests is that their criteria for measuring proficiency are candidate's use of particular features of English which are used and accepted as standards by highly educated native speakers of English. Other nations take shelter in TOEFL and IELTS because they lack such powerfully constructed and globally administered and supported tests. An immediate action should be taken to think about the most appropriate tests which take into account linguistic, ethnic, cultural, ideological, social, and political realities of both the local and global needs of English users. The democratic complementary model (DCM) offered in this paper deems both local norms and global norms as standards and via such standards all varieties have the same chance of appropriateness and degree of being problematic. The model puts forward a democratic norm specification in which all members of English varieties have the same challenge and common concern for the same cause i.e. intelligibility. This paper will firstly deal with the problems of language testing using native speaker (NS) norms; secondly introduce the model and its exigencies and then deal with defining competencies using the tenets of this model.

Keywords: ELF, ELT, democratic complementary model

1   Introduction

The success or failure of each pedagogical program is determined by the consequences of tests. Finding the most reliable and valid means showing the results of educational practices is a crucial part of each pedagogical program. Teaching and testing go hand in hand in the pedagogical settings and testing has wash-back effects on teaching. Each testing practice has its social consequences and uses or misuses that make it the most dangerous game of pedagogical fields.

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[*]Mazandaran Educational Organization, Iran

Without a sound and fair accommodation of the constructs behind linguistic, social, psychological and cultural aspects of a language, it is impossible to have a good picture of the language and end up to a good language testing practice. The problem gets worse when it comes to testing a lingua franca which has too many facets and faces, too many building blocks which will be underpinned in this paper.

This paper firstly deals with the problems of mainstream English language testing (ELT) and standardized English language tests, and then put forward the complementary democratic model (CDM) to show the reality of ELF and to shed light on ELF testing.

2   Problems with ELT Testing

The point that English is not the property of its native speakers has come of age and below cited from Seidlhofer (2004) you find two definitions of ELF:

"Any lingual medium of communication between people of different mother tongues, for whom it is a second language" (Samarin, 1987, p. 371) and a "contact language" between persons who share neither a common native tongue nor a common (national) culture, and for whom English is the chosen foreign language of communication (Firth, 1996, p. 240). English is metamorphosed into intra-national ELF and international ELF on account of today's changing functions of the language. The definitions of ELF pave our way to make our points of departure. Now it is time to enumerate some weak points of ELT testing. Language testing from native speakers' norms or ELT paradigm is problematic viewing from the following angles.

2.1   Linguistic and educational imperialism

Phillipson (1992) refers to the importance given to native speaking models as the 'native speaker fallacy'. Phillipson considers English linguistic imperialism as a case of *linguicism,* defined as 'ideologies, structures, and practices which are used to legitimate, effectuate, and reproduce an unequal division of power and resources (both material and immaterial) between groups which are defined on the basis of language' (Phillipson, 1992, p. 47). In his terms, 'educational imperialism' appears when expanding circle countries target the professionalism of inner circle countries. The concept of domination has roots in the history of colonialism, and Phillipson thinks it is because many elites in society have powerful links with the inner circle for they have been educated in inner circle countries. This means that they have been influenced by the hegemony of the West. Educational imperialism may refer to all aspects of education including testing which is an important aspect of education. Davidson (1994) mentions the 'prevalent imperialism of major international tests of English' and believes that these tests support and serve the variety of English prevalent in the country where they are produced.

2.2   Interested test making and interpretation

Viewing English from ELT paradigm engenders unequal linguistic, professional and economical power relation between native speakers (NSs) and non native speakers (NNSs). Reliance on standardized tests like TOEFL to make high-stakes decisions leads to increased demand for TOEFL preparation courses and materials. This 'gold plating' (Graddol, 2006) yields high profits to publishers who disseminate TOEFL preparation material to individuals and institutions. Hence, in addition to promoting American English and cultural norms, TOEFL provides economic gains to the government it represents, to individuals and institutions that prepare students to succeed in TOEFL, and to publishers of TOEFL preparation material who are 'cashing in on this linguistic bonanza' (Templer, 2004).

Language tests are powerful tools which have social consequences (Messick, 1989) and they exercise power over the test takers who have to accomplish success in those tests to change their educational, professional, economical and social status.

2.3   Cultural perspective

ELT paradigm tests considers the NSs' culture as the target of all teaching and testing practices and the test takers must make themselves familiar with the cultural content, and context of NSs. According to Mckay (2002), the use of English is no longer connected to the culture of inner Circle countries; in a local sense, English becomes placed in the culture of the country in which it is used and in a global sense, one of its primary functions is to enable speakers to share with others their ideas and culture (p. 12).

To McKay (2002), the goal of teaching culture in ELF should be to "help learners develop strategies to achieve friendly relations when English is used with speakers from other cultures" (p. 127) and ELF speakers do not need to "acquire the pragmatic rules of another culture but rather to mutually seek ways to accommodate to diversity" (p. 128).

2.4   World Englishes

Englishes spoken in different parts of the world move away from their parent English, i.e. Britain and from each other "regarding linguistic features like pronunciation, grammar, vocabulary/ idiom and discourse style" (Jenkins, 2003, p. 23). They lead their own lives by having their own sociolinguistic, cultural, national, political and psycholinguistic functions.

Each variety of WEs has its own norm. Based on their norms, their proficiency can be defined operationally. But the problem gets worse when it comes to testing English from a global perspective since we don't know whose norms should be used (Davies, Hamp-Lyons and Kemp, 2003).

Lowenberg (1993, p. 95) believed that "in language testing an implicit (and frequently explicit) assumption has long been that the criteria for measuring proficiency in English around the world should be candidate's use of particular features of English

which are used and accepted as norms by highly educated native speakers of English."
Regarding the validity of such a test, a test using items according to the norm of specific
English not used in test takers' local context is locally invalid.

Brown (2004, p. 318) pointed out that English tests are free from bias if all the
following Englishes are equally considered:

1. The English(es) of the test takers' local community,

2. the dominant English of the test taker (which may not be the same as the local
   community),

3. the English(es) of the test content,

4. the English(es) of the test proctors,

5. the English(es) of the test scorers/raters,

6. the English(es) of the decision target community,

7. the English(es) of the decision target purpose,

8. the English(es) of the decision makers

2.5   Globalization

Another force questioning mainstream ELT is today's hybridity of linguistic, cultural,
and social practices because of the post-colonial globalization that makes people to have
more reasons for international and global uses of ELF.

Appadurai (1996) describes *globalization* as a connection of worldwide flow in five
dimensions which can be driving forces for the promotion of international ELF: The
ethnoscapes (the flow of people), the technoscapes (the flow of new technologies), the
finanescapes (the flow of money through currency markets and stock exchanges), the
mediascapes (the flow of information and the images of the world) and the ideoscapes
(the flow of ideas around the world).

Considering the above mentioned problems, it is time to deal with DCM which offers
solutions to the domination of NS norms.

3   The Democratic Complementary Model

The DCM was proposed because of the divergent and convergent forces in the spread
of English as a lingua franca (Mirshojaee, 2011). Divergent forces make Englishes
move towards their individualities to show NNSs national identities, linguistic, cultural
and social milieus but if they move extremely in their divergent directions, it causes
mutual unintelligibility in global contexts of use. Convergent forces make Englishes
move towards the center for commonalities to illustrate the global needs of its speakers
to accomplish intelligibility. DCM considers both local norms and global norms as

standards when needed. In such a standard all varieties have the same chance of appropriateness. DCM is a democratic norm specification in which all members of English varieties have the same challenge and common concern for the same cause, i.e. intelligibility.

On the one hand the learners have an intra-national perspective and use ELF to meet intra-national functions; on the other hand they have a universal viewpoint and prepare themselves as the citizens of the global village to understand other cultures and to tolerate other citizens of such a village.

Solving language testing problems involves solving problems of proficiency and finding out the competencies needed by ELF users.

To promote the realities of the DCM, the following competencies are needed to be applied to the testing practices ELF:

Linguistic Competence: English language is no longer viewed as a homogenous language involving inner circle native speaker linguistic norms but is viewed as a heterogeneous language with multiple norms and diverse grammars (Canagarajah, 2006).

According to the movements of ELF in its spread, tests need to take both intra-national and international ELF norms into account to have a complete picture of the reality of ELF. Depending on the linguistic scope of the test and its target, norm can be operationalized.

Pragmatic Competence: NSs' rules of English use are no longer the only appropriate use of English in today's function of ELF. In outer circle contexts, for example, "there are pragmatic rules that inform appropriate language use for particular contexts, and these are often not in keeping with so-called native speaker rules" (McKay, 2002, p. 74). In terms of its contextual considerations, ELF tests depict the rules of appropriacy.

The pragmatic rules of all English users in ELF context is appropriate and in operation when it comes to intercultural communication. It should be determined beforehand that which type of ELF is going to be tested and where is the context of the use of the type to determine the rules of appropriacy.

Discourse Competence: The results of contrastive rhetoric researches show that writers follow the discursive conventions of their own cultures. Hinds (1987) postulates that written texts in western culture are writer responsible for the communication of meaning but written texts in other cultures are reader responsible meaning that it is on the part of the reader to get the meaning and intention of the writers.

Thus McKay (2002) argues that while in the outer circle contexts rhetorical patterns used within the outer circle culture are the best ones to teach, for the use of EIL between individuals from different countries the focus of rhetorical competence should be on "the need for readers of English to be willing to process

English texts that conform to a variety of rhetorical patterns" (McKay, 2002, p. 79).

In post modern globalization in which the "varieties of English have started to leak outside their national borders" (Canagarajah, 2006, p. 231) the discourse norms of varieties should be seen in testing practice when needs arise.

Strategic Competence: English speakers from different varieties who establish intercultural communication with each other need to negotiate the variabilities and commonalities in their Englishes. The point is that the participants of international ELF actually see the two sides of the coin of ELF which come to the fore in real conversations, that is, sometimes they need to show their own individualities and sometimes their commonalities with other ELF users.

Thus the speakers of all varieties accommodate their speech to be intelligible to each other when interacting in international global contexts and they should "use interpersonal strategies such as repair, rephrasing, clarification gestures, topic change, and other consensus-oriented and mutually supportive practices" (Firth, 1996: Grumperz, 1982, in Canagarajah, 2006, p. 238). On the other hand, they illustrate their uniqueness, when needs arise, by moving away from commonalities regarding the use of ELF towards their own linguistic, cultural, ethnic and social context.

Intercultural Competence: Testing ELF needs deeming diverse cultural issues of different users of it. As McKay (2002) argues inner circle cultural knowledge is not enough for global cross-cultural encounters. A new construct under the name of intercultural competence came into being to inform intercultural communication.

According to Kealey (1996), three interrelated 'soft' or personal skills are required for effective intercultural collaboration:

- Adaptation skills: the ability to cope with experiences resulting from crossing cultural boundaries; they entail competences such as flexibility and stress tolerance.
- Cross-cultural skills: such as cultural sensitivity, realism and political astuteness, enable an individual to participate in a host culture.
- Partnership skills: such as openness to others and perseverance, facilitate the establishment of effective working relationships with colleagues from different cultures.

Testing ELF should be informed by these types of skills to meet the demands of global intercultural communication and local cultural context.

4   Conclusion

This paper tries to show the problems of ELT and enumerates some of the weak points of the paradigm. It introduces the current status of English using the literature of

WEs, ELF, globalization, critical applied linguistics and intercultural communication and shows the exigency of taking all varieties of Englishes into account in the DCM of English considering all norms, cultures and users of ELF and give them the same share of the global linguistic gifts of today to maintain their lives in the global village and to have their means of communication and achieve mutual intelligibility. Testing informed by DCM strives to consider all the rights of ELF users from all corners of the globe and invites for a redefinition of new constructs of linguistic, pragmatic, discursive, strategic and intercultural competences to indicate the metamorphosed status of ELF. In the future empirical researches need to be done to cast more lights into the legitimacy of the model.

About the author

Seyyed Bagher Mirshojaee got his MA degree in TEFL from Ferdowsi University of Mashhad. He has taught English in different situations to different students ranging from junior high schools to universities for fifteen years. He is an English lecturer in Mazandaran Educational Organization. He is interested in metadiscourse studies WEs and ELF. He has published papers in ELT journals and presented at many international conferences.
Email: `s.b.mirshojaee.55@gmail.com`

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Part III

Describing ELF and Collecting ELF Corpora

ELF vs. American and British English: Insights From Croatia

Branka Drljača Margić* and Dorjana Širola*

Abstract

The paper analyses the results of a questionnaire-based study on English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) conducted among 103 Croatian university students of English. The respondents tend to describe ELF in two ways: as (mostly American) English used in international communication or as a simplified, neutral type of English. They hold that British English (BE) differs from ELF to a larger extent than American English (AE). In addition, BE is perceived as more stylistically marked and culturally bound. Conversely, AE is seen as simpler and less tied to a particular historical, cultural and geographical context, and thus is perceived as 'everyone's language'. Most of the respondents, however, believe that ELF should not equal either AE or BE. When asked which English they spoke and whether their use of English was situationally determined, the respondents largely claim to speak AE in all contexts due to high levels of exposure to it, but some opt for BE in academic communication. A number of respondents were unable to determine which variety they used, or said they spoke a neutral type of English, defined by them as a mixture of BE and AE. Some explicitly said they did not want to sound native, as they felt that it would be artificial and pretentious. The respondents' opinion on whether the widespread use of English constitutes a threat to Croatian was also elicited. The danger is exclusively seen to lie in numerous words of English origin, while the perception of potential domain loss is virtually non-existent.

Keywords: English as a lingua franca, British English, American English, Croatian, language attitudes

1   Introduction

English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) is currently commonly viewed in scholarly circles along the lines of "an emerging English that exists in its own right and which is being described in its own terms rather than by comparison with ENL [English as a Native Language]" (Jenkins, 2007, p. 2), and an English that "will increasingly derive its norms of correctness and appropriacy from its own usage rather than that of the UK or the US" (Seidlhofer, 2001, p. 15). However, the extent to which learners, teachers, and prospective teachers of English agree with either Jenkins' conception of ELF or Seidlhofer's prediction for its future varies considerably, and has been the focus of a number of studies.

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*University of Rijeka, Croatia

ELF research conducted among English language learners and prospective teachers has tended to find a general lack of an awareness of the existence of varieties of English other than native ones, or even other than "standard" British and American English (BE and AE); nevertheless, it has also shown that exposure to the concepts of ELF and to non-native English varieties has a considerable impact on the level of students' openness to, and tolerance of, non-native English varieties and the concept of ELF as based on features of various native and non-native English varieties.

The respondents' attitudes often exhibit contradiction, ambivalence, and bias towards British and American models. For example, Seidlhofer and Widdowson (2003) found that with Austrian university students of English approval for the conceptual shift from ENL to ELF was paired with concern that ELF will be culturally and linguistically reduced and therefore "inadequate" (p. 122). In Matsuda (2003) English is at the same time seen by Japanese students to be an international language, and to be owned exclusively by native speakers ("[they believe that] the closer they follow the native speakers' usage, the better," p. 493). Grau (2005) shows that, even though they focus on international intelligibility and demote the importance of near-nativeness, German university students of English still consider BE and AE to be a sound basis for learners.

Jenkins (2007) looked at attitudes to ELF exhibited in several academic papers and in spoken discussions of ELF among native and non-native teachers of English, and found that ELF was seen as a deficient, incorrect kind of English, while ENL was the correct ideal to be emulated. In another attitude study, described in the same work, she conducted an investigation into attitudes to English accents among 326 (predominantly non-native) teachers of English: native accents were consistently preferred to non-native ones, and among native accents, BE and AE were consistently preferred.

One of our previous studies (Drljača Margić and Širola, 2010) was conducted among Croatian BA and MA students, future teachers of EFL, in order to establish to what extent the students believed they would rely on native speaker norms, teach their students about non-native varieties of English, and tolerate the use of non-native features. The results showed MA students — who had, unlike their BA counterparts, been exposed both to theoretical concepts relating to ELF and to a number of non-native and native varieties of English during a course on "English as a Global Language" — to be more open to non-native English varieties and English as an International Language as based on features of both native and non-native English varieties, as well as more inclined to introduce their future pupils to their features. However, they were neither (more) tolerant of the use of features of non-native varieties of English in schools nor (more) willing to accept them as normative. In another study (Drljača Margić and Širola, 2011) we aimed to investigate the attitudes of Croatian university students of English towards native and non-native English varieties as well as International English; we were primarily interested in the participants' impressions, following their immediate intuition. We found that International English is thought of as a "simple" and "comprehensible" variety that is nevertheless perceived as "standard" and "correct." When asked which varieties of English they would most like to have a mastery of, the respondents overwhelmingly chose BE and AE, followed by International

English. As for which variety the respondents deemed most useful to know, AE took first place, followed by International English; BE took only third place.

The present study follows on from our two previous ones and is situated within a larger context of ELF attitudes research, primarily aiming to ascertain how Croatian university students of English (and hence to a large extent future teachers of EFL) perceive ELF, what they think the relation of ELF to BE and AE should be, and which English they think they use. The perceptions of the spread of English as a possible threat to Croatian were also investigated.

2 The Study

2.1 Participants

The sample comprised 103 students of English in the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Rijeka. Of these, 28 were in the first year of their MA in Teaching English as a Foreign Language (EFL), while 31 were second-year and 44 were third-year BA students of English Language and Literature. Due to a variety of factors, most BA students choose to enrol in the MA in Teaching EFL after they graduate, and hence all three groups largely contained prospective EFL teachers.

In the course of their formal education the students had had high levels of exposure to British and American varieties, while their exposure (almost exclusively via the mass media) to other native and non-native varieties of the English language had been limited. Neither group had had an "English as a Global Language" course, which is normally not offered until the second semester of the first MA year, and thus had not been exposed to theoretical concepts relating to ELF.

A pilot study had been carried out among 7% of the final sample; we used the results of this to clarify some of our questions and reformulate others.

2.2 Research questions

The study sought to answer the following research questions:

1. How do the respondents perceive ELF?

2. Do the respondents believe that ELF should be based on British and/or American norms?

3. Which variety do the respondents use and does its use depend on the context (i.e. topic, interlocutor, level of formality)?

4. Do the respondents fear that the widespread use of English could pose a threat to Croatian in terms of its survival and/or development?

2.3 Hypotheses

We formulated three hypotheses:

1. ELF will largely not be perceived as a variety that is different from either BE or AE.

2. ELF will largely not be perceived as a variety that should be different from either BE or AE.

3. The spread of English will be seen as a possible threat to the development of Croatian rather than its survival.

2.4   Research method

The data were collected by means of a questionnaire, which consisted of six open-ended questions. The participants were asked: first, to describe English as a lingua franca; second, to determine which English language variety they spoke and if its use was context dependent; third, whether they perceived ELF as different from BE (if not, whether they believed that the two varieties should differ); fourth, whether they perceived ELF as different from AE (if not, whether they believed that the two varieties should differ); fifth, whether they saw the spread of English as a threat to the survival of the Croatian language; and sixth, whether they perceived the spread of English as a threat to the development of the Croatian language.

As this was a pioneering study of ELF perceptions in Croatia, we decided to use open-ended questions. In order to encourage our respondents to give spontaneous answers, and elaborate on them as much as they wanted, both the questionnaire and the respondents' answers were in Croatian, their native language.

2.5   Results

The findings of the study show that ELF tends to be described in two ways: First, as (mostly American) English which is used internationally, providing mobility and facilitating cross-cultural communication; and second, as a simplified, neutral type of English based on commonalities of both native and non-native English varieties and not tied to any particular country, nation, or culture. The adjectives most often associated with ELF are "universal", "widespread", "common", "omnipresent", "useful", "necessary", and "popular".

> "Variety of English adapted to international use; localisms are absent in order to achieve easier communication." (56)
> "Its features and rules are similar to those found in 'normal' English, the main difference is in its use — mutual intelligibility is more important than achieving perfection." (90)

According to a majority of the respondents, English used by people participating in international communication exhibits interference from their first languages:

> "Non-native speakers will colour English in accordance with their native language and culture; the majority of them will not strive to sound native-like." (45)

> "It has many varieties and accents; everyone uses it in their own way with the influence from their native language." (60)

For the respondents, BE differs from ELF to a larger extent than AE, primarily in terms of accent, vocabulary and idioms. That is largely because BE is perceived as more stylistically marked and culturally bound, while AE is seen as "everyone's language", simpler and less tied to a particular historical, cultural and geographical context. What follows are the respondents' additional remarks:

> "ELF and American do not differ nor should they because American is widely present in the media and a language is best acquired via the media." (12)
> "ELF is a bastard combination of British, American and a speaker's vernacular." (16)
> "American is closer to ELF in terms of pronunciation." (55)
> "ELF is British English without colloquialisms and localisms." (56)

Most respondents, both those who say that ELF differs from AE and BE and those who see no difference between them, believe that ELF should differ from both these native varieties.

The respondents largely claim to speak AE in all contexts due to high levels of exposure to it, but some use BE in academic communication, because they see BE as more formal than AE and hence better suited to formal contexts:

> "I use British in class, while in everyday communication I opt for American due to the fact that it's more informal." (7)
> "I use British when I want to sound sophisticated." (100)

A number of respondents are unable to determine which variety they use, or say they speak a neutral type of English, defined by them as a mixture of BE and AE:

> "Combination of British and American." (6)
> "Standard; I can't define it precisely as we have never been taught what the exact differences are." (78)

Some explicitly say that they do not want to sound native, as they feel that it would be artificial and pretentious:

> "I am a non-native English speaker, I have never visited an English speaking country, none of my friends or family members are native speakers — it would be artificial and stupid to decide to speak posh English." (42)

The respondents seem to be rather willing to accommodate to their interlocutor, whether native or non-native (cf. Drljača Margić and Širola, 2010, pp. 132–133). This is best exemplified by the following comments:

"British English when I speak to someone from Great Britain, and American English when I speak to someone from the U.S." (4)

"When speaking with a native speaker, I pay a lot of attention to correctness; usually I speak simple English." (13)

"When I communicate with English native speakers, I make an effort to speak as grammatically correctly as possible; if I'm talking to people who do not speak English that well, I pare communication down to the simple forms and sentences." (35)

The majority of respondents do not see the spread of English posing any threat to either the survival or the development of Croatian. To the extent that a threat is perceived, more respondents express concern for the development of Croatian than for its survival. The danger is exclusively seen to lie in numerous loanwords of English origin, although some believe that loanwords in fact enrich the recipient language:

"The constant impact of English threatens the survival of Croatian — the young sometimes cannot be bothered to remember Croatian equivalents nor are they interested in the language's development." (14)

"As they use English, people pay less attention to the development of Croatian." (58)

"In order to be cool people use English loanwords that have perfectly good Croatian equivalents." (86)

"The influence of English can only help towards the enlargement of the vocabulary and the development of Croatian in all directions." (57)

The perception of potential domain loss, that is, Croatian losing ground to English in certain higher domains, is virtually non-existent. A number of respondents' answers to this group of questions in fact seem to indicate that they are distinguishing between *languages of identification* and *languages of communication* (Hüllen, 1992), and that they assume that the status of Croatian as a language of identification puts it in a completely different category from English, making it somehow impervious to it. The following comment illustrates this best:

"Croatian and English operate in different spheres and they do not trespass on each other's domains." (77)

3   Conclusion

The hypothesis that ELF will largely not be perceived as a variety that is different from either BE or AE was confirmed: the respondents to a large extent see ELF not to differ from AE. However, only a small minority identify ELF with BE.

Another hypothesis, that ELF will largely not be perceived as a variety that **should be** different from either BE or AE, was not confirmed. The large majority of our respondents in fact state that ELF should be different from BE and AE in that it

should be free of culture-specific features, localisms and colloquialisms. However, this variety would nevertheless apparently still have British and/or (preferably) American pronunciation, morphosyntax, and culturally neutral vocabulary.

Contrary to our expectations, the respondents did not relate the spread of English to future use — or lack thereof — of Croatian in higher domains, such as science and higher education. Although we had hypothesised that the spread of English will be seen as a possible threat to the development of Croatian rather than its survival, and the results have borne this out, what the respondents actually seem to see as a threat to their native language development is restricted to the lack of creation and/or use of adequate Croatian equivalents to English loanwords, while, for instance, the possible encroachment of English as a medium of instruction in higher education outside university English courses is not even considered.

About the authors

Branka Drljača Margić holds a PhD in Philology from the University of Zagreb. She is currently Assistant Professor at the Department of English, University of Rijeka. Her research interests include languages in contact, the presence of English in academic and research settings, language attitudes, and world Englishes.
Email: `bdrljaca@ffri.hr`

Dorjana Širola is a Senior Assistant Lecturer in the Department of English, University of Rijeka. She holds a D.Phil. in General Linguistics and Comparative Philology from the University of Oxford. Her research interests include writing systems, the writing/phonology interface, historical and comparative linguistics, Restsprachen, world Englishes, and language variation.
Email: `dsirola@ffri.hr`

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Profiles of Successful and Less Successful Learners of English Pronunciation in Croatian Primary Schools

Višnja Josipović Smojver* and Mateusz-Milan Stanojević*

Abstract

The present paper is a case study based on the observation of four groups of focal primary-school learners (altogether 26 subjects) during a period of four years (fifth to eighth grade, i.e., ages eleven to fourteen). Half of the subjects were from a city and half were from a small town. Every year each of the pupils was recorded in an interview which consisted of two parts: a task fulfilment in English and a motivational interview in their mother tongue, Croatian. In this way a total of 97 interviews (about 20 hours of recorded speech) was obtained. Three independent qualified assessors analysed auditorily their pronunciation features, focusing on the presence or absence of 'core' ELF features, as defined by Jenkins (2002). Thus they looked primarily at features of pronunciation like substitutions in the phonemic inventory; the preservation of the vocalic length contrasts; aspiration in consonants; the overall degree of fluency and intelligibility. On the basis of this evaluation, four best pronouncers and four least successful pronouncers were singled out. Next we looked for correlations of good pronunciation in this sense with the type and degree of the subjects' motivation for learning English and using it for international communication, their awareness of the status of English as a global language, and their day-to-day exposure to international (i.e. not necessarily native) English outside school. Finally, conclusions were reached about the implications of the results for learning and teaching English in the function of preparing learners for successful communication on a global scale.

Keywords: English pronunciation, Croatian, primary school, core features, ELF, international intelligibility

1 Introduction

The present paper presents the results of a case study based on the data obtained within the research project *Early acquisition of English as a foreign language: Analysis of learner interlanguage*, led by Jelena Mihaljević Djigunović, financed by the Croatian Ministry of Science and Education and related to the international ELLiE project (`http://www.ellieresearch.eu`). The aim of this paper is twofold: to draw up profiles of successful pronouncers of English (in terms of pronunciation features), and to relate them to external factors influencing their pronunciation performance.

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*University of Zagreb, Croatia

We shall first explain the choice of our focal subjects and explain the research methods. Next we shall analyse the data. On the basis of the data analysis, we selected the four best and the four least successful pronouncers and drew up their profiles in terms of the pronunciation features they share and the external factors influencing their performance. By comparing the profiles of the best and the least successful pronouncers, we discuss some implications that the present case study has for English pronunciation teaching and for future research.

2   The Choice of the Subjects and Research Methods

Our research participants were four groups of focal learners of English at Croatian primary schools. Altogether there were 26 of them. We observed them throughout the period of four years. Their ages were eleven to fourteen, i.e. they were observed from the fifth to the eighth grade of primary school, which in Croatia corresponds to the fifth to the eighth year of learning English at school. Urban and small-town participants were equally represented: thirteen participants were from the capital city of Zagreb and thirteen were from a small town. Likewise, both genders were equally represented, as is commonly done in this kind of study. The participants were referred to by codes, to protect their identity and the identity of their schools.

We based our study on interviews recorded during the four years of observation, and performed an auditive analysis of the participants' speech. According to the criteria based on Jenkins's (2002) idea of core features necessary for international intelligibility, we selected the four best and the four least successful pronouncers among our participants. For the choice of the relevant motivational factors which we refer to in the present study, we relied on the statistical data obtained from two other studies, Josipović Smojver (submittted) and Enever (2011). As for the research methods, a few technical details are in order about the procedure of interview recording. Each recording consisted of two parts: a task fulfilment in English and a motivational interview in Croatian. The task fulfilment was the description of a picture, combined with using the picture as a prompt for a conversation about the participants themselves. The average duration of an interview was somewhat over twelve minutes per subject. Considering that there were 26 participants involved in the study and each of them was interviewed four times (once a year during the four-year period of observation), the overall duration of recorded speech was approximately twenty hours.

The English part of the recording was auditively analysed by three independent assessors - the first author of the present paper and two other colleagues, who analysed half of the corpus each. In this part of the research we focused on the following five core features/ groups of features of ELF pronunciation, as defined by Jenkins (2002):

1. phonemic identity preservation

2. the preservation of vocalic length

3. the presence vs. absence of aspiration

4. general confidence and fluency vs. disfluency

5. other features contributing to intelligibility.

As for the preservation of the phonemic identity of individual English phonemes, we started from the findings presented in Josipović Smojver (submitted), in which the statistical analysis of the same corpus indicated that there is only one significant violation of a core feature in this sense. That is, there is only one English phoneme whose identity is subject to significant violation affecting intelligibility: the vowel /æ/, as in 'sad', which regularly gets merged with /e/, as in 'said'.

The second feature referred to above is originally referred to by Jenkins as the preservation of vocalic length, and it is accordingly called by the same name here. Phonologically speaking, it would perhaps be more appropriate to refer to it as the preservation of the tense vs. lax distinction, which is the phonologically inherent feature of English pairs of vowels like /iː/ vs. /ɪ/, /uː/ vs. /ʊ/ or the like. However, for the sake of clarity, in this kind of study it seems to be legitimate to refer to vocalic length, especially given that in Croatian it is not tense vs. lax, but long vs. short that defines vocalic identity, and our Croatian subjects regularly identify tense with long and lax with short anyway.

Next we looked at aspiration, another core feature, which is particularly interesting in this context, because when it comes to the glottal state features, we are dealing with two different types of language — English as an aspiration language and Croatian as a voicing language. As explained by Iverson and Ahn (2007) within the framework of their Dimensional Theory of Laryngeal Phonology, in the former category of languages, including English and German, the relevant underlying property of segments is interpreted to be the aspiration feature [spread glottis], rather than voicing or its absence. By contrast, in languages like Croatian or French, phonetically voiced segments are also phonologically marked as [voice]. In other words, in the same sense in which aspirated segments are laryngeally empty for voicing in English, they are laryngeally empty for [spread glottis] in Croatian. This is probably the reason why, on the face of it, to any speaker of a voicing language it might seem odd why aspiration should be included among core features, i.e. features affecting intelligibility. As Jenkins (2002, p. 96) explains, it deserves this status, because its absence in the appropriate contexts causes the voiceless stops /p/, /t/, /k/ to sound like their voiced counterparts, /b/, /d/ and /g/ respectively. Indeed, among Croatian speakers there are some well-known jokes based on misunderstandings of this kind. Thus, it seems to be completely justified to look at the presence vs. absence of aspiration in the speech of Croatian learners of English as a relevant criterion for assessing the quality of their pronunciation.

Apart from general confidence and fluency, which seem to be rather transparent and undisputable criteria, there are two more pronunciation features that we selected from the list of Jenkins's core features and observed in our participants, because they turned out to be applicable to speakers of Croatian: the preservation of intervocalic /t/ and rhoticity. These two features, though not necessarily characterising native-like pronunciation, turn out to be desirable in ELF because they contribute to international

intelligibility.

For each of the participants in each of the interviews we performed a quantitative analysis of the instances of core feature preservation vs. violation and established whether a given subject consistently preserved or violated a certain core feature or whether he/she was inconsistent about it. Longitudinally, we also looked for possible developments in this respect throughout the four years of observation. On the basis of this we singled out the four best pronouncers — those with the highest rate of preservation of core features and the four least successful pronouncers — those with the highest rate of violation of the features under consideration. It is interesting to note that there was complete coincidence of these results with the general impressionistic ratings by the three independent pronunciation evaluators. However, there was only rough coincidence of our rating with school grades in English, which is completely understandable, considering that school grades are based on a number of other factors in addition to the quality of pronunciation.

Next we singled out five external factors for which we assumed a possible correlation with our subjects' quality of English pronunciation. First, we looked at their awareness of the following functions of English: its use for international communication, its importance for a future job, the global extent of communication in English; and the use of English outside what is known as the Inner Circle (cf. Kachru, 1985). Secondly, we looked at the participants' experience in using English for international communication, either including or excluding native speakers. Next, we assessed them as belonging to either the user or the learner type in the sense defined in Josipović Smojver and Stanojević (2013). Likewise, we tried to establish whether they are oriented towards digital sources of exposure to English or not. Finally, we looked at the extent of exposure to English outside school.

The information on these external factors was obtained through the analysis of the motivational interview in Croatian, which included more or less explicit questions about these issues. This type of motivational information was then included into the profile outline of the selected eight participants, and their complete profiles, including their pronunciation and motivational features, are presented in the section that follows. For both categories of pronouncers we shall first make some generalisations about the pronunciation features they share. In addition to the core features we shall also discuss some non-core features that they turn out to have in common. Then we shall comment on the external factors influencing their performance.

3 Data Analysis and Profiles of the Best and Least Successful Pronouncers

3.1 The best pronouncers

Our best pronouncers all have the phoneme /æ/ in their inventory. With three of them it is consistently used since the beginning of the observation period. With one of them there is some inconsistency in the first two years, resulting in pronunciations

like [ded] for 'dad', but by the seventh-grade interview such inconsistencies cease and the phoneme under consideration gets fully established. As for vocalic length contrasts, all four participants from this category exhibit them consistently throughout the four-year period of observation. When it comes to aspiration, however, in only one of these four best pronouncers there is some undisputable, though inconsistent manifestation of this feature from the sixth grade on. Admittedly, auditive analysis is not the best method for analysing aspiration and in some future research it should be complemented by acoustic analysis in terms of precise measurement of the VOT. In any case, it can be generalised that this core feature of English pronunciation turns out to be a problem even for the best Croatian learners of English pronunciation. As far as the general levels of fluency and confidence are concerned, all four of them have been unanimously assessed as completely confident and fluent.

When it comes to the core features which are not necessarily native-like, but contribute to ELF international intelligibility, it is interesting to note that the four best pronouncers exhibit them, but inconsistently. Paradoxically, in higher grades (seventh and eighth), as their general competence in English develops, they start to gradually violate them, applying occasional flapping, as in 'water' and 'better', rather than preserving the intervocalic /t/. Likewise, although being predominantly rhotic, they are all occasionally inconsistent about it, producing non-rhotic forms, particularly in grammatical words, such as 'are', which they had learned in the classroom. These inconsistencies, which can be interpreted as hesitation between what is felt to be the American or the British type of pronunciation, are probably attributable to the variety of sources which they are exposed to. Generally, their pronunciation sounds more of the American type.

A few words are in order about the non-core pronunciation features that the best pronouncers share. The interdental consonants are present in the system, either consistently or increasingly consistently throughout the four-year period of observation. No participant from this group had problems with the pronunciation of plural endings. Likewise, none of them had the problem of monophthongising diphthongs or diphthongising monophthongs. Occasional instances of allophonic variation were found in this group. Cases in point are the post-alveolar /t/ and /d/ in items like 'tree' and 'drink' or occasional 'dark /l/s' in words like 'ball'. However, they are exceptions rather than rules. So are the instances of final tensing in 'baby' and 'lady' in the speech of one of the participants from this group. Generally speaking, no major features of native-like rhythm or intonation were found.

As for the external factors influencing the performance of our best pronouncers, the following generalisations can be made. They are not necessarily highly motivated in the classroom. As opposed to the participants from the other group, they are all aware of countries other than England where English is spoken as a native language. Likewise, all four participants from this category are aware of the global status of English. They have all been extensively exposed to English through external, i.e. out-of-school sources, and these sources are varied. For all of them there is clear indication of 'user type', as defined by Josipović Smojver and Stanojević (2013), which notably differs from the

definition of the same notion as offered by Cook (1991, 2002, 2008).

3.2   The less successful pronouncers

What characterises the pronunciation of the four participants from this category is the regular violation of the core features observed: the absence of /æ/ from the system, the violation of the vocalic length contrasts, the expected absence of aspiration, and general disfluency and lack of confidence. As for the preservation of intervocalic /t/, it is interesting to note that within this group there is one instance of the American-type flapping, in the same item, 'water' in which it was found in the previous group. Just like the best pronouncers, participants from this group tend to be predominantly rhotic, but less consistently so. In the speakers for which it is possible to establish, the pronunciation sounds more of the American type. As for non-core features, it should be noted that the interdentals are regularly absent from the system. All four participants from this group have occasional problems distinguishing between monophthongs and diphthongs, e.g. 'home' [hom], draw [drou] . None of these children exhibit any allophonic variation or final tensing. As expected, just like the best pronouncers, they speak English with no traces of native-like rhythm or intonation.

As for the external factors, these participants are generally not particularly motivated in the classroom. They turn out to be completely unaware of the Inner Circle, believing that English is spoken as a native language only in England, or in one case, just in London! Likewise, they are unaware of global English and have not had extensive exposure of external sources. They all lack regular ELF/EIL experience. Their main source of exposure to English is school. The only other sources are the ones in which they listen to English passively: music and films. In this category there is no indication of the 'user' type, as referred to above. In other words, they learn English only because they have to and they are focused exclusively on the grade they get, without considering possible ways of applying what they have learnt at school in real life.

4   Conclusion: Implications

There are two types of implications of the present study. First, concerning English pronunciation teaching, what turns out to be correlated with good, above all intelligible English pronunciation and should be done in teaching is the following: encouraging extensive exposure to external (out-of-school) sources; developing awareness of the global and ELF status of English; focusing on core pronunciation features as defined as Jenkins (2002). In particular, applied to Croatian learners, the latter means focusing on /æ/, vocalic length contrasts, aspiration, general fluency, confidence and receptive flexibility.

As for the implications for future research, what still needs to be done and we intend to do is the acoustic analysis of categories suitable for this kind of research. In particular, aspiration deserves special attention in this sense. What also remains to be done is a comparison with profiles of adult ELF speakers and establishing whether a

successful learner really makes a successful ELF speaker.

About the authors

Višnja Josipović Smojver is the Chair Professor of Linguistics in the Department of English, University of Zagreb. She teaches undergraduate, graduate and post-graduate courses. Her main fields of interest are phonetics and phonology, varieties of English and ELF.
Email: `visnja.josipovic@ffzg.hr`

Mateusz-Milan Stanojević is an Assistant Professor of Linguistics in the Department of English, University of Zagreb. He teaches undergraduate, graduate and post-graduate courses. His main fields of interests include cognitive linguistics, particularly cognitive grammar and conceptual metaphor theory applied to English and Croatian, ELF, and online teaching and learning. He is the coordinator of an international project dealing with developing online teaching skills (`http://www.dots.ecml.at`).
Email: `mateusz-milan.stanojevic@ffzg.hr`

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A Bilingual Approach to Developing English for Academic Purposes in Science and English as a Lingua Franca With Young Adolescent Immigrants and Their Families

Martha Allexsaht-Snider*, Elif Karsli* and Shakhnoza Kayumova*

Abstract

In this paper we report research with an innovative program designed to promote the development of adolescent Spanish-speaking immigrant students' knowledge of general academic English vocabulary (Snow, Lawrence and White, 2009) and the academic language of science (Lemke, 2001; Schleppegrell, 2006) through the vehicle of bilingual family science workshops. Development of English as the Lingua Franca (ELF) among these young adolescents, their parents, their teachers, and university students and faculty is one of the primary goals in this educational setting. However, a secondary goal is to also develop all players' awareness of the families' mother tongue, Spanish, as an important resource, both for learning academic English and for developing bilingual and crosscultural communication skills for science learning. Three case studies, based on parent-child interviews and analysis of assessments of student writing with academic language in response to open-ended prompts, are examined to gain perspective on the learning outcomes linked to the bilingual family science workshops from the perspectives of students and their parents. The results of the study are discussed in relation to the findings of other research on pedagogies associated with ELF (Alptekin, 2002; Jenkins, 2006; Mauranen, 2008). Implications for educators working with ELF learners of all ages in a variety of settings where bilingual pedagogical strategies grounded in academic content learning, such as in science, could be beneficial, are outlined.

Keywords: Bilingual education, academic language of science, family-school-community partnership

1   The Context and the Rationale of the Study

Many regions of the United States have witnessed successive waves of immigration beginning in the mid 1800s (LeMay, 1987). Starting in the 1980s and 1990s, communities and cities in the southeastern region of the U.S. also began to experience the enriching infusion of immigrants from many parts of the world (NCELA, 2007), with a majority, as is true for the rest of the country, hailing from Mexico and other Latin American

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*The University of Georgia, U.S.A.

countries (National Council of La Raza, 2008). In the state of Georgia, the number of English language learners in the schools reached 40,000 in 2005 (NCES, 2011), requiring educators throughout the state to rethink pedagogical practices. One of the pedagogical challenges for teachers of immigrant students associated with subjects such as science is that students are required to simultaneously learn disciplinary content, disciplinary practices, and the academic language of the discipline. The research reported here is part of a broader project, a three year National Science Foundation-funded project titled LISELL (Language-rich Science Inquiry for English Language Learners) (Buxton, et al., 2011), where we engage in professional learning with middle school science and ESOL (English for Speakers of Other Languages) teachers to develop a pedagogical model to support immigrant students' learning of science inquiry practices and academic English. Teaching at school is conducted solely in English, although most immigrant students speak and understand Spanish and have some Spanish literacy skills. This paper draws data specifically from a series of bilingual family science workshops designed to enhance student learning in science through developing collaboration among families and educators and taking advantage of families' bilingual and biliteracy skills in Spanish and English (Buxton, Allexsaht-Snider and Rivera, 2012).

In our project, we set out to create an alternative space where the learning resources that bilingual families and children already possess are recognized by educators and teachers, and where families can engage with the academic knowledge, specifically science literacy, content, and practices, as well as academic English, that children are learning at school. We have created this alternative space using the setting of bilingual family workshops that are designed to promote the development of middle school Spanish-speaking immigrant students' and families' science literacy (Lemke, 2001; Halliday, 2002). In our bilingual family workshops, we look for ways to support Latino parents and children in reflecting on how using their mother tongue (Spanish) and everyday language may serve as resources for understanding and acquiring disciplinary literacy in science and in crafting middle school students' paths to college. The research we report below has helped us to conceptualize and begin to evaluate practical ways to foster immigrant students' engagement in science literacy and English learning while simultaneously learning with and from Latino families and children.

2 Participants and Data Sources

During the years 2009–2011, we worked with 18 science and ESOL teachers and about 1600 students in five middle schools in a classroom-based project to improve science teaching for English language learners and to assess student learning of science inquiry practices and academic language. We also worked, beginning in 2008 and continuing to the present, with a subset of about 50 students' families and a subset of approximately ten of the teachers, on a series of bilingual inquiry-based science workshops on Saturdays in university science laboratory settings. The majority of parents attending the workshops were educated in Mexico or Latin America in Spanish, and many finished their schooling at either the primary or middle school level. All indicated that they

were either bilingual in Spanish and English or spoke Spanish only.

For each of the four years in which we have presented family science workshops with immigrant middle school families and teachers from Bingham Middle School, families were invited to attend three to four different workshop sessions per year. Each session is conducted bilingually and all written communication with students and parents is presented in both English and Spanish.

Parent-student interviews are facilitated as part of one or two of the bilingual family workshops each year. Each family (typically a student and a parent, but sometimes multiple siblings or multiple parents) conducts semi-structured interviews with each other that are audio-recorded. In response to questions in the interview protocol, they reflect on their experiences with science, schooling, and their academic aspirations.

In the research reported here, we utilized an information-oriented selection process (Flyvbjerg, 2011) to select our three cases on the basis of expectations about their rich information content. We used analysis of the case studies to gain perspective on the learning outcomes linked to the bilingual family science workshops from the perspectives of students and their parents. In this paper, specifically, we wished to answer the following research question:

How do parents and students talk about the academic knowledge of science in the context of bilingual family science workshops?

3 Findings

We start with Diego Garza who began participating in family science workshops with the project four years ago as a 7th grader and is now a 10th grader.

The case of Diego and his father Rodrigo Garza

Diego conducted an interview with his father Rodrigo in Spanish in the first year of the family science workshops. Diego's father identified biology, chemistry, engineering, architecture, medicine, and archeology as careers in which people use knowledge of science. Diego talked about being involved with sports as a means of developing confidence in communicating with English speakers.

