

The Impact of Applied Linguistics

Proceedings of the 44th Annual Meeting
of the British Association for Applied Linguistics

1-3 September 2011

University of the West of England



Edited by Jo Angouri,
Michael Daller
& Jeanine Treffers-Daller

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*Jo Angouri,
Michael Daller,
Jeanine Treffers-Daller*

1 The Impact of Applied Linguistics on the Development of Language Textbooks

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Introduction

The place of grammar in language learning has long been a hotly debated issue in Applied Linguistics. The findings of Second/Foreign Language Acquisition research have raised questions about psycholinguistic constraints on the learnability of any grammar. However, in practice, grammar is an important aspect in most textbooks. We will show this through the results of a comparative analysis of the approach which constitutes the foundation of a number of textbooks, the type of sequence and the nature of the activities suggested to enhance learning.

Theoretical Background

Approaches to Language Teaching

Over the centuries, second/foreign language educators have alternated between two types of approaches to language teaching. The first one, Deductive teaching or the Traditional/Structural Approach, presents the grammatical rules explicitly through instruction, and then students practise the rules in order to build an ability to use the elements to communicate, which leads to explicit knowledge of grammar. The second one, Inductive learning, corresponds to an approach where examples are given, the students use the language from the start in order to acquire it, and they derive the rules from practice, which leads to implicit knowledge of grammar, advocated by the Direct Method. Nowadays, language approaches such as the Task-based Approach combine inductive and deductive teaching. In the Task-based Approach, learners are involved in comprehending, manipulating, producing or interacting in the target language, while their attention is focused on meaning, use and function.

Textbook Background

Textbooks reflect the approach syllabus/material designers implement through the development of specific methods and techniques. In the

Structural textbook, grammatical structures are the organising principles; the Table of Contents is organised around grammar points. In the Situational textbook, situations form the organising principle and the language used is the one found in different contexts, situations. Topics or themes form the organising principle of the Topical textbook. Functions (things, people do with language) are the organising principle of the Functional textbook. Conceptual categories, called notions, form the basis of organisation of the Notional textbook. Skill-based textbooks focus on Skills as the basis of organisation. Task or activity-based categories serve as the basis of organisation of Task-based textbooks. The last category, Mixed Syllabuses, combine two or more types of syllabuses.

Textbook Evaluation

We have analyzed 28 textbooks — teaching materials including exercises — in relation to the approach advocated, the sequence followed and the activities included.

Grammatical Sequence: 07/28: Structural Approach: (05/07) / Communicative Approach: (02/07)

In five textbooks, the Structural Approach is reflected through the lay-out of the units: one page for the grammatical rules and examples and one for the exercises. These textbooks cover all the elements of a language, and exercises involve the learner in guided or semi-guided activities. Two textbooks follow a Communicative Approach, supporting the view that grammar-based and communicative approaches can co-exist. The activities are communicative tasks; the controlled exercises are included to provide initial understanding of the form, meaning and usage of the target language.

Grammar and Content: 16/28: Grammar (04/16) / Writing (10/16) / Science and Technology (02/16)

Four textbooks deal with grammar as content, provide an extensive coverage of parts of speech, and analyse grammar in a comprehensive manner. The use of esoteric terms makes these textbooks very specialized. Ten textbooks combine both grammar and writing in the sequence, aim at showing how close grammatical attention to texts can help understand texts better, write more effectively. Two textbooks about Science and Technology are organized according to fields of study then a number of grammatical aspects linked to the rhetorical patterns. Grammar is an important component of all the units and is dealt with in a comprehensive manner with the aim of making the learners use the language grammatically and being able to communicate authentically. In the sixteen

textbooks, the activities involve the learners in filling in blanks, comparing, classifying, identifying and describing.

Grammar in Context: Form, Meaning and Use: 05/28

In terms of sequence, the five textbooks present the Contents only grammatically or grammatically and functionally. Each unit deals with form, meaning and use separately and/or together. Grammar charts provide the rules and explanations preceded by examples which involve the learners in an inductive work to discover the rules on their own, first. Each unit has exercises for diagnostic use, interactive practice in authentic language in context.

A Model Teaching Unit

Phrasal Verbs

Phrasal verbs — a verb followed by a particle (preposition or adverb or the two) — are a great part of English, and are constantly being created, or other meanings of the already existing ones are added.

Consciousness-raising Activities

The learners are first introduced to the structure in terms of types of phrasal verbs, of word order and in terms of meaning — literal meaning, or slightly metaphorical meaning, or purely metaphorical meaning. Then, they work in groups on an activity that focuses their attention on its form and/or meaning and use, and are required to formulate both the implicit knowledge and the explicit knowledge, with the objective of developing grammatical competence. They work on four activities involving the understanding and the use of ten phrasal verbs per activity: Definition, Matching, Multiple-choice and Cloze procedure. The analysis of the phrasal verbs opted for or suggested by the students reveals their degree of acquisition of phrasal verbs and the nature of the phrasal verbs acquired. The teacher guides the learners in the development of awareness of the phrasal verbs through the identification of their different parts and their meaning in the context where they are used; focus is put on form, meaning and use.

Conclusion

The sequence followed and the activities included in a textbook reflect the

approach underlying the design situated along the Structural, Communicative Language Teaching continuum.

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2 Creating a Virtual Space for Intercultural Communicative Competence

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This research explores the discursive construction of Intercultural Communicative Competence (ICC) in student interactions in a Moodle VLE, *Intercultural Connections*. The site has run since 2004, spans three continents, and currently involves participants in Glasgow, La Plata, Argentina, and Kaohsiung, Taiwan. The participants in Scotland are mostly undergraduates, both UK and European exchange students, who are completing a final-year course entitled *Culture and English Language Teaching*; the participants in Argentina are students of English based in La Plata; and the participants in Taiwan are medical students at Kaohsiung Medical University who are learning English as part of their programme. The facilitators provide a framework of tasks for participants to undertake to promote their own development of Intercultural Communicative Competence, and allow the Glasgow students to see how ICC can be developed in learners of English as a foreign or second language.

Intercultural Communicative Competence (ICC)

The research reflects on how the participant interactions instantiate ICC, formulated by Byram (1997), the Council of Europe (2001) and Risager (2007) as a set of resources, skills and competences. According to the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* (Council of Europe 2001: 1), “In an intercultural approach, it is a central objective of language learning to promote the favourable development of the learner’s whole personality and sense of identity in response to the enriching experience of otherness in language and culture.” *Intercultural Connections* features activities which involve the expression and negotiation of participants’ “whole personality and sense of identity”. This involves various types of skill and knowledge, including: knowing the self and the other; knowing how to relate and interpret meaning; knowing how to discover cultural information; knowing how to relativise oneself and value the attitudes and beliefs of others; and critical cultural awareness (Byram 1997; Risager 2007; see also Corbett 2003).

Data

The dataset for the analysis is a set of asynchronous online exchanges and synchronous chat sessions that have taken place on the site over several years with successive groups of participants. We analysed forum data from 7 years of archived material on the Moodle site and carried out semi-structured end-of-course interviews with 15 of the Glasgow-based participants, including both English native speakers and non-native speakers.

Evidence of ICC in forum data

The textual evidence from the native and non-native speaker forum interactions provides evidence of developing ICC over the course of an academic session. This emerges in a number of ways (all examples from forum data, our italics):

- i. Topics framed with reference to students' own observations:
“*I have noticed* that the way in which foreign languages are taught in schools differs greatly...”
- ii. Participants providing a gloss for culture-specific terms, or offering a contrast with a better-known cultural analogue:
“Hi, I'm from Glasgow and growing up we went '*guising*' which just meant that we dressed up in various costumes and roamed the neighbourhood knocking on doors. *I don't think it's the same as the American 'trick or treating'* as there was never a retaliation for not being given sweets.”
- iii. Participants reflecting on the reception of their contributions and apologising for potentially obscure postings:
“*Sorry, just realised* I made reference to someone who may not be universally known!!”

Evidence of ICC in interview data

As described by participants, there are various benefits of online intercultural exchange. These include (all examples from interview data):

- i. Real-time interaction with language learners from other cultures, engaging in learning-by-doing, and exploring how telecollaboration can be used in the language learning classroom:
“I think for the first time, you were hearing voices [in the synchronous chat] that sounded a lot more like ours.”
- ii. First-hand insight into language learners’ errors and areas of difficulty:
“I think one of the most useful things for me was just seeing the way that they were speaking or writing English. You can get a dry analysis of it from books but you don’t really see it or appreciate what they’re really talking about.”
- iii. Opportunity to reflect on past language learning experiences:
“...coming to the end of the course I was thinking, ‘I wish I’d done this before my year abroad’, cos it would have helped me a lot [...]. Put it this way, the cart was pulling the horse when I was going abroad.”
- iv. Opportunity to reflect on and reassess past teaching experiences:
“It’s made me maybe more than anything else re-evaluate stuff I did in lessons before, either realise why it didn’t work or why it did and how I can make it better, maybe giving me a bit more of an overall sort of framework.”
- v. Opportunity to reflect on experience of encountering other cultures:
“Maybe that’s the first time I noticed ‘Oh actually this is what I’m doing. I’m an ethnographer in this country.’”

Discussion

It is difficult to establish participants’ development of Intercultural Communicative Competence on the basis of online intercultural exchange alone. While there is some evidence that Computer-Mediated Communication is an effective means of shaping ICC, forum and synchronous chat data shows little *explicit* marking of awareness of cultural relativity. The addition of post-course interview data in this research provides further insights into the development of participants’ ICC through the course. Participants reported a heightened awareness of their attitudes of tolerance and openness, and an increased appreciation of the attitudes

and beliefs of others. This is evidenced through online interactions, class discussion and post-course interviews, and may result from the skills of reflection developed in intercultural exchange.

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3 Doing research multilingually: Diverse approaches and representational choices

J. Andrews, M. Attia, L. Davcheva, R. Fay and X. Zhou
Colloquium Participants

Introduction

In this colloquium, we explored multilingual dimensions in research and we reported four approaches to engaging with the linguistic diversity of context, researcher, research participant, and we also considered the representational consequences of the diverse approaches taken. The BAAL annual conference has addressed multilingualism in research processes previously, for example, Martin, Stuart-Smith & Dhesi (1998) discussed the roles of insiders and outsiders in a bilingual research project.