In Diego's case, we had data from a LISELL project-developed bilingual science inquiry assessment that yielded a valuable perspective on his abilities to express his developing knowledge of science. When asked to write about the good and bad points of different solutions to garbage problems in cities, he stated in English:

> For Dumping Garbage in the Ocean, a good point is that "the garbage level in the land will decrease" and a bad point is that "it affects marine animals."

In a question about testing a hypothesis about paramecia, Diego wrote:

> We could put the sample of paramecia on a sheet of paper and put a flashlight under the paper and see where the paramecia goes.

Finally, in a letter to his science teacher about a problem where he would use science to solve the problem, where Diego was required to use randomly selected academic vocabulary words (bolded below) to explain his ideas, Diego wrote:

> The **impact** of [tagging on the street and stop signs] is that it makes the neighborhood look bad. ... My **evaluation** is that these people show that they are immature and show lack of respect. [We could] make a graffiti wall so when people tag on it. It could be **categorised** as legal tagging.

These excerpts from the family interview and Diego's writing on a science inquiry assessment conducted at school indicate that the bilingual family workshops offer opportunities for parents and children to identify common interests in science, as well as strategies for learning English and preparing for college. Additionally, Diego shows evidence in his oral communications with his father in Spanish and his writing in English in the science assessment of being able to integrate the academic language of science in both Spanish and English communications.

The case of Ignacio and his Aunt Eliana

Ignacio also began attending workshops with his mother and aunt as a 7th grader, and is now a 10th grader. When Ignacio asked his aunt about her previous experiences in and out of school and related science professions, Eliana first claimed that she didn't have these kinds of experiences and she didn't know about science-related jobs. However, as she engaged in dialog with Ignacio, she offered some examples such as astronauts (*just like people who went to the moon*) and scientists at family workshops (*I don't know people who worked as scientists except the experience I'm having with these workshops at the university where I meet scientists*). In discussing science, he talked about a range of subjects such as *global warming, deforestation, classification of bacteria, and different plant and animal species.*

When Eliana interviewed Ignacio in Spanish, he gave details about the advantages he saw with learning academic language.

> Academic language makes me think about how to behave in school and how to talk my teachers if I do not understand something. That is going to help me in the long run.

Ignacio articulated his emergent understandings of the distinctions between everyday language and the academic language of science by saying:

> Scientists make you learn something. They were naming the plants and animal by their species. They have other names for it: We can call the bear 'bear', but the scientists call them something different and for each bear they have a different species name for it.

In this second case with Ignacio, we again see evidence that he is using knowledge of the academic language of science, learned at school in English and in the workshop

setting in Spanish and English, to discuss his interests in science in Spanish with his aunt. His Aunt Eliana's responses in the interview give us a sense that she is learning about science-related jobs in the context of the workshops settings. In both Diego's and Ignacio's cases, we see examples of the boys moving fluidly between using the academic language of science in both Spanish and English.

The case of Ariseli and her Mother Erminda

Ariseli began attending family science workshops two years ago as a fifth grader. She is now in a classroom with a science teacher who is incorporating LISELL practices and lessons about science inquiry and academic language in the 7$^{\text{th}}$ grade science curriculum he teaches.

Ariseli conducted and interview with her mother Erminda in Spanish. When asked about their past experience with science-related subjects or activities Erminda said, "*Very little, about basic science very little.*" But through participating in family workshops, Arseli's mother discovered that she was interested in science all along. Erminda kept coming back to the family workshops because she believed she was learning more and more about science.

> Yes, last time we went to the college of physics where we saw how instruments can be used to measure rain, air, and body motion. I do not know if you remember that we saw, that we were facing a machine where you move. I think that every workshop offers different experiences and we learn something different. In a certain way they have changed me. I thought that **you** should go to college but when you come here and see the types of activities you do, when you are in the classrooms you are very close to what it is going on, and see and touch those things. Both parents and children are motivated to go to college.

As she wound up her interview, Ariseli showed how the recent workshop experience in a science lab at the university was inspiring her to think about new areas of science study and future career possibilities:

> I would like to study veterinary [medicine] because they got me interested in it today. That's having to do with doctors, nurses, and that type of thing.

In this last case of Ariseli, we see a mother articulating her own growing interest in studies in science, and her suggestion that the workshops are valuable for developing parents' interests in science and pursuing college educations as well as their children's interests. Arseli, three years younger than the boys in the other two cases, shows emergent thinking about science careers. Across the three cases, we were able to see that the encouragement to use both Spanish and English in learning and talking about science inquiry and preparing for college and careers supported both parents and students in taking up new academic language in science and identifying interests in science.

4 Implications for Teaching and Research with English as Lingua Franca (ELF)

In our bilingual family workshop setting, English and Spanish are both chosen as the means of communicating among students, parents, and educators from different language backgrounds. In terms of research on ELF, Jenkins (2006) points out the importance of drawing on learners' own sociolinguistic realities and bringing a pluricentric approach to the teaching and use of English. Similar to this notion, in our family workshops, through drawing on families' and students' own cultural and linguistic resources, we are engaging different instructional activites such as interactive science in a science lab, academic science vocabulary learning, and bilingual science inquiry assessments. Considering ELF in terms of the academic language of science in schooling, and recognizing students' and parents' mother tongue knowledge (in this case Spanish) is bringing new, enhanced learning opportunities in teaching both English and science. Our research is showing that families, and students are also beginning to see that their mother tongue knowledge can be a resource for learning the academic language of science and the academic vocabulary of English. In terms of accommodating English as a means of intercultural communication, Alptekin (2002) suggests that bilinguals with cross-cultural insights can create a difference through culturally relevant instructional materials and activities. Following this notion, we believe that our family workshops, facilitated by bilingual educators/researchers, as well as bilingual students and parents, could serve as a pedagogic model for both researchers and educators who are working on ELF and with families and adolescent students from diverse language backgrounds in different parts of the world.

5 Future Directions

We are interested in deepening our understanding of how bilingual collaboration among students, families, and teachers in outside-of-school settings can foster high levels of learning academic language in English with adolescents. We look forward to dialog with other researchers to consider the possibilities for including families to support students' learning of the academic language of English in settings in different countries where educators are implementing programs of English as a Lingua Franca.

About the authors

Martha Allexsaht-Snider is an Associate Professor in the Department of Elementary and Social Studies Education at the University of Georgia. Her research interests include family-school-community interactions in immigrant communities, and professional development and equity in mathematics and science education.
Email: `marthaas@uga.edu`

Elif Karslı is a doctoral student in Early Childhood Education at the University of

Georgia. Her research interests include family-school-partnerships and children's mathematics learning in family and community contexts.
Email: `ekarsli@uga.edu`

Shakhnoza Kayumova is a doctoral student in Educational Theory and Practice at the University of Georgia. Her research interests include teachers' professional learning, and language and literacy education of diverse and immigrant students.
Email: `kayumova@uga.edu`

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English as a Lingua Franca: A Brazilian Perspective

Luciana Cabrini Simões Calvo[*], **Michele Salles El Kadri**[†]
and Telma Gimenez[†]

Abstract

The aim of this paper is to present an overview of Brazilian studies about ELF in the period between 2005 and 2011 in order to identify the developments of this area of research in our country as well as to indicate further directions. For this purpose, the following sources were investigated: a) a national database of dissertations and theses; b) the search engine Google Scholars; c) Brazilian journals in the area of (Applied) Linguistics; d) proceedings of national events; and e) a recent collection of papers on this subject, edited by Gimenez, Calvo and El Kadri (2011). The studies were grouped in themes such as: general issues related to ELF (the spread of the language, globalization and the teaching of English), ELF interactions, ELF varieties, early language learning as a consequence of ELF, teacher education (beliefs/attitudes of pre-service teachers toward ELF), user's perspectives on ELF, culture and language teaching, intelligibility, ELF in the curriculum of a pre-service teacher education program, among others. Results show how the research and the discussions about ELF are being addressed as well as what is still necessary to strength and develop this field of investigation in our context.[1]

Keywords: English as a lingua franca, overview of studies, Brazil

1 Introduction

The emerging status of English as a lingua franca (ELF) brings new directions and perspectives in the way this language is viewed, used, taught and learned in the contemporary world. Although the discussion about this issue is relatively 'recent', there is an increasing number of academics interested in studying this question, both internationally (Jenkins, 2000, 2003; Seidlhofer, 2004, 2009; Canagarajah, 2006; Graddol, 2006; Kirkpatrick, 2007; among others) and locally (Gimenez, 2006; 2009; Siqueira, 2008; Jordão, 2009; Rajagopalan, 2010; El Kadri, 2010; Gimenez, Calvo and El Kadri, 2011, among others). Therefore, in order to identify the developments of this area of research in Brazil as well as to indicate further directions to this line of inquiry, this

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[*]State University of Maringá, Brazil

[†]State University of Londrina, Brazil

[1]This paper is an updated version of the article "Mapeamento de Estudos Nacionais sobre inglês como língua franca: lacunas e avanços", by Calvo and El Kadri, published in Gimenez, Calvo and El Kadri, 2011.

Table 1: Brazilian bibliographical sources and number of ELF studies

SOURCES	Number of studies
A national database of dissertations and theses (2005 and 2010)	6
Google scholar	6
Brazilian journals in the area of (Applied) Linguistics, with a focus on teacher education and teaching-learning of foreign languages.	10
Proceedings of the main national Applied Linguistics events (2005–2011)	7
A recent collection edited by Gimenez, Calvo and El Kadri (2011)	10
Total	39

paper aims at presenting an overview of studies about ELF in our country in the period between 2005 and 2011.

This overview enabled us to identify how the research and the discussions about ELF have been addressed as well as what is still necessary to strength and develop this field of investigation in the Brazilian context.

2 Research Contextualization

Some research sources were investigated using the keywords "English as a lingua franca, English as an international language and English as a global language". The number of studies identified according to each source is presented in Table 1.

3 Results

3.1 Foci or themes

The studies brought varied perspectives in the way ELF is being addressed. Some categories were listed in Table 2 in order to show those different foci.

3.2 Research methodology

The studies identified in this survey used various research instruments and looked at different corpora such as autobiographies, questionnaires, vignettes, document analysis, ethnographic records of classes, interviews; emails, Brazilian rap; blog posts; recordings of informal conversation among speakers, field notes and participant observation. There was a mixture of quantitative and qualitative approaches, with predominance of the latter. This variety of research tools reflects a preference for ethnographic methodologies,

Table 2: Foci of the Brazilian ELF studies

FOCUS	AUTHORS
General issues related to ELF: The spread of the language, globalization and the teaching of English	Siqueira, 2008; Salles and Gimenez, 2008, 2009, 2010; Gimenez, 2010; Nunes, 2006; Longaray, 2009; Assis-Peterson and Cox, 2007; Moita-Lopes, 2008; Schutz, 2005; Barros, 2005; Rajagopalan, 2009, 2011; Jordão, 2011
English varieties	Corbari, 2009; Silva, 2009
ELF interactions	Paola, 2010
Early language learning as a consequence of ELF	Rocha and Silva, 2011
ELF and identity	Kalva and Ferreira, 2011; Costa and Gimenez, 2011; Pederson, 2011
Intelligibility and ELF	Becker, 2009; Cruz, 2006; Pederson, 2011
Users perspective on ELF	Calvo, Ohushi, El Kadri and Rios-Registro, 2009a, 2009b; Nascimento, 2006
Teacher education: beliefs/attitudes of pre-service teachers towards ELF	El Kadri, 2010a; Mott-Fernandes and Fogaça, 2007, 2009; Passoni, D'Almas, and Audi, 2009; Berto 2011
ELF in the curriculum of a pre-service teacher education program	El Kadri, 2010b; Souza, Barcaro and Grande, 2011
Teacher educators' perspective on ELF	El Kadri, 2011
Culture and language teaching in the context of ELF	Crepaldi, 2006; Siqueira, 2011
World Englishes and teaching materials	Couto, 2011

although a great deal of the texts presented reflections on the theme, and were not necessarily based on empirical data.

3.3   Concept of lingua franca in the studies

The majority of the studies referred to ELF as a language used by non-native speakers to communicate with other non-native speakers (Salles and Gimenez, 2008; Calvo, Ohushi, El Kadri and Rios-Registro, 2009a, 2009b; Cruz, 2006; Gimenez, 2009; El Kadri, 2010a, 2010b, 2011) in multilingual contexts (Mott-Fernandez and Fogaça, 2007, 2009).

Calvo and El Kadri (2011, p. 17) address the ELF as "referring to the different uses of the language in global communication". According to Siqueira (2011), the broad definition of ELF recognizes its pluricentric approach, includes Inner and Outer Circle speakers in the intercultural communication and does not surrender to any specific

variety and culture. Also including the native speakers in the definition and based on Jenkins (2006), Souza, Barcaro and Grande (2011, p. 193) consider it "a contact language used mainly among non-native speakers, although it may also refer to native speakers when engaging in intercultural communication". For Rajagopalan (2009) 'World English' is a new phenomenon that challenges traditional views of language for it is defined by "hybridity at an unprecedented level" (p. 189).

Despite the apparent diversity in understandings of what the English language is, there is a consensus that English "is no longer the mother tongue of Inner Circle countries and it starts to reach a global community, who speaks different varieties with different norms, and people have to negotiate such diversity wherever they go" (Passoni, D'Almas and Audi,2009).

Considering these views we can conclude that for Brazilian researchers (at least for the ones mentioned here) the English language is not associated only with the US or the UK, but is undergoing change and being reshaped by the many contacts between people from different linguistic settings. Furthermore, it is not restricted to the language used among non-native speakers, but by users in multilingual interactions.

4   Going Beyond the Researched Studies: Gaps and Developments

This survey of academic contributions to the discussion of English as a lingua franca in Brazil has revealed that there has been some thinking around the theme, mainly at a conceptual level, with few studies concentrating on empirical data or providing practical examples of how to implement a curriculum (for teacher education or language learning) that is sensitive to those points of view. Therefore, what we need is a research agenda that draws on empirical data and addresses some of the themes posed so far: questions around culture, intelligibility, identity, proficiency, native speakers' varieties, teaching materials and assessment in the ELF context.

In relation to future directions, the number of discussions involving English as a lingua franca is increasing in seminars and congress schedules and its publications in proceedings, testifying that this is a relevant focus for research in Applied Linguistics in Brazil. We have also noticed that these reflections are finding space in English teaching-learning and pre-service teacher education, which is a good sign of development. The increasing number of publications in this field holds the promise that this is an attractive area for researchers. It does not mean, however, it is an easy one, since the field is still muddled by controversial views on how to best acknowledge the changing role of English in the world.

About the authors

Luciana Cabrini Simões Calvo, State University of Maringa Luciana, carries out her doctoral study on English teacher educators in a Community of Practice.
Email: `cabrinisimoes@gmail.com`

Michele Salles El Kadri, State University of Londrina, carries out studies for her doctoral degree focusing on Collaborative Teacher Education.
Email: `misalles@yahoo.com.br`

Telma Gimenez, State University of Londrina, holds a PhD from Lancaster University. Her research interests are communities of educational practice, teacher learning and ELF.
Email: `tgimenez@uel.br`

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Constructing a Singapore Learner Corpus of English Writing for Pedagogy

Zhang Ruihua*, **Guo Libo*** **and Hong Huaqing***

Abstract

This paper documents the development of a Singapore learner corpus of English writing for pedagogy, which is currently being constructed at Nanyang Technological University, Singapore. This corpus comprises sample English artefacts produced by students at 3 levels, i.e. Primary 6 (Year 6), Secondary 4 (Year 10) and Junior College 2 (Year 12). It is built to capture and compare learners' developmental features in terms of vocabulary, grammar and discoursal devices at different learning stages and therefore theorize on the nature of English writing development of learners in Singapore. The texts are tagged with meta information of learners' school level, gender, ethnic group and grade. Issues of corpus design, e.g. representativeness in sampling, are also addressed. Finally, pedagogical implications and potential applications of the project are presented.

Keywords: Learner corpus, writing development, sample artefacts

1 Introduction

The implementation of an English-dominant bilingual policy in Singapore over the past decades has contributed to the establishment of the English language as lingua franca in the country. Singapore English as a localized variety has triggered some corpus construction research and four major Singapore English corpora have been constructed, i.e. the Singapore Component of the International Corpus of English (shortened as ICE-SIN), the NIE Corpus of Spoken Singapore English (Deterding and Low, 2001), the Grammar of Spoken Singapore English Corpus (Lim, 2004) and the Singapore Corpus of Research in Education (SCoRE) (Hong, 2005), a corpus of classroom discourse collected from primary and secondary schools in Singapore. However, none of the above-mentioned corpora is learner corpus and all of them comprise spoken data except the written component of the ICE-SIN. In other words, so far there has not yet been a corpus focusing on learner English writing in Singapore. For learner corpora, there are many English learner corpora available worldwide, such as the Cambridge Learner Corpus (CLC), the International Corpus of Learner English (ICLE), the Longman Learners' Corpus (LLC), and the Hong Kong University of Science and Technology (HKUST) Corpus. Nevertheless, most of these corpora were constructed out of the language data produced by learners of English as a foreign language. Many of the widely accessible

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*Nanyang Technological University, Singapore

corpora were created as tools for linguistic research with no pedagogical goals in design. As a result, their content and design did not necessarily meet pedagogical needs (Braun, 2007, p. 308). This situation is changing recently and learner corpus researchers are becoming progressively aware of the importance of second language acquisition (SLA) theory and SLA researchers are beginning to acknowledge the potential value of learner corpora (Granger, 2009).

This paper documents the development of a Singapore learner corpus of English writing for pedagogy, which is currently being constructed at Nanyang Technological University, Singapore. This corpus is designed as a representative corpus of Singaporean learner English writing, comprising sample English artefacts produced by students at three levels, i.e. Primary 6 (Year 6), Secondary 4 (Year 10) and Junior College 2 (Year 12). The corpus consists of approximately 3.1 million words and the included texts are tagged with such meta information as age, gender, ethnic group and grade. The purposes of building such a learner corpus are:

- to generate linguistic profiles for Primary 6 (P6), Secondary 4 (Sec4), and Junior College 2 (JC2) levels;

- to analyze these profiles, and ascertain whether students' English learning at a particular stage has met the requirements of the Syllabus and if not in what ways, to provide a firm, linguistic ground for subsequent assessment of the status of English teaching and learning and for policy making;

- to enable the classroom teacher to make informed decisions about his or her student's writing and the design of classroom materials;

- to enable curriculum designers to set informed targets for writing development across stages of development; and

- to contribute to the theorization on the nature of English writing development (Christie and Derewianka, 2008).

This paper consists of five sections. This introduction section gives the background, rationale and purposes of building such a learner corpus. Section 2 addresses the design of the corpus, followed by the presentation of corpus development in detail. Section 4 discusses the potential applications of the corpus. Then Section 5 concludes the paper by stating that although it takes time and efforts, in the long run, it is worth building such a corpus and this effort will greatly benefit education researchers, English teachers and students in Singapore.

2   Corpus Design

2.1   Sampling principles

A total of 17 above average schools were involved in this corpus project. Ten primary schools, 4 secondary schools, and 3 junior colleges were selected and invited to support

the corpus construction. Among these participating schools, 6 schools are located in the western part of Singapore, 6 in the north/central and 5 in the east. There is no school located in the south of Singapore, so no school from the south was included in the project.

The main criteria for student sampling included gender, ethnicity, and the ability of English writing. The sampling of students was based on classes to facilitate the administration. Four top P6 classes from each primary school and 5 Sec 4 top classes from each secondary school were selected. In the school, students are not streamed based on the English language but on the overall performance, so some of the pupils from the selected top classes might only have middle ability in English. The reason for sampling informants from the high and middle ability groups was that this corpus was intended to reflect the best possible standard students could achieve at a certain level. As the corpus was intended to reflect the English writing development of Singaporean learners, the students from each level were supposed to be from groups of the same level of ability. So for primary and secondary students, we chose to exclude the low ability groups. However, the above-mentioned sampling principles did not apply to junior college students because JC students are usually grouped on the basis of specialty rather than their performance or grade. In addition, the admission into junior colleges demonstrated that their English proficiency was at least adequate. Therefore, it was the JC teachers who chose the classes for the project based on their experience. We selected only general schools rather than schools specifically run for Chinese, Malay or Indian students, so the final composition of the participating students roughly corresponds to the proportion of each major ethnic group in total population of Singapore, that is, 70% for Chinese students, 20% for Malay students, 10% for Indian and others. For each ethnic group, the ratio of male informants to female ones is roughly 1:1. The total number of informants for this project is 2287, with 973 P6 students, 498 Sec4 students and 816 JC2 students.

For each informant, 4 pieces of artefacts were collected. For primary pupils, among these 4 pieces, 2 were formal class writing assigned by English teachers: one narrative composition and one piece of situational writing; and the other two were free writing, such as journals or reflections. For Sec4 student, 2 pieces of formal narrative/expository writing and 2 journals/reflections were collected. For JC students, 2 general papers and 2 journals/reflections were requested, but two of the JCs provided 2 pieces of General Paper and 2 pieces of Application Question answer. The third JC provided 2 pieces of General paper and 2 pieces of free writing, namely, 2 reflections. The total size of the final corpus is around 3.1 million words. The distribution of text types across school levels is shown in Table 1.

2.2 Representativeness

The participating students come from 17 schools which are located in different regions in the country. The informants comprise students from various ethnic groups and three different levels. The corpus includes 9,148 scripts of various text types produced by

Table 1: Distribution of text types across school levels

	Number of students	Formal writing (words)	Free writing (words)	Number of words
Primary school	973	Narrative: 0.4 m Non-narrative: 0.2 m	Journal/ reflection: 0.2 m	0.8 m
Secondary school	498	Narrative: 0.3 m Non-narrative: 0.2 m	Journal/ reflection: 0.2 m	0.7 m
Junior college	816	Argumentative: 1.4 m	Reflection: 0.2 m	1.6 m
Total	2287			3.1 m

the students at the three levels, such as narrative, situational writing, expository and argumentative for formal writing, and journals and reflections for free writing. All of these constitute a representative sample of English writing development in Singapore educational system.

2.3   Subcorpora

The corpus contains English artefacts from learners of different levels, namely, P6, Sec4, JC2, and different text types, i.e. narrative, expository, argumentative for formal writing, and journals and reflections for free writing, so the corpus can be readily partitioned into different sub-sets by defining the selection category(ies). For example, the artefacts from JC2 may constitute a subcorpus and the texts of all narrative writing may form another. In the same vein, the texts from all girls can be put in one subcorpus and the texts from all Chinese students in another. Linguistic features can be compared and contrasted across these subcorpora. In particular, the English writing development can be tracked by investigating the subcorpora of three levels.

3   Corpus Development

Concerns and problems with regard to the development of the corpus are reported in this section. Basically, the compilation of this corpus consists of 4 phases of tasks, namely, collecting scripts, Digitising scripts and adding header information, and part of speech (POS) and semantic tagging by using Wmatrix (Rayson, 2012).

3.1   Collecting scripts

Collecting students' scripts was crucial in the whole process of corpus construction. Before the scripts were collected, the consent from the parent/guardian of the student and the assent from the principal/head of department were obtained. After the original scripts were collected, they were photocopied for data entry and scanned as PDF files for later reference. The original ones were returned to the schools afterwards.

Table 2: Partial coding scheme

Text type	School level	Gender	Ethnic group
N1—Narrative 1	p—primary school	m—male	c—Chinese
N2—Narrative 2	s—secondary school	f—female	m—Malay
S1—Situational writing 1	j—junior college		i—India
S2—Situational writing 2			e—Eurasian
E1—Expository 1			o—Others
E2—Expository 2			
GP1—General paper 1			
GP2—General paper 2			
AQ1—Application question 1			
AQ2—Application question 2			
J1—Journal 1			
J2—Journal 2			
R1—Reflection 1			
R2—Reflection 2			

3.2   Digitising scripts and adding header information

A group of research assistants were asked to digitise the scripts. Each piece was saved as a separate plain text file, with its meta information coded in its file name. A partial coding scheme for non-confidential information is shown in Table 2.

The data entry basically follows the following instructions:

- Includes only the student's original work (not correction/revised work);

- Ignores the teacher's corrections and comments;

- Computerized with absolute fidelity to the original, including punctuation;

- No spelling mistakes or errors are corrected.

- Each piece of work is saved in a separate file with a unique name; work responding to the same question paper from the same class is saved in a separate folder with a unique name.

File names comprise the codes for text type, school, class, student ID and the marks for that particular piece of work, if applicable. For example, a file containing a piece of narrative writing (N1) with 12 marks from a Chinese girl (student ID: 01; Class number: 1) of XX Primary School is named as N1-p9fc101-12 (case-sensitive). Folder names contain the codes for text type, school and class. For example, a folder containing Journal 1 from Class 1 of XX Primary School is named as J1-p9-1 (case-sensitive). In the meanwhile, the header information, i.e. the file name and the title of the text, was added to the text. The header information was put in pointed brackets at the beginning of the file, as shown below:

```
<N1-p9fc101-20>
<title> Endangered Species </title>
"Ahh!" I streched, "The breeze is nice here!" I was on a school field trip in
Malaysia I sprinted out all the way by myself and went to the famous flea
market.  The place was packed like sardines.  I managed to squeeze in.  I
walked slowly.  There were high heels, sneakers, slippers.  I thought "Wow!  I
did not realise that Malaysia had such nice shoes.  Next time, I must bring
my family here next time!  Too bad, Ms shayla does not allow us to buy things"
People were all pushing and squeezing.
```

For secondary students, an English writing prompt like 'force' might lead to a narrative composition or expository essay, so the coding of formal writing text type depended on the judgment of the research assistant who keyed in the particular script. They were required to indicate it clearly in the error report if they were not sure about the text type of the script. The data was checked later based on the error report and mistakes in coding were corrected.

3.3   POS tagging

After all the data was computerized, checked and cleaned up, the corpus was subjected to Wmatrix processing for POS annotation. Before that, one more procedure was needed. The Wmatrix has problems in POS tagging unknown words like misspelled words, foreign words and words unrecognized by the inner circle varieties of English; wrong spellings in the student writing are tagged as unknown. So a corrected version of the corpus was needed specifically for annotation. Research assistants were asked to open the plain text files via Word, correct all the misspelled words based on the Word's spelling check and save them as a corrected version with file name ending with an added '-C'. Then Wordsmith tools were used to join the corrected texts into one big file. The version with correct spellings was uploaded to the Wmatrix server for POS tagging and the tagged result was downloaded. A sample output is shown below:

```
I_PPIS1 suggested_VVD cheekily_RR ._.
My_APPGE younger_JJR brother_NN1 ,_, James_NP1 ,_, glanced_VVD towards_II
my_APPGE direction_NN1 and_CC gave_VVD ma_NN1 mischievous_JJ smirk_NN1 ._.
Before_CS I_PPIS1 knew_VVD it_PPH1 ,_, the_AT race_NN1 had_VHD already_RR
begun_VVN ._.
Both_DB2 of_IO us_PPIO2 raced_VVD down_RP the_AT escalators_NN2 like_II
banshees_NN2 gone_VVN berserk_NN1 ,_, laughing_VVG and_CC shouting_VVG at_II
the_AT top_NN1 of_IO our_APPGE voices_NN2 like_II lunatics_NN2 ._.
Passers-by_NN2 shot_VVD dirty_RR looks_VVZ at_II us_PPIO2 but_CCB we_PPIS2
could_VM not_XX care_VVI less_RRR ._.
When_CS we_PPIS2 almost_RR reached_VVD the_AT end_NN1 of_IO the_AT
escalator_NN1 ,_, I_PPIS1 realised_VVD that_CST I_PPIS1 was_VBDZ far_RR
ahead_II21 of_II22 him_PPHO1 ._.
```

3.4   Semantic tagging

Apart from POS tagging the texts, the Wmatrix can also tag them semantically by assigning a semantic label to each token of the texts to indicate its semantic category. A sample semantic tagset is presented below:

```
A13.1 Degree:  Non-specific
A13.2 Degree:  Maximizers
A13.3 Degree:  Boosters
A13.4 Degree:  Approximators
A13.5 Degree:  Compromisers
A13.6 Degree:  Diminishers
A13.7 Degree:  Minimizers
E4             Happy/sad
E4.1           Happy/sad:  Happy
E4.2           Happy/sad:  Contentment
E5             Fear/bravery/shock
E6             Worry, concern, confident
```

A semantically tagged excerpt by the Wmatrix is presented below:

```
Right_Z4 before_Z5 my_Z8 eyes_B1 ,_PUNC I_Z8mf saw_X3.4 my_Z8 very_A13.3
own_A9+ brother_S4m fall_M1 backwards_X9.1- ._PUNC
In_Z5 an_Z5 attempt_X8+ to_Z5 get_A9+[i10.2.1 back_M1[i10.2.2 up_S8+[i12.2.2
,_PUNC he_Z8m reached_M1[i13.2.1 out_M1[i13.2.2 for_Z5 the_Z5 handrails_H2 of_Z5
the_Z5 escalator_O2 ._PUNC
Instead_A6.1- ,_PUNC two_N1 of_Z5 his_Z8m fingers_B1 got_A2.1+ stuck_A1.7+
in_N4[i14.2.1 between_N4[i14.2.2 the_Z5 handrails_H2 ._PUNC
He_Z8m fell_M1 on_E6-[i15.3.1 his_E6-[i15.3.2 back_E6-[i15.3.3 and_Z5 hit_E3-
is_A3+ head_B1 against_Z5 the_Z5 jagged_O4.4 edges_O2 of_Z5 the_Z5
escalator_O2 ._PUNC
Istantaneously_Z99 ,_PUNC a_Z5 pool_W3/M4 of_Z5 blood_B1 formed_T2+ around_Z5
him_Z8m and_Z5 his_Z8m white_O4.3 top_M6 turned_M2 bloody_Z4 red_O4.3 ._PUNC
Millions_N1 of_Z5 thoughts_X4.1 raced_S7.3+ through_Z5 my_Z8 mind_X1 ._PUNC
Was_A3+ my_Z8 dearest_E2+++ brother_S4m going_T1.1.3[i16.2.1 to_T1.1.3[i16.2.2
die_L1- ?_PUNC
Why_A2.2 did_Z5 I_Z8mf even_A13.1 suggest_Q2.2 this_M6 challenge_A12- ?_PUNC
I_Z8mf was_Z5 immobilised_M8 with_Z5 fear_E5- and_Z5 a_Z5 chill_O4.6-
went_M1[i17.2.1 down_M1[i17.2.2 my_Z8 spine_B1 ._PUNC
```

From the last line but two in the above text, it can be seen that in the sequence "with_Z5 fear_E5- and_Z5 a_Z5 chill", fear was tagged as "E5" which stands for "fear/ bravery/shock". Subcorpora with semantic tagging can be used to compare and contrast the use of words from a particular semantic category. For example, we can examine the use of emotion words in the three subcorpora of school levels and track the development of their uses.

4   Corpus Application

According to Römer (2008), there are two types of pedagogical corpus applications: indirect and direct applications. The indirect application involves using a learner corpus to identify what is particularly difficult for a certain group of learners and to put special emphasis on these points in the design of instructional materials. In other words, the indirect application involves deriving insights about second language acquisition from learner corpus analyses and drawing pedagogic implications from these insights. The direct application, on the other hand, is characterized by using learner corpora or data from learner corpora directly in the classroom for data-driven language learning (e.g., Mukherjee and Rohrbach, 2006; Seidlhofer, 2002). In practice, learner corpora are more frequently linked with the indirect applications as the corpora directly used in classrooms for data-driven language learning are more likely to be corpora of native speakers, which are usually set as the norms of language learning.

This corpus is intended for pedagogic purposes. Constructing such a learner corpus of English writing can not only fill the gap of learner corpus of writing in Singapore but also create a platform for investigating Singaporean learners' developmental features in their English learning. This corpus can generate linguistic profiles to capture and compare learners' developmental features in terms of vocabulary, grammar and discoursal devices at different learning stages and therefore theorize on the nature of writing development of learners (Christie and Derewianka, 2008). Research findings derived from this corpus can provide insight into how much learning and what kind of learning takes place at different stages, illuminate problematic areas of learners, reveal age, gender and ethnic differences in learners' English writing, and offer insightful implications for English language teaching, learning, classroom materials design and curriculum development.

Potentially, this corpus can be employed to identify the linguistic features that characterize learners from different stages of English learning and their writing development in multilingual Singapore. The analysis may focus on but will not be restricted to the following features:

Lexical features: Lexical diversity/richness & density
                   Collocational patterns
                   Lexical innovation
                   Spelling errors
Grammatical features: Morphological features related to tense and number
                       Tense-related features
                       Article-related features
                       Preposition-related features
                       Agreement-related features
                       Modals-related features
                       Order-related features
Discoursal features: Metaphorization-related features (Guo and Hong, 2009)
                      Use of cohesive devices

Use of rhetoric devices

Metadiscourse features

Development of different genre conventions, e.g. how to write a narrative essay, an exposition, etc.

To analyse discoursal features like cohesive devices, metaphorisation, metadiscourse features, the corpus needs to be further annotated with content analysis tools such as MMAX2 and UAM CorpusTool. This kind of annotation will be done at next phase.

5   Concluding Remarks

In this paper, we have outlined the significance, corpus design, development and potential applications of the Singapore Learner Corpus of English Writing. The construction of such a corpus has filled a gap of learner corpus in Singapore and opened up many possibilities for future research on second language writing development. Although it is highly labour-intensive and time-consuming in terms of data entry, in the long run, this effort is worthwhile and will benefit considerably the researchers, English teachers and students in Singapore and beyond.

Acknowledgement

About the authors

Dr. Zhang Ruihua, Nanyang Technological University, received her PhD in corpus linguistics from the National University of Singapore. She has been working in the areas of corpus linguistics, applied linguistics and contrastive lexical semantics. Currently, she is working as research fellow on the project "Building a Singapore Learner Corpus of English Writing for Pedagogy" at the National Institute of Education, Singapore. Email: `ruihuaz@gmail.com`

Dr. Libo Guo, Nanyang Technological University, holds a PhD (NUS, Singapore) in English Language Studies. His research has been on language, language education, and multimodality. At the National Institute of Education, Singapore, he is working as an assistant professor in the English Language and Literature Academic Group. Email: `libo.guo@nie.edu.sg`

Dr. Hong Huaqing, Nanyang Technological University, is a Research Scientist with the Center for Research in Pedagogy and Practice, National Institute of Education, Nanyang

Technological University, Singapore. He is a trained computational corpus linguist and has been granted a dozen of government-funded projects to construct language corpora for information retrieval, education research and translation studies.
Email: `huaqing.hong@nie.edu.sg`

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An ELF Learner in a Globalized World

Andisheh Saniei*

Abstract

Globalization, or the spread of languages across cultures, has modified the definition of a language learner, suggesting that a totally monolingual country does not exist. From ELF perspectives, English does not belong to English speaking nations but to everyone who speaks it (Crystal, 1997; Fairclough, 2003). In other words, English as a global lingua franca is actually influenced by the various ways it is used by its users, as well as the way it relates to different cultures. In the whole world as a community, as Mackay (2003) notes, there are many EFL/ESL learners who may not need to acquire the full range of registers needed by monolingual speakers of English. In fact, the purposes of ELF learners should be redefined and adjusted to the situations in which they take part and to the ways through which they use English within multilingual communities. This paper aims at defining learners of English as a Lingua Franca in terms of purposes for which they use English in a globalized world, not necessarily in a FL/SL community.

Keywords: ELF learners, globalization, multi-lingual communities

1 Introduction

Since only one out of every four English users in the world is a native speaker of the language (Crystal, 2003), most ELF interactions in the globalized world take place among non-native speakers of English. This way, since the mid-1990s it has become increasingly common to find EFL/ESL speakers referred to as speakers of English as a Lingua Franca (Jenkins, 2006).

In simple words, ELF is a way of referring to communication in English between speakers who have different first languages. Although ELF interaction can include native English speakers, in most cases, it is a contact language between people who share neither a common native language nor a common national culture, and for none of whom English is the mother tongue (Firth, 1996). The *ELF learner* can thus be defined as any learner using English for lingua franca purposes, regardless of which actual English variety s/he employs.

2 What is Globalization?

It is defined by Seidlhofer (2005) as the expanding integration and interdependence of economic, social, technological, cultural, and political spheres across local activities.

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*Islamic Azad University, Iran

There is not one English, but a plethora of world Englishes, through which English users could communicate (Canagarajah, 2006). These world Englishes may vary according to the culture or nation in which they are spoken.

In an increasingly globalized society, empowered individuals, equipped with new technologies, communicate across cultural and national boundaries as citizens of the world. This has changed the role of English as a tool of globalization, resulting in uses and forms that may differ from a single standard English. As English learners, ELF users must have awareness of this globalization and will need to be flexible and efficient users of multiple Englishes. In other words, qualified ELF users, compared with monolingual English graduates, prove to have a competitive advantage in global companies and organizations.

3   The Ideal Speaker Model for the ELF Learner

Today many are rejecting the native-speaker as the ideal for their learners. This is not only based on socio-political motives derived from the opposition to linguistic imperialism (Phillipson, 1992) or native-speakerism (Holliday, 2005). It is, rather, for more pragmatic reasons, associated with teachers need to provide learners with a practicable and appropriate model for English as a lingua franca. Ur (2010) elaborates on some of the reasons for rejecting native-speakerism as follows:

1. Native speakers are only a very small minority of ELF speakers.

2. Native speakers do not all speak the same variety of English.

3. The majority of teachers teaching English in non-English speaking countries are themselves non-native speakers.

4. Since nobody can become a native speaker of an additional language, the status of native speaker as the model is no longer appreciated.

5. An increasing number of ELF users who are not originally native speakers of one of the varieties of English are today fully competent speakers of English, speaking and writing a correct, fluent and comprehensible variety of the language which is a totally acceptable model for learners.

A rejection of the native speaker as the model for learners has led some writers (Cook, 1999) to claim that non-native speaker teacher should take his/her place, and that many learners may prefer the non-native speaker teacher who presents a more achievable model. However, in my experience, neither learners nor teachers would wish to compromise on a model that is less than optimal, regarding both accuracy and fluency. Instead of looking at the choice between native- and non-native models, it makes sense to look beyond: what after all do teachers want their learners to achieve? Surely the best level of English proficiency they can, with the mastery of forms and meanings that are currently used as correct wold-wide. Most native speakers and a growing population

of non-native speakers posses this level of competence and are qualified enough to stand as the ideal model for their ELF learners.

4 ELF Learners in a Globalized World

It can be deduced from the above-mentioned that if the ideal ELF user is thoroughly competent in the use of the language, and can serve as a model to which our students should aspire, then where s/he comes from (in terms of language community) is irrelevant. On the other hand, with the advent of digital technology in the globalized world, standard English is no longer the only means of communication for ELF students to employ. Put it another way, ELF learners should be equipped with the strategies to handle new demands of the globalized world through internet or digital technology. This requires ELF teachers to suggest their learners different communication strategies that can help them to facilitate the expression of their intended meaning. Besides, FLT materials must present the multicultural, globalized world which is becoming interconnected through ELF. This could be achieved though developing teaching units that reflect greater variety of topics and themes covering a wide range of social and global issues, understanding the spread of English in the world and its connection with globalization.

About the author

Andisheh Saniei is a faculty member of Islamic Azad University, Roudehen branch and a PhD student of TEFL at IAU, Science and Research branch in Iran. She has 11 years experience teaching English as a foreign language and this is her eighth paper presented at an international conference. Her research interests are ELT, testing, and material development.
Email: `andisheh_saniei@yahoo.com`

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English as a Lingua Franca in a Turkish Academic Context: The Case of the Third Person -*s*

Pınar Ersin[*], **Zeynep Sena Abaylı**[†] **and Yasemin Bayyurt**[†]

Abstract

This paper demonstrates the preliminary results of an ongoing empirical study of the use of a lexico-grammatical element, the -*s* suffix to third person singular verbs, in academic debates among freshman students in the Department of Foreign Language Education at Boğaziçi University. The data are drawn from two classroom debates, a total of 96 minutes of video-recording and corpora of approximately 12,000 words. The Simple Concordance Program (version 4.0) was used to analyze the data. The findings revealed that the students' omission of the 3rd person -*s* is similar to the omission of the same suffix by ELF speakers in worldwide contexts[1] and that the students also used the -*s* suffix in ways that are similar to native speaker norms. Semi-structured interviews with selected students evidenced their native speakerism, which probably resulted from their exposure to English as Native Language (ENL) in academic life at the university.

Keywords: English as a lingua franca, lexis/lexico-grammar, linguistic domain, third person -*s*, academic debates

1 Introduction

English is an international language currently used by native and even more non-native speakers around the world, and, according to Kachru (2005), its use will continue to spread. Kachru, consequently, has re-conceptualized his famous model of Inner, Outer, and Expanding circles because people living in Outer Circle countries have now become *functional* native speakers of English (Kachru, 2005). The spread of English into Outer and Expanding Circles has enabled speakers of diverse first languages (L1s) to communicate with one another via English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) (Firth, 1996; Jenkins, 2009; Seidlhofer, 2005).

Increased use of ELF has stimulated much recent research. Several studies have investigated the effect of ELF interactions on various domains of life in the world (Dewey, 2007; House, 2003; Jenkins, 2009; Jenkins, Cogo, and Dewey, 2011; Seidlhofer, 2009; Seidlhofer and Berns, 2009; Seidlhofer, Breiteneder, and Pitzl, 2006; Wacker, 2011).

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[*]Marmara University, Turkey

[†]Boğaziçi University, Turkey

[1]See Breiteneder (2005) for further information.

Other investigations have been more focused (Breiteneder, 2005, 2009; Cogo, 2008; Mauranen, Hynninen, and Ranta, 2010; Saraceni, 2008; Smit, 2010) to cite only a few. According to a survey study conducted by Cogo and Dewey (2011), three linguistic levels have been identified: phonology, lexis/lexico-grammar, and pragmatics. The present study will analyze ELF interactions at the lexicogrammar level.

Seidlhofer (2004) cited a number of examples of lexicogrammatical items in the ELF framework, such as dropping the third person singular -*s* in the present tense, confusing the relative pronouns who and which, using redundant prepositions, omitting definite and indefinite articles where they are required and inserting them when they are not. Breiteneder (2005) and Wacker (2011) focused on the third person singular -*s* in various corpora and discovered that it was overused in ELF interactions.

The current study analyzes the functional properties of the third person singular -*s*, specifically its use in the speech patterns of freshman students in Turkey. The research questions are:

1. Is freshman university students' use of the third person singular -*s* in an EFL academic context similar to ELF use as described in the research literature?

2. How can freshman university students' use of the third person singular -*s* be explained in an ELF framework?

2   Methodology

Thirty-one freshmen in the Department of Foreign Language Education at an English-medium university in Istanbul, Turkey, participated in the study. Twenty-six were female and the rest male, all ranging in age between 17 and 20. The data were gathered through a self-reflective questionnaire, two video-recordings of students in classroom debates, and semi-structured interviews. The aim of the questionnaire was to analyze the students' awareness of their competence in English (L2). The two video-recordings, comprising a total of 96 minutes, produced a corpora of 12,000 words. In a post-analysis of the study, semi-structured interviews with 20 of the participants queried their preference for native or non-native English speaking teachers and their preference for any of the varieties of English. In addition, the 20 interviewees were asked how they defined ELF, how they assessed their L2 speaking and intelligibility levels, and what problems of miscommunication, if any, they had experienced when trying to communicate in English. Importantly, they were also asked about Turkish English as a variety of English. All the interviews were audio-recorded and later analyzed with the help of the Simple Concordance Program (4.0).

3   Data Analysis

In the process of analyzing the self-reflective *questionnaire*, four dimensions were considered: language confidence; years of learning English; age of starting to learn English; and anxiety level when talking to native and non-native speakers.

Table 1: Average years of learning English, average age at starting to learn, separated according to confidence level

	Language Confidence	Years of Learning English	Age at Starting to Learn English
Out of 22 questionnaires	Less Confident	8.5	9.8
	Confident	9.75	9.77
	Very Confident	8.66	10.6
	Total Average	8.97	10.08

In the process of analyzing the spoken corpora, three dimensions were considered: the participants' awareness of the correct use of the third person singular -*s*; its omission when its use was required; and its use when it was not required.

In the process of analyzing the semi-structured interviews, six dimensions were considered: preference for native or non-native English speaking teachers; preference for a variety of English; the existence of Turkish English; ELF definitions; miscommunications in L2; and intelligibility in L2.

4   Results

4.1   Results of the questionnaire

Table 1 shows the average number of years that students at different levels of confidence had been learning English and the average age at which they started to learn English. The students who were less confident when communicating in L2 had been learning English for an average of 8.5 years. Very confident students had been learning English for an average of 8.66 years, showing that the number of years of learning English had little effect on their level of confidence. The average age at which they started to learn English was 9.8 years for less confident students and 10.6 year for very confident students, a difference of less than one year.

The anxiety levels of students when talking to native and non-native speakers are shown in Table 2. Females seem to be more anxious when talking to native speakers than when talking to non-native speakers, a finding corroborated by their interviews. Males reported no significant difference. The total column in Table 2 shows a normal distribution from low anxiety to high anxiety.

4.2   Results of the spoken data

Recorded data revealed many instances of correct usage of the third person singular -*s*, e.g., "Music stimulates your mind"; its omission, e.g., "He decide to go a *hmm* guidance and psychological counseling center"; and its overuse, e.g., "Its ingredients *hmm* on their packets *hmm* doesn't exist."

Table 2: Numbers of students at differing anxiety levels when talking to native and non-native speakers

| | Anxiety Level Talking to Natives | | Anxiety Level Talking to Non-Natives | | |
	Males ($N = 5$)	Females ($N = 17$)	Males ($N = 5$)	Females ($N = 17$)	Total
Very Low	0	1	1	3	5
Low	1	3	2	6	12
Mid	2	5	2	5	14
High	2	7	0	2	11
Very High	0	1	0	1	2

Table 3: Students' use of the third person singular -*s* in two debates

	Correct Usage (native-like forms)	Omission (similar to ELF usage)	Overuse (Unexpected usage)
1st Debate	41	28	3
2nd Debate	14	6	13

A break down of usage in the two debates is summarized in Figure 1, which shows the percentage of three forms of usage among all attempts to use the third person singular in the present tense of a verb.

4.3   Results of the semi-structured interviews

All but one of the 20 students who were interviewed said that they prefer native English speaking teachers. They believed that native speakers speak properly, are more comfortable in classroom interactions, teach correct pronunciation, and do not over-correct students' mistakes.

All had been exposed to American and British English, either in the classroom or by watching television. Two had heard Scottish English. Another two had heard Spanish English in their Spanish courses. One or two reported having heard Italian, Indian, and Canadian English. Five stated that they themselves spoke Turkish English and did not have any problems with it.

Four students said that they intended to teach American English, and twelve expected to teach British English. Interestingly, the remaining four students thought that they would teach Turkish English even though they would prefer to teach British English.

Nine students predicted that their future students would want to learn British
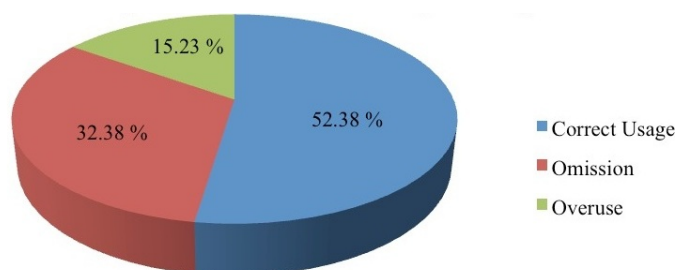
Figure 1: Percentages of three forms of -*s* usage

English because it is more prestigious to speak British English than any other variety. Ten predicted that their students would want American English because it is easier to learn and, because of frequent exposure to American English via the Internet, easier to speak. One imaginative student, acknowledging the growing influence of China in the world, foresaw a preference for learning Chinese English.

In the course of the interviews, the students were asked to define ELF and to share their thoughts about ELF. Six of the 20 offered a reasonable definition. Six defined it as "World English". Three confused it with *Lingua Franca English*. Two presumed that ELF was a native-speaker form of English, and three had no idea about ELF or the meaning of the term (See Tables 4 and 5).

Eighteen students acknowledged that there is Turkish English and that they spoke it. Of the other two, one was unaware of it and one denied its existence.

Nineteen students reported that they had experienced miscommunication due to the insufficiency of their vocabulary. One claimed to have had no experience of miscommunication.

Seventeen students claimed that *intelligibility* was more important than native like pronunciation.

Table 4: Frequencies of semi-structured interview answers ($N = 20$)

Preference for English teachers	95% native	5% non-native	
Varieties of English to teach	60% British English	20% American English	20% Turkish
Varieties of English for students to learn	45% British English	50% American English	5% Chinese English
ELF	30% know	55% confused	35% no idea

Table 5: Frequencies of answers to the latter 3 dimensions

	The existence of Turkish-English	Miscommunication in L2	Intelligibility in L2
Yes	90%	95%	85%
No	5%	5%	15%

5   Discussion

During two academic debates recorded for the purpose of this study, usage of the third person *-s* is at times native-like and at times ELF-like. Interestingly, the recordings also contain instances of the overuse of *-s*, similar to the findings of studies conducted by Breiteneder (2005) and Wacker (2011).

Data from the debates show that the correct use of the *-s* (52.38%) is more frequent than its omission (32.38%). This finding and the students' preference for native English speaking teachers may indicate that they adhere to the value of "native speakerism" (Holliday, 2006), purportedly the ideal of English and of English language teaching methodology, perhaps as a result of their exposure to English as a Native Language in their English courses.

Omission of the *-s* is explained by the concept of "communicative redundancy." When used correctly, the *-s*, functioning only as a grammatical marker, does not add meaning to the sentence in which it appears. Hence it is often omitted by speakers of ELF (Breiteneder, 2005; Wacker, 2011).

Overuse of the *-s* (a frequency of 15.23% in the debates) is a symptom of developing competence (Canale and Swain, 1980), which leads to an over-application of the rule.

6   Implications

The study provides an argument for including information about ELF in teacher education, curriculum, and text books. Knowledge of EFL might help teachers to be more tolerant of L2 learners' use and misuse of language structures and to reward fluency in their L2 speaking. Focus on the function of the language is important when learners are trying to communicate (Saraceni, 2008). Functional communication is enhanced by interactive, communicative learning environments. No matter how much the students diverge from native speaker norms, they need opportunities to interact with other learners and with more competent speakers.

The students in this study had little awareness of the many varieties of English in the world. Examples of the different varieties in English teaching and learning materials would help students to broaden their understanding of Englishes and the utility of ELF.

There has been much debate concerning the practice of assessment in ELF. Without further justification, it is here suggested that in ELF communication, some variance of

linguistic structures, such as the third person singular -*s*, is acceptable.

7 Conclusion

This study of the English spoken by university students has recorded both the correct use of the third person singular -*s*, akin to speaker norms, and its omission, akin to ELF norms. Overall, their spoken performance may be the result of previous exposure to English as a Native Language in L2 courses combined with their current, developing level of competence. It would be a worthwhile endeavor of future research to track the effect of teacher nationality on the occurrence of lexicogrammatical elements such as the third person singular -*s* in learners' L2 speaking.

About the authors

Pınar Ersin is a lecturer in the Department of English Language Teaching at Marmara University, Istanbul, Turkey, and a PhD candidate in the Department of Foreign Language Education at Boğaziçi University, also in Istanbul. Her professional interests include the teaching of foreign languages and the relationship between teacher/learner identity and sociocultural theory.
Email: `persin@marmara.edu.tr`

Zeynep Sena Abaylı graduated from the Department of Foreign Language Education at Boğaziçi University, Istanbul, Turkey. She is now an M. A. candidate in Foreign Language Education at Boğaziçi University. Her interests include individual learner differences in second/foreign language teaching, cross-cultural communication, sociolinguistics and second/foreign language teaching methodology.
Email: `zeynep.abayli@boun.edu.tr`

Yasemin Bayyurt is a professor at Boğaziçi University, Istanbul, Turkey. Her interests include ELF/EIL/WE, intercultural communication, teacher/learner identity, and sociocultural theory. Her publications appear in national and international journals and books. Currently, she is co-editing a book on teaching English in Turkey, to be published by Peter Lang.
Email: `bayyurty@boun.edu.tr`

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Part IV

Sociolinguistics of ELF

Cohesion as Interaction in ELF Spoken Discourse: An Analysis of Question-Answer Sessions in University Contexts

Thomas Christiansen[*]

Abstract

Most existing research into cohesion has concentrated only on texts (usually written) and then only in standard English — e.g. Quirk *et al.* (1972), Halliday and Hasan (1976), Halliday (2004). Following on the work in anaphora of such scholars as Reinhart (1983) and Cornish (1999), Christiansen (2011) describes cohesion as an interactive process focusing on the link between text cohesion and discourse coherence, viewed from the standpoints of both addressor and addressee. A consideration of cohesion within the context of discourse (seen as the process of which text is the product see Widdowson, 1984, p. 100) is especially relevant within a lingua franca context because the issue of different varieties of ELF and inter-cultural concerns (see Guido, 2008) add extra dimensions to the complex multi-code interaction of which cohesion must be seen not only as the key element in the co-construction of a dialogic text in interaction, but crucially as constituting the interface between the various ELF varieties in the ongoing development of discourse. As such, it is fundamental for the interpretation of the same discourse by participants. In this case study, six extracts of transcripts (approximately 1000 words each), taken from the VOICE corpus (2011) of conference question and answer sessions (spoken interaction) set in multicultural university contexts are analysed in depth by means of a qualitative method. The types of cohesive device that six selected speakers of diverse ELF backgrounds use are examined to test the hypothesis that, in such a context, speakers differently achieve cohesion both within their own speaker turns and relating to other speakers' turns, despite the fact that conference interaction is generally assumed to constitute part of an internationally-shared academic register.

Keywords: Anaphora, cohesion, discourse, ELF, interaction

1   Introduction

In this short paper, we analyse an area which has hitherto largely been overlooked in the field of ELF, namely cohesion. We examine a corpus made up of six extracts (approximately 1,000 words each — taken from the beginning of each[1]), taken from the

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[*]Università del Salento, Italy

[1]The reason that the extracts were not exactly 1,000 words each is that we choose as a break-off point the first change in speaker turn after the 1,000 word mark.

Table 1: Make up of corpus

PRqas 18 (1,048 words)	S1	S2	S3	SX			
Speaker's L1* ▶	Dut	Nor	Fin	?			
% Discourse ▶	16.52	81.95	0.38	1.15			
PRqas 19 (1,094 words)	S1	S2	S3	SS	SX		
Speaker's L1* ▶	Spa	Kor	Eng	?	?		
% Discourse ▶	8.14	89.39	2.2	0.09	0.18		
PRqas 224 (1,280 words)	S1	S4	S5	S6	SX		
Speaker's L1* ▶	Ger	Rus	Hun	Spa	?		
% Discourse ▶	5.86	34.14	42.50	17.42	0.08		
PRqas 407 (1,031 words)	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5		
Speaker's L1* ▶	Ger	?	Slv	Ger	Cze		
% Discourse ▶	8.24	14.45	33.85	26.19	17.26		
PRqas 409 (1,182 words)	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	SX6	SXm
Speaker's L1* ▶	Ger	Slv	Slo	Cze	?	?	?
% Discourse ▶	5.84	16.24	63.28	11.34	3.13	0.08	0.08
PRqas 495 (1,058 words)	S1	S2	S3	S4	S13	SS	SX-4	SX-m
Speaker's L1* ▶	Spa	Eng	Chi	Spa	Spa	?	?	?
% Discourse ▶	8.60	5.58	82.04	2.74	0.19	0.09	0.38	0.38

*Key: Chi = Chinese; Cze = Czech; Dut = Dutch; Eng = English; Fin = Finnish; Ger = German; Hun = Hungarian; Kor = Korean; Nor = Norwegian; Rus = Russian; Slo = Slovakian; Slv = Slovene; Spa = Spanish; SS = speakers; SX = unidentified speaker; SX6 = unidentified speaker, possibly S6; SX-m = unidentified speaker, male; ? = not known.

VOICE corpus (2011) of conference question and answer sessions. Basic data relating to the corpus is given in Table 1.

In the top left hand corner the identification code for each transcript is given, as classified in the VOICE corpus; in brackets is shown the approximate number of words

Table 2: Hoey's (1991) categorisation of types of lexical repetition (Christiansen, 2011, p. 274)

Simple Repetition	Complex Repetition
Items of same word class sharing same lexical morpheme (*bear/bears*)	1. Same word class but with no common morpheme (*am*; is). 2. Like Simple, share a common morpheme but are of different word class (*drug* noun / *drugging* verb). 3. Antonyms containing the same lexical morpheme (*happy/unhappy*).
Simple Paraphrase	Complex Paraphrase
When one item can replace another text without change of meaning, or having to undergo any transformation (e.g. *produce/cause*). If the substitution is reciprocal, the paraphrase is *Mutual*; if not, *Partial*.	Like *Simple*, one item includes another, but shares no common lexical morpheme (e.g. *hot/cold*; *author/writings*).

in the extract (approximate because the figure includes some vocal sounds such as 'um', 'er', or laughter). To the right along the top row are the identification codes for each speaker in the extracts as given in the VOICE corpus. On the bottom row is the percentage of the discourse which that particular speaker produces. The graphs on the left give a representation of how the discourse of each extract is divided among the contributing speakers and allow, at a glance, to see that PRqas19 is the extract where one speaker is most dominant and PRqas407 that where discourse is most evenly shared between the various participants.

2   Method of Analysis

Because of the many and varied ties that may exist between items within a discourse, it is difficult to arrive at a simple and comprehensive classification of the cohesion in any particular text, and an analysis may run to several lists of different kinds of cohesive items, each several pages long. Lexical cohesion in particular is problematic as alternative classifications exist (cf. Halliday and Hasan, 1976; Hasan, 1984, p. 9, Halliday, 2004), not all of them based entirely on objective criteria (see Christiansen, 2011).

In this analysis, we use elements of Halliday and Hasan's (1976) description for grammatical ties (substitution, ellipsis and conjunction), and for lexical ties, (Hoey, 1991) because, though not perfect, it is, of the available classifications, the most rigorous and easiest to be applied consistently (see Christiansen, 2011) (Table 2).

Table 3: Different means of reference and corresponding types of NERE (Christiansen, 2009b, p. 36)

Means of Reference		Specific Kind of NERE	Syntactic Manifestation
Representation (Rep NERE*)	Describing	Epithet	noun phrase headed by common noun
	Labelling	Name	proper noun
Deixis/Indication (Deictic NERE*)		Deictic Device	pronouns/possessive determiners

*Key: NERE = Nominal Entity Referring Expression

As regards semantic ties and in particular what Halliday and Hasan term reference, we use Christiansen's (2009a) terminology for types of noun phrases based on the means of reference (in the conventional philosophic sense) which they constitute: names (proper nouns), epithets (noun phrases headed by common nouns) and so-called deictic devices for pronouns and determiners in general (Table 3).

A quantitative method was employed whereby the corpus was analysed manually from different perspectives according to each kind of cohesive device. The results for the individual analyses are discussed in the following section.

3   Results

In this section, we shall look at the results for individual speakers of different L1s in an attempt to examine how far the type of cohesion produced by each follows or diverges from that of the other selected speakers. For each extract, we isolated the discourse produced by the dominant speaker as identified in Table 2, i.e. the participant who produced the largest proportion of the discourse. In Table 4, we give the general figures (given as percentages) regarding different types of cohesion produced by each speaker (identified in the top row, with their respective L1s given in brackets).

The speakers were of various L1s ranging across Europe and Asia, from Norway to Korea, including Slavic languages such as Slovene and Slovakian, Uralic (Hungarian), Germanic (Norwegian), Sino-Tibetan (Chinese) and disputed Altaic / isolate (Korean). The figures are given as percentages of the total for that speaker (e.g. 12.8% of the cohesive ties produced by the sample speaker from PRqas18 S2 are anaphors). Without exception, lexical cohesive ties account for the largest part by far of the cohesion produced, even though the standard deviation for lexical cohesion is the highest of all the categories indicating least uniformity here in the actual percentage.

The lowest percentages overall and across the board (see the very low standard

Table 4: Comparison of percentage of different types of cohesion produced by one selected speaker for each extract

	PRqas18 % S2 (Nor)*	PRqas19 % S2 (Kor)*	PRqas224 % S5 (Hun)*	PRqas407 % S3 (Slv)*	PRqas409 % S3 (Slo)*	PRqas495 % S3 (Chi)*	Mean	S.D.*
Anaphor	12.8	6.95	9.33	5.31	4.95	6.84	7.69	2.94
Substitution	0.17	0.25	0	0	0	0	0.07	0.11
Ellipsis	0	0	1.04	0.41	0	0.37	0.3	0.41
Conjunction	7	6.2	18.13	12.65	5.15	17.38	11.09	5.79
Lexical	80.03	86.6	71.5	81.63	89.9	75.42	80.85	6.83

*Key: Chi = Chinese; Hun = Hungarian; Kor = Korean; Nor = Norwegian; Slo = Slovakian; Slv = Slovene, S.D. = standard deviation

deviation indicating uniformity) are taken up by substitution and ellipsis. This is interesting because although the low incidence of substitution may be put down to the fact that the rules governing it may be less accessible to non-native speakers due to its being perhaps a feature most peculiar to English[2] (see Christiansen, 2011), ellipsis, resting as it does on a presumably universal principle of abbreviation and reduction of given items, would seem, like anaphor, conjunctions and lexical cohesive ties, to be a feature of most languages. However, ellipsis and substitution both operate at the grammatical level and thus are most bound to the complexities of the morphosyntax of English. It is therefore fair to assume, provisionally at least, that non-native speakers could not easily transfer competences from their L1s to assist them in the two specific areas substitution and ellipsis.

Some supporting evidence for L1 transfer comes from the fact that, while the mean for anaphora (a recognised language universal — see Haegeman, 1991; Cornish, 1999) is relatively high (7.69), the standard deviation is low (2.94) indicating again a high degree of uniformity.

Conjunctions are more frequent than anaphors but there is markedly less uniformity (see standard deviation). Conjunctions also constitute universals but it is worth noting that intonation — of kinds not tagged in VOICE — can play a role here (see Halliday and Hasan, 1976, p. 271) so the data here may not be incomplete and consequently the true figure may be higher. It is certainly interesting to note that non-native ELF speakers of different L1s do avail themselves of this resource more readily than anaphora. This may indicate that conjunctions, of certain kinds at least, are more fundamental cohesive devices than anaphors and more easy to handle given the fact that deictic devices in particular have to be embedded within the syntax of sentences whereas conjunctions can be slotted relatively easily between propositions with little concern for syntax or concord / agreement. Furthermore, as Christiansen (forthcoming) notes, conjunctions do not

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[2]It might be tempting the view the issue in terms of linguistic competence, which at one level is a factor. This would however, in our view, be to relegate EFL speakers to the position of mere learners and thereby miss the larger more interesting picture of how ELF speakers construct discourse along new lines and not by merely copying, consciously or not, native speaker models.

Table 5: Anaphoric reference, co-reference, substitution and ellipsis in selected speakers' turns

	PRqas18 % S2 (Nor)	PRqas19 % S2 (Kor)	PRqas224% S5 (Hun)	PRqas407% S3 (Slv)	PRqas409% S3 (Slo)	PRqas495% S3 (Chi)
Anaphor comp ref*	2.04	3.33	11.76	9.68	6.45	2.67
Anaphor dem ref*	7.14	8.33	8.82	6.45	6.45	17.33
Anaphor per ref*	63.27	35	32.35	25.81	25.81	29.33
Cataphor per ref*	4.08	0	0	0	0	0
Cor ref def epithet*	13.27	18.33	11.76	35.48	22.58	20
Co-ref epithet*	6.12	16.67	23.53	3.23	27.42	21.33
Co-ref name*	3.06	16.67	5.88	16.13	9.68	6.67
Co-ref proposition*	0	0	0	0	1.61	0
Ellipsis verbal*	0	0	0	3.23	0	0
Ellipsis clausal*	0	0	5.88	0	0	2.67
Substitute nom*	0	1.67	0	0	0	0
Substitute clausal*	1.02	0	0	0	0	0

*Key: comp = comparative; co-ref = co-reference; def = definite; dem = demonstrative; nom = nominal; per = personal; ref = reference.

merely express inherent logical relations between propositions but can also help shape those relations allowing the speaker to manipulate them for reasons of stance (Jaffe, 2009).[3] In this way, as Christiansen (2011, p. 210) also observes, conjunctive force can be equated with illocutionary force and conjunctions can fulfil an interpersonal function.

In Table 5, we look more closely at general results for anaphoric reference, co-reference, substitution and ellipsis, figures given as percentages of the total.

From Table 5, it transpires that only anaphora (comparative, demonstrative and personal reference) and co-reference (epithet: definite / non-definite; and name) are used by all speakers and the other categories are only used by one speaker each (two in the case of clausal ellipsis). There overall picture then is of a degree of uniformity in the case of anaphora and co-reference but much less so with the other categories. This would underline that anaphora (excluding the subcategory of cataphora where the anaphor precedes the trigger in the text) and co-reference (except for when the antecedent trigger is a proposition) are the most basic kinds of cohesion in ELF contexts as represented by this selection of speakers.

Looking at conjunctions, in Table 6 are listed figures for conjunctions (see below).

Table 6 shows that there is also great diversity in frequency and type of conjunction used by different ELF speakers, with only additive external / internal simple additive (e.g. *and*), adversative external / internal containing 'and' (e.g. *but*), and causal external / internal general simple (*so* being the only example by used by any of the speakers) being used by all of the selected speakers.

The variety of items used collectively by the different speakers shows how, even in

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[3]Similarly, Gotti (2003, p. 107) notes that conjunctions have a pragmatic function: "which clarifies the purpose of the sentence that follows".

Table 6: Types of conjunction in selected speakers' turns.

	PRqas18 S2 (Nor)	PRqas19 S2 (Kor)	PRqas224 S5 (Hun)	PRqas407 S3 (Slv)	PRqas409 S3 (Slo)	PRqas495 S3 (Chi)
Additive ext/int simple additive	23	7	3	8	3	8
Additive ext/int simple alternative	0	1	0	0	1	0
Additive int apposition exemplificatory	1	1	0	3	2	3
Additive int apposition exemplificatory	1	0	0	2	0	4
Additive int complex emphatic additive	0	0	0	1	0	0
Additive ext/int dismissal open-ended	0	0	1	0	0	0
Adversative ext/int containing 'and'	6	3	3	3	4	5
Adversative ext contrastive simple	0	0	0	0	0	1
Adversative int contrastive	0	0	0	1	2	7
Adversative ext/int emphatic	0	1	0	0	0	0
Causal ext/int general simple	4	8	6	7	6	19
Temporal ext complex repetitive	0	1	0	0	0	1
Temporal ext correlative sequential	0	0	0	0	1	2
Temporal ext preceeding	1	0	0	0	0	0
Temporal ext simple sequential	4	0	0	0	3	4
Temporal ext simple sequential	0	2	0	0	0	0
Temporal int correlative sequential	0	0	0	0	0	1
Continuative "proper"	1	0	1	3	3	1
Quasi continuative	0	1	21	3	0	38
Number of different conjunctions	8	9	6	9	9	13

ELF discourse, conjunctions link propositions in a number of subtly different ways.

The bottom row shows that the variety of different conjunctions used by the various selected speakers ranges from six to thirteen (mean: nine). This shows again that flexibility with conjunctions is a common trait with all of the selected speakers, underlining the fact that conjunctions would seem to be a basic and versatile cohesive device regardless of speaker and their linguistic background in the ELF discourse examined here.

Turning to the last kind of cohesion, lexical, in Table 7 we show the various types of lexical cohesion found in the discourse of the selected speakers (figures given as percentages).

Again with lexical cohesion, there are differences between the types of lexical tie which are used by each selected speaker. It can be seen that overall and also for each speaker (except PRqas18 S2) SLR accounts for the largest percentage of lexical ties. The lowest overall and for each selected speaker is SMP. The scarcity of SMP is consistent

Table 7: Types of lexical cohesion in selected speakers' turns

	PRqas18 % S2 (Nor)	PRqas19 % S2 (Kor)	PRqas224% S5 (Hun)	PRqas407% S3 (Slv)	PRqas409% S3 (Slo)	PRqas495% S3 (Chi)	Mean	S.D.
SLR*	35.82	49	70.29	37	34.4	46.81	45.55	13.55
CLR*	16.	22.06	23.19	5.5	7.34	19.12	15.57	7.51
SMP*	0.85	0	0	0	0.46	0.98	0.38	0.45
SPP*	1.71	23.78	2.17	30	33.72	14.46	17.64	13.8
CP*	45.42	5.16	4.35	27.5	24.08	18.63	20.86	15.37

*Key: SLR = Simple Lexical Repetition; CLR = Complex Lexical Repetition; SMP = Simple
Mutual Paraphrase; SPP = Simple Partial Paraphrase; CP = Complex Paraphrase.

with the high incidence of SLR as it shows that speakers tend to repeat the same forms rather than indulge in what Christiansen (2009a) calls *avoidance of formal repetition*, which is one of the four principal factors that he identifies in noun phrase selection in written discourse.

The figures for the other kinds of lexical cohesion are far less uniform (see standard deviation) except for SMP and CLR. As with conjunctions (see Table 6), the overall picture is that different speakers all make use of this type of tie but in markedly different ways. In contrast to conjunctions, which have an interpersonal function and in part serve to model the discourse in the way that reflects the speaker's stance, lexis is in large part determined by the ideational content of the discourse and thus is something over which the speaker has less control.

4   Conclusions

The ELF discourse studied here taken as a whole shows patterns of cohesion that can be described in terms of categorizations designed primarily for NS varieties of English. Grammatical modes of cohesion more particular to English, namely ellipsis and especially substitution, are less frequent indicating that ELF speakers make use of cohesive strategies perhaps transferred from their L1s, which, however, prove adequate in ELF to ensure that the discourse is cohesive.

It has been shown that individual ELF speakers from a variety of L1s, all dominant in their respective extracts of the discourse, achieve cohesion in markedly different ways especially within categories of cohesive device (see Tables 5–7).

The question of why EFL speakers use such a diverse range of cohesive devices merits a great deal of research in its own right and before speculating further than we have done here there is a need for more studies such as this to further ascertain not just how far conventional descriptions of cohesion from NS discourse fit ELF discourse, but also into aspects of cohesion in languages other than English (see Christiansen, 2009) to provide not only new perspectives but also better understanding of the cohesive strategies that ELF users bring with them from their own L1 and to investigate whether some cohesive

strategies employed in ELF are not entirely new or hybrid and come neither from NS English nor from the speaker's L1. In the latter case, the presumption would be that there exists a set of basic linguistic universals that pertain to cohesion in discourse regardless of the form in which the text is encoded.

About the author

Thomas Christiansen has published books and a number of articles on various areas of linguistics including cohesion, systemic linguistics and functional grammar, varieties of English, teaching English, language testing, and analysis of different corpora, including spoken discourse. Since 2006, he has been a full-time researcher in English language and linguistics at the Università del Salento, Italy.
Email: `thomas.christiansen@unisalento.it`

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An ELF Phonopragmatic Approach to the Analysis of 'Migration Movies' in Pedagogic Contexts: Linguacultural Dimensions of Scripted Interactions

Pietro Luigi Iaia* and Silvia Sperti*

Abstract

This paper introduces a novel *phonopragmatic* approach to the analysis of a corpus of 'migration movies' employed as teaching material in university courses of ELF for intercultural mediators. The pragmatic implications of the dialogic cues by a number of ELF-speaking characters in films will be explored both qualitatively, in terms of conversation moves and acts occurring within specific contexts of intercultural communication, and quantitatively, through a *phonopragmatic* investigation of the acoustic analysis of speech, and of the phonological segmentation into intonation units and acoustic variations. The objective is to investigate the extent to which the illocutionary and perlocutionary dimensions of the movie interactions can actually find cross-cultural 'phonopragmatic' realizations accounting for linguacultural differences in the expression and recognition of conversational presuppositions in the different ELF varieties used by the characters in the selected movies. More specifically, some new moves and acts will be identified to justify cross-cultural miscommunication due to semantic inaccessibility and cultural unavailability in ELF interactions, together with their phonopragmatic realizations in conversation which are here explored by applying a number of prosodic parameters aimed at cue disambiguation in different ELF varieties, such as: vowel sounds in different morpho-syntactic positions and their duration; pitch and duration of tonic syllables and of syllables preceding syntactic boundaries; pause duration at phrase boundaries and their influence on syllabic duration. The relevance of this approach to the teaching of ELF to intercultural mediators will also be discussed.

Keywords: ELF phonopragmatics, conversation analysis, migration movies

1 Theoretical Background and Rationale

This paper presents a novel *phonopragmatic* approach (Sperti, forthcoming) to the analysis of a corpus of 'migration movies' employed as teaching material in university

courses of ELF for the training of intercultural mediators (Iaia, forthcoming). The pragmatic implications of the dialogic cues by a number of ELF-speaking characters in films will be explored (i) in terms of conversation moves and acts (Burton, 1980) and (ii) through a phonological segmentation into intonation units (Backley, 2011) and acoustic variations. The objective is to investigate the role played by the illocutionary and perlocutionary dimensions (Searle, 1983) in the cross-cultural 'phonopragmatic' realizations of the movie interactions, accounting for linguacultural differences in the identification of conversational presuppositions in the different ELF varieties (Guido, 2008) used by the characters in a corpus of 'migration movies'. Some new moves and acts are also described to justify cross-cultural miscommunication due to semantic inaccessibility and cultural unavailability in ELF interactions, together with their phonopragmatic realizations in conversation.

2 Phonopragmatics

The *phonopragmatic* approach (Sperti, forthcoming) is a pragmatic-oriented phonological exploration of speaker's illocutionary acts and listener's perlocutionary effects in cross-cultural oral communication in ELF. The interface between prosody and pragmatics in cross-cultural settings reveals a culture-oriented discourse construction in oral interactions in ELF. Moreover illocutionary acts and perlocutionary effects are affected by different culture-based linguistic and paralinguistic features in ELF derived from L1 interferences. Spectral, pitch and formant PRAAT analysis (Boersma and Weenink, 1996) of conversation moves and acts occurring in migration movies is here employed by considering phono-prosodic parameters used in different ELF varieties. The *phonopragmatic* analysis has been applied to the selected case studies accounting for different acoustic and prosodic parameters, such as: pitch frequency; pitch contour; speech rate; vowel and tonic syllables duration; pause duration at phrase boundaries and its influence on syllabic duration; acoustic intensity. The objective is to describe (i) how prosody and phonology are affected by pragmatics and how they in turn affect the speakers' illocutionary acts in conversational interactions and the receivers' perception and interpretation of the message, and (ii) how native-language syntactic and stylistic structures are transferred to the use of ELF varieties and to which extent they influence the production and perception of the English language used in migration movies and, as a consequence, enhance cross-cultural communication. This entails an investigation of (i) intonation patterns in the identification of overt vs. covert speech acts and (ii) stress vs. topic focus articulation.

3 Conversation Analysis

The qualitative analysis (Burton, 1980) is carried out by means of both the Ethnometodological Model of Conversation Analysis (Gumperz and Hymes, 1964)-to investigate the original ELF oral interactions and to enquire into the speakers' intentionality

and the effects on the receivers—and the Structural Model (Burton, 1980)—to identify the socio-cultural frame governing the selected dialogues. According to the level of cooperation, the participants accept or challenge the socio-cultural conventions, by means of a turn-taking system lacking in the structured sequence of adjacency pairs. *Situation* and *moves* are the basic units: the former introduces the socio-cultural contextualization of the interactions; the latter determines what the speakers perform through language—the illocutionary intent—and their perlocutionary effects. Since the selected dialogues are also characterized by cases of intercultural miscommunication and mismatch between the illocutionary and the perlocutionary dimensions (cf. Searle, 1983), novel moves have been identified to suit the peculiar strategies activated and the effects triggered by the participants. Three case studies are analysed from the movie *Blood Diamond* (Zwick, 2006), about the collaboration between Solomon—a Mende fisherman whose family has been kidnapped by the revolutionary army (RUF)—and the white Rhodesian smuggler Danny Archer, during the civil war in Sierra Leone in 1999. The linguistic dimension of the movie, characterized by American English, Mende and Krio as ELF, exemplifies the socio-cultural opposition between the Western political and economic power and the South-African ethnic groups.

4 Phonopragmatic Analysis: Case Study 1

What follows are three segments of the speech analysis taken from the movie *Blood Diamond* in which Captain Poison and RUF Members use overwhelming utterances to lead the interactions with the prisoners.

These segments of speech are examples of the employment of different phono-prosodic strategies speakers activate to fulfil their illocutionary goals. Speakers of different ELF variations tend to transfer their L1 phono-prosodic 'schemata' to spoken interactions, operating an L1 transfer at the level of intonation. By cross-checking the maximum pitch with lexical choices, it is evident that the speaker employs different frequency values to stress certain linguistic items rather than others. Maximum pitch and increasing perceived intensity on lexical elements, such as: *young man*, *vote*, *hands*, *future*, *voting*, *sleeve*, reveal Captain Poison's willingness to communicate his illocutionary intentions of ordering and frightening, not only through the adoption of lexical devices, but also through the application of prosodic and acoustic devices (Figures 1–3).

Therefore Captain Poison easily succeeds in fulfilling his illocutionary intents as shown by the perlocutionary effects on the receivers. Prisoners are scared and controlled and RUF members are excited and confident of their leading position.

5 Phonopragmatic Analysis: Case Study 2

What follows are two segments of the speech analysis taken from another passage of the movie *Blood Diamond* in which Archer rules the interaction with Commander Zero confirming his leading position.
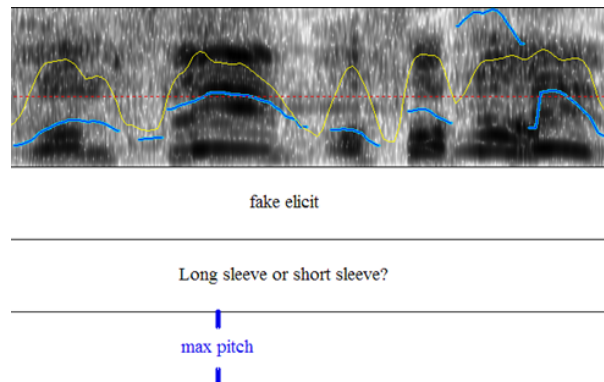
Figure 1: "Long sleeve (.) or short sleeve?"[1]
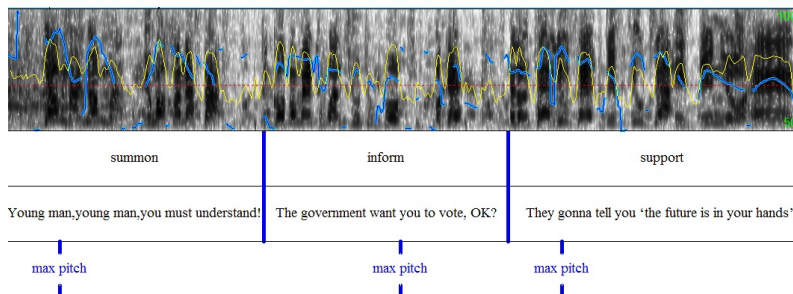
Figure 2: "Young man, young man,(.) you must understand! (.) The government want you to vote, OK? They gonna tell you 'the future is in your ha::nds'."
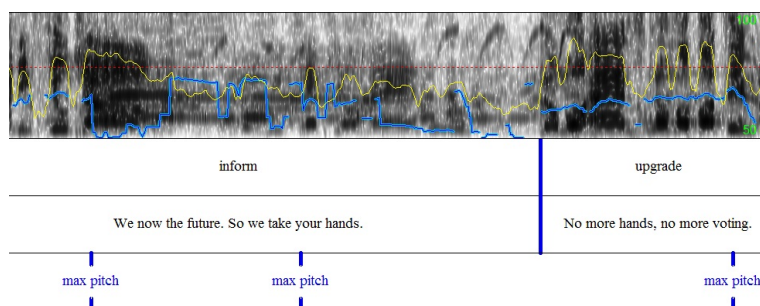
Figure 3: "We now the futu:re. (.) So we take your hands. No more hands, no more voting."

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[1]Speech transcriptions symbols in this study are: Underlining: emphasis (focus marking, maximum pitch); CAPITALS: louder speech (high intensity); ° °: quieter speech (low intensity); (.): micropause; (..): pause; :: : syllable lengthening; > <: speeded-up talk; (Edwards, 1997).
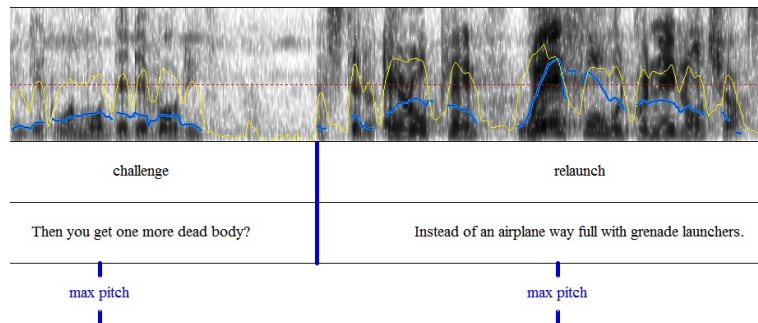
Figure 4: ">Then you <u>get</u> one more <u>dead</u> body?<(.) Instead of an <u>airplane</u> WAY FULL with grenade launchers."
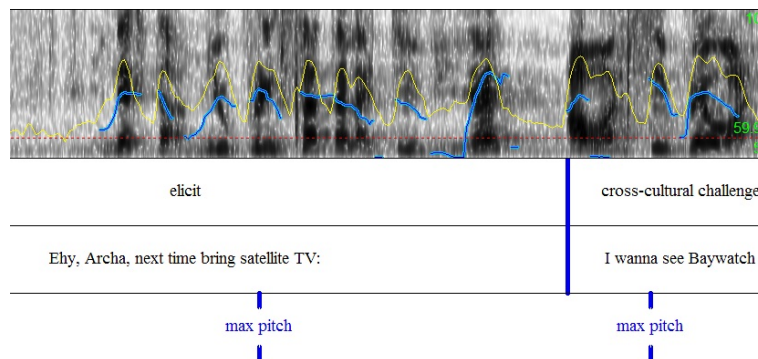
Figure 5: "Ehy, Archa,(.) next time bring <u>satellite</u> TV: >I <u>wanna see</u> Baywatch<."

By cross-checking the maximum pitch with the pitch range and lexical choices it is clear that the speakers employ different frequency values, syllabic durations and intonational contour to stress certain linguistic items rather than others. Indeed, maximum pitch and increasing perceived intensity on lexical choices such as: *get*; *dead body*; *airplane*; *way full*; *satellite TV*; *wanna see*, reveal the involvement along with the willingness of the speakers to communicate their illocutionary intents not only through the adoption of lexical choices, but also through the application of prosodic and acoustic devices (Figures 4–5). Therefore Archer's illocutionary intentions of relaunching and challenging are satisfied as shown by the perlocutionary effects on Commander Zero who ends up accepting Archer's leading position but mocking him and the Western stereotypes.

6   Phonopragmatic Analysis: Case Study 3

What follows is another segment of the speech analysis taken from the movie Blood Diamond in which the main character, Solomon, tries to obtain — in vain — information
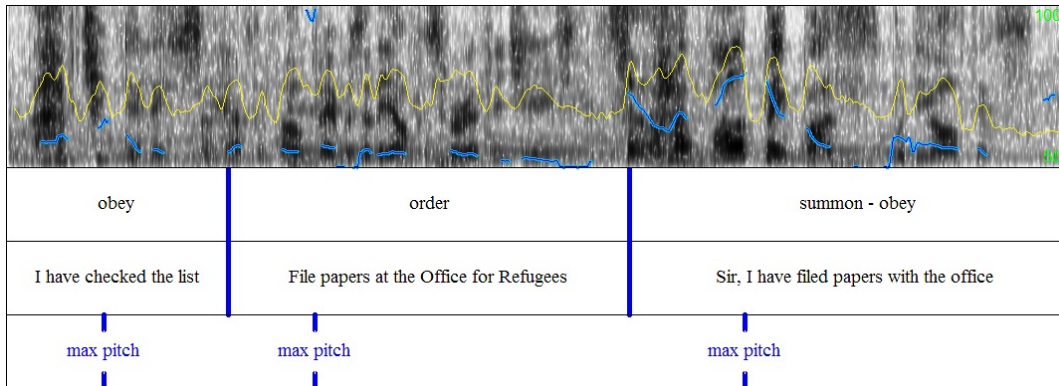
Figure 6: "I have checked the list." ">File papers at the Office for Refugees<." "Sir, I have filed papers °with the office°."

about his family from some UNHCR Officials.

By cross-checking the maximum pitch with the pitch range and lexical density it is noticeable that the speakers employ different strategies involving not only linguistic choices but also extralinguistic and paralinguistic means, as the speakers emphasize the pragmatic meaning of their own words through frequency variations, syllabic durations and intonational phrasing, speech rate and also facial expressions, gestures, head and eye movements.

Maximum pitch and increasing perceived intensity on some lexical items such as *checked*, *list*, *file*, *papers*, *office*, reveal the speakers' illocutionary purposes of ordering begging and obeying, not only through the adoption of lexical strategies, but also through their interface with prosodic and acoustic devices (Figure 6).

The analysis of the illocutionary acts is also supported by the consequent perlocutionary effects: the white men react impolitely to Solomon's requests communicating their inability to help him and Solomon fails to obtain information on his family and cannot satisfy his illocutionary intents.

7   Conversation Analysis: Case Study 1

In order to influence people's behaviour, RUF performs violent actions-such as taking prisoners-and its members use overwhelming utterances to lead the interactions, as Captain Poison in the example in Table 1.

Captain Poison's English is characterized by peculiar verbal forms, as 'want' replacing 'wants' (turn 3), or 'gonna', replacing the expression 'to be going to' ('They **gonna** tell you', turn 3). The omission of the verb 'are' can be noticed as well, in 'We now the future' (turn 3).

The moves and the turn-taking system reveal the illocutionary intent. Captain Poison aims at scaring and controlling people, at imposing RUF's ideology, by means of

Table 1: *Blood Diamond*, 00:05:05–00:06:14.

Situation:	Captain Poison + RUF Members: Relationship leader/subordinates, shared knowledge.
	Captain Poison + Prisoners: Different social status, non-shared knowledge.

Turn		Utterances	Moves
1	CAPTAIN POISON:	Bring forward the next one! Bastards!	order
		Bring forward the next one!	order
2	**RUF MEMBER:**	**Long sleeve or short sleeve?**	**fake elicit**
3	CAPTAIN POISON:	Young man, young man, you must understand!	summon
		The government want you to vote, OK?	inform
		They gonna tell you 'the future is in your hands'.	support
		We now the future. So we take your hands.	inform
		No more hands, no more voting.	upgrade
		Chop him! Spread the word: the Revolutionary United Front is coming!	order
4	RUF MEMBERS:	R-U-F	support
5	CAPTAIN POISON:	Bring forward the next one! Bring him forward! Bring him forward!	order
6	**RUF MEMBER:**	**Long sleeve or short sleeve?**	**fake elicit**
7	CAPTAIN POISON:	Chop him! Hold on, hold on! Wait, wait, wait! Not this one! Look at him! Put him into the truck! Let's go! Bring him to the mines!	order
		He can work, he can work.	support
		Move, move, move!	order

verbal and physical violence—as exemplified by the use of the imperatives—whereas the *support moves* (turn 4) confirm his higher status. Furthermore, a novel move, *fake elicit*, has been identified and introduced to highlight Captain Poison's dominance: differently from the conventional 'elicit' move, 'fake elicit' corresponds to a question supposedly not to be answered—it serves to impose the leader's will, giving the impression of an equalitarian relationship between the participants. The analysis reveals instead that there is not a relation of cooperation: the prisoners are not allowed to take the floor, nor the interaction includes moves aimed at testing the interlocutors' feedback.

Table 2: *Blood Diamond*, 00:11:19–00:11:54.

Situation:	Archer + Commander Zero: Shared knowledge	
Turn	**Utterances**	**Moves**
1 ARCHER:	Then una boys dhem can use old rotten AK dehm against dehm government troop	challenge
	and their new weapons, huh?	upgrade
2 COMMANDER ZERO:	Maybe a could just kill you and take what you bring back!	challenge
3 **ARCHER**:	Then you get one more dead body?	challenge
	Instead of an airplane way full with grenade launchers.	**relaunch**
	So a'm tink a go go to dehm government.	inform
	Dehm government at least dehm go pay me, huh?	support
4 **COMMANDER ZERO:**	Wait, wait, wait, my friend.	summon
	Dis the tin you want?	accept
	Ié?	try-marker
	So many a noh no what do wit dehm all.	repair
	Ehy, Archa, next time bring satellite TV:	elicit
	I wanna see Baywatch.	**cross-cultural challenge**

8   Conversation Analysis: Case Study 2

Archer perceives oral interactions as a kind of trade. Hence, his conversations are generally characterized by a series of challenging utterances aiming at becoming the leader, at prevailing over his interlocutors, as in the dialogue with Commander Zero (Table 2).