Linguistic diversity and the representational choices it raises can sometimes be hidden in research processes as evidenced perhaps by the general lack of consideration of these issues in research methods textbooks. Thus the multilingual researcher may not have access to deliberations such as “Which language should I make my field notes in?”, “Which language should I use to gain access to my research participants?”, “Do I need to provide my own translations of data in order to discuss research outputs with co-researchers, supervisory teams?”

Where individual researchers have given attention to linguistic choices they note that linguistic choices raise challenges for researchers and these tend not to be well-aired within research methodology texts. A brief review of some of these studies follows.

Inghilleri (2004) studies the power relations at play in legal cases of requests for asylum and applies a Bourdieusian perspective to interactions involving court interpreters. Translation and interpreting issues are explored by Bradby (2002) who reflects on the linguistic necessities of taking a language-aware approach when researching multilingual patients’ experiences of their medical care. Temple & Edwards (2002) engage with an interpreter in their educational research and conclude that conceptualising the interpreter as a co-researcher is a valuable development in acknowledging linguistic diversity within research. Some of these issues

and others are raised in the four studies outlined below and contribute to our call for recognising the choices available to, and challenges facing, researchers in multilingual contexts.

Case Study 1: Research processes: a multilingual research student in a monolingual supervisory team (Zhou, 2011)

Xiaowei Zhou's doctoral study, which involved significant English and Mandarin Chinese elements, illustrated the complexities involved in the management of the bilingual elements which ran throughout the whole research process, from the literature explored, the contexts considered, the participants involved, the data generated, processed and analysed, to the (re)presentation of the study in the thesis. Xiaowei's bilingual research experience was further enriched by the fact that the study was supervised and examined monolingually in English. The complexities of such a bilingual process are not well discussed in the research methods literature. When they are referred to, the tenor of the discussion is often that of a problem to be overcome rather than that of a richness to be reflexively managed. In this case study, Xiaowei and her supervisor Richard explored in detail the linguistic dynamics involved in the study by using examples, including questions, reflections, strategies adopted and methods employed/created.

Case Study 2: The role of doing research multilingually in fostering researcher autonomy (Attia, 2011)

This paper addressed the complexities of doing research multilingually and fostering researcher autonomy when examining Arabic language teachers' beliefs about using technology as part of an English medium PhD study. As issues of language use were marked at the beginning of the study, there was an expectation on the part of the researcher as to possible avenues she had to travel on her own. Reflecting on the multilingual nature of the work, she analysed the different stages of her journey in light of the various opportunities and challenges of handling more than one language. Implications were drawn for developing researcher competence, supervisor training, and research methodology text books.

Case Study 3: Researcher roles and language choices when using an interpreter in educational research (Andrews, 2011)

Research into learning in and out of mainstream schools in England and Wales (see Hughes & Pollard 2006) encompassed case studies of children learning at home and some case study families were multilingual. As a researcher on the project I reflected on my collaboration with an interpreter in interviews with parents about beliefs about learning, learning practices in the home and communication with schools. Issues raised included the following:

- i) The need for shared understandings of the connotations of certain technical terms e.g. ‘numeracy’ as school subject as opposed to ‘mathematics’ as a real life activity
- ii) cross-cultural differences in interpretations of terms e.g. ‘risk-taking’;
- iii) the methods for collaborating with interpreters as co-researchers such as briefing, debriefing, discussing interview schedules;
- iv) the roles within research encounters of interpreters and researchers (models of interpretation e.g. simultaneous or consecutive).

Case Study 4: Multilingual narratives of researchers and research participants (Fay & Davcheva, 2011)

In this paper, Richard and Leah considered their differing linguistic and researcher contributions in a narrative study of the perceptions of Ladino held by elderly Sephardic Jews in Bulgaria in which fieldwork conducted in Bulgarian and analysed largely in English. Leah is of Sephardic background (Ladino was sometimes spoken in her family), a Bulgarian national, and professionally fluent in English as well as Bulgarian. She is a field insider with prior narrative research experience. Richard has no Sephardic Jewish, Ladino, or Bulgarian background and is more centrally-located in English-medium narrative research. Together, they share intercultural interests (e.g. Ladino) in the Balkans. They argue that such asymmetries have enriched their collaborative research process. Motivated by a need for reflexive transparency, they have been attempting to manage the above multilingual complexities, challenges and possibilities in their writing about the study.

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4 Large-scale Testing of Proficiency in English: Back to Multiple Choice?

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Introduction

The Universidad Politécnica de Madrid UPM has recently included a university-wide compulsory subject in the new curriculum aimed at preparing students for international academic and professional situations “English for Professional and Academic Communication”. Since the University requires the students to certify a B2 level as described by the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) in order for them to have the right to enroll in that compulsory subject, the development process and the results of a specific test designed to this aim is the focus of this paper. The final purpose of the study is to demonstrate the validity of this multiple choice test to situate a student above or below a B2 proficiency level according to the CEFR.

Test Specifications

Our specific context, the number of students who must certify a B2 level to enroll in the subject “English for Professional and Academic Communication” and the heterogeneous background of the more than sixty teachers in the Department of Linguistics lead us to opt for an automatic correction test made up of multiple choice-type questions. Although for the same practical reasons of application, the test does not include a listening comprehension section or an interview, previous studies (Argüelles et al. 2010) let us establish an initial hypothesis which presumes that most Spanish students at university who demonstrate a high level of proficiency in these aspects of language would obtain similar proficiency results in direct listening and speaking tests. The limitations of these types of tests are understood and assumed for practical reasons of application, and the extent to which they affect the students’ results will be presented and analyzed in the following sections.

The layout of the test shows two differentiated parts although the test is not explicitly divided into those parts. The first part that evaluates aspects of grammar, consists of 65 individual items followed by the four options a, b, c and d. The second part of the test consists of three texts each worth 10 or 15 points, for a total of 35 points, and is centered on aspects more related to use of language, vocabulary and reading comprehension. The activities are adapted from a corpus of texts and tasks selected from general English course books which have been correlated to the CEFRL, covering B2 and going towards a C1 level, into a multiple choice format with four options.

Results

A total of 240 incoming students at School of Telecommunications took the pilot test. From the 240 students taking the test, 36 did not finish it, therefore, a total of 214 tests are taken into consideration for the statistical analysis. In what follows, a summary of the results of the test concerning its reliability and validity is presented.

The test layout is in two well differentiated parts. As such, it is important to analyze to what extent these two parts show similar results. The Pearson correlation coefficient between the scores obtained in part one and those in part two of the test is analyzed by means of SPSS and the result is 0.81, which is statistically significant (see Table 4.1). This means 81% concordance between the two parts of the test (Brown 1988: 98,99).

	Part two (use of language, vocabulary and reading)
Part one (grammar)	0.813 (p<0.01)

Table 4.1: Pearson Correlation between parts one and two of the English Proficiency Test

As for establishing validity in our test (Brown 1988: 102-105), a statistically representative sample from the 214 students who completed the multiple choice test was selected for the interview. The correlation between the results in the interview and the test is analyzed by means of SPSS and a validity coefficient of 0.83 is obtained. This correlation is statistically significant.

	English Proficiency Test
Oral Interview	0.825 (p<0.01)

Table 4.2: Pearson Correlation between Oral interview and English Proficiency Test

From the experiment, the results show that 29% of the 31 students interviewed reached the B2 level according to the CEFRL, whereas 71% did not reach this level of proficiency. Taking into account these percentages obtained from the oral interview and correlating them with the scores in the multiple choice proficiency tests, the cut-off score could be established in the range from 6.9 to 7.1.

Discussion and conclusions

It is understood here that this proposal could be highly unpopular when assessment and evaluation in contexts of higher education tend to introduce direct techniques and task-based and other more formative approaches, so there are some important points to clarify at this point. First, the proposal is made for a specific context where a B2 level must be proved on the part of the students enrolling in a course of professional and academic English. Second, multiple choice tests are a good alternative for increasing reliability, and the design and development of the test were conceived to maintain good levels of validity. Third, it is not intended here to suggest that an indirect test of this type can in any case substitute direct tests of different skills but rather to present it as a practical tool where other alternatives are difficult or impossible to carry out.

To summarize, an examination of the statistical results presented in this paper shows high levels of reliability and validity of this test to measure what it claims to measure in order to situate a student above or below the given B2 level of proficiency. Based on the initial pilot study, it is presumed that students who demonstrate this level of proficiency would eventually pass a competency type test of the same level as the one assessed here in a high percentage of the cases.

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5 Identifying criterial aspects of pronunciation in L2 English across CEFR levels: Implications for language learning

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Introduction

While teachers agree that pronunciation is a crucial aspect of L2 English competence, it still remains an under-researched area. Much of the previous research has looked at vowel or consonant inventories alone, describing which sounds learners can or cannot produce at different stages of language learning and which effect this might have for pronouncing specific words (Hansen Edwards & Zampini, 2008). However, relatively little is known about other components of pronunciation, such as rhythm, and how these factors interact with, for instance, syllable structure, in L2 learning (Derwing & Munro, 2005).

Languages have traditionally been divided into stress-timed and syllable-timed languages, where the former are supposed to be characterised by time intervals with roughly equal length between prominent syllables (e.g. Dutch, English and German), while the latter have successive syllables of roughly equal length (e.g. Cantonese, Korean and Spanish). The different perceptions of these types of rhythm have been claimed to be crucially dependent on a number of phonological factors which can differ cross-linguistically, including consonant clusters, vowel reduction, pre-boundary lengthening and accentuation (Dauer, 1983, Prieto et al. 2012). In syllable-timed languages, there are typically predominantly CV (consonant vowel) sequences while stress-timed languages tend to have complex consonant clusters. This means that some syllables might consist of 4 or 5 segments, while others only have 2. Moreover, the reduction of unstressed vowels, which is typical of stress- but not syllable-timed languages, reduces the duration of vocalic timing in unstressed syllables, and thus makes unstressed syllables shorter than stressed ones. Additionally, accented syllables, i.e. syllables which carry the main sentence accent, tend to be significantly longer in stress-timed languages but in syllable-timed

languages there is little durational difference between accented and unaccented syllables. Finally, phrase-final syllables tend to be longer than non-final syllables in stress-timed languages whereas in syllable-timed languages they are usually more nearly equal. It is this irregularity in syllable duration of unstressed, stressed and accented syllables together with the complexity of consonant clusters which makes the rhythm of stress-timed languages different from what is perceived as more even syllable-timing. A focus on objective measures of rhythm, therefore, holds the potential to provide valuable insights for language learners and teachers.

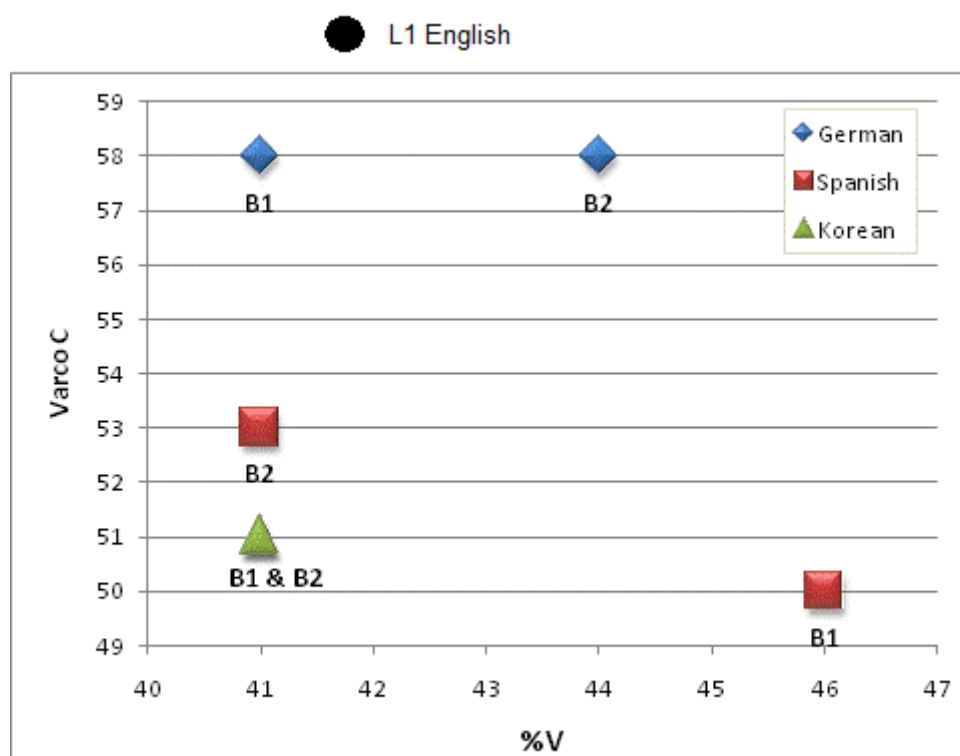
The objective of this paper is to investigate the development of rhythm in L2 English produced by speakers with typologically different L1s, in order to establish to what extent rhythm development can be successfully measured in L2 speech at different levels of proficiency.

Methodology

We analysed 1-minute uninterrupted samples of spoken Cambridge ESOL exam data that were recorded for examiner training. The speakers were German, Korean and Spanish learners of English at B1 and B2 level, according to the Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR; Council of Europe, 2001; 2 learners per group, $n = 12$). The speakers were 'average' test takers, achieving an average grade of 3 to 4 (on a 1-5 point scale) on their pronunciation score. Three researchers labelled the dataset (inter-annotator agreement, 97%) using the speech analysis programme Praat (Boersma & Weenink, 2010). The analysis included metrical structures in words, vowel reduction, pre-boundary lengthening and accentuation. We calculated a number of rhythm metrics which quantify cross-linguistic differences in timing associated with consonantal and vocalic intervals in the speech stream (e.g. White and Mattys, 2007, Payne et al., 2012, Prieto et al. 2012). Here, we report results for two of those measures: Varco-C, which measures variability in consonantal interval durations, and %V, which quantifies the proportion of vocalic material in the speech stream.

Results

Results show that the proportion of vocalic material changes significantly in the speech of German learners between proficiency levels – with %V increasing from B1 to B2 – but variability in consonantal interval durations (Varco-C) remains at a very high level, unchanged between the two proficiency groups, as is shown in Figure 5.1. Interestingly, consonantal variability and the proportion of vocalic material do not change at all for Korean learners of English at B1 and B2 (both remaining at a relatively low level). In fact, only the Spanish data show a clear progression for both vocalic and consonantal proportions towards native-like values, starting from a relatively low Varco-C at B1 to a level somewhere between Korean and German learners at B2. This is also reflected in their %V values, which significantly decrease from B1 to B2. While some approximation to the target can be seen, the English L1 values are still significantly different from that of any learner group. Their %V is lower than that of the German B2 learners and higher than that of both the Spanish as well as the Korean group. More importantly, their Varco-C level is significantly higher than that of any learner group.



Language: Varco-C ($p < 0.05$)
Level: n.s.
Language x level: %V ($p < 0.05$)

Figure 5.1: Cross-language comparison of rhythm metrics at two CEFR levels

Discussion

The pilot data show clear cross-linguistic differences between German, Korean and Spanish learners, reflecting rhythmic characteristics of their native languages. In terms of consonantal material in the speech stream, the German learners were – as expected – closest to the English target but their Varco-C is still not quite high enough. Having a stress-timed language background, German learners naturally have more consonant clusters in their speech already and are familiar with vowel reduction, even though this happens to a lesser extent in German. The amount of vocalic material increases in German learners from B1 to B2 level. However, while the initial development is in the direction of native British English values, their speech is more vocalic than that of L1 English speakers at B2. A possible explanation is that B2 German learners of English over-generalise newly acquired rules. When learners understand that accented syllables, for instance, have a longer duration and thus a higher percentage of vocalic material, they might exaggerate accentual lengthening, or they might apply it in syllables which would normally be reduced.

Korean and Spanish learners, who have mostly CV structures in their native language, have a relatively low number of consonants in their speech as reflected by a low Varco-C value. This shows that in consonant clusters they still delete some consonants or insert vowels to break a succession of consonants. While Korean learners do not show any difference between B1 and B2, Spanish learners show a progression towards native-like values. The same holds true for vocalic material. With a rather high percentage of vowels still at B1, the Spanish learners significantly reduce the vocalic proportion at B2 level, even slightly below the native English values. From this data we can conclude that our Spanish speakers are moving away from full transfer of prosodic properties, and that they are starting to master L2 properties such as complex syllable structures with clusters of consonants, and vowel reduction.

Conclusion

This pilot study shows that rhythm can be objectively measured to analyse L2 speech from learners' with typologically different L1 backgrounds. In language learning we are concerned with both intelligibility and accuracy and should note when, how and why each is required for learners. These results can help us understand what learners of a specific L1 can do (in a

specific context and with specific constraints) which in turn can inform L2 teaching. At the same time, the results can help us to identify what structures learners still struggle with, i.e. which structures a teacher might chose to teach explicitly and which ones learners should be encouraged to notice and work on independently.

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6 Teacher Follow-up Move within Classroom Discourse

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Many authors claim that typical exchange in the classroom consists of an initiation by the teacher, followed by a response from the pupil, followed by feedback to the pupil's response from the teacher. Even though the three interconnected parts have been given different names by different authors, this type of exchange is regarded as "the very fabric of classroom interaction" (Walsh 2006: 41).

The paper concentrates on the final move of the sequence as it is believed to be "a distinguishing feature of educational discourse" (Mehan 1985:126). The *follow-up move* or *feedback* can have various functions in the development of classroom discourse and thus plays an important role in student learning.

A comparison is offered of the F- move of three teachers of English in EFL context in the Czech Republic – a native speaker, a fully qualified non-native speaker teacher and a non-native speaker teacher without qualifications for teaching English. The analysis concentrates on the functions of the F-move – evaluation, explanation, acknowledgement or discursual function (as proposed by Cullen 2002). At the beginning of the research project some hypotheses had been stated about the amount and quality of feedback the teachers would provide. It had been assumed that the native speaker would concentrate more on fluency than accuracy, would correct less frequently and in a less threatening way. It has not been proved, though. It has been found out that there are parts of the lesson, where the native speaker and the proficient non-native speaker lead genuine, everyday conversation with the learners, asking referential questions and acknowledging in the F-move or offering some personal comments , i.e. instead of evaluation they provide F-move with the discursual function.

The study looks at the strategies particular teachers use to evaluate students' responses or to reformulate them and incorporate them into a

wider context. To correct or evaluate their students' responses, the teachers:

- repair without evaluation: S: *Normal*. T: *Normally*.
- repair with evaluation: S: *Twenty-sixth*. T: *Twenty-sixth of June. Right*.
- repeat the incorrect answer with rising intonation: S: *To the Frankfurt*. T: *The Frankfurt?*
- reject the answer: *Sixty? Hmm. It isn't right*.
- reject the answer and provide explanation: *Not a workbook. A workbook is what you write things in*.
- provide clues to the student to be able to self-correct: S: *He told that their songs are rubbish*. T: *Yeah, he told them, posuneš (showing by a gesture that there will be a tense shift), their songs...*

Apart from correcting or evaluating students' responses, the teachers also use explanation in their F-move to:

- correct spelling: *Only one T. Writing only one T*.
- point out grammar: *Homework bud' bez členu nebo her homework*.
- explain vocabulary: *Regularly. Pravidelně*.
- show context and provide examples: *So when you want to get some money back for something that's wrong and you had bought it before...yeah?*
- give facts: *In Washington, yeah, all the political bodies are in Washington*.

As far as the F-move with the discursual function is concerned, various sub-types were identified in the three types of discourse:

1. The teacher accepts the answer but expands on it, in other words incorporates it into a wider context, or uses a better phrasing:
T: Where is that? East, West?
S: Middle.
T: *Middle. OK. Hmm. It's in the middle. In the middle of Slovakia*.
2. The teacher adds a kind of evaluative comment but not concerning the form, but content of the student's response, showing thus interest in what the student has said:
T: Where did you go, Anna?
S: Ireland.
T: *To Ireland. Great*.