Archer and Commander Zero's English does not respect the standard rules and is characterized by peculiar verbal forms—e.g., 'go', replacing 'to be going to' ('a'm tink a **go** go to dehm government', turn 3). Furthermore, alternative pronunciations are noted as well, for example in 'a (= 'I') noh (= 'don't') no what (omission of 'to') do wit (= 'with') dehm (= 'them') all' (turn 4).

Two novel moves have been identified to suit the view of oral interactions as a

Table 3: *Blood Diamond*, 00:28:46–00:28:58.

Turn		Utterances	Moves
	Situation:	Solomon + UNHCR Members: different social status; non-shared knowledge.	
1	SOLOMON:	Excuse me, my name's Solomon Vandy.	summon open
2	**MAN 1:**	**Check the list.**	**order**
3	**SOLOMON:**	**I have checked the list.**	**obey**
4	MAN 1:	File papers at the Office for Refugees.	order
5	SOLOMON:	Sir, I have filed papers with the office.	summon obey
6	MAN 1:	Then God help you, because I can't.	pass turn support
7	**SOLOMON:**	**Please, Sir—**	**beg**
8	MAN 2:	Next!	pass turn

kind of 'trade': when Archer responds to Commander Zero's threaten 'a could just kill you' (turn 2), he is actually *relaunching*, as in gambling, being confident of succeeding. The 'battle' continues till Commander Zero recognizes that Archer is the higher-status participant, thus *accepting* his conditions. Yet, the socio-cultural, implicit conflict between the RUF member and Archer leads to a particular reaction which mocks Western culture by mentioning *Baywatch*, an American TV series (turn 4). This utterance corresponds to a novel move, called *cross-cultural challenge*, since besides opposing to Archer's previous statements and to his role—Commander Zero is not the leader, yet he closes the dialogue—the purpose is to downgrade that Western culture Archer is in contact with.

9   Conversation Analysis: Case Study 3

When Solomon tries to obtain information about his family from UNHCR, the participants respect the conventional relationship of subordination between the African people and the white men representing institutional power (Table 3).

The use of Standard English conveys the 'solemnity' of the interaction, whereas the analysis of the moves and the turn-taking system reveals the respect for the conventional socio-cultural roles and the level of cooperation, as exemplified by the structured alternation between summon/order and obey. The participants' attitude is further illustrated by turns 6–7: When Man 1 closes the distance between him and Solomon, the latter restores their non-equalitarian relationship, begging for help.

10   Conclusions

The analysis of the three case studies has shown different pragmalinguistic strategies applied to the construction of messages through different variations of ELF employed in migration movies. The cross-cultural interactions have been investigated through (i) a *phonopragmatic* approach, to inquire into the relation between pragmatic goals of the utterance and the use of prosodic tools to convey the speakers' illocutionary intentions, and (ii) a conversation analysis, to investigate the use of language in ELF oral interactions and to identify the socio-cultural conventions imposed by the higher-status participants, which can be respected or disregarded according to the level of cooperation. Novel moves have been introduced to suit the peculiar strategies activated by the speakers and the effects triggered on the receivers. Indeed the three case studies have revealed how phonology influences syntax and pragmatics in cross-cultural oral interactions, as well as discourse comprehension and socio-cultural perception. Finally, the analysis of the scripted interactions from the 'migration movies' has the pedagogic value of providing a framework for intercultural mediators, who should discern not only the pragmalinguistic realizations of the participants' socio-cultural conventions, but also their phonopragmatic habits derived from different L1s transferred to their respective use of ELF.

About the authors

Pietro Luigi Iaia is a Lecturer in English and Translation and a Ph.D. student in the Department of Humanities of the University of Salento, Italy. His research interests focus on ELF in cross-cultural audio-visual discourse.
Email: `pietroluigi.iaia@unisalento.it`

Silvia Sperti is a Lecturer in English and a Ph.D. student in the Department of Humanities of the University of Salento, Italy. Her research interests focus on the phonological and pragmatic dimensions of ELF used in immigration and asylum contexts.
Email: `silvia.sperti@unisalento.it`

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Paraphrases in ELF Interaction: A Case in a British Higher Education Context

Mayu Konakahara[*]

Abstract

This paper investigates how ELF users utilize *paraphrases*, particularly *other-paraphrases*, in an informal group discussion in a British university setting. Since earlier studies on ELF interactions revealed successful, cooperative and mutually intelligible nature of ELF interactions despite variance in language forms (e.g., Firth, 1996; House, 2002; Mauranen, 2006), many studies have scrutinized how such communicative effectiveness can be achieved through a variety of communicative strategies. A communicative behavior of paraphrasing, which is of particular interest in this study, is one of such strategies. Compared with a similar but different communicative behavior of repeating, however, paraphrasing is still underexplored in ELF research. This is partially because paraphrases tend to be regarded as one form of repetitions or different forms along the continuum (Lichtkoppler, 2007; Mauranen, 2011), except in a few studies (e.g., Kaur, 2009). Although it has to be acknowledged that some functions of the two behaviors inevitably overlap, more detailed analysis is required in order to reveal specific procedures that paraphrases are utilized. This paper, therefore, investigates how paraphrases are utilized to achieve communicative effectiveness in ELF interactions, particularly focusing on other-paraphrases. The findings show two types of interactional environment that other-paraphrases are exploited in: one is where a prior utterance involves vague words and the other is where opinions about an ongoing topic are shared by interactants. In such interactional environments, other-paraphrases serve multiple and interrelated functions such as specifying or elaborating on the content of the preceding utterances and showing participation in the ongoing interaction. These, then, contribute to facilitating or enhancing mutual understanding between interactants and creating a sense of solidarity between them in the current ELF interactions.

Keywords: ELF interactions, other-paraphrases, communicative strategies, communicative effectiveness

1 Introduction

This paper investigates how users of English as a lingua franca (ELF) exploit a communicative behavior of paraphrasing in talk-in-interaction. It particularly examines interactional functions of *other-paraphrase*, i.e., a recipient's paraphrase of the prior

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[*]Waseda University, Japan

speaker's utterance, which can be seen as one of communicative strategies for achieving communicative effectiveness in ELF interactions.

Earlier studies on ELF interactions revealed successful, cooperative and mutually intelligible nature of ELF interactions despite variance in language forms (e.g., Firth, 1996; House, 2002; Mauranen, 2006). Since then, many studies have delved into how such communicative effectiveness can be achieved through a variety of communicative strategies such as backchannels, self-repair, repetitions, clarification questions, and so forth (Bjørge, 2010; Björkman, 2011; Kaur, 2009, 2011; Mauranen, 2011; Mauranen, Hynninen and Ranta, 2010; Seidlhofer, 2011).

It has to be pointed out, however, that a communicative behavior of paraphrasing, which is of particular interest in this study, is an under-explored phenomenon. Whereas many studies into ELF interactions (Björkman, 2011; House, 2002; Lichtkoppler, 2007; Mauranen, 2006), English conversations (Tannen, 1987) and cross-cultural communication (Murata, 1995; Sawir, 2004) have investigated functions of another communicative behavior, repeating, only a few studies have explored those of paraphrasing (Kaur, 2009; Neil, 1996). This is partially because paraphrasing is regarded as one form or different forms along a continuum of repetitions (Lichtkoppler, 2007; Mauranen, 2011; Sawir, 2004; Tannen, 1987). As it will be discussed in detail in the next section, this is somewhat problematic because it might conceal specific procedures of paraphrasing that might differ from those of repeating.

The aim of this paper, therefore, is to scrutinize how paraphrasing is utilized in ELF interactions, focusing on other-paraphrases in particular. In what follows, I will first provide a working definition of paraphrases in this study by examining existing research into repetitions and paraphrases. I will then introduce data for the present study and illustrate how other-paraphrases are exploited in the current ELF interactions.

2   Defining Paraphrases

This section examines existing studies into two communicative behaviors, i.e., repeating and paraphrasing. However, I shall not discuss functions of each practice, although reference will be made where appropriate in comparison with functions identified in this study. Instead, this section problematizes existing research into repetitions and provides a working definition of paraphrases in this study.

The most influential study into repeating is Tannen's (1987), which examines interactional functions of repetition in a multi-party conversation in English. She identifies three scales on the basis of which instances of repetition vary: *A scale of participants* who utter it, which distinguishes between self- and allo-repetitions, that of *temporal*, which distinguishes immediate and delayed repetitions, and that of *fixity in forms*. This third scale is of primary concern to a definition of paraphrases. Regarding different forms of repetition as a continuum, she sets a paraphrase expressing "similar ideas in different words" (p. 586) at one end of the scale and an exact restatement of words at the other end. In between the two ends, repetition with variation is identified, which includes a change in syntactic structures and a substitution of a lexical item (ibid.). Mauranen

(2011) and Sawir (2004), for instance, take the same view.

In contrast, Lichtkoppler (2007), who investigates repetitions used by ELF users in an Austrian university setting, is slightly cautious about the scale of fixity in forms. Although eventually not discriminating paraphrases from repetitions, she points out that it is not always straightforward to distinguish the range of the fixity: an interpretation of repetition can vary, depending on what is identified as a model for repetition. She illustrates this point with the following example (extracted from Lichtkoppler, 2007, p. 44):

1. S2: [. . .] what's your first language in china? [. . .]

2. S1: mhm

3. S2: what's your first language?

4. S1: the first language?

5. S2: yah. your your mother your mother tongue.

According to Lichtkoppler, if the model for repetition is the whole utterance of S2 in line 1, S2 and S1's utterances in lines 3 and 4 and part of S2's utterance, *your mother tongue*, in line 5 can be identified as repetition with variation (p. 44). If the model is part of S2's utterance, *first language*, in line 1, in contrast, part of utterance in the subsequent lines, i.e., *first language* and *mother tongue* respectively in lines 3 and 4 and in line 5, can be identified as exact repetitions and a paraphrase (p. 45). This is indeed a reasonable claim, and it may not always be straightforward to exactly identify which part is the model and to distinguish paraphrases from repetitions.

The necessity of distinguishing the two practices, however, has been claimed by several scholars. Schegloff (1996), for example, asserts that "[r]unning paraphrase and repetition together risks underspecifying both practices and vitiates claims about their functions and uses" (p. 179). Following this claim, Kaur (2009) argues that the distinction between the two practices is particularly important in ELF interactions because it reflects ELF users' strategic ability in exploiting the different practices to manage real and potential problems in talk-in-interaction (p. 71). Having investigated ELF interactions in Malaysian university settings, she reveals that the two practices slightly differ in interactional environments that they are used in. Specifically, whereas a *same-speaker repetition* is utilized when a recipient's difficulty is rooted in a hearing problem (pp. 74–111), that of *paraphrase* is, in an understanding problem (pp. 127–171). An *other-speaker repetition* with rising intonation, on the other hand, is exploited when confirming a recipient's understanding or clarifying the speaker's meaning (pp. 111–120), whereas that of *paraphrase* is, when confirming a recipient's understanding (pp. 171–176). The similarities and differences of this kind cannot be detected if the two practices are identified as part of repetitions, as in the case of much of the existing research.

The aim of this paper, therefore, is to scrutinize how paraphrases are utilized in ELF interactions in detail. Although the distinction between the two practices may not

always be clear, this study defines paraphrases—for the moment at least—as "displaying [the] given information in a new and different way, either by simplifying the form of the message or by expressing it in different words" (Neil, 1996, p. 142). I refer to a current speaker's use of paraphrases as *self-paraphrases* and that of a recipient in a subsequent turn as *other-paraphrases*. The focus of analysis in this paper is on the latter type due to space limitation.

3 This Study

3.1 Method

The present data are a digitally recorded informal discussion between four female international graduate students from different Asian backgrounds in a British university: a Chinese (C), a Japanese (J), a Korean (K), and a Thai (T). The discussion lasted 29 min 26 sec. It was all transcribed, and paralinguistic features (e.g., intonation, gestures, and nods) were partially reflected in the transcription. The data will be analyzed using a conversation analytic approach, examining some extracts of the discussion in detail.

3.2 Data analysis

As shown in the following analyses, it was found that other-paraphrases are utilized in two types of interactional environment: one is where a prior utterance involves vague words, and the other is where opinions about an ongoing topic are shared by interactants. In the former case, a recipient utilizes other-paraphrases to specify the content of the prior utterance; and in the latter case, she does so to elaborate on the prior utterances. These facilitate or enhance a shared understanding and create a sense of solidarity between the interactants. I will illustrate this point with three extracts from the current ELF interactions.

The first extract illustrates an instance of the former interactional environment, i.e., where a prior utterance involves vague words. In the preceding turns to the extract below, the interactants discuss whether they feel more comfortable talking with native speakers or nonnative speakers of English. As part of her opinion about the topic, K is talking about a rate of speech of native speakers of English during girl talk. The horizontal arrow after the line number indicates a turn involving an other-paraphrase.

Extract 1
1 K: it's just a girlish chat. [(0.8) the speed is different [hh @@
2 J: [m[m   [o[h yes. ((nod))
3 T: [mm   [oh yeah. ((nod))
4 C: ((nod))   ((nod))
5 K: yeah. when they are talking girlish chat¿ the speed is (.) completely
6 J: ((nod))   ((nod))   ((nod))
7 K: diffe[rent-
8→J: [yeah much quicker isn'[t it

9   J: ((nod))
10 K: yeah yeah right. so lots of time I just- er-

In line 8, J uses an other-paraphrase (i.e., *much quicker isn't it*). This specifies K's utterance in lines 1, 5 and 7, which involve a somewhat vague word, *different*, to illustrate the rate of speech. In line 1, K first points to the rate of speech of native speakers of English during girl talk which differs from that during usual talk. Although recipients J and T acknowledge K's opinion, providing backchannels preceded by a particle *oh* and accompanied by nods in lines 2 and 3, K repeats the same opinion in lines 5 and 7, slightly changing the form and adding an intensifier *completely* whose second vowel is enunciated for an emphasis purpose. While this self-repetition of K functions as emphasizing a segment of prior utterance (Björkman, 2011), the word describing the rate of speech still remains vague as she uses the same word *different*— it does not say exactly where the difference resides in, although it is apparent from the context. J specifies this as *much quicker* in the next turn (line 8), her utterance slightly overlapping with the end of K's utterance and using a tag question at the end of her utterance. Acknowledging J's support, K continues with her speech in line 10. It is pointed out that repeating is one of "... essential ingredients of achieving mutual comprehensibility" (Mauranen, 2011, p. 106). This goes for the use of other-paraphrase: by specifying the vague word used by the prior speaker, it facilitates mutual understanding between the interactants.

A similar observation can be applied to the following extract but in a slightly different manner. In the extract, the interactants still talk about the same topic as in Extract 1. K points out that there is a cultural difference in the way of talking between native speakers and Asian nonnative speakers.

Extract 2
1   K: and you know t[here are lots of (0.4) mmm (0.7) I think it's just also a
2   T: [mhh
3   K: cultural things. .hh er- they have (.) something (0.4) you know tha:t; I
4   know th:a[t.
5   T: [[mm ((nod))
6   C: [[((nod)) yeah
7   K: then well it's a (0.9) but we don't know.
8   J: ((nod))
9   T: [[mhhh
10→J: [[@@@@ .hh we are outsi[der@@@ .hhh
11   K: [¿yeah yeah¡ a:nd in my native language

In the above extract, J utilizes an other-paraphrase in line 10 (i.e., *we are outsider*[1]). In this case, it is the whole utterances of K in lines 1, 3, 4 and 7 that are relatively vague to convey her intended message. Nor does K specify what the "cultural thing" or the

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[1]J uses an other-paraphrase again. This may suggest individual differences in using paraphrases.

"something" is (line 3). This, however, does not cause any problems in understanding on the part of the recipients; they promptly provide supportive backchannels and laughter to acknowledge what K has said in lines 5, 6, 8, 9 and 10. J, nevertheless, utilizes the other-paraphrase subsequently and clarifies the main point of K's utterances. This suggests that the other-paraphrase serves not only to specify the content of the prior turn but also show their participation in the ongoing interactions. These functions then facilitate mutual understanding between the interactants.

The other interactional environment in which other-paraphrases are exploited is where opinions about an ongoing topic are shared by the interactants. While this type of other-paraphrase also enhances mutual understanding, it also contributes towards creating a sense of solidarity between the interactants. The following extract illustrates one such case. The interactants talk about the fact that British people frequently use the word lovely.

Extract 3
1   T: ↑[well you know] they use (.) ev- they use lovely=
2   C: =too much=
3   T: =↑t[oo yeah
4   J: [yeah too often=
5→T: =IN (.) I think in every situati[on
6   J: [yeah true (.) in any context [yeah] (.) we
7   can use that

In the above extract, two interactants T and J use other-paraphrases respectively in lines 5 and 6. Different from Extracts 1 and 2, however, the preceding turns do not involve any vague words. In line 1, T points out British peoples' use of the word *lovely*. In line 2, anticipating the final part of T's utterance, C latches T's utterance and says *too much* (see Lerner, 2002). T acknowledges this by partially repeating C's utterance (line 3). Almost simultaneously, J also acknowledges C's utterance by substituting the word *much* to *often* (line 4).[2] Here, although K shows a passive attitude, just listening to the ongoing interactions, T and C's intended message is fairly clear without any ambiguous words, and the interactants share the same opinion about the ongoing topic.

In the subsequent turns, nevertheless, interactants T and J exploit other-paraphrases and elaborate on the content of the preceding utterances. Their paraphrasing gets more and more explicit: T, the original speaker of this extract, elaborates it as *I think in every situation* (line 5), and J, who frequently utilizes other-paraphrases (see Extracts 1 and 2), elaborates it as *in any context yeah we can use that* (lines 6 to 7). This suggests multiple and interrelated functions of other-paraphrase: showing participation and emphasizing the content of the preceding utterances, which contribute to enhancing mutual understanding and creating a sense of solidarity between the interactants. As for this last function, it is pointed out that a communicative behavior of repeating

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[2]This utterance of J is identified as repetition with variation because it is partial re-saying of C's utterance *too much* in line 2.

creates "a cooperative atmosphere" in ELF interactions (Mauranen, 2011, p. 105; see also Tannen, 1987, investigating English interactions, and Murata, 1995, investigating native-nonnative dyadic interactions). Considering the fact that some functions of repeating and paraphrasing inevitably overlap (Kaur, 2009), it can be claimed that other-paraphrases in this example also function as creating a solidarity between the interactants.

4 Conclusion

This paper has explored an informal discussion of a group of four international graduate students in a British university, focusing on the use of other-paraphrases. The findings show the two interactional environments that other-paraphrases are utilized in: where a prior utterance involves vague words and where opinions about an ongoing topic are shared by interactants. The other-paraphrases exploited in such environments serve multiple and interrelated functions such as specifying or elaborating on the prior utterances and showing participation in the ongoing interactions. All of these, then, facilitate or enhance mutual understanding and create a cooperative atmosphere between the interactants.

Only tentative conclusions can be drawn from the present analyses because it has examined only one case of ELF interactions. More data and more detailed analyses are required in order to confirm or refute the current findings. In addition, although I have attempted to distinguish the practice of paraphrasing from repeating (Section 2), it has to be acknowledged that the distinction between the two may not be clear enough in some cases. There is room for discussion on this issue; but it is desirable to distinguish between the two practices in order to reveal specific procedures that each practice is used in (Kaur, 2009). Despite these limitations, it is hoped that this paper sheds light on how ELF users interactively utilize other-paraphrase to achieve communicative effectiveness in ELF interactions.

About the author

Mayu Konakahara is a doctoral student at the Graduate School of Education, Waseda University in Japan. She also works as a research associate at the Faculty of Education and Integrated Arts and Sciences of the university. Her research interest mainly lies in the investigation of pragmatic features in ELF interactions.
Email: `mkonak@y.aoni.waseda.jp`

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Speaking in Tongues Across Lingua Cultural Boundaries

Melicent Jalova[*]

Abstract

Libya is one of the Arab countries where the government has invested richly in the English language teaching curriculum, which focuses on improving the teaching and learning of English as a foreign language (EFL) in schools and universities (Eldokali, 2010). As English becomes a dominant language of power in global commerce, science, and technology, the need to teach and learn English has increased tremendously. The purpose of giving emphasis on the teaching and learning of English in Libya is to enable the country to go along in the development of its economy and to promote international exchange. But the research of Eldokali (2010) revealed that very few studies have been done on teaching English in Arabic countries in Africa, specifically in Libya. Thus, this paper delved on empirical method to carry out the linguistic description of how Libyans expressed their sentiments during the Libyan uprising in 2011 using English language. Through linguistic and sociolinguistic analysis of the different graffiti found on the roads of Tripoli and Bengazi, the study revealed that group identity, social class and the influence of L1 has a lot to do with Libyan's L2 learning. But, despite the deficiency of English, the power of the English language heightened the sentiments of the people who cried and waited for freedom in the last 42 years. This shout for freedom was heard internationally. Despite Libyans' limited knowledge of English, they made use of this language as a global lingua franca. How the people actually used it and made it work recorded an impact in the world. This study clearly saw how English as a medium of intercultural communication played an important role in shaping the future of Libya.

Keywords: Graffiti, sciolinguistics, intercultural communication

1 Libya Free!

Libya was in the limelight in 2011. In all the corners of the world, the voices of the people were heard. Banners, streamers, tarpaulins, flags and all other means of communications were unfolded just to let the world know of their sentiments and feelings. The global media like BBC, CNN, and Aljazeera battled their way in just to get exclusive news from the citizens. An important and significant event occurred in Libya. And they were victorious.

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[*]Sirte University, Libya

But the former regime didn't go down without a fight. That government sought to control streams of information, and in the waning days of his rule, Gaddafi and company cracked down on their countries' newspapers, radios, television and access to the Internet. Notwithstanding, the war succeeded, largely due to social media and their ability to bring local and international attention to unfolding events, to coordinate and communicate vital information in the vacuum left by traditional news outlets. The possession of cell phones and portable computers also allowed ordinary people to become, not merely witnesses, but also crusading citizen-journalists. However, the attractive posters, clever slogans, and catchy graffiti that tackle the issues on the ground, particularly in the Libyan streets, were the most symbolic gesture of the Libyan's ire and sentiments. And these were written in extraordinary outburst of emotions using the English language.

While education has definitely received focus, an area of easily discernible absence has been the pace of English teaching and learning in the country. For almost ten years from 1986 to mid 1990s, foreign language teaching including English was banned in the country. Black (2007) states that this made a considerable dent in the level of English language learning in the country. However, the country realized the importance of English and initiated several steps to revive the language. So, as English becomes a dominant language of power in global commerce, science, and technology, the need to teach and learn English language has also grown. Even the aims of most educational curriculum around the world, including the Arabic governments, have been developed to suit the curriculum of teaching and learning English inside their countries.

According to the study of Sinosi (2010), Libya is one of the Arab countries where the former government has invested heavily in the English language teaching curriculum. The goal on the teaching and learning of English is to enable Libya to catch up in the development of its economy and to promote international exchange. Despite the government's efforts towards improving English language learning, there have been claims from various quarters in the education field that students at all education levels are not performing successfully in the language, with regard to literacy, in all the four language skills. It seems not easy for Libyan students to communicate in English outside the classroom if teachers of English do not provide them with opportunities or circumstances relevant or similar to real life situations. As such, one of the assumptions that Dr. Sinosi studied in his dissertation showed that EFL teachers in the Libyan social context seems to have failed to link English language structure with the social meanings where this language is used (Sinosi, 2010).

The Ministry of Education has replaced the old textbooks of English that were being used in the preparatory and secondary schools, because they were more focused on grammatical forms, which were perceived to contribute to students' communication problems. In collaboration with "Garnet Education", the Libyan National Centre for Education Planning and Vocational Training has introduced an "*English for Libya*" series at preparatory and secondary school levels. Native speakers of English designed these series of teaching material. Moreover, local Libyan graduate students of English are sent abroad to countries such as Canada, England, and South Africa to obtain higher

degrees in English language teaching. Additionally, the government hires people from India and Africa to take up jobs in the language teaching profession, especially at the university level. Apart from this, the government has recently provided most of the colleges and universities in Libya with English language teaching and learning facilities such as language laboratories and audio visual aids. English forms a compulsory subject at several levels of education in the country. The British Council has also been roped in to provide assistance to improve English language teaching and learning in the country. The General People's Committee of Education and Scientific Research (GPCE&SR) and British Council, Libya has initiated a project called Libyan English Teaching in Universities Project (LETUP). The project envisages to establish sustainable, independent language centers in Libyan Universities, staffed and run by highly competent Libyan personnel.

Despite all these measures, the teaching of English in schools in Libya still seems inadequate and lacks authentic communication between teachers and students, even though the curriculum emphasizes the importance of communication competence and intercultural understanding (Sinosi, 2010).

2   Teaching and Learning English in Libya and Other Arab Countries

The problem of communicative competence in English has not been able to excite much research interest in the Libyan social contexts. There were two researchers who explored a research in the Libyan social contexts as a part of their Master Degrees. Eleshhab (1999) examined how communicative language teaching has become a widely used method in ESL classes in North America and Europe. It seems important that this approach can be introduced to Arabic speaking countries. To that end, this project started by defining communicative competence and communicative tasks and reviewing the relationship between the two. This research project discussed the importance of preparing EFL learners in Arabic countries to communicate in the target language and the importance of showing EFL teachers how to teach communicatively. It demonstrated EFL classroom oral communicative activity types providing more specific description of oral communicative activities that can be implemented in EFL classes. Finally, this project discusses the purposes and the advantages of oral communicative activities in EFL contexts and the difficulties that might be encountered by EFL teachers in Arabic countries.

The second research was carried out by Gende (1999) as a part of his Master's Degree under the title "Students' Perceptions of Communicative Language Teaching Practice: A Libyan Example". This research studied second and foreign language students' perceptions of communicative language teaching practices in both ESL and EFL programs. These perceptions include: students' thoughts, beliefs, and insights into the language learning process; their expectations, and reactions to certain classroom practices; their perspectives; and their knowledge and experiences from which they

perceive these programs. The research focused on Libyan students in Canada and examined how students' perceptions may affect their participation in the classroom. This research "project" tried to address some pedagogical concerns and offers some suggestion for improvements. Both studies did not look deeply into the problems of Libyan students in English communication. Furthermore, they did not link language learning to the social contexts where this language can be used.

More researches were explored in this field in other Arab speaking countries such as in Jordan, Sudan, and Egypt. Yet the situation in these countries is different from the Libyan situation because in the former, students are exposed to English very early and widely, while the latter has few exposure in the language. However, researchers such as Kambal (1980) in Sudan, Abdulhag (1982) in Jordan, and Wahba (1998) in Egypt, found that EFL learners met problems in both spoken and written English in these countries. The researchers concluded that the sociolinguistic environment of these countries is not conducive for English language learning, as Arabic is used for communication in all domains of social life. Students' performance problems in EFL as identified by these researchers relate to all the four language skills and covering higher discourse organisation to clause structure level.

In Sudan, Kambal (1980) analysed errors in three types of free composition written by first-year Sudanese university students. The study gives an account of the major syntactic errors in the verb phrase and the noun phrase in an attempt to improve the quality of the remedial English programme in the contexts of Arabic station in Sudan.

Kambal (1980) reported on three main types of errors in the verb phrase: verb formation, tense, and subject-verb agreement. He discussed errors in tense under five categories: Tense sequence, tense substitution, tense marker, deletion, and confusion of perfect tenses. With regard to subject-verb agreement, three types of errors were identified. These involved the third-person singular marker used redundantly, and the incorrect form of the verb "to be".

Abdulhag (1982, p. 1) states that, "one of the linguistic areas in which students in the secondary cycle commit errors is in the writing skill". He adds "There are general outcries about the continuous deterioration of the standards of English proficiency of students among school teachers, university instructors and all who are concerned with English language teaching". In support of Abdulhag's view, Zughoul and Taminian (1984, p. 4) found that "Jordanian EFL students commit serious lexical errors while communicating in English".

Wahba's (1998) study in Egypt focused on spoken English. His study shows that Egyptian students face problems related to stress and intonation. Most of these problems are attributed to the differences in pronunciation between English and Arabic.

3 English Awakening in Libya

The war in Libya not only awakens the long-lost freedom of Libyans but it also marks the phenomenon of English language in Libya. This has led to significant change in the teaching-learning process. Graddol (2006, p. 87)states that the objective in

Figure 1: "Browd to be Libyan. My heart is back."

English language teaching should no longer to enable the student to attain native-like competence but rather to make her/him able to communicate fluently, understand the other speaker (who is most likely not a native speaker her/himself, either) and make her/himself understood. The minimal use of English by Libyans did not serve a barrier to be heard.

The graffiti in Libyan streets in Tripoli and Bengazi showed how Libyans struggled with the English language but it did not impede their desire to communicate to the world. The shout-outs in the graffiti revealed the story of Libya for 42 years.

Figure 1 says <Browd to be Libyan. My   is back.> There is no "P" sound in Libyan Arabic. Browd is Proud in English and Browd to be Libyan refers to his national identity. The heart symbol shows his deep love in being a Libyan. It is evident that the writer spells the word "proud" the way he pronounces it. Supposedly, the letter 'u' should be used instead of 'w'. It is clear that he spells the word based on how it is pronounced in Libyan Arabic. The use of the voiced bilabial stop [b] instead of the voiceless bilabial stop [p] in the word 'proud' reflects the absence of [p] in Libyan Arabic. The latter has only one bilabial stop and that is [b] which explains the letter 'b' in browd. It seems that the error in spelling has a lot to do with the influence of L1 in the learning of L2. Sociolinguistically, the error in spelling is indicative of the writer's social and educational background, gender, ethnic group, and competence in L2.

Figure 2 shows <Wall War World To Make Change Freedom Democracy Should
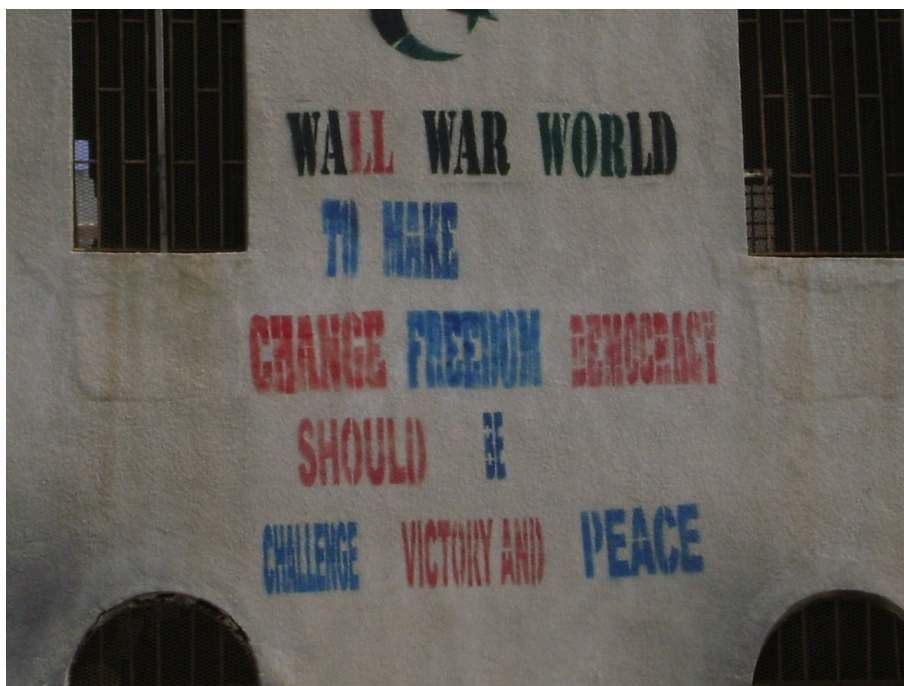
Figure 2: "Wall war world to make change freedom democracy should be challenge victory and peace"

Be Challenge Victory and Peace>...Syntactic and semantic errors are evident in this writing. The phrase 'wall war world' instead of 'world war wall' showed that Libyan Arabic is a head-initial language because the writer carries it over in learning English. Again, it is a manifestation of L1 influence in the learning of L2. In English (head-final language), the head of the phrase (the one that carries the meaning of the phrase) is written last. If Libyan Arabic is a head-initial language, the head of the phrase is written first which accounts for the wall (head) being written at the beginning of the phrase. This is also consistent with the phrase 'Libya free'. However, the second error in syntax (sentence structure) is an evidence of the writer's incompetence in L2. Sociolinguistic factors such as educational and social background, ethnic group, age, and gender may explain the occurrence of such error.

Figure 3 shows the phrases <No foregin, Go to Hell Gadafi, Gadafi Children Kilier> Foregin and kilier show spelling mistakes. The reordering of the letters 'g' and 'i' is an instance of metathesis. Metathesis is a phonological process which refers to the reordering of the sequence of sounds in a word. Sociolinguistic factors also explain such error.

Figure 4 <shows We have got dream. That is to be free.> "Have got" is a British English used in spoken English to emphasize something that is true. The structure of the first sentence is almost correct. What has been omitted is the article 'a' before the

Figure 3: "No foregin, go to hell Gadafi children kilier"

word 'dream'. The omission of the indefinite article 'a' can be attributed to its absence in Libyan Arabic. Indefiniteness is not marked in the said language.

4   Libya's "Tipping Point"

Libya has one language spoken all throughout — Libyan Arabic. The people have been speaking Arabic only all their lives. Since the goal of global English is to communicate without having to focus so much on grammar or pronunciation, the people's manner of expressing themselves in English as shown in the graffiti is a manifestation of achievable goal to learn English language. The government's relentless campaign to promote global English study but the so-called "tipping point" is not yet in sight. It is unclear where this will lead 10 or 20 years from now given the status quo among the young learners who still grapple with the language.

But the war experience using English as global English could be an interesting lead to follow as the students develop the realization that mastery of English is essential to attain one of the country's strategic goals. Their willingness and enthusiasm in this endeavor will certainly help sustain the momentum of a nation on the way to make English as a Lingua Franca in Libya.

New Libya introduced changes that have made the world look up and ponder. The new government has to ensure that the Libyans have a rightful place in the emerging

Figure 4: "We have got dream. That is to be FREE."

world order. Braving challenges of the interim years, Libya has marched ahead to open up, a move which has not gone amiss with the international onlookers.

The role of English language has a deep impact in the dreams and expectations of the Libyan people in order to help them reach the democratic state they have always dreamt of. It's about time that their dreams become a reality.

About the author

Melicent Jalova is a teacher educator. Her intense enthusiasm in teaching extends as far as Libya in North Africa, where she has been teaching for four years now in Sirte University, Sirte, Libya. But teaching in Libya was not as easy as she thought. Her teaching experience has been challenged academically and politically. She had finished the academic requirements of her PhD and is working on her dissertation. Her research interest is on Language and Culture.
Email: `melicent09@yahoo.com`

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ELF Hybridization Strategies in the Western-Islamic Academic Discourse of Finance: A Pedagogical Approach

Mariarosaria Provenzano[*]

Abstract

The paper introduces a socio-cognitive enquiry into the hybridization processes occurring in the academic discourse of Islamic Finance as represented in a corpus of recently-published textbooks written in English as a 'specialized lingua franca' dealing with financial topics (cf. Iqbal and Mirakhor, 2011). Hybridization involves the structural, textual and pragmatic choices identified in such textbooks reflecting as they do a specific attempt on the part of the text producers to make financial concepts informed by Shariah practices accessible (Widdowson, 1991) and *acceptable* to Western/International university students, especially those from the expanding circle. The focus is placed on selected texts written by Islamic/Muslim scholars reformulating original texts in the L1-Arabic through ELF structures and pragmatics in order to provide explanations and clarifications to the original Islamic concepts. The objective of the enquiry, based on a systematic comparative analysis grounded on Halliday's (1985) functional grammar, involves an identification of the strategies writers apply to: (a) make a text function in a cross-cultural perspective and (b) facilitate students to acquire content competences in a way that best fits their background knowledge of the discipline. Therefore, facilitating strategies such as definitions, periphrasis and repetitions of noun phrases shall be explored as triggers for Western students' processes of schema redefinition, of cross-cultural revision of textuality standards (de Beaugrande and Dressler, 1981) and of simplification rules (van Dijk, 1980) which actually define a specialized ELF variety of hybrid academic discourse.

Keywords: Specialized variety, register, hybrid academic discourse, reformulation, accessibility, finance discourse

1   Introduction

This study arises from the observation that there are new specialized Islamic concepts of Finance that need to be investigated as represented in textbooks written in English because of their relevance in the global context of this disciplinary domain and of their contextual implications in terms of 'discourse analysis' (Brown and Yule, 1983). The assumption is that such an influence should be evaluated in terms of the concepts'contextual relevance, particularly if compared with the conventionally recognized

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[*]University of Salento, Italy

patterns and normative rules of discourse as they are established in the US/Western disciplinary framework (Swales, 1990; Gotti, 2005). The hypothesis at the basis of the study is that a process of discourse *hybridization* is taking place in these new textbooks, and that precisely this theoretical construct, if investigated, may allow to identify these processes of simplification enacted by the Islamic text producers aimed at allowing the understanding of the original Islamic concepts. Hence, the need first to define the concept of *hybridization* as this is meant in the present study and as informing the new academic genre of ELF. The following sections are aimed at defining the theoretical background at the basis of the study, the method of analysis and the three selected corpora which are here defined.

2   Rationale

The concept of hybridization at the basis of the study involves a focus on the strategies of simplification and reenactment of the original Islamic concepts of the register of Finance in such a way as to make them *accessible* (cf. Widdowson, 1991) and *acceptable* to the audience of Western/International students. As a matter of fact, *hybridization* is defined here as the process by which the new textbooks systematically display culture-bound original specialized concepts and structures written in English with parallel structures in the receivers' specialized culture, thus enacting a process of reformulation through ELF at different levels: structural, textual and pragmatic, in order to enhance the two constructs of accessibility and acceptability (de Beaugrande and Dressler, 1981), to be reconsidered in an intercultural perspective. This latter statement indeed implies a focus on the linguistic and textual processes by which hybridization or retextualization occurs and thus determines the ongoing construction of a new Western-Islamic academic genre in ELF. Moreover, the register itself to which the genre belongs, i.e. the instructive or didactic register (Widdowson, 1996), should be explored with precisely a focus on the discourse functions (Halliday, 1985) carried out by the texts in order to allow understanding on the part of the receivers. Among these there is the explanatory function aimed at providing clarification on new and unfamiliar concepts to the implied Western audience of students, i.e. for instance on the Islamic religiously-informed mode of reasoning also influencing the economic regulations in Islamic countries. The main objectives of the study are thus: (a) to identify the discourse ways and strategies by which such unfamiliar ways of thinking and behaviours are made accessible in such a way as to fit with the receivers'own *background knowledge* (cf. Carrell et al., 1988) of the discipline, and (b) to allow the construction of texts that may act in a cross-cultural perspective.

3   Method and Analysis

The method that is applied in the study accounts for a critical comparative analysis between three selected corpora, whose nature is identified in ways that are here described.

Corpus A is defined as the original Islamic corpus from the Shari'ah law as officially translated into English and whose relevance is explained in terms of specialized concept 'availability' (Widdowson, 1991) for the Islamic text producers, Corpus B with texts from the parallel US Finance register that, by providing original concepts in the US Finance register, may help provide suitable solutions for making unavailable concepts for the Western receivers 'accessible' in terms of cognitive content and structure, and finally Corpus C with the focus on the new ELF texts aimed at enhancing 'acceptability'.

As for the focus of the analysis, there are some strategies that may be pointed out here as they may help explain the process of hybridization. This is meant here as 'simplification', and is applied in an extended perspective as involving the use of definitions, periphrasis and repetitions of noun phrases as discourse strategies, aimed at triggering the Western students' processes of 'schema redefinition', revision of cross-cultural standards of textuality (de Beaugrande and Dressler, 1981) and simplification rules (van Dijk ,1980). Each of these processes will be further explained as representing some salient stages in the reformulation process; although it seems worth adding here some relevant details about each of them, and their role in the reformulation process. Generally speaking, 'schema redefinition' is a label identifying the process by which unfamiliar specialized concepts are redefined in such a way as to be comprehensible or to fit to the 'background knowledge' of the receivers. Revision of cross-cultural standards of textuality implies considering the theoretical framework by de Beaugrande and Dressler (*ibidem*), i.e. the 'standards' in the ways they are applied and 'recontextualized' in this cross-cultural academic context of Finance.

Only as an exemplification, some 'standards' are taken into account: 'Informativity' identifying the degrees unfamiliar and new concepts are provided to the audience; 'intertextuality' considered in the perspective of a facilitating device, i.e. as the author's reformulation of the original specialized 'background knowledge' as they are adapted to the author's current needs, in this particular case to inform/instruct about the Islamic Finance in a way congenial to the Western students' own disciplinary knowledge. Let us conclude this section by introducing brief extracts from the three selected corpora, that have been associated to the three theoretical constructs associated to each of them. The first one, "availability', is identified in the extract from the 'Surah-al-Baqarah' corpus, and defines the specialized conceptual load for the Islamic text producers, with a particular focus on (a) the specialized financial concepts considered as problematic within the perspective of the global Finance normative and disciplinary patterns, and (b) the textual structures of the original Islamic specialized register. Here is an example from the 'Shari'ah' legal corpus identified as relevant in terms of the semantic dimensions associated to the concepts focused on as in the following quotation: Those who benefit from *riba* shall be raised like those who have been driven to madness by the touch of the Devil; this is because they say: "Trade is like *riba* while God has permitted trade and forbidden *riba.*" (Surah al-Baqarah Fourth Revelation, verses 275–81). The emphasis is in particular placed upon the specialized concept of 'riba' that has been conventionally translated as 'interest' by Western experts, but in fact possesses various other semantic dimensions that have been often neglected or not rendered in translation.

This concept also appears as particularly relevant in terms of its pragmatic implications, i.e. on the cognitive effects produced by the use of such terminology in specialized contexts. 'Riba' implies negativity, and is usually associated to negative acts and words, such as 'forbidden'. This negative dimension is in stark contrast with the positive dimension associated to the US/Western economic corpus, where the positive character is associated to the value of words and to the positive connotation they hold, as it is visible from the following quotation to which emphasis is added: "Some of the *more popular* mortgage derivative products have been *interest-only* and *principal-only* strips". (Bodie et al., 2008, p. 73). The positive connotation is emphasized by the use of either specialized concepts endowed with a positive tone such as 'interest-only' and 'principal-only', and also adjectives in a comparative structure such as 'more popular'. The third construct, 'acceptability', is correlated to the socio-cultural conventions of the multicultural context which is involved in this type of discourse transaction. In order to better understand its scope, let us quote and analyze the following extract from one of the new hybrid texts produced by Usmani (2002, p. 13). The objective is to focus on the structures of reformulation as well as on the application of the 'macrorules' (van Dijk, 1980) as they have been adapted to this intercultural context.

> "**No doubt**, *the use of the rate of interest* for determining a *halal profit* **cannot** be considered **desirable**. *It certainly* makes the transaction *resemble* an *interest-based financing*, at least **in appearance**, and keeping in view the severity of *prohibition of interest*, **even this apparent resemblance should be avoided** as far as possible. [But *one **should not ignore*** the fact that the most important requirement for validity of *murabahah* [correlated concept introducing another Islamic financial topic] is that *it is a genuine sale* with all its ingredients and *necessary* consequences.]" (Usmani, 2002, p. 13)

The relevance of the above extract is due to the need for a pragmatic explanation of what is allowed in the Islamic Finance model through lexical choices and textual structures that may fit the Western audience's expectations, in particular by pointing out what is meant by 'halal profit', 'halal' meaning 'sane', thus avoiding particularly wrong interpretations from the viewpoint of the Islamic model genre, and at the same time facilitating the interpretation of its normative patterns in a way that is accessible to Western students. This discourse objective is realized through the application of van Dijk's (*ibidem*) macrorule of 'construction' to this intercultural context, i.e. by hybridizing the original religious/economic concepts and the Western traditional disciplinary and textual practices to make concepts and structures clear, through the creation of a new ELF register. This new register may be explained through a focus on (a) the lexis in a sentence that joins the two traditionally opposite concepts of the Western 'rate of interest' and the Islamic 'halal (meaning 'sane') profit' and (b) the use of structures such as definitions as well as the deictic pronoun 'it' to explain the concept of 'murabahah' as a new financial contract ('it is a genuine sale').