3. The teacher adds a personal comment concerning the content of the message, especially where the student's response is only minimal. The teacher thus demonstrates an interest in what the student is saying and at the same time expands on the answer and thus provides comprehensible input to the rest of the class:

T: You like your uncle?

S: Yeah.

T: *Yeah, so you'll have fun the next time.* (examples from Betáková 2010)

It has been found out, in accordance with Cullen's findings, that the F-move with the discursual function typically emerges from referential questions. Evaluative function is usually connected with display questions but there are exceptions in both cases.

The main concern of the study was to investigate the types of feedback (follow-up) from the perspective of promoting effective communication in the classroom.

Even though, as has been pointed out earlier, natural conversation in the classroom requires F-move with the discursual function (which could be referred to as *communicative feedback*), it should be stressed that both types of the F-move are important for language learning. Learners expect the teacher to correct their mistakes and thus improve their language accuracy. This is done through evaluation and effective ways of correction. The F-move with the discursual function also plays a significant role. Commenting on what people say is a very natural part of everyday discourse, since it shows the speaker that the listener is interested in what he/she has said and in the classroom it is a very important source of comprehensible input.

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7 "How many lap choles have you done?" A linguistic-ethnographic take on counting surgical experience

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Introduction

In this paper we explore a site of work and learning that is rarely investigated ethnographically and to which few applied linguists have gained access: the operating theatre. Taking up the 2011 BAAL Annual Meeting's theme, 'The Impact of Applied Linguistics', we argue that linguistic ethnography, through detailed analysis of situated, embodied interaction (Maybin & Tusting 2011), can and should make an important contribution to research on and improvement of the quality and safety of health care.

Background

Surgical trainees learn to operate through participation in numerous operations. Clinical research has shown that the complication rates of cases performed by trainees under supervision are comparable to those of cases performed by consultants (Acun et al., 2004). However, 'process variables', such as the (variation in) the communicative features of the supervision that was provided, have received little attention. Our study was aimed at rendering these features visible and placing them in the wider social-pedagogic context of the operating theatre, highlighting the dynamic, embodied interaction between consultant-supervisors and surgical trainees.

Data and method

Observations were carried out in a major teaching hospital in London by a linguist and a clinical researcher. 35 cases were observed (equivalent to 82 hours of operating time), 10 of which were audio and video recorded (22 hours of operating time). A wireless microphone was worn by one of the

surgeons, and in-built video cameras were used to capture the operative field. Field notes of all operations were kept by the researchers. All staff in theatre and all patients involved have given informed consent to collect the data. Ethical approval was granted by the UK National Health Service Research Ethics Committee (ref nr 10/H0712/1). Video clips were transcribed multimodally, detailing use of speech, instruments, and hand, arm and head movements.

Results

Linguistic-ethnographic analysis of interaction at the operating table shows how surgical trainers and trainees coordinate their actions using all communicative resources available to them (see also Svensson et al 2009; Bezemer et al. 2011a, 2011b). These include speech, gesture, gaze and posture, as well as their use of instruments. Each of these resources offer distinctly different potentialities and constraints for instruction. For instance, on one occasion a trainer may use speech to describe to the trainee the operative manoeuvre to perform (cf. “Do you see that white line there? That’s where you need to dissect”); on other occasions the trainer may point to anatomical structures (giving meaning to deictic elements such as ‘here’ and ‘there’), reposition the hands of the trainee, or take over control over the instruments to demonstrate the next action. Trainees display embodied responses to this guidance, and trainers adjust their guidance in accordance with these responses and the unfolding operation. Thus the degree of guidance can vary significantly from moment to moment: some operative manoeuvres may be performed by a trainee without any visible or audible guidance, whereas others are strongly mediated by multimodal instructions.

Discussion

The variation in the degree of guidance given to trainees who ‘perform’ an operation under supervision raises important questions about how operations are recorded, analyzed and assessed in professional surgical discourse. The number of times that surgical trainees have ‘performed’ or ‘done’ a procedure is often taken as a reliable indicator of their surgical experience. For instance, the randomized control study discussed above compares operations ‘performed by’ trainees with operations performed by consultants. Our study shows that such classifications wrongly suggest that

trainees classified as '(operating)' 'surgeon' have had equal control over the operation. Operating surgeons are not necessarily primary 'agents' throughout an operation: they don't always 'do' or 'lead' the operation; nor are they merely passive 'recipients' of instruction. To measure participation in operations adequately more sophisticated categories will need to be used, detailing changes in the degree of guidance.

Our study shows that linguistic ethnography and applied linguistics more generally can contribute to an important research agenda from which it is currently noticeably absent. By rendering visible the moment-by-moment unfolding of surgical operations and the training embedded within it we have drawn attention to the complexities and contingencies of clinical work and patient safety in situ, thus complementing generalized pictures of 'what works' (Iedema, 2009) and 'what is safe' (as in randomized control trials). These insights are crucially important as linguists, ethnographers, clinical researchers, policy makers and health care professionals work together to improve health care.

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8 Re-thinking practices in language policy research: From 'policy versus practice' to 'policy within practice'

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Introduction

As the field of language policy (LP) research has recently moved towards ethnography (e.g. McCarty, 2011), the study of actual language practices has become a central aspect of LP research. For instance, practices are analysed to see how policies are implemented or resisted on the ground. From this standpoint, practices are systematically analysed vis-à-vis the policy prescribed by language managers. This results in understanding practices as being separate from policy. In this paper I take a different stand and, building on Spolsky (2004), I argue that policy needs not be distinct from practice and that, in fact, there is a policy within practices; what I call elsewhere a '*practiced language policy*' (see also Bonacina, 2010; Submitted).

Data and context

I draw on a corpus of interaction audio-recorded in an induction classroom for newly-arrived migrant children in France. In the French educational system, the LP is strictly French monolingual. In order to receive French language support, newcomers have to attend an induction classroom upon arrival. As a consequence, induction classrooms are highly heterogeneous contexts. In the target classroom, pupils were aged between six and twelve years old and spoke a total of eight different languages.

Policy versus practice

In the corpus under study, some instances of language choice and alternation acts can be interpreted with reference to the French monolingual LP prescribed by the educational system. Consider, for instance, extract 8.1 below (key transcription conventions can be found at the end of the paper):

Extract 8.1: [Bold font is used to transcribe talk uttered in English]

17. Teacher: c'est où↑ (.) c'est pas à la maison c'est où↑
where is it↑ (.) it's not at home it's where↑
18. [...]
19. Karen: euh en anglais on dit (.) elle est dans le **junkyard**
er in English we say (.) she is in the junkyard
20. Teacher: oui mais en français on dit quoi↑
Yes but in French what do we say↑

Here, talk is conducted in French and Karen's alternation to English (19) is oriented to by the teacher as being a problem that needs to be repaired (20). This indicates that only French is the "medium of classroom interaction" (Bonacina & Gafaranga, 2011). This French monolingual medium is in line with the LP stated by the educational system. In this regard, this extract shows that it is indeed possible to understand classroom participants' choice of medium of interaction with regards to the school language policy and, more generally, to interpret language practices vis-à-vis a policy found outside interaction.

Policy within practice: the 'practiced language policy'

However, this is not always the case. In the corpus under study, many instances of language choice and alternation acts cannot be interpreted against the French monolingual language policy set by the school. As an example, consider extract 8.2 below:

Extract 8.2: [Bold font is used to transcribe talk uttered in Spanish]

226. Talia: **que te dijo Amanda**↑
What did Amanda tell you↑
227. Leila: **me dijo (.) toma esto no tiene chile (.)(me disimulo)**
228. (.) **lo probé y casi lo vomito**
She told me (.) take this it doesn't have chilli in it (.) she lied to me (.) I tried it and almost vomited it
229. (.1)
230. Talia: **que tenía**↑
What did it have↑
231. (.)
232. Leila: **chile**
chilli

Here, the use of a language other than French is not seen as a problem. Spanish is not translated back into French; it is the code of interaction. More specifically, the two pupils are interacting in a Spanish monolingual

medium. Clearly, this choice of medium is not in line with the French monolingual LP of the school. If these two pupils had been orienting towards the LP of the school, then only the use of French would have been seen as normative and the use of Spanish would have been oriented to as deviant. Crucially, the fact that a Spanish medium is seen as normative indicates that the two pupils do not orient towards the LP of the school. Rather, they orient towards another policy according to which the use of Spanish is allowed. I argue that this other policy ought to be found within practices and have called it elsewhere a ‘practiced language policy’ (see also Bonacina, 2010; Submitted).

In brief, this paper set out to show that language choice practices in the classroom cannot be interpreted systematically with regards to the LP prescribed by the school. Sometimes, classroom participants use mediums of interaction different than the one prescribed by the school policy without it being seen as inappropriate. This indicates that they orient to another policy (a practiced language policy) according to which the use of these other mediums are appropriate. Therefore, I argue that in LP research, practices should not be seen simply as a place where top-down policies are either implemented or resisted but also as a place where new policies can be found, that may differ from the policy prescribed by language managers.

Key transcription conventions

Black font	Talk uttered in French
Black bold font	Talk uttered in a language other than French
Grey font	English translation of talk uttered in French
Grey bold font	English translation of talk uttered in a language other than French

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9 British Applied Linguistics: impacts of and impacts on

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Abstract

This article critically examines the demand that academic research should be assessed by its impact, and universities' compliance with that demand. Although the discussion centres mainly on the UK, it will have relevance to any academic context where government and/or business seek to control academics. The article begins by briefly examining the meaning of *impact*. It next considers the role of applied linguistics in shaping language-teaching revolutions, and suggests it was commercial and political interests which had the greater impact. Moving on to the current wider scope of applied linguistics, it suggests that while the discipline has had positive influence in some areas, it has failed to influence government policy, but that this failure is not a measure of its worth. In the second part of the article, the focus changes to a consideration of impacts on applied linguistics by public relations (PR) models of language, and government interference in academic affairs. It notes the growth and power of PR units within British universities, and wonders why applied linguistics fails to challenge the vapid and often incorrect assertions made by these communication 'experts' about language use. It links this 'PR turn' in universities, and the vague language which surrounds it, to the tightening stranglehold of current and recent UK governments on university activity, comparing this briefly to the more open recruitment of applied linguistics to serve national security interests in the USA. The overall conclusions of the article are that impact is not necessarily a measure of academic worth, and that informed critique of establishment values should remain one of the main roles of academics. While these conclusions are relevant to all academic disciplines they are of particular poignancy for applied linguistics, given the role of language in establishing control and undermining academic freedoms.

The importance of the word *impact*

British applied linguistics has both a general and a specific interest in the word *impact*. The general interest is because, like all good scholars, applied linguists should be wary of vague and undefined terms – academic discourse should strive for precision and clarity. The specific interest derives from the disciplinary concern with language use in society. Central to applied linguistics is the idea that choices of words matter, and that words of social significance and power should be submitted to critical scrutiny. One such word is *impact*, which has taken on a new prominence in academic life, and whose resonance merits some exploration.

Word meanings change, sometimes through specific interventions (*gay* in the 1960s) or technological changes (*mouse* in the last two decades or so). For British academics *impact* has taken on a new significance following a very specific intervention: the demand for evidence of impact in the REF (Research Excellence Framework), the UK government's latest attempt to quantify academic success, and to reward or punish universities in line with that assessment (e.g. REF 2011a, 2011b). Yet this vague but powerful word has been subjected to very little scrutiny within our discipline, though it has been much discussed elsewhere (e.g. Collini 2009). The purpose of this paper is first to explore the significance of the word, and then to consider not only current impacts of applied linguistics, but also current impacts on applied linguistics. Much of my argument addresses the situation in the UK; hopefully it has a wider relevance, perhaps as a portent of things to come elsewhere.

Etymology, denotation and semantic prosody

The OED (Oxford English Dictionary) tells us that *impact* derives from *impactum*, the passive participle of the Latin verb *impingere* (meaning *to strike or dash against*), and gives both literal and metaphorical meanings. Among literal meanings of *impact* as a verb are *to press closely into or in something, to fix firmly in or to press into a confined space*. This sense, dating back to at least 1601, survives in the phrase *impacted teeth*. Another meaning is *to come forcibly into contact with a larger body or surface*. Among literal senses of *impact* as a noun are *collision, the striking of one body against another, and the action of one object coming forcibly into contact with another*. From this latter sense we get the current widespread metaphorical senses, denoting an impingement of circumstances or ideas on a person or situation. The first recorded such metaphorical use is by

Samuel Taylor Coleridge, who wrote in *Biographia Literaria* of impact upon the mind ([1817] 1834:81).

Modern linguistics, however, is not only interested in etymology and denotation, but also in connotation and in semantic prosody, as revealed by corpus analyses of collocational frequency. In the two-billion-word Oxford English Corpus, the commonest collocate of *impact* used as a noun is the word *negative*, the second commonest collocate of *impact* used as a verb is *negatively*. Other common collocates of *impact* as a noun are the adjectives *adverse* and *devastating*, and verbs such as *absorb*, *cushion*, *lessen*, *minimize*, *soften* (MacMillan 2009-2011). All of which suggests that in contemporary English *impact*, whether literal or metaphorical, is not necessarily seen as a good thing. It is often something to be resisted, something we need defend ourselves against. An impact is often a force you cannot choose or negotiate with. An *impact crater* is the hole in the ground after a bomb has hit it.

So if one agrees to any degree with the thesis that metaphor choices express values (Lakoff and Johnson 1980), one might question the desirability of an often negatively charged word being chosen to connote something positive, and wonder why it is preferred to older gentler terms, such as for example *influence* or *effect*: words which, to my mind, suggests a kind of civilised negotiation and mutual respect, while *impact* connotes something cruder and more violent.

Corder's definition of applied linguistics

Bearing the differences between these words in mind, as a prelude to discussing what might be meant by *the impact of applied linguistics*, I turn to an early definition of applied linguistics by Pit Corder (1973).

Ironically, considering that the discipline is one committed to engagement with the non-academic world, applied linguists often find it difficult to explain what they do, and the task has become harder as the discipline has grown and matured. Pit Corder, one of the founders of applied linguistics, might have found it easier. For him:

The application of linguistic knowledge to some object – or applied linguistics, as its name implies – is an activity. It is not a theoretical study. It makes use of the findings of theoretical studies. The applied linguist is a consumer, or user, not a producer, of theories. (Corder 1973:10)

The 'object' Corder has in mind is language teaching:

Of all the areas of applied linguistics, none has shown the effects of linguistic findings, principles and techniques more than foreign-language teaching – so much so that the term ‘applied linguistics’ is often taken as being synonymous with that task. (Corder 1973: cover notes, my emphasis)

So defining the discipline was at that time relatively straightforward. Applied linguistics enables theoretical and descriptive academic linguistics to have *effects* (Corder's word) on language teaching and learning. There is a hint that there are other areas, but they are not specified. Moreover, this effect is a one-way street; this is a transmission model of communication.

Impacts of applied linguistics

This transmission model was later questioned, notably by Widdowson (1984) (though not with specific reference to Corder). Dubbing it *linguistics applied*, he advocated a reconceptualisation of *applied linguistics* as a discipline which would no longer be a mere conduit, but would mediate between professional practice and academic theorising, and also develop theories of its own.

It is true that Corder's definition needed re-thinking. But was the one-way flow of ideas he envisaged ever in fact the case? Have ideas from linguistics ever actually accounted for major changes in language teaching theory and practice in such a straightforward way? Or were there always other more powerful forces at play, ones with which applied linguistics has had to come to terms?

Historical snapshots

In pursuit of this question, it is instructive to consider major changes in ideas about language teaching, and how they came about. The 1870s witnessed one such revolution. Translation and explanation in the student's own language were pushed aside in favour of direct method monolingual teaching. At that time the term *applied linguistics* had not yet been coined. But there was nevertheless an academic input to that change. The self-styled Reform Movement, a group of German and British scholars, including Henry Sweet and Wilhelm Viëtor, used their knowledge of phonetics and philology to inform their proposals for new ways of teaching (Howatt with Widdowson 2004:187-197). They were in a sense applied linguists *avant la lettre* (Smith 2009, forthcoming 2011). Their ideas however were relatively moderate and reasonable. The last chapter of

Henry Sweet's influential *The Practical Study of Languages* finishes with a chapter on the judicious use of translation. A much more forceful impetus behind the change came from commerce, and the very extreme ideas Maximilian Berlitz, founder of the Berlitz schools. Despite the questionable motives and evidence behind them, these ideas still thrive today.

The Berlitz Method excludes any use at of the student's native language in either the classroom or in the student's review materials. By totally immersing the student in the new language, we can most closely simulate the real-life situations in which he or she will be using the language, and eliminate the cumbersome process of introducing a concept first in the student's language and then in the target language. (Berlitz London, 2011).

On this basis Berlitz employed only native-speaker teachers, banned translation and any other use of students' own languages. His was moreover an industrialised model of language teaching (predating Henry Ford's introduction of production lines in factories) which boasted that, for a given course, every school in his growing empire would be on the same page at the same time. It was these ideas, much more than the moderate academic ones of the Reform Movement, which achieved real impact in the outside world. They also arguably served the commercial and political interests of the English-speaking countries who, on the back of direct method, were able to export materials, experts, and teachers, in what was to become the multi-billion dollar English industry of today (Gray forthcoming 2012).

Move on a hundred years to the late 1970s (shortly after the time of Corder's definition above) and a second major revolution: CLT (Communicative Language Teaching), a shift from attention to forms to attention to meaning. Here again, it was not the subtler ideas of the academics leading that movement (Widdowson 1978, Brumfit and Johnson 1979), drawing upon ideas from sociolinguistics and functional linguistics, which were most successful. In the outside world it was a very simplified version of CLT which had impact, in commercially successful courses which interpreted *communication* very narrowly as face-to-face casual spoken encounters, typically between fashionable young monolingual native speakers. Under this dispensation, the study of literature, translation and explicit knowledge of the language itself were often abandoned, as though they had nothing to do with communication! *Communication* came to mean certain types of monolingual native-speaker communication only (Cook 2010).

This is par for the course surely. Outside the academic world, it is often the simplistic, uncompromising, and extreme – but commercially viable – movements which have most success, most *impact*, by rudely pushing competitors and disagreements aside. There is little room in a world where ideas are measured by the violence of their impact for the careful and thoughtful scholar. The Sweets and Viëtors, the Widdowsons and Brumfits may have influence by engaging with real-world issues through reasoned and argument supported by evidence; but it is the Berlitzes who have impact.

A similar situation pertains today. The rather muddled notion of Globish, a reduced auxiliary version of English which is said to have emerged as a neutral, intelligible medium for cross-cultural communication (Nerrière 2006, McCrum 2010) has made more of a splash in the media than the more complex and carefully researched notion of English as a *lingua franca* (Seidlhofer, 2002, 2011). Ideas that children can be best taught to read and write English using a phonics approach which connect the sounds of spoken English with letters or groups of letters has more impact than subtler ideas about the teaching of reading (Sealey, 1999). There are many such cases, and no doubt there always will be.

One notable example in language teaching is the success of CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning) a form of content-based language teaching, in which school curriculum subjects are taught through the medium of a new language on the assumption that this simultaneously furthers both student proficiency in that language, and their knowledge of the subject in question (Coyle et al. 2010). CLIL certainly has had impact: it has been taken up by many ministries of education in Europe. It also has research to support its claims (ICRJ 2008 onwards) . Yet it does not follow from its influence on policy, that the research which underpins it has academic merit, and there is indeed much to be said against it in that respect. Its belief that "the requisites of success lie in exposure" (Marsh, 2002:9) harps back to the discredited 1970s and 1980s beliefs that exposure and focus on meaning are enough for successful language learning (e.g. Krashen, 1982). Its advocacy has the same evangelical and extreme tone as the Berlitz method, often expressed in a public relations jargon rather than academic discourse, as the following illustrates

Globalisation is moving countries across the world towards a new era, the Knowledge Age. This has resulted in sweeping changes in how societies, and the educational systems that serve them, operate. In the Knowledge Age,

creativity, intelligence, and collectivity become key resources for success (CLIL Consortium, 2010).