The above example may be also interpreted in the perspective of the 'standards of textuality' (de Beaugrande and Dressler, 1981) in a cross-cultural perspective. In particular, two of them may be focused on: 'informativity', meaning that new information may be provided as concerns the 'structure of the Islamic Finance', and 'intertextuality', as applied to the current needs of the hybrid text producers. These constructs may be exemplified through the following extracts: (1) "The structure of Islamic finance revolves around the **prohibition** of any return derived on a *loan/debt (Riba)* and the *legality of profit*"; (2) "But *one should not ignore* the fact that the most important requirement for validity of *murabahah* [related concept] is that it is a *genuine sale* with all its ingredients and *necessary* consequences." (Ajub, 2007, p. 73).

4 Fieldwork

A very relevant section is aimed at noting the data from a fieldwork phase of the work, which may point out the results of a practical phase of the analysis implemented with students from the Faculty of Economics at the University of Salento. Interviews and data recording were aimed at asking/probing the constructs of (a) accessibility and (b) acceptability, i.e. by checking with students the actual added value of the extracts. Some questions were aimed at probing just the accessibility of the hybrid texts, such as the one referring to 'riba' as a negative item. Here it follows the extract from Iqbal and Mirakhor (2007, p. 93).

> "Literally, the Arabic term *riba* refers to excess, addition and surplus, while the associated verb implies 'to increase, to multiply, to exceed, to exact more than was due, or to practice usury'".

Another relevant extract that follows in these lines is aimed at investigating the degree of acceptability of relevant concepts such as 'the rate of interest' in the way it has been reformulated. The original lines are quoted from Iqbal and Mirakhor (2007) and then asked for clarity to the students.

> "The response from Muslim scholars to the argument that *interest is justified as marginal productivity of capital* (my emphasis) is that although *the marginal productivity of capital may enter as one factor into the determination of the rate of interest, interest, per se, has no relation with the productivity of capital.*" Which parts of the text do you find unacceptable in terms of (a) explanation and (b) semantic representation?

The response from the students was not positive as regards the acceptability level, suggesting that a process of further hybridization is required, especially in terms of the correlation between the technical concepts of 'interest' and 'productivity of capital'. It is also necessary to underline the use of modality aimed at hedging the potential effect of statements for a Western audience who could not accept this challenging statement ("the marginal productivity of capital *may* enter as one factor").

5   Conclusions

Hybridization processes in the new ELF textbooks on Islamic Finance shows useful pedagogical applications in the academic contexts, and they also suggest the need for models with further accessibility and acceptability in this specialized ELF register. This result has been achieved in particular through the analysis of some case studies focused on the 'prohibition' of the rate of interest and 'riba' as two relevant concepts that prove to be quite controversial if regarded from the perspective of Islamic-Western encounters. Practical fieldwork with students from the Faculty of Economics at the University of Salento also aimed at providing further feedback on the results of the theoretical investigation of theories such as de Beaugrande and Dressler's applied in a cross-cultural perspective.

About the author

Mariarosaria Provenzano is Assistant Professor and Researcher in English Linguistics and Translation. She holds a Ph.D. in ELF applied to the reformulation of specialized discourse in immigration contexts, with particular concern for legal and economic discourse representing the core of both research and practice and the teaching. She is currently taking an Associateship Programme at the Institute of Education, University of London.
Email: `mariarosaria.provenzano@unisalento.it`

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Discourse Management in ELF Speakers' Online Task-Based Discussions

Ümit Boz[*]

Abstract

Studies that explore second language acquisition in online environments report that online discussions help improve learners' sociolinguistic competence and facilitate increased language production via such factors as reduced affective filter, collaborative learning, and negotiation of meaning (Blake, 2000; Toyoda and Harrison, 2002). Yet, few studies have examined students' collective sociolinguistic behavior in online environments in an effort to understand how they perform discourse management. This scarcity in research provided the foundation for this proposed study which aims to explore (a) how ELF speakers' communicative competence is reflected in their sociolinguistic behavior in task-based online discussions through their use of certain linguistic and conversational features such as topic introductions, topic mentions, and various speech acts, and (b) how this communicative competence relates to their pragmatic competence as captured by the use of a set of formulaic expressions including speech formulas and situation-bound utterances. In this proposed study, discourse management is operationalized along two sociolinguistic dimensions that differentiate speakers according to specific communicative practices. These dimensions include: (a) *Topic Control*, a measure of how much a speaker imposes the topics discussed; (b) *Task control*, the degree to which a speaker manages the process of the discussion. Through automated and manual annotation of local topics, dialogue acts, and formulaic expressions, this study aims to show a profile of the differential sociolinguistic and pragmatic behavior of a group of speakers engaged in online discourse. In addition, by comparing the results with the control group (native speakers), it aims to contribute to the understanding of various discourse roles (e.g., influential, collaborative, passive) that ELF speakers assume in online discussions.

Keywords: Topic control, task control, formulaic language, sociolinguistic analysis

1   Introduction

As a result of the advancements in technology, language learners have gained greater access to communication in the target language via a wide variety of online social networks including Facebook and Twitter. Globalization and technology have also led us to rethink and reshape traditional learning and teaching with the introduction of online

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[*]University at Albany, State University of New York, U.S.A.

learning environments. In today's academic world, a significant amount of learning takes place in online or blended courses where students frequently engage in synchronous and/or asynchronous online discussions. Outside of the academic environment, online social networks surround learners with a great deal of opportunities to use the target language in authentic social contexts. In this respect, this form of communication has started to play a significant role in language learners' socialization into the target language (Lee, 2002).

Studies that explore second language acquisition in online environments report that online discussions help improve learners' sociolinguistic competence and facilitate increased language production via such factors as reduced affective filter, collaborative learning, and negotiation of meaning in real-life contexts (Kelm, 1992; Blake, 2000; Toyoda and Harrison, 2002). For instance, by examining transcripts of dyad on-line chat sessions of North American learners of Spanish, Pellettieri (2000) found that that students' increased engagement with negotiation of meaning led not only to a greater quantity of target language production but also to enhanced comprehension and more successful communication. Similarly, Kelm (1992) reports that synchronous online discussions "promote increased participation from all members of a work group, allow students to speak without interruption, reduce anxiety which is frequently present in oral conversations, provide personalized identification of target language errors, and create substantial interlanguage communication among L2 learners" (p. 441).

While these studies inform our understanding of second language acquisition that occur through online exchanges, issues related to learners' actual sociolinguistic behavior in online task-based discussions have not been systematically researched in the field of language learning. The majority of the studies, thus far, has been conducted to investigate the impact of online interactions on students' language outcomes by monitoring their overall participation in the discussions and obtaining their self-reported attitudes towards communicating online (Freiermuth, 2001; Blake, 2000). On the other hand, few studies have examined students' collective sociolinguistic behavior in online environments in an effort to understand how they perform discourse management. In other words, little research has explored how language learners negotiate their participation in the task, and ultimately assume different discourse roles through the use of certain linguistic and conversational forms (topic introduction, speech acts) while interacting in multiparty task-oriented discussions (Storch, 2002; Jenks, 2007). This scarcity in research provided the foundation for this proposed study which addresses the following overarching question: In comparison to native English speakers, how do the non-native English speaking students collaboratively negotiate their participation in online task-oriented group discussions and perform discourse management behavior via a set of linguistic and conversational forms?

For the purpose of this proposed study, discourse management is operationalized along two dimensions: *Topic control* and *task control*. As a crucial prerequisite for addressing speakers' topic and task control behavior for online communication, it is necessary to determine which linguistic and conversational properties are useful or important to track and analyze in order to accurately model these sociolinguistic constructs in

online task-oriented dialogue — a question which calls for an intensive interdisciplinary collaboration between the fields of Linguistics, Communication and Second Language Acquisition (SLA). Responding to this question, Broadwell et al. (2012) proposed a novel approach to modeling and understanding of these sociolinguistic constructs in online multiparty dialogues. Based on a representative sample of online task-oriented discussions, a prototype system, called DSARMD-1 (Detecting Social Actions and Roles in Multiparty Dialogue), was developed to classify "all discourse participants by the degree to which they engage in selected sociolinguistic behaviors, such as topic control, task control, and disagreement" (Broadwell et al., 2012, p. 2). This proposed research draws on Broadwell et al.'s (2012) approach but implements both qualitative and automatic analyses of the sampled discussions to increase the validity of the findings. Additionally, it draws on student surveys (learner's L1, length of time spent in the US, total length of language education, gender, proficiency, participants' own assessment of topic and task control variables) as a reference point for comparisons and making more reliable interpretations.

The proposed study[1] builds on three research questions, each of which addressing a different aspect of non-native English speaking students' discourse management behavior in task-based online discussions.

1. How do advanced non-native English speaking (NNES) students perform Topic Control and Task Control behavior in task-oriented multiparty online discussions in comparison to native English speakers (NES)?

2. How does the use of certain formulaic language categories relate to the topic and task control behavior of students?

3. How do NNES students' socio-cultural characteristics and their perceptions on the task and participants relate to their topic and task control behavior?

1.1   Significance of the study

This proposed study aims to explore how students' communicative competence is reflected in their sociolinguistic behavior in task-oriented online discussions through their use of certain linguistic and conversational features such as topic introductions, speech acts, and a set of formulaic expressions including speech formulas and situation-bound utterances. For the purpose of this study, Hymes' (1972) notion of 'communicative competence' is adopted, which is defined as: "knowing the linguistic and sociolinguistic rules for communication *and* having the cultural knowledge that underlies the context and content of communicative events and processes" (Leung, 2001, p. 2). Therefore, in the current study, the focus is not only on investigating students' sociolinguistic behavior through the sociolinguistic indicators in their interactions but also on exploring the relationship between these sociolinguistic behavior and 'conceptual fluency' in the target language as reflected by the use of certain formulaic expressions. In that sense, Kecskes

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[1]As part of an ongoing study, this paper only reports on its research design and methodology.

(2000) emphasizes that conceptual fluency — "close-to-native use and comprehension of concepts of the target language" (p. 146) — not only underlies learners' grammatical and communicative knowledge but reflects the extent to which learners adopt native speakers' "preferred ways of saying things and preferred ways of organizing thoughts" (Kecskes, 2007, p. 192). In a similar vein, analyzing students' second language use on the level of certain linguistic and formulaic expressions and based on that, producing a profile of their sociolinguistic and pragmatic behavior in online discussions will allow for a multi-faceted picture of their language production that is conducive to making appropriate comparisons with native speakers. This will inform our understanding of assessing language learners' interactive competence in online discussions.

1.2   Second language use in online contexts

Research on second language use in online contexts include a diverse range of studies addressing the role of (a)synchronous discussions in facilitating language acquisition through noticing of target language forms and negation of meaning. Although most of the studies report that online chatting and task-based interaction promote greater language production by students, only few of them demonstrate concrete evidence derived from the analysis of students' recorded interactions, related transcripts, and data sources. The research topics in these few studies involve the examination of self-repairs and negotiation of meaning in students' online language production as well as the relationship between participatory structures and floor management in online second language tasks (Kern, 1995; Pellettieri, 2000; Yuan, 2003; Jenks, 2007). With respect to 'self-repairs', analyzing two Singaporean second language learners' online chat conversations, Yuan (2003) identified 44 occurrences of self-repair episodes out of the 512 errors made by the students in their online chat. The errors included "word form/word selection, spelling, sentence structure, subject-verb agreement, preposition, noun/article, and transition" (p. 201). Yuan (2003) interprets these findings as indicative of the role that online chatting plays in mediating input-intake relations which is essential for language acquisition to occur. In a more comprehensive study, drawing on 16 students'(Chinese learners of English) online exchanges, self-reported views, and two individualized post-tests, Zeng and Takatsuka (2009) found that language learners' mutual attention to language forms (noticing the target forms and negotiation of meaning) significantly impact their learning in collaborative online dialogues.

A number of researchers also used automated methods to investigate students' online discussions for various purposes. For instance, Ravi and Kim (2007) proposed an approach for automatically profiling student interactions in online discussions to provide instructors with enhanced information management. Using a number of algorithms, Ravi and Kim (2007) designed a speech act classifier that identifies the roles that students' individual messages play. The classifiers were developed to locate student messages that contain questions or answers. This way, unanswered questions were directed to instructor for assistance. Most of the studies using automated methods focused on exploring and detecting learners' grammatical errors via the automatic

annotation of various learner corpora. These investigations ranged from automatic detection of preposition errors in learner writing to the detection of ill-formed sentences (Meurers, 2009).

2   Method

2.1   Participants

The population of interest in the study is advanced speakers of English as a Second Language (ESL). Based on purposeful sampling, two criteria are set for the selection of students. First, in order to ensure that sampled population possesses an advanced level of proficiency in English, participants will be selected from among international graduate students. Secondly, the participants need to have an adequate level of experience with chat communication in order to engage in a high-quality conversation with each other. To ensure this, a brief online chat session will be conducted with interested participants. While the target population in this study is international students, due to the comparative nature of the study, there will be two categories of participants: international students, as the focal group, and American students, as the control group. The online chat experience is also a criterion in the selection of American students. The total sample size of the study will include 4 groups of NS and 4 groups of NNS students with each group being formed by 5–6 participants.

2.2   Data collection

The unit of assessment in the study is the complete online dialogue which is designed around a coherent topic where the participants have a task to perform in order to reach a decision or arrive at a compromise. Literature on task-based interaction extensively discusses the role of task-oriented online chat in getting students to exhibit cognitive-affective behavior by utilizing and integrating multiple skills in the accomplishment of a given task (Lee, 2002; Jenks, 2007). In this type of communication, participants collaborate to accomplish a real-life task by establishing their own norms and negotiating their participatory structures throughout the course of the dialogue (Gonzalez, 2003).

In order to obtain a suitable dataset based on the research focus, a series of experiments will be conducted, in which recruited participants will be invited to participate in online task-oriented dialogues in a specially designed secure chat-room. These experiments will be carefully designed around a task for the participants to engage in so that appropriate types of behavior such as topic control and task control may emerge spontaneously. Additional information about dialogue participants such as their demographic information, their attitudes and perceptions on the discussions will be captured through questionnaires prior to and following each data collection experiment. These data sources are critical for the validation of the annotation-based findings and further interpretations.

2.3   Data coding/annotation

The annotation of the collected chat dialogues will be performed through a software annotation tool called "Social Actions/Roles Markup Language (SARML)" that was specially developed for the DSARMD project (Broadwell et al., 2012). The tool is currently used for the manual annotations of local topics, dialogue acts, communication links, and valences of meso-topics (main topics that are discussed at length in the discourse). The annotation categories that are of interest in this study are adapted from Shaikh et al. (2010), the annotation guidelines constructed for the DSARMD project.

2.4   Data analysis

Data analysis will involve a number of quantitative methods and comparisons in addressing each research question in the study. In order to capture students' communicative practices, *Broadwell et al.'s (2012) quantitative approach* will be employed in order to detect and classify students' degree of Topic and Task Control in their task-based discussions. Through automated annotation, this approach provides a computational profile of a set of sociolinguistic behaviors, such as topic control and task control, which are, in turn, captured by the observable sociolinguistic features such as local topics, co-references, and dialogue acts (Table 1).

In addition, drawing upon Kecskes' (2002) framework of conceptual socialization, formulaic language in this study is conceptualized as an indicator of conceptual fluency which reflects students' communicative and pragmatic competence in task-based interactions. Thus, the second research question is intended to explore the relationship between student' Topic and Task Control behavior and their formulaic language use by capturing the extent to which non-native English speaking students adopt the preferred ways of saying things in the target speech community. In order to answer this question, bivariate correlation analysis will be implemented using SPSS. This correlation measures the strength of the relationship between students' formulaic language use (phrasal verbs, speech formulas, and situation-bound utterances) and their topic and task control behavior as captured through the relative measures in each category.

Guided by Sociocultural Theory, the third question will help uncover the relationship between students' sociocultural variables (students' L1 background, length of time spent in the US, perceived assessment of their own performance etc.) and their observed Topic and Task control behavior. More specifically, the sub-questions guiding this investigation are: a) Do students' demographic variables (time spent in the US, language learning history, age, gender) explain the degree to which they perform Topic and Task Control in the discussions? b) Do any of these demographic variables account for students' formulaic language use? c) What is the correlation between students' own assessment of their interactional behavior and their annotation-based profile in the discussion? A multiple regression statistical analysis will be employed using SPSS to determine the strength of the relationship between these sociocultural variables and the Topic and Task Control behavior of the participants.

Table 1: DSARMD-1 overview with system components

Sociolinguistic behaviors	Applicable measures	Description	Sociolinguistic features
Topic Control			
	Local Topic Introduction (LTI)	Who introduces local topics	
	Subsequent Mentions of Local topics (SMT)	Who introduces the topics most talked about	Local topics, Subsequent mentions (co-references, pronominal references, etc.)
	Cite Score Index (CSI)	How often others mention a speaker's topics	
	Turn Length Index (TLI)	Who takes longer turns, in average, in words	
Task Control			
	Directive Index (DI)	Who directs others to perform some action	Directives,
	Process Management Index (PMI)	Who explicitly addresses the problem solving process	Questions, Assertions

3   Conclusion

Prior literature reports that task-based interaction is particularly conducive to second language acquisition because students are encouraged to produce a discourse by completing tasks within their Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD) (Seedhouse, 1999). In that respect, as online chat dialogues promote learner autonomy and provide a comfortable environment for second language speakers to interact with less affective filter, the analyses of such dialogues might be indicative of learners' actual language knowledge or their situated linguistic performance. Therefore, this research study draws on online second language production in an attempt to explore how language learners perform discourse management via a number of sociolinguistic and pragmatic devices such as topic mentions, speech acts, and formulaic expressions. Analyzing the use of such devices will not only help identify the emerging patterns, errors, and misuses in students' online language production but also inform us about the types of discourse roles (e.g., influential, collaborative, weak/passive) students assume during the discussion. Additionally, by employing an innovative computational technique, this

study aims to open up new areas of inquiry for language researchers.

About the author

Ümit Boz is a PhD candidate concentrating on Second Language Education in the program of Curriculum and Instruction at the University at Albany, State University of New York. His academic interests, in general, lie in the areas of Applied Linguistics and Pragmatics, and his immediate scholarly interests, in particular, are in Sociolinguistics and Second Language Acquisition in online contexts.
Email: `uboz@albany.edu`

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International Intelligibility of Chinese-Accented English

Lingli Zhang*

Abstract

English is becoming an international language or a lingua franca, which requires a paradigm shift in English language teaching (Kachru, 2005; Jenkins, 2000, 2007; Seidlhofer, 2005; Kirkpatrick, 2007; Walker, 2010). Intelligibility is not only a central concept for ELF research, but also an attainable and realistic goal of pronunciation teaching. Many scholars have conducted research on the intelligibility of different varieties of English; however, the intelligibility of Chinese-accented English has been less studied except for some findings on the intelligibility of Hong Kong English (Kirkpatrick, Deterding and Wong, 2008). The present research aimed to identify the features that hamper international intelligibility of Chinese-accented English, and suggest priorities for English pronunciation teaching in the context of China. The subjects were 32 university sophomores (16 females and 16 males), coming from seven typical Chinese dialect systems. They carried out a diagnostic pronunciation test which consisted of words, a passage and an impromptu speech. The corresponding recorded data were then transcribed by 32 educated listeners from over 20 different nationalities. Mismatches between the speakers' transcriptions and the listeners' transcriptions were recorded as intelligibility failures. The results reveal that the salient features that hamper the international intelligibility of Chinese-accented English are as follows: (1) vowel quantity and vowel quality; (2) substitution of diphthongs by monophthongs; (3) fortis and lenis consonant confusion, /l/ and /n/ confusion, /v/ and /w/ confusion, /n/ and /m/ confusion at word ends, /l/ and /r/ confusion and so on. The research findings on Chinese-accented English are discussed with reference to Jenkins' Lingua Franca core (2000) and Kirkpatrick's ASEAN ELF pronunciation (2010). Finally, based on this empirical study, teaching strategies are proposed to enhance international intelligibility in a college English pronunciation classroom.

Keywords: English as a lingua franca, intelligibility, Chinese-accented English, pronunciation teaching

1   Introduction

English has become an international language or a lingua franca which is no longer owned just by its native speakers. Nowadays non-native speakers using English for international communication outnumber native speakers. As one of the central concepts

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*China University of Geo-Sciences, The People's Republic of China

in World Englishes and English as a Lingua Franca, intelligibility is of paramount importance in intercultural communication. The concept of intelligibility was first put forward by Catford in 1950, who distinguished intelligibility from the effectiveness of an utterance. Smith and Nelson (1985) defined intelligibility as the understanding of the speakers' intention, and divided it into three layers, namely, intelligibility, comprehensibility and interpretability. In their view, intelligibility was defined as word and utterance recognition; comprehensibility as utterance meaning and interpretability as the perception and understanding of the speakers' intentions (Nelson, 1995). Smith (1992) viewed these categories as degrees of understanding on a continuum. In the current study, intelligibility was operationalized into the categories of intelligibility and comprehensibility.

2 Literature Review of Intelligibility Studies

Many scholars have conducted research on the intelligibility of different varieties of English, such as American English (Smith and Rafiqzad,1979), Indian English (Basal,1969), Japanese English (Suenobu, Mineo and Kanzaki,1992), Nigerian English (Tiffen, 1974), south-east English (Deterding, 2006) and so on; however, the intelligibility of Chinese-accented English is a less studied area, except for some findings on the intelligibility of Hong Kong English (Kirkpatrick, Deterding and Wong, 2008). Domestic Chinese-accented English studies have only focused on negative transfer to native Chinese speakers. Moreover, the relevant studies were sporadic because their focuses were only on specific dialect transfer instead of systematic study of common features of Chinese-accented English. In terms of research methodology, few empirical studies were found in the literature. Furthermore, the research subjects were English major students or middle school students instead of non-English major students, who constitute the majority of university students.

3 Research Design

The present research aims to identify the features that hamper *international intelligibility* of Chinese-accented English, and suggest priorities for English pronunciation teaching in China. The two research questions are as follows: 1) What are the general characteristics of Chinese-accented English? 2) Which are the features that hamper the international intelligibility of Chinese-accented English?

3.1 Participants

The speakers were 32 university sophomores (16 females and 16 males), majoring in 17 different specialties. They came from seven typical Chinese dialect groups, namely Cantonese, Min dialect, Hakka, Xiang dialect, Gan dialect, Wu dialect and Northern dialect. All the speakers were born and brought up in a monolingual dialect environment. We chose 32 (16 male and 16 female) corresponding educated listeners from 19

different nationalities. Among them, 11 came from inner circle countries, namely, USA, UK, Canada and New Zealand; 11 from outer circle countries, namely Sudan, Botswana, Sierra Leone, Zimbabwe, Dominica, Pakistan, Nigeria, India and Malaysia; and 10 from expanding circle countries, namely, Germany, Japan, Thailand, Turkey, Mexico, and Vietnam. The majority of them were university teachers and students whose average age was 29.8 years. To guarantee their English listening proficiency, the listeners from outer and expanding circle countries were required to take the IELTS listening test and were only accepted if their score was above six.

3.2 Research methodology

The 32 speakers carried out a diagnostic pronunciation test which consisted of 44 words (containing 44 English phonemes), a passage *North Wind and the Sun*, and an impromptu speech *An Unforgettable Experience*. Every speaker had 10 minutes to prepare for the test. They could look up in the dictionary if they were uncertain about the pronunciation of words. All the recorded data were sent via e-mail to the 32 corresponding international listeners, who were required to fulfill three tasks: 1) transcribe the recording word by word; 2) provide three adjectives to describe Chinese-accented English.

The speakers' transcriptions and the listeners' transcriptions were compared and analyzed. Mismatches between them were recorded as intelligibility failures and all the possible causes for the intelligibility failures were ranked according to the frequencies of mismatches in the transcriptions.

4 Results and Discussion

4.1 Characteristics of Chinese-accented English

We collected all the 96 adjectives used to describe Chinese-accented English and divided them into three categories, positive, negative and neutral.

1. The most frequent neutral adjectives were strongly-accented (*unusual, Chinese-like, accented, regional, strong*); elided (*shortened, truncated, doesn't have the final consonants, hard to catch the end of a word*); flat intonation (*flat, monotonous, tonal*), lack of stress and rhythm (*unstressed, mono-syllabic, staccato*).

2. The most salient negative adjective was *unintelligible*. The listeners also used other similar words and expressions like *not very intelligible, quite unintelligible, half-intelligible, not understandable, difficult to understand, hard to understand, unintelligible, difficult to understand, difficult to listen, difficult, hard, not easy to distinguish, confusing, confused, unclear, unclear voice, slurred, ambiguous, disoriented, complex*. The second salient negative adjective was *wrong*. Similar words like *incorrect, erroneous, mispronounced, inconsistent, inaccurate, poor, awful, jumbled, mixed up words* and so on were also used. Another characteristic

of Chinese-accented English was *fast*, the international listeners used *fast*, *rushed*, *irritable* and *sloppy*. What's more, *hesitant* was also a frequently used adjective. The listeners also used similar words like *strained*, *hesitant*, *hesitant at times*, *labored*, *unnatural*, *careful*.

3. Besides neutral and negative adjectives, the listeners also used some positive adjectives to describe Chinese-accented English, such as *understandable*, *interesting*, *warm*, *smooth*, *musical* and *confident*.

The results echo Jenkins' (2007, p. 163) research results on Chinese-accented English. In terms of rhythm and intonation of Chinese-accented English, some listeners described it as *choppy*, *tone-like*, *staccato*; as for intelligibility, similar comments were *unintelligible*, *hard to understand*, *incomprehensible*. There were also some other adjectives like *strong accent*, *far away from the standard* and so on.

4.2   Features that hamper the intelligibility of Chinese-accented English

We made a comparison between the speakers' transcriptions and the listeners' transcriptions and figured out the mismatches in the three listening tasks: individual words, passage and impromptu speech. We analyzed the possible reasons that hamper intelligibility and ranked them according to the frequency of mistakes.

Vowels that hamper the intelligibility of Chinese-accented English

For monophthongs, the most salient vowel problem was voice quantity, especially confusion between /i:/ and /ɪ/ which caused mismatches between transcriptions 70 times. For example, the word *pit* was transcribed into *pete*, *peat*, *peater*; *tin* into *teen* or *team*; *pin* into *pea*, *pee*; *bin* into *bean*, *been*, *being*; *feel* into *fill*; *this* into *these*; *leave* into *live* and so on. There was also confusion between /ɔ:/ and /ɔ/ that appeared 20 times. For example, the word *pot* was transcribed into *port*.

Voice quantity, especially the confusion between /i:/ and /ɪ/, /ɔ:/ and /ɔ/ hamper the intelligibility of Chinese-accented English. This conclusion echoes the research results of Deterding (2010), Jenkins (2000) and Ho (2003). According to Brown (1991) the function load between /i:/ and /ɪ/ is 8, /ɔ:/ and /ɔ/ is 5. This explains the reason why these two minimal pairs are so central to the intelligibility.

Besides voice quantity, voice quality also hampers the intelligibility of Chinese-accented English. Confusion between /e/ and /æ/ appears 29 times; /ʌ/ and /æ/ 15 times; /ʌ/ and /ɔ/ 15 times; /ɑ:/ and /ʌ/ 13 times; /æ/ and /ɑ:/ 10 times. However, Jenkins' (2000) Lingua Franca Core excludes vowel quality and Ho (2003) didn't mention the problem of vowel quality either. Although Deterding (2010) mentioned voice quality, he didn't show us exactly what the specific confusing minimal pairs are in Chinese-accented English.

As for diphthongs, the most salient problem was the simplification of diphthongs, i.e. substitution of diphthongs by monophthongs. In the transcription data, /eɪ/ was

substituted by /e/ 14 times, by /æ/ 12 times and by /iː/ 12 times; /aɪ/ was substituted by /æ/ 20 times; /əu/ was substituted by /ɔ/ or /ɔː/ 26 times.

Kirkpatrick (2010) argued that the monophthongization of diphthongs is common among many Asian varieties of English and in ASEAN ELF. In Kirkpatrick (2002) he analyzed the diphthong problems of Chinese English learners, and explained that Chinese diphthongs are not as sonorous, clear and long as English diphthongs.

Consonants that hamper the intelligibility of Chinese-accented English

1. Conflation between nasal consonants

   The most salient consonant problem was conflation among nasal consonants, especially between words ending /m/ and /n/, which caused discrepancies between transcriptions 62 times. For example, *come* was transcribed into *can*, *warm* into *warn*, *gum* into *gun*, *some* into *sun*, *Jane* into *jam*, *din* into *dim* and so on. Conflation between /n/ and /ŋ/ also appeared 52 times. Mismatched words were *pin* and *ping*, *bin* and *bing*, *sun* and *song*, *soon* and *song*, *wind* and *wing* and so on. These two minimal pairs mostly appeared at word ends. Conflation between /n/ and /m/ is a new conclusion about the characteristics of Chinese-accented English based on this empirical research.

2. Conflation between fortis and lenis consonants

   Fortis and lenis consonant conflation was one of the major contributors to intelligibility failures, which caused mismatches between transcriptions 66 times. Among them, the /t/ and /d/ confusion appeared 26 times, e.g. *feed* was transcribed into *fit*; *pet* into *pad*; *pat* into *pad*; *pot* into *pod*; *do* into *to*. The conflation between /p/ and /b/ appeared 15 times; /s/ and /z/ 13 times.

   Conflation between fortis and lenis consonants was included in Jenkins' (2000) lingua franca core. Ho (2003) also maintained that fortis and lenis conflation is one of the main characteristics of Chinese English learners. Deterding and Kirkpatrick (2006) concluded that the unaspiration of initial plosives is the salient characteristics of the emerging Southeast English.

3. The problem with /θ/ and /ð/

   /θ/ and /ð/ are notoriously difficult for Chinese English learners, who tend to substitute them with /s//z/ or /t//d/. In the transcription data, the substitution of /θ/ by /s/ appeared 28 times. For example, *think* was transcribed into *sink*, *north* into *norse* or *nose*. Also the substitution of /θ/ and /ð/ with /d/ appeared 13 times. Other mismatched words were *din* and *thin*, *modern* and *more than*, *dear* and *their*, *disputing* and *this putting* and so on.

   Although Jenkins (2000) argued that the *th* sound didn't hamper intelligibility and it should be excluded from the lingua franca core; Setter (2011) held that it depends on whether the *th* distribution occurs in content words or form words.

Kirkpatrick (2010) pointed out, the substitution of *th* sound with /s//z/ or /t//d/ is a common phonological characteristic of Asian Englishes.

4. Problems with approximants

Conflation of dark /ł/ and /u:/ is also an important factor that hampers the international intelligibility of Chinese-accented English. The mismatch frequency was 31. For example, *seal* was transcribed into *sew*, *zeal* into *zoo*, *feel* into *few* and so on. Dark /ł/ was also conflated with /əu/ and the mismatch frequency was 15. For example, *dear* was transcribed into *deal*, *seal* into *seer* or *sear*, *zeal* into *zear*; *feel* into *fear* and so on.

The conflation of clear /l/ with /r/ also hampers the intelligibility of Chinese-accented English and its mismatch frequency was 30. The discrepant words were *pleasure* and *pressure*, *along* and *around*, *cloak* and *croak*, *road* and *load*, *listening* and *reasoning* and so on.

The conflation of clear /l/ with /n/ occurred 25 times in the data. The mismatched words were *knock* and *lock*, *light* and *night*, *lately* and *nightly* and so on. The conflation of /w/ and /v/ occurred 26 times and /w/ and /r/ conflation 14 times.

Ho (2003) concluded that /l/ and /n/ conflation was a pronunciation problem for students in central China, while /l/ and /r/ conflation was the problem for students in northern China. Deterding (2010) also drew a similar conclusion. He (2002) explained that the conflation of /w/ and /v/ was due to the Chinese pronunciation of the sound /w/.

5. Conflation of /tʃ//dʒ/ and /tr//dr/

The conflation of /tʃ//dʒ/ and /tr//dr/ is also one of the characteristics of Chinese-accented English. Among them, the most salient one was the conflation of /tʃ/ and /tr/, which occurred 11 times. The mismatched words are *chain* and *train*, *traveler* and *children*, *train* and *chain* and so on. This is also one of the new findings from the present empirical research.

6. Adding consonants after the word ending

Adding consonants after the word ending is one of the central factors contributing to intelligibility failures of Chinese-accented English, whose mismatch frequency was 92 times. Among them, adding a nasal consonant /m//n//ŋ/ after the word ending 32 times and that was why some international listeners used the word *nasal* to describe Chinese-accented English. Also, some other consonants such as /k//d//ł//t/ were added to the word endings.

Besides the above-mentioned, elision of consonants at word endings and consonant cluster problems also hamper the international intelligibility of Chinese-accented English.

5 Conclusion

The main findings of the research are as follows:

1. Although the international listeners had some difficulty in understanding the Chinese-accented English, they managed to get the speakers' intended meaning. The most salient adjectives to describe Chinese-accented English were *unintelligible*, *accented*, *hesitant*, *fast* and so on.

2. The results reveal that the salient features that hamper international intelligibility of Chinese-accented English are: (1) vowel quantity, especially the conflation of /iː/ and /ɪ/, /ɔː/ and /ɔ/; (2) vowel quality, the conflation of /e, æ/, /ʌ, æ/, /ʌ,ɑː/, /ʌ,ɔ/; (3) the substitution of diphthongs by monophthongs, the conflation of /eɪ/ with /e, æ,iː/; the conflation of /a ɪ/ with /æ/, /əu/ with /ɔː,ɔ/; (4) nasal consonant confusion; fortis and lenis consonants confusion; /l/ and /n/, /v/ and /w/, /n/ and /m/ at word ending, /l/ and /r/, /θ,ð/ and /s,z/ or /t,d/, /r/ and /w/; /tʃ//dʒ/ and /tr//dr/, /ɫ/ and /uː/ confusion; (5) adding consonants after the word ending.

The changing scene of English requires a paradigm shift in English language teaching. Intelligibility is undoubtedly an important aspect for promoting pronunciation teaching reform in China. First of all, teachers of English pronunciation at college level should bear in mind multiple standards and international intelligibility, cultivate students' awareness of different "Global Englishes" and enhance their confidence in using Chinese-accented English. Secondly, English teachers should familiarize themselves with all the general, dialectal and individual problems that hamper the international intelligibility of speech by Chinese university students. As teaching priorities, the general and core areas for intelligibility should be highlighted in classroom teaching, while specific and non-core areas could be tackled in web-based autonomous language learning. Finally, it is highly recommended that the index of intelligibility be included as one of the criteria in oral English tests.

About the author

Dr. Lingli Zhang has worked as an associate professor in School of Foreign Languages, China University of Geosciences. In 2011–2012 she was an academic visitor funded by China Scholarship Council in the Centre for Global Englishes, University of Southampton, U.K. Her main interests include applied linguistics, phonetics and phonology and computer-assisted language Teaching.
Email: `zhanglingli@cug.edu.cn`

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Interpreting Trauma Narratives in Crosscultural Immigration Encounters Between Outer-Circle and Expanding-Circle ELF Users: Sociolinguistic Issues and Pedagogic Implications

Maria Grazia Guido[*]

Abstract

This paper explores the ways in which traumatic experiences of war and torture are first represented in the narratives of West African refugees through their ELF variations during crosscultural medical encounters, and then interpreted by Italian specialists with reference to their clinical-schema categories, and encoded according to the genre conventions which inform the syntactic, semantic, pragmatic and textual features of the ELF which the specialists use. The case study investigates not only the different ELF linguacultural conventions of the two contact groups, respectively coming from the 'outer' and the 'expanding' circles, but also the register structures of the Italian specialists, transferred to their ELF, which do not account for the African refugees' differently situated narratives, perceived by specialists as 'deviating'. This is so because coherence and cohesion in such narratives reflect the refugees' different L1 typological features transferred to their ELF variations, as well as their different knowledge systems and community values associated with traumatic experiences relating more to socio-political balance than to individual wellbeing. Four deviation levels between 'conventional' and 'native' trauma reports through ELF are investigated: transitivity vs. ergativity; generic vs. ethnopoetic patterns; epistemic vs. deontic modality; specialized lexis vs. native idioms of distress. The identification of divergent narratives has also a pedagogical impact on the training of community interpreters in contexts of transcultural psychiatry as it suggests alternative ways of textualizing, through ELF, different socio-cultural conceptualizations of the trauma experience, thus safeguarding the refugees' social identities and fostering successful communication in the 'expanding circle'.

Keywords: Non-western ELF trauma narratives, conventional PTSD registers, hybrid ELF registers

1 Research Topic, Assumption and Hypothesis

This paper focuses on how past traumatic experiences are first represented in the narratives of non-western (West-African) immigrants from the 'outer circle' (Kachru, 1986), speaking endonormative ELF variations, and then interpreted as 'deviating'

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[*]University of Salento, Italy

(Mattingly, 1998) by western (Italian) medical specialists from the 'expanding circle', speaking ELF variations with exonormative reference to Standard-English (StE) norms and domain-specific registers (i.e., Psychiatry). The assumption is that the view of ENL as 'authentic variety' is challenged by a notion of ELF as 'language authentication' (Widdowson, 1979), or 'appropriation' by means of the speakers' linguacultural and experiential parameters. Hence, there are diverse ELF variations that are dependent on groups of speakers 'authenticating' English (Guido, 2008), and that are, therefore, 'transidiomatic' (Silverstein, 1998) because they are 'displaced' from the speakers' native contexts and used for international communication (Seidlhofer, 2011). The hypothesis is that coherence and cohesion in West-African refugees' narratives reflect different L1 typological and pragmatic features transferred to their ELF variations, and different knowledge systems and community values associated with traumatic experiences.

2   Theoretical Grounds, Rationale and Objective

Central to this study is the notion of a different narrative coherence in telling and interpreting trauma experience. At the basis of western trauma narrative there is Freud's (1920) view that clinicians seek coherence in patients' memories and dreams by filling missing gaps. Eisenberg (1981) observes that interpretation of non-western trauma narratives occurs according to western clinical-schema categories and pre-established genre conventions. Yet, as Linde (1993) claims, 'self' narratives are unknown in many cultures and, as Mattingly (1998) argues, non-western trauma narratives are more about socio-political welfare than individual wellbeing, thus requiring a therapeutic 'fictional coherence' involving entire injured communities in traumatic stories. The rationale justifying this study highlights the cognitive and pragmatic incongruities between native trauma narratives through ELF and their StE textualization into medical registers. Indeed, the possibility of different cultural representations of trauma does not fall within the American Psychiatric Association (APA) parameters laid down in *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (APA, 1994). Such parameters are applicable to trauma impact on western people (mainly US veterans of the Vietnam and Gulf wars), and to the scientific terminology for single-trauma effects (Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder — PTSD), but they are inadequate for the description of PTSD in non-western cultures and for the assessment of multiple-trauma effects on African populations (Peltzer, 1998), which encompass natural/physical, but also supernatural/spiritual and political dimensions. The objective therefore is to develop hybrid ELF registers in transcultural psychiatry accommodating divergent categorizations of trauma experience to be used in medical encounters in immigration contexts.

3   Case-Study Method

The case study focuses on a parallel cognitive-functional analysis (Langacker, 1991) of two mini-corpora of, respectively, 15 scientific articles from the *Transcultural Psychiatry*

Journal, applying western textual norms to war-trauma effects on non-western populations, and 15 transcribed protocols of trauma narratives by West-African immigrants. The deviation between clinical and native trauma reports is then explored at the levels of epistemic vs. deontic modality; transitivity vs. ergativity; technical lexis vs. native idioms of distress; generic vs. ethnopoetic patterns. Finally, hybrid ELF registers are elaborated by intercultural-mediation students to accommodate divergent textualizations of the trauma experience.

4 Deviation Analysis at Modality Level

Conventional PTSD registers in StE reveal a backward epistemic reasoning from 'effect evidence' to 'cause inference' imposed upon non-western trauma narratives. This explains the tentative tone conveyed by epistemic hedges ('quasi-negative approximators', 'frequency adaptors' modulating statements as relatively true or false, and 'modal shields' diminishing the therapists' commitment to the truth of their interpretation):

> (1) "Very little is known about the consequences of trauma exposure in the survivors' lives."
> (2) "Not all refugee children, even those exposed to war, develop disorders and social impairment."
> (3) "The sensations provoked by an odour may trigger dysphoric associations (e.g. trauma associations and catastrophic cognitions) that may contribute to the production of panic."

During the 'control interviews' with Italian trauma specialists, an influence of PTSD registers on their ELF variation was noted:

> (4) "Hallucinations not always can happen at every moment, they can happen more often, for example, when past traumatic facts are remembered to them."

Features of Italian transfer to ELF include 'can' (always meaning 'possibility'); 'every' (meaning 'any'); 'remember' (meaning 'recall').

By contrast, non-western trauma narrative through ELF shows an assertive tone marked by deontic modals obliging traumatized people to pursue moral repair:

> (5) "When the army attacked, my family and I make for escape. So we're walking on a field and we're seeing this soldier behind a bush who's eating. He look us and quick my father hitted him with a machete unless he shoot us, and he scream and die. Now the spirit of this soldier had come inside my body 'cause he must gain revenge against my family and people say I speak with his voice and he say my family must bury him properly 'cause he's no guilty." (Ghanaian woman)

ELF features include the shift from past perfect ("had come") and 'normalized' past simple ("hitted") to 'non-inflected' present simple ("he shoot"; "he scream and die"), conveying the sense that past trauma persists in the present and compels this woman's trance-like public re-enactment for both individual and collective healing.

What follows is an instance of 'hybrid ELF register' elaborated by Italian students, attending a Masters course in Intercultural Mediation, who acquired an 'interpretative confidence' revealed by their use of deontic modals:

> (6) "The traumatized people unconsciously feel that they <u>must</u> revive shock-ing memories in the present. This is evident in their public experience of possession by vengeful spirits of innocent people murdered by members of their family or community, and who <u>must</u> gain social and moral justice."

5   Deviation Analysis at Transitivity Level

Conventional PTSD registers in StE adopt passive or passive-like constructions consist-ing of Transitive Agents (non-western traumatized people) defocused as Object/Rheme, whereas trauma symptoms and treatment are foregrounded as Subject/Theme:

> (7) "Nausea and dizziness (<u>symptoms as Subject</u>) will tend <u>to be experienced</u> by many people (<u>agents as Object</u>) during the traumatic event; the event will most likely be <u>strongly encoded</u> (<u>agents omitted</u>) in memory, and the memory will <u>be readily recalled</u> (<u>agents omitted</u>) upon exposure to odour and/or dizziness and/or nausea."

Often, non-western people are described as 'irrational' through a patronizing tone reducing their agency and credibility:

> (8) "Upon encountering the stimulus, <u>there is no control of anxiety</u>, which may be <u>sufficient</u> to generate <u>even more anxiety</u> and an <u>increased</u> sympa-thetic outflow in the autonomic <u>nervous system</u>." (<u>agent omitted</u>)

Again, during the interviews with Italian trauma specialists, an influence of conven-tional PTSD registers on their ELF variation was noted:

> (9) "No sleep, no appetite, no friends, no love of life, no interest to follow therapy, just apathy, and also weakness (<u>symptoms as Subject</u>). These are the consequences of torture."

In West-African ergative event constructions (Langacker, 1991), transferred to non-western ELF trauma narrative, the transitive inanimate Object is instead in Subject position as animate Agent (or Medium), thus removing the real trauma causes (torturers and traumatic events):

(10) "[Past-trauma narrative] My skin (Object in Subject position) ripped. My bones (Object]) cracked and broke. A big pain (Object) grabbed me. [Transitive equivalent: The torturer (omitted agent) ripped my skin and broke my bones etc.]." (Liberian man)

(11) "[Present-recall narrative] The mind (Object in Subject position) think-think sickness and see fog and go out of place. [Transitive equivalent: The memory of the massacre (omitted cause) makes my mind obsessed, etc.]" (Sierra Leonean man)

What follows is again an instance of 'hybrid ELF register' elaborated by Italian trainee intercultural mediators:

(12) "In reporting past physical torture, patients describe the sensation of their skin that ripped, and bones that broke. [...] Past traumatic experiences make patients' minds become obsessed with disturbing physical sensations, such as feeling sick, or dim sight and fainting."

6   Deviation Analysis at Lexis Level

Lexis in conventional PTSD registers in StE is non-negotiable and consistent with APA labels:

(13) "After exposure to some traumatic event, one's initial response may include symptoms in the domains of physiology (e.g., rapid heart rate, body heat, sleep disturbance, appetite disturbance, nausea, shortness of breath, dizziness and palpitations, chocking sensation, chest tightness, shaking, sweating, chills/hot flashes and numbness/tingling)."

Such conventional registers were once again found to influence Italian specialists' ELF variation during interviews:

(14) "Well, the symptoms of trauma are nightmares, the heart that beat very fast, suddenly, without reason, and rage, and then depression, and often there is no cure that work, no remedy."

Idioms of distress, in non-western trauma narrative through ELF, diverge instead from APA definitions in representing first-person trauma effects as third-person animate subjects affecting patients:

(15) "When I escaped, I saw many bodies on the side of the road and I felt that the worms on them they started crawl up slow slow under my skin. I often feel the worms creep creep and make my blood to sleep (skin reaction → loathing)." (Ghanaian woman)

(16) "I suffer wind sickness, fonyo kurango we say (Mandinka), when I smell burning, like my village burning. Wind attacks my brain and rises. I hear

wind inside my ears, like woo woo (blood-pressure perception → panic at-
tack). It rise rise and press the eyes and I see black and my brain spin
(fainting)." (Sierra Leonean man)

Here, physical reactions are 'embodied' by means of experiential metaphors.

In developing 'hybrid ELF registers', the trainee intercultural mediators use similes
and 'as if' clauses to disambiguate the metaphorical idioms of distress:

(17) "West-African people usually somatise trauma effects and describe them
as if they were real things or beings attacking them. For example, they
describe sensations like creeping flesh at recalling the ghastly view of worms
on dead bodies as if worms were slowly creeping beneath their skin making
blood numb, or like feeling woozy, sick and fainting at recalling sensations
of panic as if wind was blowing in their brain and fog dimming their eyes."

7   Deviation Analysis at Structure Level

In conventional PTSD registers in StE, the Moves organizing PTSD articles (namely,
'purpose–method–results–conclusions') directly reflect therapy development ('illness–
treatment–healing'):

(18) "(Purpose) This paper will explore the usefulness of mainstream un-
derstandings of trauma work in the African context. (Method) This will be
done by considering how the different conceptualizations of trauma relate
to a research project undertaken with refugee women who were seen for
rape trauma counselling. [...] (Results) Results show that many victims
of sexual abuse experience post-traumatic stress reactions (PTSR). [...]
(Conclusions) The approach directs our attention to the aftermaths of the
events in which the subjective experiences of sexual assault are being re-
elaborated.

Non-western trauma narrative in Nigerian Pidgin English (NPE) as ELF variation
reveals a prevalence of 5/3-line 'ethnopoetic moves' (Hymes, 2003) and line-markers.
Lines 1–5 describe an outer context, whereas lines 6–8 represent the speaker's inner
emotional response to traumatic situations. The example below reproduces a Nigerian
woman's original NPE-ELF trauma narrative, transcribed according to NPE phonetic
orthography, pre-verbal tense/aspect markers and plural particles ("dem"). A version
in conventional syntax is also provided:

(19) Lines 1–5
    1. Das pipul dem bin don mek mi walk fo tri day dem, o, fo Niger border
       [Those people had made me walk for three days to the Niger border]

2. wie dem bin sell mi to won 'madam' and won car bin tek mi fo Al Zuwarah

   [where they sold me to a 'madam' and a car took me to Al Zuwarah]

3. wie won shack wit di sand-bed bin don lok mi and oda ten ten girl dem

   [where a shack with a sand-bed had locked me crammed with other ten girls]

4. wie di oyibo dem (Yoruba: white men) bin de kom evri de evri de

   [where the white men were coming every day, every day]

5. a remember di pain de grab mai yansh and leg dem and mai bodi bin de cut

   [I remember the pain grabbing my back and legs and my body was cutting]

Lines 6–8

6. Wen di boat bin bring os fo Italy a bin mek mai pikin,

   [When the boat brought us to Italy I gave birth to my child]

7. wen di police boat bin spot os i bin pik os all.

   [when the police boat found us it took us all]

8. Fo Nigeria a no get hope fo mari and fo mai pikin in good.

   [In Nigeria I have no hope for getting married and for my child's good]

Some of the 1–5 lines start with "wie" ('where') as contextual markers. Inanimate Objects are in Subject position ("car", "shack", "boat", "pain", "body") and represented as an ergative force-dynamic Medium. There is no hint at the woman's rape and torture as their physical effects are ergatively represented as causes and marked by reduplication of abuse frequency ("ten ten girl dem"; "evri de everi de"). Some of the 6–8 lines start with "wen" ('when'), followed by the first-person reference "a" ('I') hinting at the socio-cultural consequences of rape for which no trauma therapy is needed, but recovery by community recognition that she and her child deserve social opportunities.

In the 'hybrid ELF register' elaborated by the trainee intercultural mediators, there is respect for the ethnopoetic lines of the original report correlating form and meaning:

(20) "This report concerns the case of a refugee woman's journey to Italy

1. She was prisoner of people who forced her to walk for three days till reaching the Niger border

2. where they sold her to a 'madam' and a car took her to Al Zuwarah

3. where a shack with a sand-bed, crammed with other ten girls, locked her

4. where white men were coming again and again

5. she remembers the pain grabbing her back and legs and her body was cutting.

6. When the boat brought them to Italy, she gave birth to her child.

7. When the police boat found them it took them all.

8. But in Nigeria she has no hope for getting married and for her child's better future."

8   Conclusions

This paper has focused on the gap between ELF native trauma narratives and their textualization into conventional PTSD registers, thus advocating the need for 'ELF hybridization' between western and non-western trauma discourse to safeguard the immigrants' social identities and enhance successful intercultural communication.

About the author

Maria Grazia Guido is Full Professor of English Linguistics and Translation at the University of Salento, Italy, where she is also Director of the Interfaculty Language Centre, of the Masters Course in 'Intercultural and Interlingual Mediation in Immigration and Asylum Contexts', and of the Ph.D. Programme in 'Linguistic, Historical-Literary and Intercultural Studies'. Her research interests are in cognitive-functional linguistics applied to ELF in intercultural communication and specialized discourse analysis. Her monographs include *English as a Lingua Franca in Cross-cultural Immigration Domains* (2008), *Mediating Cultures* (2004) and *Register and Dialect in an Integrated Model of European English* (1999).
Email: `mariagrazia.guido@unisalento.it`

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Investigating Meaning Making in English as a Lingua Franca Interactions in an International Students Society in London

Bill Batziakas*

Abstract

The focus of this paper is on how meaning making is achieved with reference to ELF and what competencies are discernible in ELF interactions. In particular, two research questions are investigated: Which wordings and features of discourse are characteristic of interactions in contexts where English is used as a lingua franca, and how do they contribute to meaning making? To what extent do successful ELF interactions require competencies which are additional to those already described in the literature, and how can they best described and accounted for? Adopting a linguistic ethnographic perspective, meetings of the committe members and the officers of an international students society at the University London were observed and audio-recorded while English was used as a lingua franca. The data were analysed qualitatively tapping into analytic traditions such as Conversation Analysis and Discourse Analysis. What was found was that interlocutors extensively drew linguistic elements from their linguacultural backgrounds, whether these were their mother tongue or other varieties of English with which they had come into contact before, and they were inserting them in their ELF conversations with their colleagues. These linguistic innovations of the interlocutors seemed to emerge due to a variety of functional-pragmatic motivations and to achieve various interactive functions. This paper will focus on linguistic innovations with which the ELF interlocutors managed to make specific meaning in the sense of filling some kind of lexical gap. This particular function did not seem to be achieved at random, but on the contrary it was strategically well thought out and well elaborated on, as it is shown in the provided excerpts and also as it was reported in the accounts of the participants themselves in the post-session discussions which took place with them, as it will be shown.

Keywords: ELF, code-switching, borrowing, innovations, functions, meaning making

1   Introduction

This paper looks at the meetings of an international students society at the University of London, with the aim to discuss the lexical innovations which emerged when students were drawing on their linguistic and cultural backgrounds to communicate using English

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*King's College London, United Kingdom

as a lingua franca. Particularly, it is shown how the students made use of their available linguistic resources through code-switching and borrowing in their naturally-occurring ELF discourse, and how they were thus achieving their objectives in their communicative encounters. First, an overview of code-switching in ELF conversations is provided, followed by a review of how ELF research has investigated innovative use of lexis. This is the backdrop against which two excerpts with instances of lexical innovations are then analysed. The analysis of these lexical innovations reveals that the interlocutors were strategically setting out to achieve various functions, but this paper will focus on the function of making specific meaning by filling a lexical gap.

2   Code-Switching in ELF Conversations

When language users code-switch, they switch between two or more languages or varieties in the context of a single conversation (see e.g. Hoffmann, 1991). However, code-switching is sometimes distinguished from other related terms. For example, for Auer (1995), code-switching marks a breaking point in the conversation, whereas code-mixing denotes the formal linguistic properties of the said language-contact phenomena, and code-fusion concerns the overall blending of the linguistic elements. Because the differences denoted by the above terms are not crucial for the purposes of this paper, a broad definition of code-switching is employed here, and code-switching includes the common pattern shared by all the above terms, i.e. instances of alteration of linguistic material coming from two or more linguistic systems which are known to the speakers. Also, contrary to the SLA approach whereby code-switching is a learner strategy whereby lower proficiency language learners switch between their L1(s) in order to compensate for their linguistic deficiency (e.g. MacSwan, 1999), participants' code-switching is seen here as a strategic use of their multifaceted linguistic repertoires and as an expression of their multilingual competence (e.g. Cogo and Dewey, 2012).

3   Lexical Innovations and Functions in ELF Interactions

Lexis seems to be an area of language which is open to innovations. For Widdowson (2003, p. 48), lexical innovations are important when speakers interact and try to achieve their communicative objectives. He emphasises the speakers' to know how "to exploit the resources of the language to produce a novel combination, not allowable by the conventional code, but nevertheless a latent possibility which is virtual in the language though not actually encoded". According to Schendl (2001), new words appear in languages in two ways: word-formation and borrowing. The theory of word-formation deals with the processes of the formation of new words out of existing ones, for example, through backformation (e.g. 'legislate' from 'legislation') or compounding (e.g. 'doghouse' from 'dog' and 'house'). This paper will look at lexical innovations through borrowing, that is, through "the process of introducing a word from another language or variety" (Schendl, 2001, p. 25).

ELF research has also focused on the pragmatic-functional significance of borrowing and of the emerging innovative features from the perspective of the processes which motivate them. These processes have been found to include exploiting redundancy and enhancing prominence (Dewey, 2007b, p. 339 ff), increasing clarity (e.g. Pitzl, Breiteneder and Klimpfinger, 2008, p. 40 ff; Ranta, 2006, p. 112 ff), and increasing semantic transparency (Seidlhofer, 2009). Pitzl (2009) also reports the functions of increasing explicitness, providing emphasis, elaborating on a point and talking about abstract notions. In the same vein, Hülmbauer (2009) looks at how various lexical innovations contribute to the achievement of the speakers' communicative objectives through what she terms 'accommodative dovetailing', making the innovative common, benefiting from shared non-nativeness, exploiting plurilinguality and making friends with cognates. Finally, Klimpfinger (2009) identifies the functions of specifying an addressee, introducing another idea, appealing for assistance and signalling culture.

4   Lexical Innovations and Functions in my Data

The two excerpts with the code-switching instances and the innovative linguistic items which are analysed below come from audio-recordings of the first meetings of the international students society. In addition to my analysis, there are comments which the students provided in discussion sessions that were held after these meetings. The meaning and the additional information about the innovations were provided to me by the participants themselves in these discussion sessions or by other colleagues of mine who were familiar with these languages and varieties. All names are pseudonyms.

'Hold zhu' ('Hold 住')
Transl. approx.: 'stay strong'
Participants: Linlin — L1 Mandarin Chinese, Eshal — L1 Urdu, Arvin — L1 Mauritian Creole

In this extract, Linlin describes how she would like the society's officer of her college to be. At some point, she code-switches and borrows from Mandarin Chinese the expression *hold zhu*. In *hold zhu*, the first component is the English 'hold' and the second one is the Mandarin Chinese 'zhu' / '住', which means 'live'. Altogether, 'hold zhu' refers to someone's ability to hold steady and unaffected by problems and difficulties, to maintain composure, to stay strong and calm. *Hold zhu* is a modern catch phrase which was popularised recently by Miss Lin, a netizen stylist in the comedy skit of the Chinese variety show 'Are you a university student or not?' ('Daxuesheng le mei?' / '大学生了没'). It is a very trendy phrase among young people in mainland China nowadays, and this year it was also introduced as an emoticon on Renren, the Chinese equivalent of Facebook. *Hold zhu* is also an interesting example of how the English language spreads in various countries and comes into contact with the languages there, and in turn how an English word can be combined with a local one and then be re-inserted in an ELF conversation, as it is shown below.

1	Linlin:	well (.) for me the officer of a college is (0.1) like (0.2)
2		is like the representative there (.)
3		is like the best person someone can get to have there=
4	Eshal:	=yeap
5	Linlin:	so i would like someone who can
6		who can (.) ideally who can (.)
7		**hold zhu**
8		(0.4)
9	Marat:	**hold hold** what? what did you say?
10	Linlin:	oh (.) **hold zhu** (.)
11		means you know someone who who is good
12		who manages to do things
13		and and to have people under control
14		and people like him and appreciate him
15		or something like that
16		(0.2)
17	Marat:	someone who is (.)
18		cool then?
19		or amazing?=
20	Linlin:	=@@ not the second one but not the first either (.)
21		yeah something like cool you know (2.0)
22		yeah someone cooler than cool
23		but not as amazing as amazing
24		(4.3)
25	Eshal:	hm (.)
26		i like this in between (3.1)
27		i like it a lot actually
28	Linlin:	great↑

The focus of this excerpt is on Linlin's code-switching and borrowing, when she expresses her opinion that their officer in her college should be able to *hold zhu* (line 7). Since for her fellow interlocutors *hold zhu* is an unknown expression, Marat enquires directly about its meaning (line 9), and Linlin sets out to provide her explanation of this expression (lines 10–15). However, Linlin starts with two pauses (line 10), the hesitative discourse marker *you know* and the repetition of the lexical item *who* (line 11), the repetition of *and* (line 13), and the vague *or something like that* (15). Marat picks up Linlin's uncertainty about how *hold zhu* can be rendered in English as well as he realises that this expression cannot be rendered into English indeed, and tries to help Linlin by proposing the most appropriate and common English adjectives *cool* (line 18) and *amazing* (line 19). But Linlin latches and quickly replies that *hold zhu* cannot be rendered this way (line 20), because someone who is able to hold zhu is *cooler than cool* (line 22) but not *as amazing as* amazing (line 23), as she adds. Thus, it is better to think of the expression *hold zhu* as something in between *cool* and *amazing*, as Eshal steps in to note (line 26).

It is obvious, then, that Linlin did not borrow *hold zhu* from her mother tongue to make up for any linguistic deficiency in her English vocabulary, but because with *hold zhu* she wanted to express a particular quality for which the English language does not seem to have the exact word. That is, by drawing on her mother tongue, she aimed at making specific meaning by filling in a gap in the English lexicon. The point which I make here seems to be corroborated by the account of this interaction that Linlin herself provided in the post-meeting discussion that I had with her:

> "Sometimes I have a thought in my mind and I have a word for this thought from my mother language... And I want to express this and only this thought, but in English there isn't any word for this thought. Not that I don't know or I don't remember the exact English word, but there isn't an exact English word... If I say another word, ok, fine, but then I don't express my thought... So, yeah,... hold zhu... because it was just this and nothing else..." (Linlin)

'One bell', 'flash'
Meaning approx.: 'missed call'
Participants: Abraham — L1 Croatian, Halim — L1 Arabic, Arvin — L1 Mauritian Creole

In the previous extract, Linlin code-switched to her mother tongue and borrowed a lexical item which then emerged as a lexical innovation in the ELF conversation with her fellow interlocutors. In this extract, the students decided to exchange telephone numbers by giving each other a missed call. Abraham and Halim, then, came up with two new lexical innovations, *one bell* and *flash*, respectively. As Abraham informed me in the post-meeting session which I had with him, he started using *one bell* after he first heard it in Birmingham where he had spent some time recently, explaining that in Birmingham it is the expression to *one bell someone* and not *to give someone a missed call* that is used. Other than that, he added, it is a translation of *to give someone a missed call* which is used in his mother tongue, Slovakian. Similarly, Halim explained that it is the translation of *to give someone a missed call* which is used in his mother tongue, Arabic, but he picked *flash* from Nigeria, where he spent his previous years before coming to London for his studies. As it is shown below, both Abraham and Halim believe that *to one bell someone* and *to flash someone* are better than *to give someone a missed call*, because they describe more accurately what the mobile phone actually does at that point.

1	Abraham:	then let's exchange telephone numbers
2		and (0.2) we can talk another day again
3		so (0.2)
4		ok could anyone please **one bell** me?
5		(1.4)
6	Halim:	what?

7	Abraham:	**one bell**
8		(0.2)
9	Halim:	what is that?
10	Abraham:	i love using the word **one bell**
11		it's from birmingham
12		it means to (0.2) ah (0.3) miss call someone
13		yeah (.) to give someone a miss call
14	Halim:	**one bell**?=
15	Abraham:	=yeah **one bell**
16		because it's just (0.2) it (0.2) rings once=
17	Halim:	=ah ok
18	Arvin:	never heard of it (0.1) but i like it (.)
19	Halim:	yeah (0.2)
20		ok and when you finish guys **flash** me (.)
21		oh because in nigeria we say **flash**=
22	Abraham:	=because [it **flashes**]
23	Halim:	[it **flashes**] the screen on the phone and then it turns off
24	Abraham:	@@@
25	Arvin:	good
26	Abraham:	yeah

As it was mentioned above, instead of the Standard English expression *to give someone a missed call*, Abraham asks his fellow interlocutors to *one bell* him (line 4). A close look at this excerpt reveals that Abraham did not use *one bell*, because he did not know or he did not remember the equivalent Standard English expression. Instead, his choice to draw on his linguistic repertoire and employ *one bell* here is motivated by what seems more logical to him. As he explains later on in the conversation, this is what a mobile phone actually does during a missed call, *it just rings once* (line 16), hence, *one bell*. It is perhaps because Abraham's justification of *one bell* sounds persuasive and also because his innovative use of this expression is endorsed by his interlocutors, such as by Arvin's *i like it* (line 18), that Halim continues the conversation with another lexical innovation, which interestingly enough relates to *give someone a missed call*.

It is his turn to save his colleagues' mobile phone numbers, and he asks them to *flash* him (line 20). In the post-meeting discussion which I had with him, he mentioned that he studies Electronic Engineering and Communication with specialisation on mobile phones technology, so an expression such as *to give someone a missed call* must have been familiar to him. Also, *missed call* was the topic of the discussion a while ago, and also explicitly mentioned twice a few turns ago (lines 12 and 13). So, it is impossible for Halim not to have been aware of the Standard English expression *to give someone a missed call* either. However, as he explained (line 21), he used *flash* because this is how they say it in Nigeria, the country in which he was living before coming to London for his studies. Why exactly *flash* seems a good word choice is realised by Abraham, who provides the reason by noting that this is what the mobile phone actually does during a missed call, *it flashes* (line 22). Indeed, Halim overlaps repeating and confirm that

and he continues adding that a missed call actually *flashes the screen on the phone and then it turns off* (line 23). Hence, again, the function of making specific meaning by filling a lexical gap.

5   Conclusion

The analysis above allows a variety of conclusive remarks to be made. Before anything else, in terms of the linguistic categories of the innovations, in this paper there were modern catch phrases as in the case of *hold zhu*, simple idiomatic expressions such as to *one bell*, and monolectical verbs as *flash* was. Also, regarding the linguistic repertoires to which speakers code-switched and from which they borrowed linguistic items, it was shown that these can be either the speakers' mother tongue, as in the case of Linlin's *hold zhu*, or any variety of English with which the speakers have come into contact, as in the case of Abraham's *one bell* from Birmingham and Halim's *flash* from Nigeria. More importantly, it was shown that languages are not clear bounded entities. With reference to the emerging innovations of this paper, this means that language indeed allows for such innovations not only to emerge but also to help the participants achieve their communicative needs.

In this paper in particular, the focus was on participants' communicative need to express their thoughts in another way, in so far as they felt that the English lexicon did not have the exact word they needed. Thus, Linlin opted not use the Standard English *cool* or *amazing* but to code-switch and borrow *hold zhu* from her mother tongue, and Abraham and Halim did not use the verb *to give some someone a missed call* but to *one bell* and *to flash*. This way, from a pragmatic-functional perspective, they managed to make specific meaning by filling in a lexical gap. Of course, this function is not the only one which may be achieved in ELF encounters. It is however illustrative of the diverse linguistic backgrounds of the ELF interactants, and it adds to the our understanding of how ELF interactants are both able and willing to draw on all their available linguistic resources in creative and collaborative ways and thus to achieve their communicative needs.

About the author

Bill Batziakas is currently on his PhD at King's College London under Prof. Constant Leung and Dr. Martin Dewey. His research study looks at the strategic use of ELF users' linguacultural resources in order to make meaning, and the implications of this meaning-making process for the reconceptualisation of the communicative competence. His latest publication is "Greek-L1 Learners of English", which appeared in Robin Walker's book "Teaching the Pronunciation of English as a Lingua Franca" (Oxford University Press, 2010, pp. 110–114).
Email: `vasileios.batziakas@kcl.ac.uk`

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Part V

Contact Languages and ELF

'Contact With' and 'Use of' English in Different Circles

Howard Doyle[*]

Abstract

Contact with and Use of English is a dichotomized view of language used in this paper. It is used to consider how English occurs and affects language behaviour incurring English across three zones in Kachru's Three Circles of English: Japan in the Extending Circle; Singapore in the Outer; and Norfolk Island in the Inner Circle. While the lingua franca in Japan is Japanese rather than English, the other two zones ostensibly have English as lingua francas (ELFs). However different languages and English varieties regularly occur in different situations in language cultures across each of these zones. English that people have Contact With is any ostensibly English text which people in a language community would encounter, consciously or subconsciously, in their environments. Such texts are sourced either inside or outside their language cultures. Texts sourced inside are also English Used by people in those cultures. This paper gives an overview of research in the three zones mentioned above with the purpose of trying to pin down what exactly ELF is. In the process, pragmatics of English in language cultures there and also what English is learned by people there are considered. It is concluded that ELF is necessarily various, and the significance of this is discussed. Three ways in which scholars, language policy makers and planners might deal with this realization are suggested.

Keywords: ELF, contact with English, use of English, diglossic situations, English which is learned

In spite of all academic debate and discussion about English as Lingua franca (ELF), it is hard to pin down as to be observable as a unitary phenomenon. Yet it is often discussed as such. How then might ELF be realized? From place to place ELF is hardly ever the same thing. As the title suggests, this paper attempts to dichotomize English as something which people have contact with and also which people use. Could this dichotomized view assist pinning down (an) ELF for observation? In this paper, *contact with* and *use of* English are considered as theoretical and generic concepts with references to text analysis, and relevant ethnographic research findings. Further discussion of other aspects (including Pragmatics, English which is taught or otherwise learned and people's attitudes to English) leads to final discussion of the situation regarding ELF in light of findings in this research.

Starting with the conventional Kachrurian Three Circles of English model as a template, Japan, Singapore and Norfolk Island were selected to represent the Extending,

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[*]Kochi University, Japan

Outer and Inner Circles respectively. Norfolk Island was chosen for consideration as it lies in the center-circle Australasian English zone, uses an Australian state education system but maintains the Norf'k variety within the language culture there. However, I was interested in lingua franca rather than isolated community languages. In this sense lingua franca means the common language in those places. While it is obvious that Japanese rather than English is the lingua franca in Japan, English and Japanese language forms, relevant pragmatics and other cultural presumptions do coalesce in certain ways to form identifiable Japanese English (Loveday, 1996, Stanlaw, 2004, Honna, 2008, Morizumi, 2010). Also, one cannot consider speaking alone in a place like Japan as so much English which is used, and by far the bulk of English texts people have contact with, are written. If English competes with Japanese, it fills communication and linguistic niches rather than losing out.

To be able to investigate more suitably, I live and work in Japan, and visited Singapore and Norfolk Island as an independent tourist for a short period. Necessarily I had contact with travel and hotel personnel, official registration forms, maps and signs, tour operators and guides, food and drink establishments, menus, advertising, bank and money transaction events, and contact persons in each place whom I had not met before. Data collection in all three contexts included interviews and collecting texts (both real artifacts and photographed, as well as recording English speaking events in real time or writing immediate short-term recollections of them).

1   'Contact with' English

Regarding Contact With English, the concept is raised specifically in relation to Japan by Loveday (1996) who presents a continuum of language contact, mixing and bilingualism based on the depth of and extent of contact (pp. 13–15), akin to concepts of pidgin as narrow functional range contact language or broader creolization. The notion discussed here, *Contact With a language* instead relates to language as an environmental phenomenon in a person's culture. In other words English texts may be apparent so people many encounter or notice them, but paying attention to meaning in them is something else. Yet for researchers and observers, the language itself needs to be tangible and able to be recognizable as English language texts. In order to do this, a broad-based understanding of text is required, including recordable written or spoken-mode language.

But there are two pertinent issues:

- What are the sources of the English in texts which people have contact with? and

- What constitutes the English in the cultures in those locations?

In other words, What English is there (that people have contact with), what are the texts? Regarding sources of English text, one is in *texts from outside* of those language cultures, such as in Japan. More relevant to this research *also* are *texts of English produced by people in those language communities:*

- limited inside Japan, as Japanese rather than English is the lingua franca;

- more common in a place like Singapore where English as a lingua franca competes with other languages (Mandarin Chinese, Malay, Tamil and other languages in émigré language communities) and different varieties of English, such as modern Singlish, Peranakan (Lim, 2010), an older "Eurasian" variety (Wee, 2010) and identifiable standard Singapore Englishes as promoted by the government;

- near universal in a place like Norfolk Island, which lies under an Australasian English community and cultural umbrella plus the traditional local variety, Norf'k (Muhlhausler, 2010).

2 Complications

1. *Texts evidencing code-switching and mixing in real life situations in these environments, rather than registering distinct languages or language varieties for different contexts.*

   In three days in Singapore, a week on Norfolk Island and half a lifetime in Japan, evidence I could collect suggests that this is quite frequently, even regularly the case.

   One way to resolve this is to consider a continuum model. Though this model is applicable to the whole language culture, say of Japan, it is limited in that English *per se* dissipates. However, regarding language culture in Japan the relatively high extent to which English becomes subsumed in and as Japanese (eg. loanwords, phonemic adaptations) is a unique feature — in effect the English loses its 'Englishness', stops being English! Another pattern is recognizable under other names: hybridization or creolization, Japanese infecting the English. Both patterns are not realized in Loveday's (1996) continuum, referred to earlier. They were, however, frequently observed in signage and other publicly displayed texts deploying English in Japan.

   Another limitation of a Continuum model is that it is best applied to single text items or small units of text which register single points or micro-fields on the continuum; larger texts viewed holistically can spread too widely across the continuum depending on variation in the amount of mixing or changing of the language throughout the text. Also, in recorded interactions involving local and non-local people speaking Japanese with recurring English expressions, syntax and phonemics, and fuller discursive code-switching, it is conceivable that the local people were experiencing one of the few times of direct conscious contact with English inside their normal language culture in Japan. However, in the other zones these situations occur commonly enough to become a norm in people's experiences with English.

   It is too problematic to assess or quantify these extents in spoken interactions, primarily because interactive language events within these language communities

are too frequent. There was also observable code-switching or code-mixing in my small samples. In short, at micro-levels they are too difficult to gauge.

Then two related issues develop:

- the extent to which any pidgin or creole varieties (eg. Singlish in Singapore or Norf'k on Norfolk Island) are actually English; and

- the extent to which such pidgin or creole varieties show maturity as languages in their own right.

(Or, purist Anglophones may ask, to what extent also should pidginized, mixed, corrupted, vernacular or just bad English fall under a common ELF umbrella?)

2. *English with which people have contact sourced from more than one language culture source — variation*

The notion of people having contact with English sourced from inside their own language cultures begins draws away from the idea of people having passive contact with English, instead active contact with it. In other words, those people also produce language which other people have contact with. If there is textual evidence of various English(es) — or English and other languages — particularly in an interactive language event, presumably there is diglossia, or *Diglossic* situations (Harada, 2009, Alsagoff 2010). A way to address this complication is to consider the second theme of this paper, what English is used in an English language community.

3   What English is Used?

A diglossia analysis works in theory, especially as people generally move through multiple cultural contexts variously affected more by gender, age, occupation, education or affluence than simply by ethnicity or nationality. But diglossia comes across as a more impractical model to maintain than the notion of just a single variety being used — if everybody speaks and writes the same all the time then there likely cannot be diglossia. This seems rarely the case, especially in polyglot situations. A diglossia pattern is similarly impractical for language planning or putting an English language curriculum in place at a macro-, or national level. This is certainly so in Japan (though control of English limited to Education Ministry curriculum content and lesson delivery), and so it might seem for Singapore with even more prescriptive content and delivery regulation (English Language Syllabus 2010) plus other limitations on English in public such as the *Speak Good English* campaigns (Blockhorst-Heng et al., 2010). Norfolk Island is different again with equality of Norf'k with English as official languages enacted in law, in no small part reflecting local people's feelings about their language (considered later). Only non-local mainstream standard Englishes (e.g. *Macquarie Dictionary*, *Oxford English Dictionary*, *Merriman-Webster Dictionary*) are accepted in all zones, though exceptionally Alice Buffet's (1999) Norf'k orthography is referred to locally

even as teaching material in school Norf'k programs taught as a second language in the Australian state government system used in the school there. Even so, these points relate to English used in public contexts.

Considering what English is used in retrospective textual evidence is as useful as seeing how English is used, as shown through pragmatics analysis. As well as using the English used by people as significant data, pragmatics draws in discourse evident in the context of a language event or text being examined. This is considered in the next section.

4 Pragmatics Affecting the English Used

Linguistically, pragmatics (as the pragma-linguistics aspect — Leech, 1983; Paltridge, 2001) significantly influences language form choices or pragmatic repertoire (Blum-Kulka, 1991) of any participant who departs from their usual language cultural practices, such as people speaking foreign or second languages (L2) (Kasper (2007) discusses L2 pragmatics and cross-cultural pragmatics as sharing common ground). The same principles transfer to lingua franca communication where one or more of the participants adapt or alter their usual pragmatic performance for successful and appropriate communication. As an example, one interaction in Singapore (in a bank cashing a traveler's cheque and clarifying procedure) showed the sheer communicative functionality of language use at the expense of form: core meaning; ellipsis of verbs, plurality and articles; locative, directional, quantitativity and qualitativity functions all direct, succinct, formulaic. In fact, politeness devices plus small talk were ignored or avoided in 75% of exchanges which I observed occurring in an environment where Mandarin was also encountered: for instance for bank employees Mandarin punctuated by key local technical references in English seemed the spoken lingua franca, except to the customers, even though every visible written text (signs, forms, letters) was in English.

There is no space here to report detailed analysis, however I encountered three exceptional interactions in Singapore, coincidentally with people showing no recourse to Mandarin unlike in the bank, and who were more gregarious: a Malay restaurant manager explaining the local retirement system; an Indian lady advising slowly, informatively and empathetically about cheap ways from the airport to my hotel; three Filipino bar staff describing Japanese customers' behaviour. The obvious implication is that people do take their individuality baggage (including linguistic) with them to communication events, in turn affecting the pragmatics and their language choices. In Singapore, I could encounter differing pragmatic stances from different people. What remained consistent was the business or service contexts, fairly neutral ground for communicative contact with these people. What varied were the local ethnic or other types of cultures people were coming from, which seemed to determine certain pragmatic norms.

On Norfolk Island, it was not possible to encounter this kind of variation, and the type of data (ultimately interviews with and monologues from significant locals) ensured that I was not going to. Rather I did hear significant anecdotal accounts of people from

the Pitcairn Descendants' families: frequently speaking Norf'k rather than English till they were of school age; feelings of shyness when using Norf'k when outsiders were present; emotional shifts - feeling more comfortable in the Norf'k medium (Coyle (2006) relates variation within Norf'k spoken by different age groups and different families). These and other data suggest a conscious separation in the pragmatics of Norf'k from acrolectal Australasian English there, while data from Singapore suggest a far more complex pragmatics further effecting diglossia.

5   What English is Learned?

Agendas and attitudes are most clearly seen in answers to the question, What English is learnt or taught?, assuming that what is taught is also learned. In Japan, Singapore and Norfolk Island, people are taught prescribed English content at school, in Norfolk Island and Singapore schools as de facto first language, in Japan as non-Japanese foreign language. Yet, people, especially youth learn much language outside of school, local vernacular, foreign, even mixed varieties. In Japan, English is taught is as a school subject for school and college entrance exams successfully, as many students succeed in those exams. But the English of the most recent national communicative and literacy-based curriculum (MEXT nd) is yet to produce a generation showing evidence of successfully learning more communicative, literacy-focused English set down in the curriculum. Yet, I witness my students' mixing Japanese, Korean and much adapted English in Roman script in their chat texts, as well as their fluid manipulation of websites and computer programs with cues in English as much as in Japanese — skills learned somehow somewhere but none I taught them. In Singapore and on Norfolk Island respectively, people also learn local Singapore and Australian English naturalistically which they have contact with in their environments: frequently they also acquire local (in the case of Singapore, localized) creole varieties.

6   Discussion and Conclusions

This paper has tried to show that people in zones where various forms occur have contact with various types of English from various sources. Significant are English texts sourced from inside those language communities, which, admittedly are also the English used by people in those communities. Further, locations in each zone considered showed distinct English use patterns: in Japan where normally English mixes with, dissipates into, or is used semiotically alongside Japanese text; in Singapore where necessarily diglossic situations seem to occur to all around; and even on Norfolk Island where Australasian English and Norf'k coexist occurring in adjacent as well as common situations. Pragmatics analysis and considering what English is actually learned also suggests that diglossia is more likely across each zone.

The obvious answer, then, to the question posed at the start, How might ELF be realized?, is that necessarily it must be realized variously. People studying, planning

or policy-making for English in their communities need to see that realizing various 'Englishes' (at the very least) as a concept is quite a different pathway from recognizing any English as standard in the world around them. There is distinctiveness among standards such as Australian English on Norfolk Island, Standard Singapore English prescribed by Singapore's Ministry of and Japan's MEXT, and then again within the traditional Anglosphere heartland, and even these have various prescribed and non-prescribed lexical, syntactic, phonological and pragmatic norms.

There may be three pathways to follow:

1. *Recognizing standard varieties* from ostensibly native speaking English zones: British, North American, Australasian, even from newer zones like Singapore if they ever get around to constructing a suitably reflective corpus based on texts people have contact with there. This is problematic in as far as even standard language varieties evolve requiring political and cultural flexibility at the Top (as evident on Norfolk Island though not so in Singapore). Further, exclusion of Englishes outside of these zones historically seems all too likely.

2. *Adopting synthetic or other specific varieties*, a developmental trend hypothetically suggested by Ostler (2010) as a kind of "Worldspeak" (p. 269), or McCrum's (2010) unashamed support for a Globish like his favourite Jean-Paul Nerriere's Globish (`http://www.globish.com`), or older systems like Charles Ogden's (nd) mid-20th century Basic English. Tacit viability for this path comes from the perspective of English being seen as some kind of literacy skill to be learned or taught specifically: a proposition suggested for instance by Kirkpatrick (2010) as an approach for developing ELF in the South East Asian zone (though he advocates a plurilingual model. p. 157); already in place in international aviation (Kim and Elder, 2009, Graddol, 2012) and other language communities resembling Wenger's (nd) communities of practice or Swales' (1990) discourse communities. As David Graddol suggested 15 years ago (1997) and reported recently regarding online communities such as in East Asian zones including Japan (Graddol, 2012), this is already recognizable, even if those people's spoken English remains less skillful. In such communities, which would become defined partly by the English they use, their language becomes de facto lingua franca, a common register and mode for contact among members of those communities unstable or variable as it may be. The weakness regarding current common ideas of ELF is when language used by those communities diverges from other standard English standards: such as Korean airline pilots having problems with American native English speaking air traffic controllers not using officially sanctioned International Civil Aviation Organization protocol (Kim and Elder, 2009, pp. 23.11-23.12); and school students in Singapore already having problems, even rejecting English norms imposed from the Top — the label 'ELF' becomes ambiguous, even vague, at least just hypothetical. Further, such specified Englishes risk losing their natural cultural bases rooted historically and rooted in everyday life. More pessimistically for English — and the current ELF field — is Ostler's (2010) view of English eventually

becoming redundant as a world lingua franca, retreating to its traditional cultural heartlands (p. 286).

3. *Recognizing and tolerating diglossia in varietal English*, for which findings from research on contact with and use of English in different zones suggest is the reality, at least within the parameters of the current study. People necessarily have contact with and use different varieties of English in the world. However, people also move from context to context, from situation to situation in which not just the register but also the whole pragmatic nature of the communication and texts change. Moreover, if people are in particular cultures of English (or any language) for any length of time they are likely to learn something of it even if not taught, even if it is just within a limited range of communication functions. This happened to me on Norfolk Island where in a week I could pick Norf'k up greetings and such like, and in an interview (Buffet, 2012) was even taught the peculiar phonemics of the language by Alice Buffet, author of the standard orthography of the language. This pathway resembles orthodox understandings of pidginization and creolization development. It is problematic but it is real. It is problematic because the standard varieties necessarily begin to shift, they evolve and new varieties also develop and can become standards. The pessimistic view is that this pathway might mean 'sayonara English'. The realistic view is rooted in the history of languages of peoples in England, which includes the history of the language of the English. The future would resemble that.

In conclusion, I wish to reiterate the question posed in the middle of the paper: To what extent should pidginized, mixed, corrupted, vernacular or just bad English fall under a common ELF umbrella? The answer is that they do anyway, as lingua franca varieties of English are just that, various, and ELF becomes more a conceptual label, an umbrella. The more relevant issue seems to be how understandings of ELF itself may evolve, hopefully as English evolves — unavoidably and naturally.

About the author

Howard Doyle is Associate Professor in the Department of International Studies at Kochi University in Kochi in Japan. His background is English and Academic English and Literacy Education with interests in Discourse Analysis and more recently variation in English in the world from ecological perspectives, particularly in Japan and eastern Asian zones.
Email: `hdoyle@kochi-u.ac.jp`

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ELF in a Domestic Labor Context: Perceptions and Attitudes of English in the Workplace

Kellie Gonçalves[*]

Abstract

This paper explores the sociolinguistic consequences of a language contact situation between Portuguese-speaking domestics and their Anglophone clients in a multilingual cleaning company in New Jersey, USA. Language attitudes and ideologies (Blommaert, 2005; Jenkins, 2007) about English for many of these domestics index their national identities as well as their migrant identities Their beliefs and desires to eventually return to their home countries influence their minimal investment (Norton, 2000) in English. Domestics' testimonies concerning language practices among their strong and dense ties of their social networks within their local community reveal that domestics do not rely on English in their private, daily lives since their ethnic enclave accommodates to Portuguese-speaking residents. This means individuals residing within the "Ironbound" neighborhood of Newark, NJ are not forced to speak the majority language (English). Because domestics' private lives can be carried out in Portuguese, their levels of English vary and so does their attitude towards the language, all of which correlate to the amount of time they have resided in the U.S. and if they learned English within a formal classroom setting. The domestics with no or low proficiency in the target language cannot directly communicate with their clients. As a result, the main employer of the cleaning firm and several first-generation daughters serve as 'language brokers' between domestics and clients. For the domestics who employ ELF in the workplace, insecurities about their language skills often leads to delays in problem solving when domestics are required to speak to their Anglophone clients directly. Despite their command of English, many domestics compare themselves to native speakers (Jenkins, 2007; Cogo, 2010) and rate their English-speaking skills poorly although co-workers, employers, and clients assess their skills very positively. In this paper, I investigate domestics' language ideologies concerning English in the workplace and how these do not always coincide with how their language use is perceived by both language brokers and English-speaking clients. In doing so, I show how the use of English within an ELF workplace context continues to be measured against native speaker norms.

Keywords: ELF perceptions, language ideologies, native speaker norms, workplace discourse

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[*]University of Bern, Switzerland

1   Introduction

Research on ELF continues to expand beyond the theoretical frameworks employed within the field of applied linguistics (Dewey, 2009) but also in terms of the contexts in which such studies are conducted as well as their various foci, phonology (Jenkins, 2000; Walker, 2010), pragmatics (Cogo, 2009; Firth, 2009; Mauranen, 2007, 2009; Pullin Stark, 2009) identity and language attitudes (Cogo, 2010; Jenkins, 2007). In 2006, Seidelhofer et al. called for future research "to proceed by way of clearly situated qualitative studies with a strong ethnographic element" (2006, p. 21) among individuals within various communities of practice. While many studies on ELF have taken the classroom as their starting point (Smit, 2009), many researchers have also looked at the use of ELF within other contexts such as the workplace within white collar multilingual business settings (Rogerson-Revell, 2008; Ehrenreich, 2009; Pullin Stark, 2009). An attempt at studying language ideologies and practices of ELF users within blue collar worksites is an area that has not received much attention until now. In fact, the lack of sociolinguistic research produced within such contexts is a point Holmes recently discusses and states:

> "Few researchers have ventured into blue collar worksites; they tend to be noisy and dirty and often rather uncomfortable places for academics undertaking research. Nonetheless, this is undoubtedly another direction in which it is important to expand workplace discourse research." (Holmes, forthcoming)

I agree with Holmes in that this direction is essential for workplace discourse research but also within the context of ELF studies in which a gap needs to be filled.[1] One of the challenges of any researcher carrying out empirical work is acquiring access to individuals and workplaces (Ehrenreich, 2009; Yunick Van Horn, 2006). Within a domestic labor context these challenges have been well documented (cf. Rollins, 1985; Anderson, 2000; Chang, 2000; Parreñas, 2001; Romero, 2002; Lan, 2006 and Parreñas, 2008). According to Blacklett (2004, p. 247), such studies "forces us to acknowledge [. . .] that, worldwide, millions of homes are workplaces, and millions of workplaces are homes". The ramifications and consequences of such an intersection has led Massey to refer to "globalization at home" in which the home becomes a "meeting place" that articulates a network of social relations and cultural understandings linking with the global world (1994, p. 154). It is precisely the "meeting place" of home and the cultural understandings of language use that will be investigated in this paper.

2   Data

The data for this study consists of 41 semi-structured interviews, 18 with domestics, 19 with clients and 4 with language brokers. The interviews were recorded and lasted be-

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[1]See Goldstein (1997), Holmes and Stubbe (2003), Sunaoshi (2005), Baxter and Wallace (2009) for blue collar workplace studies.

tween 16 minutes – 1 hour and 30 minutes producing a total of 21.5 hours of recordings. Due to the data-driven nature of this study, hypotheses were not addressed in an *a priori* fashion. Rather, several thematic categories emerged from the transcripts and corpus. For the purposes of this investigation, I looked at perceptions and attitudes of ELF language use and practices at work among domestics and clients and how domestics' language use is often measured against native speaker norms, which led to the following research questions:

1. How do clients and domestics perceive ELF in the workplace?

2. How do domestics' evaluation of their language use influence their attitude towards English with respect to native speaker norms?

3   ELF Perceptions

Perceptions of ELF (Seidlhofer, 2001; Jenkins, 2007, 2009; Ehrenreich, 2009; Cogo, 2010) have been investigated over the past decade and Jenkins' (2007) study of attitude and identity of ELF using both qualitative and quantitative analyses of written and spoken corpora points to the importance of language attitudes of both ELF and NNS varieties while simultaneously considering the importance of individuals' identities. In investigating individuals' language attitudes towards these varieties, standard language ideologies emerged as a prominent concept that influenced the development of attitudes concerning native speakers norms. Such perceptions of ELF use and standard language ideologies directly correlate to individuals' language preferences concerning accents and prescriptive attitudes about language use. The importance of carrying out such work has led Cogo to claim that:

> "Focusing on ELF perceptions is necessary to understand to what extent changes in the use of English, and its associated social practices, reflects shifts in attitudes towards ELF and ELF communities of speakers." (Cogo, 2010, p. 304–305)

In scrutinizing ELF perceptions from both employees and clients within a workplace context does indeed point to the "shifts in attitudes towards ELF" and ELF users. Within the context of this study, this very much reflects the use of ELF and the social practices affiliated with English within and outside of the workplace and the connection this has to what Norton calls language learners' "investment" of the target language. For Norton, the concept of investment is understood against the backdrop of Bourdieu's (1977) economic metaphors and "signals the socially and historically constructed relationship of learners to the target language and their often ambivalent desire to learn and practice it" (2000, p. 10). This is of course tied to an individual's identity that is not fixed or static, but dynamic across space and time (Norton, 2000, p. 11). This means acknowledging how an individual may use the target language, but it is also connected to the notion of access an individual has to the language in order to be able to use it within various social interactions. In investigating how communication is

accomplished by taking account of ELF perceptions and language ideologies, I analyze how participants evaluate ELF use and skills within a workplace context, which is often measured against native speaker norms especially in terms of pronunciation and accents.