It also serves a language policy agenda which many find disturbing. For although in principle any language can be taught this way, in practice the vast majority of CLIL programmes use English, a development which, taken to extremes, ensures that the discourse of the subjects taught in English will cease to develop in other languages. It thus furthers the *de facto* ascendancy of English as the dominant language of the EU, despite the fact that EU policy neither recognises nor encourages this.

In these snapshots from language teaching history which I have used to support my case – direct method, CLT, CLIL – greatest impact tends to be achieved by the most simplistic and crude, commercially and/or politically viable versions of ideas. When this happens, there is a strong case for saying that applied linguistics should engage with such movements in the hope of tempering their extremism. Though this is unlikely to yield a share of the profits or the glory – in fact quite the opposite – it is essential for the academic integrity of an applied discipline. Yet in the current UK research environment, when such situations arise, the incentive is to endorse such movements or join forces with them as a way of scoring points in an exercise which judges research by its impact.

Current dispensation

So far the picture I am painting may seem a very depressing one. I am talking about an applied linguistics whose words are heeded only if they fit in with powerful political or commercial interests. These interests moreover have motives and effects which are not at all driven by academic research and reasoning. Direct method and CLT, for example, by promoting monolingual native-speaker models rather than bilingual international models of English, have demoted non-native-speaker teachers to second-class status, and conceptualised the learning of English as something unrelated to the learner's own language and identity: a substitution rather than an addition.

But what about the current dispensation? Things have moved on since Pit Corder's pioneering work in two ways. We have entered a new era of applied linguistics which is both more assertive and broader. Firstly, applied linguistics no longer regards itself as a-theoretical – a passive conduit along which the insights of academic linguists, suitably dumbed down, can flow into the empty and receptive minds of grateful and obedient language teachers. In line with Widdowson's proposal, it has become an

autonomous area of enquiry, with its own theories, *mediating* between pedagogy and linguistics, and *engaging* with both. Secondly, the scope of applied linguistics is now much larger. It is no longer concerned only with language teaching and learning. This new breadth was succinctly captured by Christopher Brumfit's much quoted definition of applied linguistics as

the theoretical and empirical investigation of real-world problems in which language is a central issue. (Brumfit 1995:27).

In this remit language teaching and learning is but one of many areas of enquiry. It has certainly not disappeared from applied linguistics – far from it – but it is now one area, even if still the biggest, among equals.

This breadth is abundantly clear from the range of topics addressed in applied linguistics conferences and journals, covered by applied linguistics masters degrees or tackled by applied linguistics doctoral students. The discipline's leading journal, *Applied Linguistics*, has a long list of areas from which it "welcomes contributions":

bilingualism and multilingualism, computer mediated communication, conversation analysis, corpus linguistics, critical discourse analysis, deaf linguistics, discourse analysis and pragmatics, first and additional language learning, teaching and use, forensic linguistics, language assessment and testing, language planning and policy, language for specific purposes, lexicography, literacies, multimodal communication, rhetoric and stylistics, translation and interpreting. (*Applied Linguistics* front matter, September 2006 onwards)

This list, if we accept Brumfit's definition, has to be subject to new additions, because as Greg Myers points out in a special issue of *Applied Linguistics* reflecting on that definition:

It is hard to think of any 'real-world' problems – from global warming, to refugees to genetic counselling to outsourced call centres to AIDS/HIV to military intelligence – that do not have a crucial component of language use. (Myers 2005)

His own particular topic in that article – an applied linguistics approach to opinion polling – illustrates this potential breadth very well.

And in this very broad scope of applied linguistics, the picture of whether we have a good or bad influence is perhaps more encouraging. There are surely positive influences.

Take clinical linguistics for example. This is not usually listed as an area of applied linguistics, nor one whose practitioners necessarily see themselves as applied linguists. Yet by Brumfit's definition it is surely archetypal applied linguistics when it interprets academic findings for the professional practice of speech therapy, and mediates between them and the practical concerns of patients and their families. There can be little doubt that speech therapy does a great deal of good in the world, helping children and adults with speech and communication impairment. Clinical linguistics is surely an example of an applied linguistics at its best, and both applied linguistics at large and clinical linguistics itself would benefit greatly if this were widely recognised.

Or take deaf linguistics – an area of enquiry which is listed in *Applied Linguistics*. This is surely an area where theoretical and empirical investigation has had a very positive influence on a very practical problem: namely misconceptions and prejudices about deaf sign languages. Linguistic evidence has been deployed to show decisively that sign languages are as complex - in some ways even more complex - than spoken languages (Sutton-Spence and Woll 1999). Indeed, this is a battle which has largely been won, in that deaf sign languages are now widely respected and recognised for what they are.

So within the broad conception of contemporary applied linguistics, there have definitely been cases of positive influence. Others examples are forensic linguistics, medical communication, and workplace communication. Indeed even in the applied linguistics heartland of language teaching there are moves to create approaches which seek to preserve and integrate students' own linguistic and cultural identity rather than banish them from the classroom as before (Cooke and Simpson 2008, Hall and Cook 2012).

But notice a trend. These areas of greatest influence (which could be described as *impact* for the REF) tend to be dealing with language and communication at the micro level: a child with a therapist, a deaf person in conversation, a doctor with a patient. The picture is less rosy, however, when we think of applied linguistics striving for influence on larger stages – for example language planning and legislation, language education policy or the use of language in political and public debate. Take for example, in the UK, the discourse around demands for English language proficiency as a precondition for British citizenship, the ending of the compulsory study

of a modern foreign language for all under 16s in secondary schools, or attempts to include questions about language in the national census. (In the 2011 UK census there was one woefully inadequate such question, "What is your main language?", with *main language* glossed in the falsely personal style of public relations, as:

Your main language is your first or preferred language. It could be the language you were brought up using, the one you feel most comfortable using, the language you use at home, or the one you use most often.

– a question and an explanation which are so vague and ill-defined that the question is impossible to answer for many bilinguals.)

In these matters of public language policy there is clearly potential for a positive influence and no want of trying on the part of applied linguistics. Many applied linguists struggle valiantly to be heard, to influence national policy, but their voices are all too frequently ignored. Does that lack of success make their research less worthwhile or of lower academic merit than those whose ideas *do* obediently fit in with government policy? My point here echoes my earlier one about language teaching. Research will usually only have an effect if it fits in with some existing policy promoted by some commercial or political power. The researcher who dissents from this policy, and whose ideas do not fit with it, is therefore faced with the choice of either betraying their own ideas, or accepting that they will not have an impact. That is one of many reasons why impact is not a reliable measure of good research.

This raises another endemic problem for the concept of measuring research by its impact. Whether an idea is taken up or not is not within the researcher's control. Nobody can be sure in advance that a piece of research will have impact, unless it has been commissioned with very tight specifications by a non-academic consumer – taking away in the process an essential precondition of good academic research: that it should be disinterested, that conclusions should not be known in advance, that it should have freedom to develop in unforeseen directions.

There is, however, a paradox. Any applied subject needs to be deployed in some way if it is to have validity, and thus needs to make compromises with non-academic criteria, as for example (quite rightly) a speech therapist might take a patient's wishes into account even if they were contrary to clinical linguistic theory, or a good language teacher will not pursue some

theoretically driven notion of language learning if it is unpopular and demotivating with their students.

Nevertheless there must surely be limits to compromise – especially when dealing with the powerful rather than the vulnerable. Seeking to have an effect in the outside world is not the same as abject surrender to powerful demands. Take an extreme example: nuclear physics. Many governments want to recruit its research to the manufacture of nuclear weapons. When physicists comply, they certainly have an impact - hopefully only in the metaphorical sense. Yet many people would applaud the researcher who declined to be involved, or tried to prevent the proliferation of nuclear bombs.

Such differences of opinion about which impacts are good and bad brings me to the second part of this paper, impacts on applied linguistics.

Impacts on applied linguistics

Public Relations (PR)

So in some cases applied linguists have, and in others they strive to have, an influence on "real-world problems in which language is a central issue". This can, in accordance with government demands, be presented as a story illustrating "the impact of applied linguistics". Many British applied linguists are busy trying to do exactly that. One reason is to preserve jobs and save departments from closure. But in this necessary frenzy, there is also a kind of impact which these busy applied linguists tend or even choose to ignore, namely current impacts on applied linguistics. Here *impact* in the sense of a *violent collision* or *the forcing of something into a small space* is the right term.

Earlier well-mannered debates about our discipline concerned directions of influence between three elements: linguistics, applied linguistics, and professional practice. I have already discussed how it was a fourth element, commercial interests, which often had the greater impact. There are another two related forces with which we have to come to terms, especially as they have now become the main determiners of UK academic activity: public relations, and government intervention.

Applied linguistics has a long and impressive record, going back beyond the time of Pit Corder, of complex thinking and detailed investigation of

language use in the real world. That is its *raison d'être*. Its conclusions are by and large rational, rigorous, clear, evidence-based, critical and self-critical. Both as members of a discipline and as individuals, applied linguists have substantial credentials to present themselves as experts, both within their universities, and to the outside world. One would expect them, like those in any other discipline, to react assertively if others without these credentials were to claim the same expertise.

How strange then that within UK universities there have appeared, over the last two decades or so, in the shape of ubiquitous communications units, other language experts, on whom universities rely for advice, and who for their part show neither interest in, nor awareness of, applied linguistic knowledge or expertise, and have little communication with applied linguists within the same university other than to tell them, the supposed academic experts, how to use language. They have foisted upon applied linguists a new way of describing what they do, of which the impact narratives currently being written for the REF are a good example. This follows a national, even international trend. Everyone, from the Prime Minister downwards, needs a director of communications.

These administrative units are big – typically bigger than academic departments teaching and researching applied linguistics. In many universities the former are growing, while the latter are shrinking. Part of the job of communications units involves issuing directives on how to communicate. As one such unit explains:

Our specialised teams work closely with colleagues across the University, providing advice on the most effective approach and appropriate channels to create communications that inform and engage our audiences.

In pursuit of this mission, this same unit issued a 53 page booklet containing rules on writing style to all academic staff. Note that these are *rules* not *recommendations*. For example, academic staff are instructed to:

- write like a person, not an institution
- have the courage to say less
- be fresh and interesting
- keep things simple.

The irony of the fact that this booklet obeyed none of these maxims seems to have escaped its anonymous authors.

Such advice on communication inevitably entails advice on language. Some is rather general:

try to put yourself in a teacher's or civil servant's shoes ... write in the past tense (except for generalisable evidence) ... use short sentences, paragraphs and bullets ... explain all key terms, acronyms and concepts ... ensure titles are transparent about content ... avoid jargon.

and some rather specific:

wherever possible, use the active voice ('we will send the materials to you') rather than the more formal and detached passive voice ('the materials will be sent to you').

This ruling on the use of the passive – a commonplace in non-academic advice on writing, including word-processing 'grammar checkers' – is odd, because passive constructions are a part of the English language with valid functions across a wide variety of discourse. Odder still is the fact that applied linguists let it pass without challenge, when their own investigations tell them that the choice between passive and active is much more complicated than this simplistic dichotomy between formality and informality, or personal and impersonal styles. The passive is common in colloquial and informal language use. A person who comes home to find the TV gone and the drawers open is more likely to say *Oh my God we've been burgled* than *An unknown person has burgled us*. Why do applied linguists let ill-informed and unsubstantiated nonsense about the passive pass unchallenged?

Such misguided advice may seem relatively innocuous, but it can be taken to extremes. Furore and ridicule greeted the 30 page *Tone of Voice Writing Guidelines* document "to guide how we talk and write for the University" issued by the communications team of another university (see Newman 2010). This alternated full-page spreads of trite aphorisms:

"Writing is a lot easier if you have something to say."

"Writing is thinking on paper."

"Words are our most powerful tool ... what's more they are free, available and ready to use."

with patronising and simplistic advice such as "Think about what you are trying to say" and "Divide your work into manageable paragraphs of no more than eight sentences".

Essentially, this communications unit seems bent on forcing its own vacuous PR way of using language onto academics.

PR language

What do I mean by the PR way of using language? That is beyond the scope of this article, but there are some general characteristics which have been noted by sociologists (Moloney 2006) and by applied linguists who have studied it (Cook 2004:62-75, 2008, Mautner 2010a, 2010b). PR language is distinctive at both the macro and the micro level.

At the macro level, prototypical PR is primarily intended to present an individual or an organisation in a favourable light. The overarching characteristics seem to be vagueness, lack of precision, and the presentation only of positive points, without acknowledgement of any weaknesses or counter argument. As in the propaganda of totalitarian regimes from which it directly descends (Moloney 2006:41-57), all news is good news, every harvest is a bumper harvest, and all workers are happy.

At the micro level, these overarching characteristics are realised through a number of linguistic strategies,¹ such as imprecise pre-modifiers (*many people*), modal hedges (*may contribute*) lack of detail (*a poll in 2005*), evaluative terms with imprecise denotation (*beneficial to our customers and to the environment, thoughtful and effective stewardship*); intensifiers (*we place strong emphasis on personal accountability*); measures, comparatives and superlatives without reference points (*fewer calories*); mitigators of numerals (*Some 10 million people shop with us each week in over 375 stores*), superfluous qualifiers, (*Simply tell us where you want to go*), word class conversion (*we aim to deliver best-in-class financial results*) and strange metaphors, such as the agricultural ones used about research (*pump-priming, drilling down, hubs, seed-corn, silos, sandpits* etc) (Cook 2007; Cook, Reed and Twiner 2009).

Is this a use of language which rigorous academic study should imitate? The PR discourse which academics are being urged to use is surely at odds with the ideals of academic discourse: precision, disinterestedness, constructive disagreement, objectivity, self-criticism, freedom to dissent from the corporate view.

It is not surprising of course that university communications units do not consult applied linguists on issues to do with language use and effectiveness, and I am not suggesting that they should. Applied linguists

would comment critically on PR language for its vagueness, its blandness, its omission of evidence, its one-sidedness, and its implicit corporate ideology. There is little scope for a reconciliation, given the deeply entrenched assumptions of university administrations who see themselves as Berlitz style businesses – production lines with *outputs* of successful students and publications, with factory practices such as *quality checks*, and *audits*.

This presence in universities of two incompatible expertises on language is surely a "real-world problem[s] in which language is a central issue". Universities completely ignore their own supposed academic experts on language use when considering their own use of language, and set up a parallel administrative department to tell their academic staff, including applied linguists, how to write.

And we – the applied linguists – do as we are told. We have in effect developed two ways of speaking: one which adheres to the rigour and thoughtfulness which characterises our discipline, and one which meekly accepts the other way of speaking. In this encounter we come across as pathetically passive, rolling over on our backs, and abandoning the principles of our discipline without a fight. This is what Richard Bowring (2011) has described as "the pusillanimous and venal submission" of academics to centrally generated goals. There must be other academic specialists who are wrong footed in the same way. The *Tone of Voice Guidelines* cited above, for example, using an established PR technique, both ask a question "What are principles?" and then answer it. "These are beliefs that you hold dear and would stick to no matter what, even if it cost you money. Just like a person." One might wonder what the philosophy department of the university made of that!

Government control

This ascendancy of a PR approach to communication is part of a larger political and social environment in which universities have existed for some time. PR and political discourse have become intimately intertwined, as the Blair and Cameron administrations have abundantly demonstrated. By setting up bulky administrative offices to dictate the use of language and communication strategies of their staff, UK universities are responding to government directives which can not only demand that they make an impact on the outside world, and give an account of it for approval, but can also determine what kind of impact that should be, and how it is to be defined and described.

It has not always been so. The Haldane principle that decisions about the allocation of research funds should be made by researchers rather than politicians, formulated by a government Committee in 1918, was accepted generally by UK governments for decades, and was still strongly in evidence for example in the Robbins Report of 1963. Although watered down in a series of subsequent reports and ministerial reorganisations from the 1970s onwards (Collini 2011, Pears 2011), its influence has remained very much alive. Only recently has it been unceremoniously abandoned by government, described in 2009 by Lord Willis (chair of the parliamentary Innovation, Universities, Science and Skills Committee) as "dead and out of date" (Newman 2009). The results of this change are evident everywhere - for example, in the recent rows within Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC), whose insistence that research should aim to further "the Big Society" (a government slogan which is itself a good example of PR vagueness) led to the mass resignation of 42 peer reviewers in 2011 (Jump 2011).

Like the old Soviet *nomenclatura*, government control over universities is established and maintained through the power to appoint. Thus the ideological position that the prime function of universities is to service the economy is both expressed and enabled by the appointment of business people to direct university activity. Thus the quango HEFCE (Higher Education Funding Council for England) is headed by Tim Melville-Ross, former Chief Executive of the Nationwide Building Society and former Director General of the Institute of Directors (see also Bogdanor 2006). The recent Independent Review of Higher Education Funding and Student Finance, started under Labour and completed under the Coalition, was headed by Lord Browne, former chief executive of BP.

This government-enabled business stranglehold of universities is constantly tightening, to the extent that it is now hard to imagine a way out. Yet even comparatively recently, other options seemed possible. In a 1995 article, Ben Rampton postulated four possible trajectories for applied linguistics²:

- service to the state ("working on government research and developments contracts or responding in detail to government reports and consultations")
- competition on the market (i.e. taking business sponsorship)

- independent analysis and critique ("close to the liberal ideal of the academic as a detached source of commentary and analysis" – the approach for which I am arguing here)
- [supporting] new social movements ("for example the peace movement, the women's movement, the anti-racist movement, the anti-roads movement")

and argued for a discussion within the discipline of the "risks and opportunities" of each. Sadly, the notion that the ball is in any sense in the academic court now seems very distant. The first two options have been thrust upon all disciplines, without further discussion.

There is a tremendous political irony in this development, as the governments which have imposed this extraordinarily barefaced centralised control are ostensibly ideologically committed to cutting back on big government, while at the same time implementing a degree of political control which was never dreamt of by governments in earlier decades. Thus in the UK the change cuts across, and has little to do with, political labels and party names. There is a continuity across changes of personnel which would put totalitarian one-party states to shame.

"In Service to the Nation", a comparison with the USA

This subordination of research to politics is not only true in the UK however. Let me try to correct a little the rather parochial – and literally insular – scope of this article by comparing the situation in another country, the USA. Following 9/11 the Republican Bush administration established and funded a new Center for Advanced Study of Language (CASL) at the University of Maryland, which – under the tagline "Language Research in Service to the Nation – was dedicated to addressing "the language needs of the intelligence community", and was given the "overarching mission .. to defend and protect our country by improving our language readiness and capabilities". Research in applied linguistics, in other words, was recruited to remedy gaps in knowledge about language thrown up in the metaphorical "war against terror" and actual wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, and in preparation for similar adventures in the future. The idea was that more efficient training of linguists would enhance US surveillance of actual and potential enemies. No change in this policy followed a change of government: this innovation by the Republican right has been maintained by the new Democratic administration. As in many other areas, Obama continues Bush policies.

The purpose of CASL at least has the virtue of being explicit enough for academics to express either support or disapproval for this aim. Some second language acquisition (SLA) experts have expressed approval by taking up posts in the centre. Other applied linguists have been critical (Kramsch 2005). The battle lines here are at least clearly drawn. In the UK the issues are not expressed so clearly; they are more in the PR tradition of keeping things vague. In the UK, it is not only research which has been hijacked, as in CASL, but also the language which is used to talk about it.

Hooray Words

HEFCE describes the importance of impact as follows:

Explicitly recognising the positive impact of excellent research is new to research assessment in higher education (...). Its inclusion reflects [the] policy of maintaining and improving the achievements of the higher education sector, both in undertaking excellent research and in building on this research to achieve demonstrable benefits to the wider economy and society. (HEFCE 2011)

Words exhorting us to achieve such qualities as *excellence*, indeed the word *impact* itself, are much less concrete and much more slippery than those used by CASL to describe its aim of supporting the US intelligence services. They are what philosopher Jamie Whyte describes as *hooray words*: ones which are so general that everyone can agree when they are presented as goals. Hooray words refer to concepts and goals with which everyone will endorse, until one gets down to the detail.