4   Analysis

Below I scrutinize three excerpts, two from Portuguese-speaking domestics and one from an Anglophone client. Extract 1 comes from an Anglophone client, Mrs. O'Reilly, who I questioned about her communication with Bella, her European Portuguese-speaking domestic, who has been in the U.S. for 23 years and been cleaning Mrs. O'Reilly's home for over 12 years:

Extract 1: "It's not a problem"

1.	Kellie:	erm and how is your communication with Bella, how would you describe it?
2.	Mrs. O:	I would say it's very good, erm, because she does speak English quite well you
3.		know so I would say it's not a problem

In Extract 1, Mrs. O'Reilly is asked to explain the communication between her and Bella, which is evaluated positively (line 2) and therefore as unproblematic. The fact that Bella speaks English "quite well" within this context makes manifest that communicative goals can be accomplished as a result of Bella's English abilities. In juxtapositioning Mrs. O'Reilly's evaluation of Bella's language use compared to her own, different perceptions and evaluations emerge in the following extract with Bella in which I asked how communication was when her Anglophone clients spoke to her at work.

Extract 2: "I don't know much English"

1.	Kellie:	and they talk to you (.) so how is that?
2.	Bella:	well yes (.) I mean normally when I arrive (.) I always greet them you know?
3.		And have, well (1.0) not all of them are at home (.) but those that are talk to
4.		me and I can understand (.) but it's those basic things that have to do with the
5.		cleaning service you know? So (1.0) with this topic it's ok if you talk to me in
6.		English I'm going to respond with what I know(.) I mean they know that I
7.		don't know much English so they're not going to have a long conversation with
8.		me because they know that afterwards I'll be lost

In Extract 2, Bella's perceptions of ELF use in the workplace do not exceed those of the situational context she finds herself in, which have to do with "basic things" concerning the actually cleaning (lines 4 and 5). Although Bella feels comfortable with discussing work related issues with English-speaking clients (line 5 and 6), she evaluates her English abilities differently to how Mrs. O'Reilly evaluated them in Extract 1 above. Bella's assertion of not knowing "much English" indicates that despite being able to communicate with ease within her workplace, she is unable to engage in longer conversational interactions in English because she would be "lost" (line 8) implying that her comprehension and use of English outside of work would prove to be a challenge.

In the final extract, Lea, a Luso-Brazilian Portuguese speaker who has been residing in the U.S. for 8 years, discusses the difficulties of English pronunciation when speaking with clients and comparing her ELF use to those of native speakers:

Extract 3: "We don't know how to speak English perfectly"

1. Kellie:	and how is it if you have to explain like? (.) do you speak English (.) how is it?
2. Lea:	I understand more English than I can actually speak (.) my tongue isn't so
3.	free when it comes to English (.) like in the houses where I work with Mrs.
4.	Magda (.) I understand the majority of them when they speak
5. Kellie:	mhm
6. Lea:	but if it's for me to po- **pronounce** (.) I already complicate the whole thing (.)
7.	I already feel totally lost I don't know? I don't know if it's because I'm nervous
8.	too (.) because we don't know how to speak English perfectly

In this extract Lea admits to comprehending more English than she is actually able to produce (lines 2 and 3). When Lea has to speak with her Anglophone clients, however, she is very conscious of the difficulties she has in terms of pronunciation (line 6). Like Bella in Extract 2 above, Lea feels "lost" (line 7) and overwhelmed by speaking English even though her English-speaking clients evaluate her ELF use very positively. Lea's use of the inclusive "we" (line 8) suggests that it is not only her, but that all of the Portuguese-speaking domestics do not speak English well. By comparing her English use and those of her co-workers to speaking "English perfectly'" (line 8) suggests that she and perhaps all of the other domestics measure their use of English in the workplace to native speaker norms, in which pronunciation difficulties do not exist and unmarked accents are regarded positively.

5   Concluding Remarks

In scrutinizing ELF use and perceptions of Portuguese-speaking domestics by themselves and their clients, differences emerged. While Mrs. O'Reilly evaluated Bella's ELF use very positively, Bella did not feel as though her English abilities exceeded those of basic workplace jargon concerning the cleaning company. Similarly, Lea claimed that while she understood the majority of what was said, she felt overwhelmed when it came to speaking. Both domestics admitted to feeling "lost" when conversational topics surpassed those of the workplace despite being positively evaluated by their English-speaking clients. The fact that speaking English imperfectly poses a problem for Lea and other domestics makes manifest that standard language ideologies and native speaker norms are the measures used to evaluate their use of English within a workplace context. Speaking English imperfectly influences the investment these women have of English altogether and one that takes account of their personal histories, multiethnic identities and access to the target language. Focusing on ELF perceptions within a domestic labor context has shown that individuals continue to assess and evaluate their English skills by comparing them to native speaker norms, a hurdle, researchers in the ELF community have been attempting to overcome. It is only once users of ELF discard

standard language ideologies and native speaker norms, will ELF research be able to progress in the future.

Transcription conventions

[= start of overlap
@@   = signals laughter
wo::rd = perceptible lengthening
(.)   = pause shorter than one second
(1.0)   = pause lengths in seconds
?   = rising intonation, often signals questions
=   = latched talk

All names are pseudonyms.

About the author

Kellie Gonçalves is an assistant in Modern English Language at the University of Bern, Switzerland. Her research interests include sociolinguistics, intercultural communication, semiotic landscapes, English as a lingua franca, historical linguistics, stylistics, discourse and tourism, language and the workplace and narrative studies. She has taught BA and MA courses such as: Introduction to Linguistics, Historical Linguistics, Discourse and Identity, Research Methods in Sociolinguistics, Discourse and Tourism, and The History of the English Language.
Email: `goncalves@ens.unibe.ch`

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Part VI

ELF and Multilingualism

Multilingualism and Motivation: The Role of English as a Lingua Franca

Amy S. Thompson[*]

Abstract

The concept that each language learner has a unique combination of language learning abilities is crucial to individual differences research in SLA. Motivation (Dörnyei, 2005; Pintrich, 1989) and the number of languages spoken (De Angelis, 2007; Sanz, 2000) along with the effect that these languages have on subsequent language acquisition are all crucial to the composition of language learner ability. Although motivation is often discussed, the multilingualism perspective is often under analyzed (De Angelis, 2007). This study examines bilinguals and multilinguals and the effect that previous language experience has on motivation. The participants are 79 bilingual and multilingual learners of English from *Casa de Cultura Britanica*'s English language program, an affiliate of the *Universidade Federal do Ceará in Fortaleza*, Brazil. The participants completed the Portuguese version of the Motivated Strategies for Learning Questionnaire (MSLQ), the *Questionário de Estratégias Motivacionais para Aprendizagem* (QEMA). Using a Factor Analysis (FA) and a Discriminant Function Analysis (DFA) from the participants' answers on the QEMA, the bilingual and multilingual participants are compared. An innovative approach to defining multilingualism — Perceived Positive Language Interaction (PPLI) — is also discussed. Results indicate that for this context, the bilingual and multilingual participants do not have distinct motivational profiles. The surprising results for the non-significant bilingual/multilingual comparison with regards to motivation can perhaps be partially explained by a combination of the participants' similar backgrounds, the context of the study, and the status of English as a lingua franca (Berns, 2009; Dörnyei and Csizér, 2002; Dörnyei, Csizér and Németh, 2006; Munat, 2005; Seidlhofer, 2009).

Keywords: Motivation, multilingualism, perceived positive language interaction (PPLI), ELF

1 Introduction

Although there are different approaches to researching language learning motivation (see Dörnyei, 2005, for an overview), this paper uses the cognitive-situated framework, which is based largely on cognitive theories from the field of educational psychology, focusing on classroom-based motivation and how thinking about tasks and personal capabilities are crucial to the concept of motivation (Dörnyei, 2005). One of the instruments created

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[*]University of South Florida, U.S.A.

Table 1: Composition of the MSLQ

Value components	
Intrinsic motivation	$K = 4$
Extrinsic motivation	$K = 4$
Task value	$K = 6$
Expectancy components	
Control of learning beliefs	$K = 8$
Self-efficacy	$K = 5$
Expectancy for success	$K = 3$
Affective components	
Test anxiety	$K = 5$

during this period is the Motivated Strategies for Learning Questionnaire (MSLQ) (Pintrich, 1989), which currently is considered "...the best known instrument in this area in educational psychology" (Dörnyei, 2005, p. 178). The MSLQ was developed by Pintrich and his colleagues at the University of Michigan and has undergone a series of rigorous internal reliability measures (e.g. McKeachie, Pintrich and Lin, 1985). In addition, the MSLQ has been translated into Chinese (Rao and Sachs, 1999) and Portuguese (Brown, Cunha, Frota and Ferreira, 2001) to be used in other educational settings, adding to the breadth of its applications (Table 1).

2 The Study

2.1 Research question

In this study, the interface of motivation and number of languages studied is explored. The research question is as follows:

    RQ: Do bilingual learners have the same motivational profiles as multilingual learners?

2.2 Context and participants

Participants in this study were students enrolled in the *Casa de Cultura Britânica* (CCB), which is affiliated with the English Language Program of the *Universidade Federal do Ceará* (UFC - the Federal University of *Ceará*, a northern province of Brazil) in Fortaleza, Brazil. Gaining admission to a language program at the *Casas* is quite competitive and is determined by an entrance exam. As a government subsidized program, the cost is minimal (the equivalent of about $30.00 a semester for one language). Participants in this study are all enrolled in the *curso basico*, the first set of English courses at the CCB consisting of seven levels.

Table 2: Sample question from the MSLQ

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Absolutely false ....Definitely true						

1. In a class like this, I prefer course material that really challenges me so I can learn new things.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7

2.3   Materials

Motivation was measured by the first part of the Questionário de Estratégias Motivacionais para Aprendizagem (QEMA), a Portuguese translation of the MSLQ. The QEMA consists of 35 items with a Likert scale of seven ((Table 2).

Twenty-nine of the multilingual participants also volunteered to take part in semi-structured interviews. The interviews ranged from 10 minutes to one hour, and all of the interviews were recorded on tape and then transcribed.

2.4   Analysis: The operationalization of a multilingual learner

Since the concept of multilingualism is central to this study, the tools and criteria used to define a multilingual learner for the purpose of this study need to be addressed. Many SLA researchers monitor participants' linguistic background only in the case of high language proficiency; however, effects have been found for even very low levels of a non-native language. Thus, although there is not a consensus about the proficiency level of a non-native language needed to monitor participant language background for research purposes, it is clear that researchers cannot ignore those participants who have even low levels of additional non-native languages. "as little as one or two years of formal instruction" can affect subsequent language acquisition (De Angelis, 2007, p. 6). Another concept regarding multilingualism is Kellerman's (1979) idea of perceived language distance. If learners perceive the languages to be related, then they are more likely to transfer form and meaning; if learners do not perceive linguistic similarity, then transfer will be less likely to occur. Based on the work of De Angelis and Kellerman, there are two operational categorizations of a multilingual learner for this study: 1. those participants with any previous language experience and 2. those participants who perceived a positive interaction between foreign languages studied (Perceived Positive Language Interaction — PPLI). To be classified as a multilingual learner for the second categorization, "Perceived Positive Language Interaction," the participant had to perceive a positive language interaction between languages studied, based on their answers to the following question on the background questionnaire: "If you have studied other languages in the past, do you think that this has helped or hindered your ability to learn subsequent languages?". The participants were categorized into groups based on whether or not a positive interaction was indicated (see Thompson, in press, for further

Table 3: Categorizations of multilingual participants

Categorization 1 Any previous language experience	Categorization 2 Perceived Positive Language Interaction
L2: $N = 39$ L3: $N = 40$	NPPLI: $N = 58$ PPLI: $N = 21$

Table 4: Exploratory PCA — Eigenvalues and variance explained for the First 5 Factors

Factor	Eigenvalue	% of Variance	Cumulative % of Variance
1	6.82	19.47	19.47
2	3.91	11.16	30.63
3	2.57	7.33	37.96
4	2.02	5.78	43.75
5	1.50	4.29	48.04

elaboration of this construct). The initial classification was second rated, and the second rater agreed 100% with the initial rating. The second categorization (PPLI) does not follow traditional definitions of bilingualism and multilingualism, but instead provides an innovative way of conceptualizing the idea of the mental processes needed to be a true multilingual (Table 3).

2.5   Analysis: Quantitative

To start the analysis of the motivation questionnaire, an exploratory Principal Components Analysis (PCA) using a direct oblimin rotation was performed with the answers from the QEMA. The combination of the eigenvalues, the percent of variance explained, the number of questions loading on the factors, and the visual analysis of the scree plot (Figure 1) were used to decide that five factors would be used for the analysis (Table 4).

A second PCA using a direct oblimin rotation was run with the remaining 24 questions. The KMO for this second PCA was .844 with the significance level of .000, indicating an adequate sample size. Cronbach's α for all of the factors was within adequate range. Two of the factors, factor one and factor three, had more questions loaded than the other factors. Factor one (eight items) had Cronbach's α of .88 and factor three (five questions) had Cronbach's α of .79. The other three factors had fewer questions, but still had Cronbach's α scores of acceptable ranges: factor two (3 items), Cronbach's α of .70, factor four (three items), Cronbach's α of .60, and factor five (4 items), Cronbach's α of .58. From this second PCA, a clear construct of five factors emerged, all of the questions loading on these first five factors having Eigenvalues of greater than 1 (Tables 5 and 6).
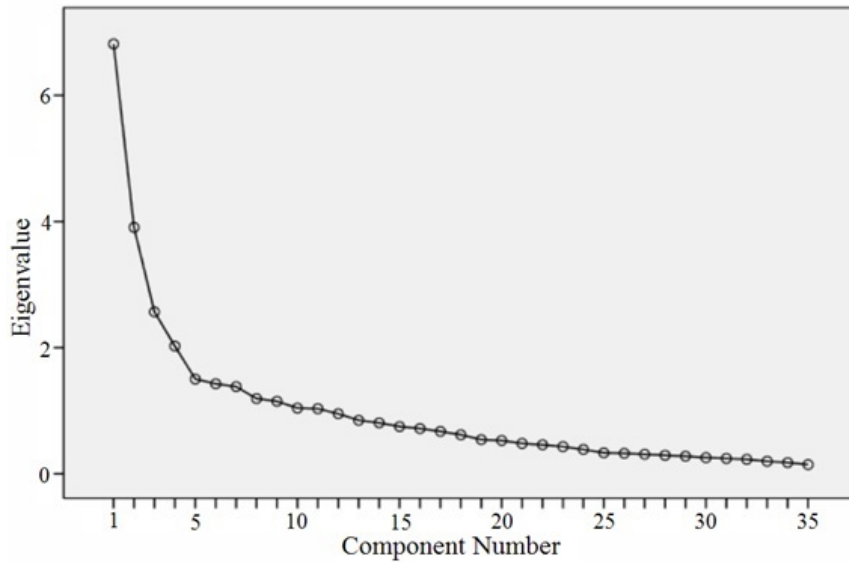
Figure 1: Scree plot for the exploratory PCA

After the PCA was completed, and to find the answer to the research question, a Discriminant Function Analysis (DFA) was performed to ascertain if the bilingual and multilingual participants in this study have distinct motivational profiles (Tables 7 and 8). The dependent variable for analysis was the L2/L3 group divisions, and the independent variable was the numerical average (from the Likert scale in the QEMA) of the responses for the questions loading on each factor. The results show that for this population of language learners, there is not a difference between the bilinguals and multilinguals in their motivational profiles. Neither of the categorizations of multilingual learners yielded significant results for group prediction with the DFA. See the discussion section for possible explanations for this unlikely phenomenon.

Table 5: Confirmatory PCA — Eigenvalues and variance explained

Factor	Eigenvalue	% of Variance	Cumulative % of Variance
1	6.79	29.54	29.54
2	2.60	11.31	40.85
3	1.77	7.69	48.54
4	1.55	6.72	55.26
5	1.19	5.15	60.41

Table 6: Factors from the PCA

Factors	QEMA item numbers (loading strength)
F1: Confidence in abilities/success in the course (29.5% of variance, eigenvalue = 6.79)	7(.82), 17(.80), 32(.77), 22(.74), 13(.73), 35(.73), 14(.67), 6(.62)
F2: Success with hard work/course usefulness (11.3% of variance, eigenvalue = 2.60)	2(.80), 20(.74), 25(.67)
F3: Negative attitudes towards the course (7.7% of variance, eigenvalue = 1.77)	11(−.80), 19(−.78), 29(−.75), 23(−.70), 28(−.58)
F4: Test Anxiety (6.7% of variance, eigenvalue = 1.55)	16(.80), 9(.72), 21(.63)
F5: Challenges promote learning/ intrinsic motivation (5.2% of variance, eigenvalue = 1.19)	1(.77), 18(.63), 26(.62), 24(.56)

Table 7: Results of the DFA: Any previous language experience

Function	Eigenvalue	Wilks's λ	χ^2	% Variance	p
1	.033	.968	2.392	100	.793

2.6   Analysis: Qualitative

The interview data further illustrates the intricacies of the language learning motivation of these participants by using a subset of the multilingual participants. This analysis addresses the following two questions together "Why did you want to learn English?" and "Why did you want to learn the other languages you have studied?". For both of these questions, the following themes emerged: *universal language/useful, work, study, travel, general enjoyment, culture, and esthetics*. These themes were further divided into two categories: *practical* and *personal*. The practical category includes any response that mentioned the usefulness of the language; the personal category encompasses responses involving language for personal enrichment or enjoyment (Table 9).

As can be seen by Table 9, the motivation for studying English differs from the motivation for studying other languages. For example, there were distinct perceptions of English versus other languages with regards to being a universal language with half

Table 8: Results of the DFA: PPLI

Function	Eigenvalue	Wilks's λ	χ^2	% Variance	p
1	.030	.970	2.234	100	.816

Table 9: Motivation for studying specific languages

English							Language other than English						
Practical				Personal			Practical				Personal		
U	W	S	T	Enj	C	Es	U	W	S	T	Enj	C	Es
12	8	8	5	10	1	2	2	6	12	1	8	3	5
Total: 33				Total: 13			Total: 21				Total: 16		

Note: U = Universal, W = Work, S = Study, T = Travel, Enj = Enjoyment, C = Culture, Es = Esthetics

of the participants commenting on the universal nature of English.

> Example 1:
> O Inglês porque é a língua universal e que todo lugar fala Inglês.
> English because it is a universal language and is spoken everywhere (Participant 20).

There were two comments about the general usefulness of a language other than English, both including French and one also including Spanish. One was a general comment about the necessity of French:

> Example 2:
> O Frances é mais por gosto, porque eu acho legal o som e por necessidade.
> French is more for desire because I like the sound of it, but also for need (Participant 70).

There was only one comment about studying English for cultural reasons, while there were three comments about studying languages other than English because of culture reasons. Additionally, there were more comments with regards to studying languages other than English because of esthetics. For English, there were two comments, for example:

> Example 3:
> Porque é uma língua muito bonita...
> Because it's a very beautiful language... (Participant 33).

For languages other than English, there were five comments with regards to esthetics, for example:

Example 4:

O francês porque eu simpatizei e achei uma língua bastante sofisticada, como assim - chique.

French because I liked it and I thought it was a sophisticated language - chic (Participant 31).

As can be seen from the above discussion, the participants were more likely to state practical reasons for wanting to learn English, such as work, study, travel, and the universality of English. Languages other than English emerged as important for success in school, but less crucial to have while entering the job market. Questions about languages other than English also generated comparatively more responses regarding the culture and general fondness for the language.

3   Discussion and Conclusion

The DFA results demonstrated that there were no distinctions between the bilingual and multilingual participants in terms of their motivational profiles. By exploring the backgrounds of the participants in this study, the context, and the perceived universal nature of English, this surprising result can be explained. All of the participants are enrolled in a very competitive language program, indicating that all of the students, whether they are bilinguals or multilinguals, have a high level of motivation. This context is quite different from the typical classroom language learning setting in which not all of the students are intrinsically motivated. In addition to the highly competitive nature of this language program, the participants shared other similar traits. For example, with the exception of one participant who worked as a tour guide, they had all learned their languages in a classroom setting. Only one participant had traveled abroad, so their cultural knowledge was obtained primarily through the language classes, and for some, music and television. Fortaleza is an inherently unilingual context with very few people growing up hearing more than one language at home. None of the participants grew up in a bilingual setting. Additionally, the participants stated that they had little to no contact with native speakers of the languages that they were studying. This group of multilingual participants differs greatly from previous studies involving multilingual learners in which the multilinguals were part of an inherently bilingual society. For example in Sanz's studies (e.g. 2000), the participants are from Catalonia, a northeastern region of Spain that is bilingual in nature. The same concept applies for Cenoz's work in the Basque country, as well as the multilingual studies that take place in French-speaking Canada. In these studies, participants grew up bilingually and learned other languages at a later age. In contrast, the participants in this study learned all of their foreign languages in a classroom setting, which could have affected the results. As a result, it can be inferred that motivation for L2 and L3 learning is context specific.

The content analysis of the interview questions also sheds light on the participant perception of languages studied; these interviews provide a sample of the differing

Table 10: Students' attitudes about English (summarized from Dörnyei et al., 2006)

	1993	1999	2004
Integrativeness	4.20	4.21	4.12
Attitudes towards L2 speakers/L2 community	4.49	4.39	3.98
Cultural interest	4.56	4.42	4.07
Instrumentality	4.65	4.75	4.77

language attitudes towards English and the languages other than English. Perhaps one of the most important findings of this qualitative analysis is the fact that many of the participants regard English as a universal language, one that is essential for advancement in work or for study. This result contrasts sharply with the perceived utility of other languages studied — not one of the participants stated that any other language was "universal" in nature. Not even Spanish was labeled as universal, a surprising finding coming from people living in a country surrounded by Spanish-speaking countries. These results strongly support the status of English as a lingua franca (Berns, 2009; Munat, 2005; Seidlhofer, 2009), and indicate the idea that the motivation for studying English differs from the motivation for studying other foreign languages. These results are also supported by Dörnyei and Csizér (2002) and Dörnyei, Csizér, and Németh (2006), with the longitudinal study of Hungarian students studying several languages:

> "... the five languages examined can be divided into two distinct groups with regard to their overall endorsement: world language (or 'World English') and other foreign languages. Our results point to the conclusion that the declining interest in foreign languages only applies to non-world languages, whereas world language learning has maintained its high popularity. It is also clear ... that for Hungarian learners there is only one world language, English" (Dörnyei and Csizér, 2002, p. 437–438).

In Dörnyei et al. (2006), a trend similar to that illustrated in the interview data of this study is discussed regarding the study of English (Table 10). Between 1993 and 2004, there was a significant difference for all measures ($p < 0.001$). As can be seen from Table 10, the participants' integrativeness, attitudes towards English speakers and English-speaking communities, and cultural interest for English all significantly declined, whereas the perception of the usefulness of English (instrumentality) significantly increased.

Being that the status of English as a *lingua franca* did not affect studies about motivation in other contexts (e.g. Sanz, 2000), the similarities in the motivational profiles of the participants in this study cannot completely be explained by this presumed universality of English. Thus, although the universality of English was clearly elaborated by the participants, this alone cannot fully explain the similarities found in the motivational profiles. The combination of the participants' backgrounds, the context of the study, and the status of English as a *lingua franca* together resulted in

the similarities of the bilingual and multilingual participants' motivational profiles.

About the author

Amy S. Thompson is an Assistant Professor of Applied Linguistics in the Department of World Languages at the University of South Florida. Her primary research interests involve Individual Differences in Second Language Acquisition, and she teaches a range of graduate level theoretical and methodological courses in applied linguistics.
Email: `athompson@usf.edu`

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Whose Language is It Anyway? ELF and the Absence of the Native Speaker

Frank van Splunder[*]

Abstract

This paper reports on the use of English as a medium of instruction in a multilingual context in which students as well as lecturers are native speakers of languages other than English. Thus English serves as the only language all users have in common, although the degree to which they master English differs significantly. Most students are either from the expanding circle or from the outer circle (see Kachru's (1985) *Concentric Circles Model*), while most lecturers are from the expanding circle. Very few (if any) are from the inner circle. The case study refers to a postgraduate programme in Development Studies, taught in English for an international audience at the University of Antwerp, in the Dutch-speaking part of Belgium (Flanders). For many students, English remains a problem, even though they meet the admission requirements and in spite of language facilities provided by the department. After having established the students' linguistic profile by means of a questionnaire and short interviews, the paper focuses on the students' written English, and on their first 3,500 words assignment in particular. The study also addresses the issues of language quality and norms in an international academic context. The study illustrates the problems encountered by speakers of English from the expanding and outer circle. It finds that students who write 'native-like' English may have a clear advantage over the others (e.g. some students from the expanding circle whose language is related to English). Students from the outer circle who use localized varieties of English may face particular problems of intelligibility in an international context. The paper argues that ELF may not be the 'common language' it is often believed to be, and that it may introduce new inequalities rather than equalities. It concludes that 'all Englishes are equal, but some may be more equal than others'.

Keywords: Academic English, Dutch-speaking context, English medium instruction, Flanders, native speaker

1 Introduction

The view persists that English belongs to its native speakers, and that they decide what constitutes standard language. Yet, the terms native speaker and standard language are highly problematic, even though they are rarely questioned (Seidlhofer, 2011, p. 5). I take the view that language is a discursive construct, and so is the belief in the existence

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[*]University of Antwerp, Belgium

of a standard language and a native speaker. As stated by Seidlhofer (2011, p. 10), a reconceptualization of English is needed, as well as a discussion about the ownership of English, an issue raised by Widdowson (1994).

English as a lingua franca (ELF) is widely discussed in applied linguistics (for a comprehensive survey, see Jenkins, 2007 and Seidlhofer, 2011). ELF may be regarded as the variety of English which is used in an international context in which most speakers are non-native speakers of English. As the new owners of the language (or at least of this particular variety), they may set the norms, based on actual — and flexible — language usage. Thus ELF may be regarded as everyone's language, and it is no longer linked to any particular culture. It does remain a question, however, if all owners are equal, or whether some might be more equal than others, as I will argue in this paper.

In an international educational context, the use of English appears to be problematic, even though it is considered to be the academic lingua franca. First of all, all users of English bring in their own varieties of English ('native' as well as 'non-native'). This may lead to serious problems regarding mutual intelligibility. Secondly, language users may have different expectations of the language to be used. This may also be an issue for teachers of English, an increasing number of whom are non-native speakers of English but who tend to apply native speaker norms to their students. They may also find it difficult to decide what is 'correct' or 'appropriate' English.

The broad context of this research is the use of English as a medium of instruction in a non-English speaking environment. That is, for most students as well as lecturers, English is not the first language, and it is not their first medium of instruction either. My case study refers to an Advanced Master's programme in Development Studies, taught in English for an international audience at the University of Antwerp, in the Dutch-speaking part of Belgium (Flanders). For many students, English remains a problem, even though they meet the admission requirements[1] and in spite of language facilities provided by the department (e.g. intensive language courses, individual coaching).

2 Case Study

2.1 Research setup

The research is based on a language questionnaire in which the participants had to complete a linguistic profile regarding their home language(s) and their language(s) of instruction, and to comment on their experience with English-medium instruction. In addition, short interviews were organised to clarify some of the issues raised. The research focus is on the students' use of written English. Although they have to use English both in an oral and a written context, the written part appears to be more problematic. The analysis of the students' written English is based on a 3,500 words assignment they have to write for one of their introductory courses. Considerable attention is being paid to this assignment, as for most students it is their first experience with academic writing. The assignments are analysed in terms of readability, accurateness,

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[1]TOEFL paper-based 550, internet-based 79; IELTS min 6.0.

and correctness. The analysis takes into account grammar, wording, composition, and progress between the draft version and the final version. Each item is marked on a scale from 1 (insufficient) to 5 (excellent). Three language lecturers were involved in the project, each marking an equal number of students. All results were compared and double-checked afterwards. An additional group discussion regarding English-medium instruction was organised at the end of the Academic English course. In this paper, I will report on the students' linguistic profile as well as on their written assignment.

2.2   Students' linguistic profile

The group analysed consisted of 59 students from 22 countries. Most of these students have a multilingual background, reflecting multilingualism in the countries they come from. Although very few speak English as a first language, many speak it as a second or a third language. In their present educational context, however, they all use English as a lingua franca. A sizeable number of them had English as their medium of instruction, although the varieties of English used may consider significantly. It should be noted that many people in these countries do not have access to English/education at all, as illiteracy remains considerable in most of these countries. It should also be noted that English often serves as the language of the elite and may thus be the access to power (political, economic, educational, etc.).

The varieties of English used by the students may be classified by means of Kachru's (1985) *Concentric Circles of English* model. Although developed in the 1980s, Kachru's circles still provide a useful model to describe the different varieties of English. Kachru (1985) distinguishes three circles of English: the norm-providing Inner Circle, which refers to the traditional bases of English (e.g. UK, USA), the norm-developing Outer Circle, which refers to regions where English plays an important role as a second language, often in a multilingual setting (e.g. India[2]), and the norm-dependent Expanding Circle, where English is taught as a foreign language, and which acknowledges the importance of English as an international language (e.g. the Netherlands).

Although the Concentric Circles model has had a tremendous impact on teaching and research practices, it has shortcomings as well (see e.g. Seidlhofer, 2011, p. 5). First of all, the model is an oversimplification of reality and there are fuzzy areas between the circles. For instance, do South Africa and Jamaica belong to the Inner Circle or to the Outer Circle? More importantly, the model locates native speakers at the centre of the model, a position which is disputed nowadays (e.g. in ELF research). In spite of its obvious shortcomings, I have based my analysis on Kachru's seminal 1985 model. According to this model, most students in my case study are from the Outer or the Expanding Circle, while very few (if any at all) are from the Inner Circle. The students' countries of origin may be grouped as in Table 1.

The reality behind this division appears to be more complex. The fuzziness of the distinction between Inner and Outer circle may be illustrated by the students from

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[2]Most of these countries are former colonies, who are now part of the Commonwealth of Nations, whose official language is English.

Table 1: Students' countries of origin

Inner Circle
2 students (2 countries): South Africa (1), Jamaica (1)
Outer Circle
35 students (10 countries): Bangladesh (4), Cameroon (1), Ethiopia (11), India (1), Kenya (4), Nigeria (1), Philippines (2), Uganda (7), Zambia (3), Zimbabwe (1)
Expanding Circle
22 students (10 countries): Belgium (2), Colombia (2), DR Congo (3), Ecuador (1), Indonesia (1), Kyrgyzstan (1), Nicaragua (3), Palestine (2), Rwanda (1), Vietnam (6)
TOTAL: 59 students

South Africa and Jamaica. Both of them were educated in English, but neither of them speaks English as a first language. Yet they may be regarded as Inner Circle users of English because of their expert command of the language. Given this criterion, however, some students from the Outer and Expanding circles might be considered as Inner Circle users of English as well.

The situation in the Outer Circle turns out to be even more complex. It may be highly questionable if some of these countries may be regarded as 'English-speaking' countries. Many countries have adopted English as their official or national language.[3] Dominant indigenous languages often serve as official/national languages as well (e.g. Amharic in Ethiopia). Cameroon recognizes its two former colonial languages as official/national languages: English and French. Although English is widely used in Bangladesh, it is not an official language, even though it is widely used in (higher) education. The same holds for Ethiopia. Many countries in the outer circle are former British colonies (e.g. India) or American dependencies (e.g. the Philippines), which may be reflected in the educational system and the use of English. Although Ethiopia was not a British colony, English became the language of (higher) education after the Second World War. Rwanda, a former Belgian colony, joined the Commonwealth in 2009, and accepted English as one of its official languages, alongside French and Kinyarwanda. English may be the only language of instruction or it may be introduced at a later stage, usually in higher education (as in Ethiopia). Moreover, English is more often used in private than in public education, and the level of education (and the level of English) tends to be higher in private education, which is also more expensive and thus elitist. As a result, English may be regarded as the language of power. Perhaps the

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[3]It is difficult to distinguish between official or national language, and Ethnologue (`http://www.ethnologue.com/`) does not make a distinction either.

most striking feature about the Outer Circle is that several countries have developed and more or less institutionalized their own varieties of English (e.g. India).

One may notice huge differences in the Expanding Circle as well. Whereas in some countries English may be regarded as a second language, in other countries English still is a foreign language. English may be regarded as a second language in regions where English is very prominent in daily life as well as in the educational system. These regions may also be culturally and linguistically related to English (e.g. the Dutch language area). English may be regarded as a foreign language in regions whose exposure to English is more recent, whose languages are remote from English, and whose medium of instruction is not another Western language. Although English appears to be very problematic for the Asian students from Vietnam and Indonesia, it also causes major problems for the Spanish-speaking students from Central and South America as well as for the students from French-speaking Africa. Personal differences may not be underestimated either. That is, some students pick up English more easily than others. This may be due to their aptitude to language learning, although exposure to English (e.g. in a work context) and a person's socio-economic context have to be taken into account as well. For instance, parents who are better off may send their children to English-medium schools and they may have more access to English themselves. This may explain why some students have much better English than other students even if they speak the same mother tongue.

2.3   Analysis of the assignment

The analysis of the assignment revealed a large number of problems, many of which are related to issues other than just language. Many problems were related to the organization of ideas into a coherent text, which may be largely due to the students' educational and cultural backgrounds. Moreover, the genre and the register of a research paper proved to be problematic as well. This unfamiliarity with Western paradigms, which are dominant in academia, may be exacerbated by linguistic and other barriers.

A sizeable number of students had problems with technical issues, including the use of punctuation and capitals. Many students appeared to be unfamiliar with academic conventions, even though many of them actually teach at universities. The language used ranges from 'perfect' English (in terms of readability as well as correctness) to almost incomprehensible English. Most problems are encountered by students whose L1 or medium of instruction is remote from English (e.g. Vietnamese) and/or whose instruction in English was either limited or deficient. The language used is often 'ungrammatical', and some issues appear to be very difficult for those students whose L1 lacks these features (e.g. articles, the tense system). Sentence structure tends to be very difficult as well, both internally (combining words in a sentence) and externally (combining sentences). Vocabulary is a problem too. Words and concepts are often translated literally from one's L1, which may make sense for speakers who share a language, but which leads to incomprehensible English in an international context.

If one takes into account Kachru's model referred to earlier, the problems may

be summarized as follows. In terms of readability and correctness, the Inner Circle students performed best. Some of the Outer Circle students' English turned out to be problematic. Whereas some write excellent, 'Inner Circle-like' English, other students have serious problems with their English, which may be difficult to understand. These problems may be due to the *hybridization* of English. That is, some varieties may work perfectly well in a local context but not in an international context. Moreover, the users of these varieties do not appear to be aware of the problems their English may cause ('This is the way we write at school'). The genre and the register of a research paper appear to be problematic for many Outer Circle speakers as well.

It is quite striking that there are huge differences between individual users of English in the outer circle. These differences may be attributed to different causes. First, the status of English in a particular region or country. If it is officially recognized, it may have more weight and it may be present at all levels of society, including education. Second, and perhaps more important, the educational system. As stated by the students, private schools tend to have better English than public schools. This is indeed reflected in the students' marks for English: students who attended private schools tended to have higher grades for their assignment. Third, the individual level. Some students have had more exposure to English than other students, due to their socio-economic, linguistic or regional background. Language aptitude may also be an important factor.

In the *Expanding Circle* huge differences may be observed as well. Some students write excellent English, whereas others can hardly cope with the language. The most readable and correct English was written by students whose L1 is related to English and/or who were educated in a Western educational context, either in an English-speaking country or in an English-speaking environment in a non-English speaking country. Students whose LI and/or MI is remote from English encounter most problems. It should be noted that the teachers of English are from the expanding circle as well (that is, near-native speakers of English whose L1 is Dutch).

3   Conclusion

One might wonder if English really is a lingua franca (that is, a truly *common* language). As pointed out by Jenkins (2009, p. 204), non-native English accents are evaluated according to their proximity to Inner Circle accents, in particular British and American accents. As a result, Scandinavian or Dutch accents, which sound relatively 'native-like' (that is, British or American-like), tend to be favoured over other accents. Accents which are perceived as furthest from native English (e.g. Chinese English) receive "extremely pejorative comments" (ibid.). Similarly, there may be more tolerance towards non-native varieties of English which resemble grammatical and other features of Inner Circle English. For instance, it has been argued to accept Dutch English as a variety of English in its own right, with its own phonological and grammatical features (e.g. Edwards, 2010). Thus, varieties of English which are more remote from Inner Circle English (including Outer Circle varieties such as Indian English) may be perceived as

more deficient than some Expanding Circle varieties of English (such as Dutch English). This may also be due to culture-related factors. Thus cultural and linguistic Inner Circle proximity may be a clear advantage, which may be obvious in an academic context where the Anglo-Saxon paradigm is clearly dominant.

Whereas the use of English as a lingua franca may be taken for granted in an international business context (Jenkins, 2009, p. 3), its use may be more problematic in an educational context, which tends to be less pragmatic than a business context. By its very nature, education is focused on writing and speaking in a *correct* way. Also, the use of written language (that is, in an academic context) may be more problematic than spoken language, as it tends to be more formalised. As academic language is strongly rule-governed, deviation from the rules (language, conventions) is sanctioned negatively.

The idea of an Inner, Outer and Expanding circle may be something of the past, as it does not reflex the complexity of today's reality. Thus Kachru's model of concentric circles might be replaced by *overlapping* circles, accounting for individual differences. Ideally, ELF is to be situated in the part where all three circles overlap, but one may argue that the part where the Inner Circle and the Expanding Circle overlap may be a more likely candidate. The English spoken/written by a speaker of Dutch, German, or one of the Scandinavian languages may be more acceptable internationally (in terms of understandability, but also prestige) than the English spoken by someone from, say, Italy, China, and even India and other 'English-speaking' countries. Thus, *Dunglish* (Dutch English) may be more acceptable than *Chinglish* (Chinese English). As a result, one might argue that ELF is not the equaliser it is often believed to be, but that it is about to create new inequalities. Paraphrasing George Orwell's dictum, one might conclude that all Englishes are equal, but some are more equal than others.

About the author

Frank van Splunder holds a PhD in Applied Linguistics from Lancaster University. His research interests are in the areas of language and identity management, political linguistics, and discourse analysis. The main topic of his research is English as a medium of instruction in a non-English speaking context, with a focus on the Dutch language area (Flanders and the Netherlands). He currently teaches at the University of Antwerp, where he is also involved with the university's language policy.
Email: `frank.vansplunder@ua.ac.be`

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ELF and Multilingualism in Greek and Cypriot Educational System: A Comparative Account of Teachers' Beliefs

Eleni Griva*, Dora Chostelidou* and Panayiotis Panteli*

Abstract

In acknowledgement of current EU multilingual policy, the present study was conducted with the aim to provide a comparative account of primary school teachers' beliefs on issues related to ELF and multilingual learning in two educational contexts: the Greek and Cypriot. The stimulus for conducting the study can be identified in current EU multilingual policy, the spread of English world-wide and the changing status of English within Europe for the last decades. In total, the views of 100 EFL teachers employed in Greek and Cypriot primary schools were surveyed. Semi-structured interviews were used as the basic research instrument. The findings indicated that teachers in both contexts acknowledged the dominant role of ELF and they highlighted the benefits from learning a FL from a very young age. Nevertheless, it should be noted that although the teachers acknowledged the influential role and dominance of English as a lingua franca, they highlighted the need for students to acquire multilingual competence in a variety of foreign languages starting from very early age.

Keywords: ELF, multilingualism, language policy, teachers' beliefs

1 Introduction

Over the last decades English has established itself as a 'global language' (Crystal, 2003) or 'lingua franca' (ELF), a field developed in its own right (Jenkins, 2006). Nevertheless, ELF is not considered to present the one and only solution for interlingual communication (Zeevaert and Thije, 2007) marginalizing the learning and using of other languages while ignoring the benefits of multilingualism and multiculturalism (Cunningham, 2006). For this reason, official policies have been developed with the aim to realize the emerging demands for language learning and linguistic diversity (Wilton, 2011, p. 45). In this direction, the Commission's policy proclaims the furthering of multilingualism through the educational systems of all member states (Grin, 2006), due to the acknowledged significance for all citizens to be able to speak two European languages in addition to their mother tongue, '2+1 formula', (European Commission, 1995).

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*University of Western Macedonia, Greece

The policy for promoting multilingual education has brought changes to the task of the language teacher, which was broadened to encompass principles of multilingual learning including the idea of developing a general language competence and awareness, rather than a restricted focus on a single language (Heyworth, 2003). Studies related to multilingualism, language learning and language teaching over the past two decades have helped raise a general awareness among teachers about the distinctiveness of multilingual individuals' language learning processes and how these can significantly differ from those of monolingual language learners (De Angelis, 2008).

It is generally acknowledged that teachers' beliefs and theories about language learning along with the status of languages in their teaching environment tend to affect and shape the nature of instructional practices (Woods, 1996). In this vein, the teachers' beliefs and behaviour can have an impact on every language policy decision and determine a new direction for multilingual education (Griva and Chostelidou, 2011).

2 The Study

2.1 The rationale and aims of the study

The study aimed at providing an account of FL teachers' beliefs regarding issues related to foreign language learning in two European member states, Greece and Cyprus, both of which comprise Greek speaking communities.The stimulus for conducting the study can be identified in the spread of English world-wide and the changing status of English within Europe (Jessner, 2006). On the same line, it was also considered of interest to present a comparative study on teachers' beliefs regarding issues related to ELF, multilingualism, foreign language policy in education in order to identify the common or distinct elements in these two diverse contexts.

Moreover, the scarcity of research concerning the teachers' perception of multilingualism was a further stimulus for conducting the research. While an increasing amount of research has been available on multilingualism (Griva and Chostelidou, 2011; Jessner, 2008; Kemp, 2009; McKay, 2008; Pérez-Vidal, Juan-Garau, and Bel, 2008) as well as the learning, use and status of English in a wide range of contexts in continental Europe (Cenoz and Jessner, 2000; Fonzari, 1999; O'Reilly, 1998; Petzold and Berns, 2000), the teachers' perspective seems to have been largely ignored.

In effect, the interviews conducted with the EFL teachers were expected to provide useful insights and contribute in providing a coherent account of their perceptions concerning the role of ELF along with multilingual policies and their implementation. More precisely, the study aimed at:

1. specifying the EFL teachers' perceptions of central issues on Multilingual Education Policy;

2. identifying their attitudes to English as a lingua franca;

3. recording their views on early foreign language learning.

2.2   FL policy in the Greek and Cypriot educational system

In Greece, English has been the dominant foreign language in the curricula of primary and secondary education for years. English as a foreign language has been a compulsory subject in the primary school curriculum from the 3rd grade onward (Official Gazette: Law 1325/16-9-2001) while it has been introduced on a pilot basis from 1st grade onwards in a number of schools in the year 2011–2012. In 1992–93, English was established as the first compulsory FL in lower secondary education while a second compulsory FL, either French or German, was introduced in lower secondary education (L. Decree 447/1993). In 1998/99, a FL which was selected among the three on offer at this level (English, French or German) became compulsory in upper secondary education (Griva and Iliadou, 2010).

In Cyprus, the introduction of the teaching of English in primary education and in particular, at the 4th grade took place in 1992 (Decision, 37458), after a long period of dispute. Moreover, some years after the Republic of Cyprus had become a member of the European Union, the process of curriculum renovation of all grades was initiated in the year 2008 (Decision, 67.339); however, it was not until the school year 2010–2011 when the new curricula for the teaching of FLs were partly introduced in primary and secondary education.

2.3   The Sample

The participants involved in the study were in total 100 EFL teachers; 50 teachers employed in Greek primary schools and 50 teachers employed in Cypriot primary schools respectively. Concerning the Greek teachers' teaching experience, the least experienced ones had been working from one to ten years ($N = 28$), while the most experienced for more than ten years ($N = 22$). As for the Cypriot teachers' experience, it ranged from one to ten years ($N = 25$) for the least experienced and more than ten years ($N = 25$) for the most experienced ones.

2.4   The instrument and research procedure

Semi-structured interviews were used as the basic instrument to collect data, which comprised the following sections: a) multilingual competence of citizens, b) the role of ELF, c) introduction of FLs in early stages of education, d) development of multilingual education.

The interviews were conducted individually, were tape recorded, transcribed and analysed qualitatively. The verbal data underwent the following procedures of analysis: Data reduction, which involved first and second level coding, resulted in groups of categories/sub-categories (Miles and Huberman, 1994), classified into basic thematic strands.

3 Results and Discussion

Qualitative coding of the verbal data resulted in 42 codes, grouped into 10 categories of four basic themes (Table 1):

A. Appreciation of European languages;

B. European language learning issues;

C. Plurilingual education context;

D. Early FL learning.

The data revealed that EFL teachers in both contexts acknowledged the dominant role of ELF (Graddol, 2006) and underlined the necessity for every European citizen to learn English the 'global language' (Crystal, 2003).

They also highly supported the need for students to acquire multilingual competence in a variety of foreign languages, and develop their linguistic repertoire (Lüdi, 2006). Moreover, the benefits from learning a FL from a very young age (European Council, 2002) were highlighted while early foreign language learning is closely linked to English language, a trend which in certain cases was perceived as involving the danger of a regrettable return to monolingualism (Cunningham, 2006) and has to be challenged (Brutt-Griffler, 2002). Therefore, the necessity for careful planning, developing and implementing such courses and the need for well trained teachers to address the particular target group of students was strongly supported.

As regards plurilingual education, positive attitudes to introducing a variety of foreign languages were identified in line with the White Paper on Education and Training according to which 'Proficiency in Three community languages' was stated as a necessity for every citizen (European Commision, 1995, p. 47). In this respect, FL teaching is viewed as the development of a unique individual linguistic competence which leads to being able to use languages whichever these may be, and also as education for linguistic tolerance (Lasagabaster and Huguet, 2007).

Moreover, it should not be ignored that context-based and geographical factors were largely influential in terms of the languages Greek and Cypriot EFL teachers expressed the wish to learn; and called for promoting the languages of neighbouring countries (Commission of European Communities, 2002). This suggests that local conditions should be acknowledged in multilingual education (Garcia, Skuttnab-Kangas and Torres-Guzman, 2006).

At the other end of the spectrum, however, concerns were voiced in relation to the introduction of a variety of FLs as part of language education. These were based on the need for enhancing the knowledge of strong languages such as English, French, or German which are thought to bring economic benefits (Crystal, 2003) and the fear of marginalization of L1, Greek, mostly on behalf of the Cypriot EFL teachers although a certain part of their Greek colleagues seemed to share their fears.

Table 1: Themes, categories and codes of the Greek and Cypriot teachers' interview data

THEMES/ CATEGORIES	CODES GREECE	CODES CYPRUS
A. APPRECIATION OF EUROPEAN LANGUAGES		
1. Member state languages	EQLANTRE = Equity of languages is far from being a reality UNSTALAG = Unequal status of lesser used languages PRLUEUL = Necessity for the promotion of lesser-used European languages	EQLANTRE = Equity of languages is far from being a reality UNSTALAG = Unequal status of lesser used languages LARACIN = Language racism at the individual level LANATIN = Language nationalism at the individual level ROLTURLG = Significant role of Turkish language
2. Supremacy of 'strong' languages	ECSTACLA = Interrelation between economical status of a country and language dominance DOMSTLA = Dominance of certain 'strong' languages (English, German, French) USDOSTL = Usefulness of dominant-strong languages	ECSTACLA = Interrelation between economical status of a country and language dominance DOMSTLA = Dominance of certain 'strong' languages (English, German, French) USDOSTL = Usefulness of dominant-strong languages TOUEULGS = The role of tourism in the development of EU languages
3. Supremacy of the English language	ENLINFRA = English as a lingua franca NELEAENG = Necessity for every European citizen to learn English	ENLINFRA = English as a lingua franca NELEAENG = Necessity for every European citizen to learn English AMENMOGR = American and English culture as role models for Greek Cypriots 10

B. EUROPEAN LANGUAGE LEARNING ISSUES

4. Suggestions about learning European languages beyond L1	COMTWLGS = Learn/ communicate in at least two other languages UPDLABCO = Necessity for updating language ability according to the conditions LIFLOLLE = Opportunities for Lifelong language learning	COMTWLGS = Learn/communicate in at least two other languages USLINFRA = Using only one language as a lingua franca DIFLELAN = Facing possible difficulties in learning 2 Languages
5. Benefits from learning European languages	COMEUCIZ = Facilitating communication among EU citizens AWOPLACU = Awareness/ openness to other people's languages and cultures MOBEUCIZ = Facilitating mobility of European Citizens	COMEUCIZ = Facilitating communication among EU citizens AWOPLACU = Awareness/ openness to other people's languages and cultures MOBEUCIZ = Facilitating mobility of European Citizens SIOCCREH = Significance for occupational rehabilitation

C. PLURILINGUAL EDUCATION CONTEXT

6. Positive Attitudes to introducing a variety of foreign languages	INFLSEDEU = Introduction of FLs at secondary level in line with EU Policy ESFLPRED = Establishment of FLs at primary level INITALSP = Introduction of Italian and Spanish INBALKLA = Introduction of Balkan languages/Turkish LERUSLA = Necessity of learning Russian language	INFLSEDEU = Introduction of FLs at secondary level in line with EU Policy ESFLPRED = Establishment of FLs at primary level INITALSP = Introduction of Italian and Spanish INTURLAG = Introduction of Turkish LERUSLA = Necessity of learning Russian language SECFLCOM = Introduce a second FL as elective subject
7. Concerns of introducing a variety of foreign languages	ENENFRGE = Need for enhancing English/French/German MARGRL1 = Marginalization of Greek Language (L1) APORINFR = Appropriate organization and infrastructure	ENENFRGE = Need for enhancing English/French/German MARGRL1 = Marginalization of Greek Language (L1) POSTUDIF = Possible students' difficulties

D. EARLY FOREIGN LANGUAGE LEARNING		
8. Reasons for early EFL learning	CHILEASQU = Young children learn easily and quickly LONTEACAD = Contribution to long term academic achievement	CHILEASQU = Young children learn easily and quickly EMCONENG = Early contact of children with English in everyday life
9. Preconditions	GAMBACO = Game-based context CHINEINT = Considering children's needs and interests WELTRAIT = Necessity for Well-trained teachers PROPLINF = Provision for planning and infrastructure	GAMBACO = Game-based context WELTRAIT = Necessity for well-trained teachers
10. Disagreement on early FL learning	CHIMLEL2 = Children's immaturity for learning L2 CONFACL1 = Confusion in acquiring L1 LACKINF = Lack of infrastructure	CHIMLEL2 = Children's immaturity for learning L2 CONFACL1 = Confusion in acquiring L1 DIFFYOCH = Possible difficulties to be confronted by young children

4   Concluding Remarks

Concluding, it needs hardly be argued that multilingualism is considered advantageous in that it enriches the individual and promotes an understanding among citizens from different countries. It cannot be ignored that given the variety of languages in the European continent, a positive attitude towards learning the languages of other citizens is adopted not only as a form of enrichment but also in order to encourage integration. The issue is raised that there must be a conscious effort to move away from the overt dependence on English since the learners need not only develop proficiency in it, but also develop multilingual competence. Therefore, EU language education policies, which promote the learning of several languages for all individuals, so that they become plurilingual and intercultural citizens, able to competently interact with others in all aspects of their lives, should be further realized. In addition, educational and social policies and practices which support and foster multilingualism and support the development of a multilingual ideology should be adopted.

About the authors

Dr. Eleni Griva is an Assistant Professor at the Faculty of Education — University of Western Macedonia. Her research interests include: L2/FL Learning and Teaching, Language learning strategies, Bilingualism/multilingualism, Language policy. She has

published three books, and she has been author of over 100 papers in journals, collected editions and conference proceedings.
Email: `egriva@uowm.gr`

Dora Chostelidou is a researcher and Ph.D. candidate in Applied Linguistics at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki. She has participated in various projects and international conferences.
Email: `dora.efl@gmail.com`

Panayotis Panteli, MA in Education Studies. He is a primary school teacher and has participated in various projects and conferences.
Email: `pantelas2002@hotmail.com`

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"*But We Have a Way to Communicate With Others*" The Issue of *ELF* in Italian Urban Multicultural Classes

Paola Giorgis*

Abstract

The research aims to find out what impact has a common non-native language on the perceptions and the representations of different identities and roles in the multicultural urban class in Italy. As language is an issue both at the level of identity and identification, my interest regards the creative and transformative potentials of ELF in multicultural classes. I conducted a qualitative research through: Insider observation; 62 interviews in two different kinds of high schools in Turin, a city in the North West of Italy; 2 back-talk focus groups. The research shows that, though taught as EFL, in Italian multicultural classes English is being appropriated by adolescents as ELF, a *lingua franca* for intercultural communication. The paradigm of ELF can be helpful when applied to the micro context of the urban classroom as it helps to take a closer look at how English is regarded. Data show that students perceive a gap between the English they *study* and the English they *use*. At school, students consider it as a normative subject (EFL) which may sometime cause anxiety, while in the extra-school they appreciate the interactional quality of ELF, as it is able to offer connection to their peers and/or to represent the means for exploring new personal and collective identities, untied from previous roles and national belongings. The data of this research show that ELF can serve as a linguistic space in common set at the border of different languages and different *voices*. This is a practice and a process which may help to traverse the boundaries of identity/ties, and blur those of ethnicity to create new affiliations and belongings.

Keywords: Language and identity, adolescents, multicultural classes, EFL/ ELF

1   From Macro to Micro

In the second half of the twentieth century EFL (English as Foreign Language) has undergone many changes that are having an impact "*on the way English is taught and spoken around the world at the start of the twenty-first*" (Jenkins, 2003; p. 33). Different uses and practices of the language users are transforming the language itself. "*English is not a unitary language*" (Dewey, in press, p. 3), being transformed by and transforming its users.

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*University of Turin, Italy

In particular in education, the concept of English "*is in need of considerable rethinking in light of the enormous contextual diversity surrounding the use of this language*" (Dewey, in press; p. 2).

I will consider here the context of the Italian urban multicultural classroom, discussing how EFL is appropriated by students as ELF (English as *Lingua Franca*), according to the widespread definition of a contact language between people who do not share a common native tongue or a common national culture and use English as a foreign language in common to communicate.

The research, which originates from my teaching experience, has been developed through a PhD project which aimed to investigate into this context "*to find common underlying processes of how speakers make use of ELF*" (Seidlhofer, 2006; p. 47) and, in particular, to find out:

- the use of English language among students in order to understand when, where, why and with whom "*speakers* (...) *decide to make use of English* (...) *to perform specific tasks in specific communicative situations*" (id., p. 48)

- what the use of a language in common means to adolescents both at the level of the self and of others in terms of perception and representation of identity

- whether English is still perceived and considered as a foreign language or rather as an interactional means of communication among peers.

2   EFL/ELF in the Italian Urban Multicultural Classroom

In recent decades, Italy has turned from a land of emigration to a land of immigration. Among other questions, this change has brought to the surface the need to reflect on the issues of language and languages, in particular in education.

Though the percentage of students born in Italy from immigrant families is growing (ISMU[1] data, November 2011), most of them are still in elementary and junior high schools, while in high schools the vast majority of students with immigrant background belong to what is called generation 1.5, or 'children of family rejoinders'. They are adolescents who were born and began their school path in their home lands and, on their arrival in Itay, English is often the first common language to communicate with native Italian peers.

In Italy, English is learned as EFL, that is as a foreign language which is not spoken by the majority of the population, it is not employed in intranational communications and does not serve intranational functions. Though learned as EFL, the micro context of the urban classroom epitomizes the gap between the normative quality of English as a subject taught at school and the interactional quality of English as a medium for intercultural communication among peers. Some of the causes of this gap are due to the widespread use of new media of communication among adolescents (social networks, the

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[1]ISMU, (*Iniziative e Studi sulla Multietnicità* — Initiatives and Studies on Multiethnicity — `http://www.ismu.org/`) is an independent Italian research centre.

Internet, on-line computer games, blogs, etc.) together with some products of the youth culture (songs, movies, TV serials, etc.) which are mainly in English. I will suggest that this use of English as ELF can encourage the exploration of new identities as it allows the experience of crossing and blurring of linguistic and ethnic borders.

I will discuss these points presenting some data from a qualitative research conducted through:

- Insider observation

- Sixty-two interviews in two different kinds of high schools in Turin, a city in the North West of Italy

- Two back-talk focus groups.

As the participants to this research do not generally possess a bilingual proficiency in English, their use of the language is mainly practiced through the use of expressions or short sentences in English, often code switched to Italian — or to other L1s.

2.1   The Research: context and data collecting

I have been teaching English for almost twenty five years in Italian high schools and from that position I had the opportunity to observe many changes regarding the use of English among adolescents. In particular in recent years, I have noticed how students tend to use English/es as a code of communication among peers.

Within my PhD research project, I tested the accountability of my observations conducting a qualitative research in two different high schools in Turin, North West of Italy. One school is a vocational school with an art curriculum (Art Institute) and the other one a '*Liceo*' (a grammar school which prepares for academic studies). I created an *ad hoc* qualitative written interview: the questions were mainly short accounts of situations regarding the use of English that I had witnessed during my teaching years, and that interviewees were asked to discuss. I decided to opt for written interviews as the first step of data collecting for many different reasons, the most important of which are:

- I was interested in understanding emically the students' own perspectives on their use of English, in order to get as close as possible to their own reading of their world according to an ethnographic approach aimed at exploring "*the educational worlds of actors from their own perspective*" (Pole and Morrison, 2003; p. 30). Moreover, qualitative interview could offer width and *thickness* to reading data as "*the focus of interview research is (mostly) the individual experience of the participant, which is seen as relevant for understanding the experience of people in a similar situation*" (Flick, 2007; p. 79).

- I was interested in avoiding mechanisms of impair power-relationship adult/student, student/student regarding compliance or adherence to previous roles.

- I intended to favour a reflexivity in the students on their own practices regarding the use of a common foreign language.

Interviews

Participants:

- Sixty-two students of 5 different classes (2 classes from '*Liceo*' and three classes from Art Institute)

Conditions:

- All above eighteen, in their last two years of high school

- Voluntary participation

- No compensation

Gender:

- Forty female students

- Twenty-two male students

Mother tongue:

- Six non-native Italian speakers (two Romenian, two Arabic and one French-German bilingual), corresponding to 9.68%, a slightly higher percentage than the regional data for high schools[2]

Other info:

- Data from interviews were collected anonymously, and were stored and analyzed through a dedicated web application which allows to share them on the Internet in a protected way using a password and a captcha code.

- Quotes from interviews are reported between inverted commas as follows: AI = Art Institute; L = '*Liceo*'; M = male; F = female; years of age. Example: "*quote*" (AIM18) refers to a sentence said by a male student aged 18 from the Art Institute.

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[2]According to ISMU data (2011) before quoted, the percentage of students with immigrant background in high school in Piedmont Region is of 8.7%.

Back-talk focus groups

Back-talk focus groups were intended to create a field for a negotiated interpretation of the research data.

I shared my interpretation of the data from interviews with the participants, in order to involve their voices directly, to open up a reflexive discussion on their own linguistic practices and to disseminate results through a participatory process. I presented both groups with some categories I had derived from the analysis of recurring themes emerging from their interviews, and I asked the participants to discuss these themes and/or to put forward new ones.

Some representatives of the 62 students took part in the back-talk focus groups, at the same conditions of the interviews. The focus groups were recorded and privacy was guaranteed according to Italian laws on privacy (D.L. 30/06/2003, n. 196).

Participants were 25 students in two groups:

- '*Liceo*': Sixteen students (9 female, 7 male), all native Italians, both of Italian and of non-Italian origins

- Art Institute: Nine students (3 male, 6 female), all native Italians except for one student who belonged to generation 1.5.

I analysed data concentrating on the themes discussed, but also documenting the most relevant interactional moves that were performed while discussing the topics.

Though the back-talk focus groups were mainly revolving around a major theme (the uses and practices of a common foreign language which does not belong to any of the speakers), it was also important to note the interactional moves (assent, dissent, further suggestions, etc.) through which the subject matter was co-created during the discussion.

Quotes from focus groups are here reported in between slashes as follows: /"*quote*"/ (L, F), for example, indicates a sentence said by a female student from the *Liceo*.

3   EFL or ELF? The Implications and the Impact of a Common Foreign Language on Intercultural Encounters and on Personal and Collective Identities

Data from interviews and focus groups allow to draw a picture of *what's really going on* through the practices of moving to and from different L1s and English/es as a language in common among adolescents.

The paradigm of ELF can be helpful when applied to the micro context of the urban classroom as it helps to take a closer look at the gap between the English the students *use* and the English they *study*.

In fact, the data collected in this research show that 45 students out of 62 interviewed (72.58%) do not consider the English expressions/short sentences they use as foreign language, but rather as expressions in a contact language among peers, a transcultural

code they use to speak about their passions and interests, such as music, sport, blogs, the Internet, comics, etc. English is a language which is part of the adolescents' way of speaking, not only as far as loans such as 'chat' or 'mouse' are concerned, but also in longer sentences they exchange with peers, sometimes even as a way of being accepted by them.

Data collected in the interviews show no evidence that being native or non-native Italian, or of foreign origins, influences the dynamics of their use of English and, similarly, there are no evidences of gender differences regarding the use of English/es. More or less consciously, both female and male adolescents often code switch from L1s to ELF according to the topics they want to discuss, to the context and to the people they want (or do not want) to communicate with. The English students use is though mainly "*English from below*", that is an "*informal* (...) *use of English as an expression of subcultural identity and style*" (Preisler as quoted in Androutsopoulos, 2009; p. 57), a practice used "*to symbolize affilitiation and peer group solidarity. It is acquired via non institutional channels and is much more viable than officially promoted, institutionally transmitted English as a Foreign Language*" (ib.).

But in their life-world English is not only a way to communicate with others *from below*: it is also a school subject which comes *from above*. There, the gap between EFL and ELF fully opens.

3.1   Intercultural encounters

ELF is not only a functional language but a "*language of socialization*" (Jenkins, 2003; p. 38): Set at the border of different L1s, ELF can favour intercultural encounters as, drawing lines to and from languages, it can encourage communication across cultures.

What impact has a common non-native language on the perceptions and the representations of different identities and *footings* in the multilingual urban class? Here are excerpts from interviews and focus groups:

> "As young people we very often use English expressions as everyday we get in contact with a multicultural reality where the English language serves as an important unifying factor among people of different mother tongues" (L, F, 18)
> "Using expressions in English is a way of unifying young people (...)" (L, F, 18)
> /"When I was at junior high school no wonder you learnt English, we were all of different nationalities there, you needn't go abroad to learn it!"/ (AI, M)
> "(the stories in the interview) made me reflect not only on myself but also and in particular on those guys who don't know our language (Italian) well and use English to be accepted and to relate with peers" (AI, M, 18)
> "Two years ago, a new classmate arrived from Dominican Republic, initially he spoke only in English with me and my classmates (...)" (L, F, 19)

> "English is useful to communicate as it is known by everyone and it is part of our way of speaking" (AI, M, 18)
>
> "When I go to Egypt (the student is Arabic mother tongue) and I cannot remember some words it's easier for me to speak in English. The same happens in chat" (L, F, 18)

The students' use of English in a daily context unties the language from a definite national belonging and opens up to new affiliations:

> "Everyday I use of lot of English words and I often use English to write to friends, it is a language which belongs to me now, and I could not express myself without it in many occasions" (L, M, 18)

New belongings and affiliations can sometimes favour reflections on multilingualism:

> "I find it interesting that the English language has influenced our way of speaking to the point that it is natural to use expressions from foreign languages" (L, M, 18)

It is interesting to note that recent debates on ELF and multilingualism go in the same direction (see for example Breidbach (2003) and UE document *Lingua Franca: Chimera or Reality?*, 11/01/2011) .

Instead of considering this relation as an 'either/or' question, UE documents invite to reflect on the educational potential of ELF as an interlingual mediator able to favour cultural and social inclusion, as well as a starting point to learn different languages.

3.2   Impact on identity

Stepping into a new language can help adolescents to imagine and to explore new identities, often more in-line with an ideal self — more confident, more extrovert, more popular. A new language offers new perspectives on the self: the same person can perceive her/himself and be perceived differently according to the *footing* she/he takes through a language. Here are some quotes from interviews:

> "At school, I sometimes feel "blocked", I can't find the right words to answer to teachers, but in English this does not happen, I feel more confident" (AI, M, 18)
>
> "I can open up more when I speak English" (AI, M, 20)
>
> "I often feel more extrovert during the English lessons. I feel more euphoric and funny, though I can't speak English correctly" (L, M, 18)
>
> "During the English lessons I feel more confident (. . .) while during other lessons that does not happen and I panic!" (L, F, 18)
>
> "In fact a foreign language makes you feel a different person and this can make you feel more confident than in your own mother tongue" (L, M, 18)
>
> "I like writing since I was a child and since I began to study English I have the opportunity to describe what I have in mind more easily" (L, F, 18)

> "It happened to me to express some feelings better in another language as, not being my mother tongue, it was easier to be more concise and express these sensations better." (L, F, 18)
> "Some terms are parts of us. But speaking a foreign language makes me feel very well, it seems I can manage better. And it very often seems easier to express my feelings." (AI, F, 19)

Sometimes, a foreign language in common can be used by adolescents as a means of expressing themselves in a less inhibited way, as an in-group code which, recognized by the group of peers, allows the individual to test, explore and expand the borders of his/her own identity:

> /"Using English is a way of breaking the rules and the banality of communication"/ (L, M).

Breaking the rules can sometimes be obtained simply by using similar sentences in different contexts. As English comes from movies, songs, the Internet, TV, etc., adolescents take up funny (or dramatic) sentences they hear, and use them in different contexts:

> "Expressions in English are often used by young people especially speaking of music, TV serials, etc., and this is very useful" (L, F, 18)
> /"I take expressions from songs and I use them a lot in my daily life"/ (L, M).

But English in daily life and English at school do not seem to go hand in hand. In fact, another quote from interviews helps us to get into the heart of the gap EFL/ELF:

> "At school it makes me feel more exposed and insecure, while in my private life it gives me more protection and sense of security." (AI, M, 18)

In both cases, the student is referring to *it* as the English language, but in the first part of the sentence it is EFL, while in the second it has an ELF quality. English language is here perceived both as a normative subject (EFL) which causes anxiety and as an interactional medium (ELF) able to offer protection and connection. The following sentences from a focus group confirm this gap:

> /"The vocabulary we learn on the Internet or in songs is not the one our teachers want us to know."/ (L, M)
> /"These are two incompatible aspects of the same language."/ (L, M)
> /"English at school is not intended to favour communication among us."/ (L, F)

Indeed, an attachment to EFL normativity *"does not fit very well with the communicative realities of English speakers"* as *"an interactional setting may require numerous combinations and admixtures of languages, with hybrid selections of language resources being constructed from within a very varied repertoire"* (Dewey, in press; p. 26).

It is not only students, though, who may feel in between. Teachers too are more and more asked to face the "*tension between the variable actuality of language in use and the need to select a model for classroom teaching and language assessment*" (id., p. 27).

In the EFL/ELF debate, language users and their context/s, sense and scope of communication are all determining factors: researches in the field of ELF can then be of great help to provide frameworks and multi-norm approaches for a much needed renewed understanding of teaching and learning English in multicultural and multilingual contemporary societies.

4   From Micro to Macro

As the data of this research show, ELF can represent a linguistic space in common between the borders of different languages and different *voices*. This is a practice and a process which may help to explore the boundaries of identity/ties and blur those of ethnicity. The quality of ELF, though, does not only imply a linear path of crossing borders, as when we cross different cultural and linguistic contexts the changes that occur are multileved and multifaceted.

As teachers, educators and researchers we should investigate in the changes and in the practices of ELF to understand the *dynamics* and the *potentials* that a foreign language in common elicits in the class both at the level of the individual and of the group.

If teenagers are metaphors of liminal experiences of transformation and of border blurrings (Rampton, 1995), then studying their language interactions through a common foreign language in the micro multicultural context of the urban class (when, in which moments, for which purposes, with whom, and on which topics they adopt/are adopted by a common foreign language) can offer a picture and help in finding clues to understand the '*transcultural flows*' and the '*metrolingualism*' (Pennycook in Alim, Ibrahim and Pennycook, 2009; Pennycook in Otsuji and Pennycook, 2010) which are happening and evolving in the macro context of our multicultural societies.

About the author

After graduating in English and North American Literature and Studies, Paola Giorgis passed the State Examination to become a teacher of English in Italian high schools. She has been a tenured teacher of English since 1987 and she has recently completed a PhD research in Anthropology of Education on the relation between language and identity among adolescent students, focusing in particular on the different uses of English/es for intercultural communication.
Email: `paola.giorgis@unito.it`

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Giving Voice to Students' Views on Various Languages in a Multicultural Classroom Setting

Areti-Maria Sougari* and Konstantina Iliopoulou†

Abstract

This paper presents the findings of a study that delves into learners' attitudes towards learning different foreign languages in a multicultural setting. To be more specific, 98 lower secondary students, who have migrated to Greece and receive schooling in a Greek intercultural school, responded to a questionnaire that looked into students' attitudes towards the learning of Greek as a second language, English as an additional language (which is a compulsory school subject) and a chosen additional language (i.e. French or German). A subset of 9 students coming from various linguistic and cultural backgrounds took part in a semi-structured interview. The findings demonstrated that the students held more positive attitudes towards Greek, which is the official and spoken language in the host country, and English, which can be attributed to the international dimension of this language. With regard to the chosen additional languages, it seems that the students were not favourably inclined towards learning these languages due to the lack of perceived utilitarian purposes. Once this particular student population is closely examined, it becomes apparent that the students had formulated definite views about their needs and were determined to strive hard towards the attainment of their goals. The attitudes held are language specific, closely associated with the language status and affected by the economic situation in the host country.

Keywords: Language attitudes, multiculturalism, language status, intercultural school

1 Introduction

In the global village, multiculturalism and multilingualism have invaded various aspects of everyday life, while the quest for human resources is thriving along with the quest for other resources. In Europe, in particular, the economic crisis has permeated most societies and multiculturalism in the wider socio-cultural context has affected the education received in the school setting. The promotion of multilingualism in the school curriculum is seen as a first step towards developing multilingual speakers of the languages taught within a particular speech community. Various questions arise: What attitudes do learners exhibit towards the different languages taught in a multicultural

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*Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Greece

†Secondary Sector, Greece

classroom setting? How do learners respond to the global role of English? What informs the learners' learning dispositions in the classroom setting?

Learners do not come empty-handed in the language classroom; they hold beliefs, develop attitudes and construct their motivational orientations towards different target languages. Substantial research regarding second language (L2) learning has highlighted that attitudes and motivation to learn another language are correlated with achievement in a second language (Dörnyei, 2001; Gardner, 1985; Masgoret and Gardner, 2003; Muñoz and Tragant, 2001). In the majority of studies on beliefs, attitudes and motivation to learn a second/foreign language, the focus has been on the learning of one language (i.e. namely English; e.g. Pan and Block, 2011) and the student population under study seems to be monocultural. Only few studies have examined second/foreign language learners' views and attitudes (and more specifically their motivational orientations) towards various target languages within the same community (Clément and Kruidenier, 1983, in the Canadian context; Schmidt and Watanabe, 2001, in the Hawaiian context; Dörnyei and Csizér, 2002, in the Hungarian context; Sciriha, 2001, in the Maltese context; Shameem, 2004, in the Fijian context; and, Humphreys and Spratt, 2008, in the Asian context). Furthermore, limited attention has been paid to learners' attitudes to learn particular languages within an educational context, which consists of a multi-ethnic population (Bernaus et al., 2004, in Spain).

With particular reference to learners' attitudes towards learning different languages, several factors could be responsible for shaping specific attitudes (positive or negative) and these factors are associated with various aspects: to name a few, the status of languages within a speech community (Sciriha, 2001; Shameem, 2004), geographical reasons (Dörnyei, Csizér and Németh, 2006; Humphreys and Spratt, 2008), cultural background (Bernaus et al., 2004; Brohy, 2001; Jabeen and Shah, 2011), social groups' shared images about other languages and learning these languages (Castellotti and Moore, 2002), parental encouragement (Kormos, Kiddle and Csizér, 2011), school instruction (Dörnyei, Csizér and Németh, 2006) and political and social events (Shameem, 2004).

Even though it seems quite unclear the extent to which attitudes and motivation are responsible for subsequent behaviour, attempts to describe L2 motivation in terms of orientation are connected with the work conducted by Gardner and Lambert (1972) and their distinction between instrumental and integrative motivation. The former is developed by individuals who want to learn a particular language in order to serve certain utilitarian purposes such as employment, study, immigration, etc., whereas the latter relates to an individual's need to identify with the target group community.

With regard to multilingual communities, it seems that the beliefs and attitudes and subsequently the different motivations to learn each language are greatly linked with its perceived usefulness and the functions this particular language fulfils for the individual and the society (Shameem, 2004). In this paper, it becomes apparent that the factors affecting language attitudes can be associated with economic-related issues and status differences among languages.

2   The Study

The main aim of the study was to examine the opinions and attitudes held by immigrant students in relation to learning different foreign languages in a Greek intercultural lower secondary school. In particular,

1. What views do immigrant students hold towards learning different foreign languages (i.e. Greek as a subject and medium of instruction, English as a compulsory subject, French or German as a chosen language)?

2. What is the perception of immigrant students concerning the importance of English?

3. What informs immigrant students' views towards the official and spoken language in the host country?

2.1   Participants

Ninety eight immigrant students (52% males and 48% females) attending an intercultural lower secondary school in Thessaloniki, Greece, participated in the present study. More information regarding intercultural education in Greece can be found in Sougari and Iliopoulou (2012). The participants were distributed in the three grades of the lower secondary school as follows: 1st grade: 29.6%, 2nd grade: 35.7% and 3rd grade: 34.7% of student population. In the case of the students' distribution in their Greek class, we can discern the following placement pattern: 1st grade beginners: 37.9%, intermediate: 31%, advanced: 31%; 2nd grade beginners: 22.9%, intermediate: 40%, advanced: 37.1%; and 3rd grade beginners: 29.4%, intermediate: 26.5%, advanced: 44.1%. Greek is the medium of instruction and English is taught as a compulsory school subject. Following the educational policy, the students had opted for a chosen additional language as follows: 66.3% ($N = 65$) attended German and 33.7% ($N = 33$) attended French. The multicultural classroom consisted of students from various countries and different linguistic backgrounds: 22.4% come from China, 18.4% come from Albania, 16.3% come from Georgia, 16.3% come from Russia, 16.3% come from Afghanistan, 5.1% come from Fyrum, and 5.1% come from various countries.

2.2   Instrumentation and data analysis

The data collection procedure entailed the administration of a questionnaire (adapted from Dörnyei and Clément (2001) and Dörnyei and Csizér (2002)) and the conduct of nine semi-structured interviews (i.e. three students of each grade and one of each proficiency level, who came from different countries, were interviewed). Thus, the quantitative and qualitative results are used to bring to light issues pertaining to students' views in relation to learning specific languages.

The questionnaire, which was devised in both Greek and English (i.e. the respondents opted for the version that was compatible with their language competence),

consisted of three parts: Part 1 dealt with the personal data of the participants, part 2 elicited the students' views about the learning of particular languages (i.e. Greek, English, French or German) as well as their attitudes towards each target speech community, and part 3 looked into the students' stance towards language learning. The items in the questionnaire were presented in a grid format and asked respondents to consider independently each of the four languages or each of the five target communities. Part 2 sought answers to questions using a five-point rating scale where 1 was 'very much' and 5 was 'not at all', whereas in part 3 the respondents were expected to react to specific statements using the scale: 1 was 'strongly disagree' and 5 was 'strongly agree'. In relation to the interview, a set of questions highlighted areas that needed further elucidation, i.e. what informs the participants' attitudes towards learning the languages included in the curriculum.

The analysis of the sample involved the computation of frequencies and the implementation of the Wilcoxon signed-ranks test to assess the magnitude of the difference in the sample's answers; in particular, a comparison is made in relation to the sample's perception about Greek and each one of the other foreign languages incorporated in the curriculum. In the case of French and German, it was considered important to record the answers of those students who had personal knowledge of the target language or the target community and thus only relevant data were employed. The significance level was set at $p < .05$.

2.3   Results

Quantitative results: Questionnaire items

With regard to the questionnaire results, the data yielded statistically significant results in most comparisons between learning Greek and the other languages, but not when Greek was viewed vis-à-vis English, reflecting the participants' similar attitudes towards learning Greek and English (see Table 1). However, when asked about the importance of these two languages in the world, the students acknowledged the prominence of English in the global village. The difference between the importance of Greek and French is only marginally significant ($p = .065$), which could be an indication that the participants placed similar importance on these two languages.

In connection with the effort that the students were prepared to put in learning these languages, it becomes apparent that they were quite confident that the everyday communication exchanges with indigenous people in the Greek community would create the necessary conditions for successful language learning outcomes. Thus, significant differences arose when Greek was compared to the chosen languages learnt within the school curriculum. When Greek was compared to English, the students attested to English being their top priority, a fact that can be associated with the dominant role of English in the worldwide community. It seems that the students believed that they should make more effort to learn English over Greek, but also that effort should be greater on the part of learning Greek over French or German. The replies to the question that delved into whether a particular language would prove helpful in finding a job

Table 1: Students' perceptions about learning particular languages

	Greek M^*	English M	French M	German M
How important do you think these languages are in the world these days? Greek vs. English: $N = 73$, $z = -7.541$, $p < .001$ Greek vs. French: $N = 21$, $z = -1.843$, $p > .05$ Greek vs. German: $N = 46$, $z = -2.835$, $p = .005$	2.57	1.49	2.97	2.92
How much effort can you put into learning these languages? Greek vs. English: $N = 58$, $z = -3.014$, $p < .003$ Greek vs. French: $N = 26$, $z = -4.465$, $p < .001$ Greek vs. German: $N = 46$, $z = -4.653$, $p < .001$	2.56	2.29	3.63	3.25
How much do you think the knowledge of these languages would help you find a future job? Greek vs. English: $N = 58$, $z = -1.471$, $p > .05$ Greek vs. French: $N = 21$, $z = -3.959$, $p < .001$ Greek vs. German: $N = 44$, $z = -5.460$, $p < .001$	1.91	2.04	3.31	2.78

$^*M$: Mean, 1: Very much, 5: Not at all

stressed the respondents' preoccupation with both Greek and English. In the Greek socio-educational context, the Greek language is seen as a more useful tool for job opportunities in comparison to both French and German. Therefore, the immigrant students face up to the challenge of learning English and Greek in order to satisfy utilitarian purposes and seem to be instrumentally motivated.

Table 2 illustrates the findings that pertain to the students' perceptions about language learning. The students' certainty that Greek would be mastered can be associated with their exposure to the Greek language in the speech community and the use of Greek as a medium of instruction in the school setting, which seems to enhance the participants' confidence in achieving successful learning outcomes.

Cultural interest has significant bearings on a number of issues, such as motivation, attitudes and learning outcomes. Even though we have not attempted to make such associations, the questionnaire items, that probed into the respondents' cultural interest associated with learning particular languages (see Table 3), reveal trends in the data that the emission of British and American TV movies influences the participants' favourable stance towards movies made in the respective countries. It should be noted that it is not obvious whether the respondents could indeed make a distinction between British and American movies, which, however, is beyond the scope of this paper. The preference for Greek films received the third place. However, when comparing movies made in Greece and those made in Germany, the data yielded a strong preference for Greek over German ones. In addition, the respondents declared their preference for reading magazines and listening to music made in Greece and the English-speaking countries,

Table 2: Students' perceptions about language learning

	Greek M^*	English M	French M	German M
I am sure that I will learn this language well. Greek vs. English: $N = 92$, $z = -8.391$, $p < .001$ Greek vs. French: $N = 31$, $z = -4.931$, $p < .001$ Greek vs. German: $N = 57$, $z = -6.649$, $p < .005$	4.67	2.77	2.39	2.42
Learning this language is an easy task. Greek vs. English: $N = 16$, $z = -3.078$, $p < .002$ Greek vs. French: $N = 24$, $z = -2.466$, $p < .014$ Greek vs. German: $N = 44$, $z = -2.756$, $p < .006$	2.56	2.29	3.63	3.25

$^*M$: Mean, 1: Very much, 5: Not at all

while also stating their preference for the English script over the Greek one. The greater familiarization with Greek reading materials and music, which are widely available in the host country, affects the participants' preferences.

Qualitative results: Interviews

The qualitative results of the study are discussed in relation to the topics raised in the interviews: the role of English and the other languages in the curriculum as well as their views on living in Greece and learning Greek.

The role of English and the other languages The majority of the interviewees held the view that English is widely spoken in Europe and elsewhere, thus recognizing English as a lingua franca. Greek was regarded as a language that is limited within the Greek borders, giving opportunities for meaningful communications with members of the Greek community. Furthermore, the status of languages was perceived as being language specific; the interviewees acknowledged the status that certain languages have in their home country but also the usefulness of knowing English for their communication exchanges with both native and nonnative speakers of English. To give voice to the students' views about learning various languages, the following excerpts are cited (Note: Errors may be incorporated as this illustrates the participants' way of expressing themselves):

"In Mauritius, French is more important than English. In Europe everybody speaks English. Greek is a very difficult language. But if I go to Italy, Germany or England I will have to speak English. Nobody speaks Greek" (1st grade, beginners, Mauritius)

"Everybody speaks English. Wherever you go..." (2nd grade, intermediate, Albania)

"English is very helpful in the whole world" (3rd grade, advanced, China)

Table 3: Students' perceptions about language learning

	Greece M^*	England M	US M	France M	Germany M
How much do you like TV movies made in these countries? Greece vs. England: $N = 74$, $z = -7.090$, $p < .001$ Greece vs. US: $N = 73$, $z = -6.723$, $p < .001$ Greece vs. France: $N = 21$, $z = -1.129$, $p > .05$ Greece vs. Germany: $N = 31$, $z = -3.088$, $p = .002$	2.21	1.32	1.39	2.50	2.51
How much do you like reading magazines made in these countries? Greece vs. England: $N = 60$, $z = -5.335$, $p < .001$ Greece vs. US: $N = 60$, $z = -5.335$, $p < .001$ Greece vs. France: $N = 15$, $z = -3.455$, $p < .001$ Greece vs. Germany: $N = 30$, $z = -4.838$, $p < .001$	2.01	1.38	1.39	4.63	4.66
How much do you like the music made in these countries? Greece vs. England: $N = 38$, $z = -0.169$, $p > .05$ Greece vs. US: $N = 36$, $z = -0.713$, $p > .05$ Greece vs. France: $N = 25$, $z = -4.449$, $p < .001$ Greece vs. Germany: $N = 29$, $z = -4.765$, $p < .001$	1.28	1.27	1.33	4.28	4.28

$^*M$: Mean, 1: Very much, 5: Not at all

Students' positive attitudes towards English and their utilitarian reasons for learning English (i.e. as this language is regarded as a necessary tool for a better career prospect) can be summed up in the following lines:

> "In my country one needs to speak English, if he wants to get a job. And if I leave Greece to go to another country, it's English again that I will need" (2nd grade, intermediate, Ukraine)
> "If you want to get a job, you need to speak English. Nobody asks you, if you speak Greek or Albanian" (3rd grade, advanced, Albania)

Living in Greece and learning Greek The economic crisis in Greece has created an unprecedented situation and a number of immigrants are contemplating migrating once again, either to their country of origin or to another European destination. Currently, Greece is not included among the desirable places to settle down as job prospects are rather limited. The following words sum up a general feeling shared by a number of immigrant students:

> "The Greeks do not want us any more. In the past they welcomed us (from Georgia) ... Greek very difficult ... life is difficult in Greece now. I don't know whether I would like to stay in Greece, I don't want to try hard, as we may go back to Georgia... Greek used to give me a hard time, I got used to it... I was learning Georgian, Greek and English... but I like English more, it's a more useful language to know" (3rd grade, advanced, Georgia)

Thus, even though these students originally made an effort to learn Greek in order to actively engage in the affairs of everyday life and to seek employment, the new economic situation has resulted in a negative feeling towards learning Greek. On the other hand, the prospect of learning English evokes a more positive feeling due to the opportunities connected with the wide-spread use of English in the global village.

3   Discussion and Conclusion

In a second language setting, the learning of the language shared and spoken in the speech community is a challenge for immigrants who aspire to function as members of that community. The classroom setting creates a sheltered environment, which systematizes the knowledge of various school subjects and languages. In our study, the majority of the immigrant students have arrived (either on their own or with their families) in Greece in search of a better life and have realized that integration in the Greek society and pursuit of a job entail knowledge of the language spoken by the members of the host community. However, the rather limited use of Greek within the Greek borders is greatly acknowledged and that is why it appeals more to those students who expect to prolong and make permanent their residence in Greece. The current economic situation incites negative attitudes and has further repercussions in their determination to learn the official and spoken language in the host country. It is quite evident from the data that once the participants set their minds on connecting their future with a particular job in Greece, they will make every effort possible to learn the Greek language.

The questionnaires and the interviews demonstrated that English is greatly perceived as a language of world-wide communication. The effort to learn English is intertwined with the belief that English is the key to job opportunities in Greece as well as in Europe. The present economic status of Greece has created an overwhelming need to learn or improve the language proficiency in English, because the future is envisioned by many young people elsewhere, outside Greece. A number of the participants expressed

their discontent with the current situation, while at the same time contemplating re-immigration to a more promising destination. Thus, English is regarded as a language that allows the crossing of cultural boundaries and opens up perspectives in the world.

In the eyes of the immigrant students, German and French, the two additional languages taught, fail to reach (i) the status that English has due to its lingua franca role in the world and (ii) the status that Greek has due to its use in the Greek community. The chosen languages taught as part of the school curriculum are viewed just as a school subject and receive rather limited attention. The priorities set dictate particular attention to the languages (i.e. Greek and English) that would satisfy either immediate or future interests. Therefore, the participants have made informed choices about the learning of languages. The confrontation with the reality faced in the host country alters previous priorities and the perceived high image of particular languages in their home country may no longer be true in neither the Greek nor the wider European reality. Thus, the participants' concern is set on the development of their communication skills rather than on their academic advancement; the poor performance on the other subjects in the school curriculum and the drop out rate at the end of the third grade of the lower secondary school attest to the students' priorities.

It seems that the choice of languages studied and the effort incorporated are related to attitudes, which are informed by the drive to learn a particular language (i.e. which is informed by functional reasons, such as to find a job) and shaped by the general socio-cultural and economic climate. Therefore, it becomes quite pertinent to respond to and address the needs of a multicultural society in order to ensure greater engagement in the everyday affairs. The intercultural school setting ought to cater for the development of positive attitudes towards learning in general and language learning in particular.

Further investigation of student attitudes and motivation to learn foreign languages in Greece and other multicultural contexts should be undertaken. It is quite evident that the unraveling of the various attitudinal and motivational components that relate to language learning in general and learning specific languages would raise our awareness of the affective elements that play a great role in multilingual settings (Bernaus et al., 2004). Once this understanding is accomplished, then the efforts to accommodate the needs of immigrant students in the educational environment will prove more successful since the integration in the host community will lead to the development of positive attitudes and the construct of motivational profiles.

About the authors

Areti-Maria Sougari is an assistant professor of Applied Linguistics in the Department of Theoretical and Applied Linguistics, School of English, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki. Some of her work appears in *TESOL Quarterly, Language and Education*, the *Journal of Applied Linguistics* and other journals. Her research interests include teaching English to young learners, teacher education and development and English as an International Language.
Email: `asougari@enl.auth.gr`

Konstantina Iliopoulou holds an M.A. and a Ph.D. in Applied Linguistics (i.e. Assessment of multicultural learners' SL Writing). She has worked as an instructor in a Greek Intercultural Secondary School and as an adjunct lecturer at the School of English, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki. She has presented her work in international conferences and has published in book-edited volumes and conference proceedings. Her research interests include intercultural education and writing in second language learning. Email: `k.iliopoulou@live.com`

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