"besides justice, there is peace, democracy, equality, and a host of other ideals that everyone embraces, whatever they believe these ideals to consist in." (Whyte 2003:1-63)

Take, for example, the hooray word *freedom*. Everybody thinks freedom is a good thing. It is when one gets down to detail that disagreements arise. Some people think there should be freedom to carry a gun, freedom not to recycle rubbish, freedom to build on sites of special scientific interest, freedom to shoot birds of prey. Others disagree.

In the PR discourse of educational management, such hooray words are ubiquitous. Consider for example two phrases used by the ESRC (Economic and Social Research Council), revealing how they will "align and shape our strategic research investment on three priority areas" in a document significantly called (as though research were a kind of grocery business) a "delivery plan".

- Economic Performance and *Sustainable Growth*
- Influencing Behaviour and Informing Interventions
- Vibrant and *Fair Society* (ESRC 2011, my emphasis)

Sustainable growth and *fair society* are understood in different ways by different people. Those on the left might think that a *fair society* is one in which the rich are taxed to finance provision for the poor; those on the right that a fair society is one in which the rich will be taxed less and can keep their money for their own uses. If sustainable means *environmentally sustainable*, there are those who believe such *sustainability* is incompatible with *growth*, as indeed it may be incompatible with *fairness*. The argument is made very succinctly by Daly:

In its physical dimensions the economy is an open subsystem of the earth ecosystem, which is finite, nongrowing, and materially closed. As the economic subsystem grows it incorporates an ever greater proportion of the total ecosystem into itself and must reach a limit at 100 percent, if not before. Therefore its growth is not sustainable. The term 'sustainable growth' when applied to the economy is a bad oxymoron – self-contradictory as prose, and unevocative as poetry.
(Daly 1993: 267)

Conclusion

I am not suggesting that individual academics should refuse to take part in the REF, or to make a case for the impact of their work when they are ordered to do so. That would be professional suicide. We need to conform and obey orders to keep our jobs, departments, and even universities, open.

This does not mean, however, that we cannot also challenge the current dispensation, as many academics from other disciplines have done. Applied linguistics needs to stand up for traditions of academic freedom, which were taken for granted in Pit Corder's time, to hold fast to the principles:

- that the worth of good research may not be immediately evident,
- that good research may run counter to establishment values and government policies,
- that some good research may have no impact,
- that a big impact does not necessarily denote good research,

- that informed and rational dissent from establishment values and establishment discourse should be one of the main roles of academics, rather than meekly falling into step behind a government directive.

Nor am I suggesting that applied linguistics (or any applied subject) should withdraw from engagement with the world beyond academia. On the contrary, it must continue as before to seek to influence "real-world problems in which language is a central issue". But that is not the same as having an impact in government terms. Ironically what is described as academic impact is quite the opposite – it denotes academics taking orders from politicians.

This political control is a threat to all disciplines. An additional specific issue for applied linguistics is the role of language in this imposition of control. My view is that applied linguistics will lose all credibility if we fail to comment on the use and abuse of language within and by university management. Why do we accept that we should speak like our communications units, rather than that they should speak like us?

As applied linguists one of our most important functions and skills should be to expose and resist the means of manipulation and manufacture of consent. But it appears that in our response to government taking over university goals, and the infection of academic discourse by the language in which those goals are expressed, we have failed not only the outside world but ourselves very badly indeed.

I do not say this because I am pessimistic but because I believe that the value of academic discourse lies in its difference from political and market discourse. Academics ought to be sceptics and doubters, especially self doubters – that is how the best ideas are tested and proven. At this point in the history of applied linguistics we are both very vulnerable to being taken over by forces beyond our control, and also to betraying our past achievements. There are pitfalls in complacency, and what we need to do is to confront current threats and learn from past mistakes, rather than burying our heads in the ever shifting sands.

Notes

1. Examples here from publicity materials by American Express, Imperial Tobacco, Marks and Spencer, McDonald's, Monsanto, and The Soil Association.
2. The original list is: "service to the state, competition on the market, independent analysis and critique, new social movements". The glosses in inverted commas are from later in the article. Those without inverted commas are my own.

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10

'But I have no idea with my dissertation topic': Participation, Language and Identity in the experience of L2 students in Anglophone Academia

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This paper reports on a participant ethnography which investigates the socialisation of L2 students into Anglophone Academia through a focus on identity formation; it argues for the centrality of course design in enabling such students' legitimate peripheral participation (LPP) (Lave and Wenger, 1991) in the academic community.

The paper rests on two premises: first, that research on the quality of student experience in HE needs to include scrutiny of pedagogy as process rather than simply as performance (Haggis, 2009:101); second, that educational enquiry should serve the moral purpose of "developing educational opportunities and practices", as Edwards (2002:158) argues. Through a fine grained contrastive analysis of two students' experiences in the early stages of the dissertation (choice of topic and drafting proposal), the findings demonstrate how different course designs translate into practices which enable or deny LPP in the academic community.

Drawing on an ecological 'academic literacies' (Lea & Street, 1998), view of academic literacy as being 'not just about texts, but about actions around texts' (Ivanic, 1998:62), I theorise that the 'invisible practice' of academic writing is a social phenomenon, dependent on a far larger number of interactions than is commonly acknowledged. In order to make visible the practices underlying academic writing, I deploy two metaphors. First, I explore the application of Lave and Wenger's (ibid) Community of Practice (CoP) framework to the socialisation experiences of the two case studies. At the same time, I take a poststructuralist view of learning as a process which embodies a dynamic between language, identities, power relations, affordances and agency. Second, I apply Goffman's 'Frontstage, backstage' (1959) metaphor for investigating interaction in institutional life, adding a new dimension, the 'wings'. By tracing development of identities through a narrative view (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004), I argue that it is in this informal social learning space that interactions can provide

or deny affordances for learning, potentially either creating a harmonious relationship between masters and apprentices, or subjecting those with less power to social injustice through ‘symbolic domination’ (Bourdieu, 1991).

In keeping with the tradition of participant ethnography, the study adopted an eclectic, opportunistic approach to data collection from diverse social learning spaces, as shown in figure 10.1 below.

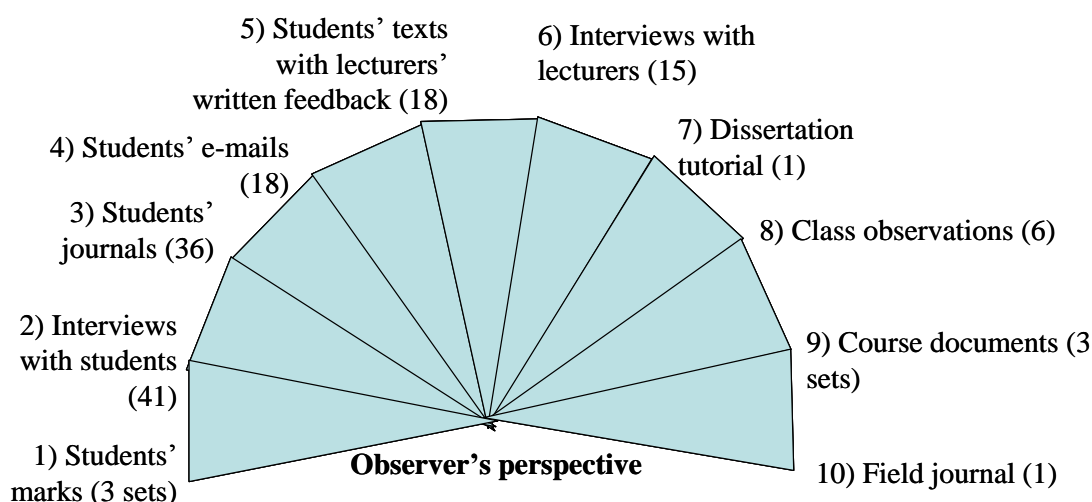


Figure 10.1: Data sets

As progressive focus shifted to the students’ identities, those which I recognised from their narratives were categorised and coded, e.g. ‘literature lover’ and ‘defective communicator’; this focus enabled a contrastive socio - historic view of the case studies’ experience.

In the process of choosing the dissertation topic, the students’ identities can be traced back to the course designs, and the discourses that these rest on. Both see themselves as ‘defective communicators’; on one course, this identity is downplayed by the literacy events supporting the dissertation which rest on the ‘interaction is good for learning’ discourse; on the other, it is the absence of such events, based on the ‘independent learning’ discourse, which serves to emphasise the identity. The two accounts also exemplify how different social spaces are deployed to create affordances for formal and informal learning. While one uses the physical space of the frontstage to set up dialogues on the dissertation which then continue in the physical and virtual spaces of the wings, (thereby taking the responsibility for this), the other assumes that dialogues will automatically take place in the wings (thereby placing the responsibility on the student). This leads to the contrasting framings of ‘competent’ and ‘uneasy’ apprentice.

As Stake argues, “people can find in case reports certain insights into the human condition, even while being well aware of the atypicality of the case” (2005:456). These two accounts provide a number of insights. First, they reveal how, in the invisible practice of academic writing, the artefact of the CoP is dependent on the interactions which support its creation, many of which are fleeting. Second, the findings spotlight the use of different learning spaces and suggest that awareness of this could help us to understand more about the role of interaction in learning. Third, they demonstrate how the power of faculty is wielded in ways which appear subtle but have strong consequences. Often it is what they *don't* do that is harmful. Power and responsibility of faculty, then, begin with course design, which sets the scenario for the learning in the course CoP. A scenario which introduces literacy events for exchange of views and guidance creates relations and identities which can carry on subsequently; if the assumption is that guidance, sought by the student, will automatically be provided, the onus is placed entirely on the student.

This research reveals academic socialisation as a dynamic, two way process in an unstable unpredictable context. Here, successful LPP entails not only producing artefacts, but also, more importantly, the ability to negotiate their production; while students do not automatically become active participants in an academic community, these identities can be positively nurtured through course design. It is through their absence that hegemonic attitudes can be imposed on L2 students in Anglophone Academia.

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11

The position of ELT practitioners in public universities

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Introduction

This paper reports a survey of the academic qualifications and duties of 185 ELT staff in seven Mexican public universities and relates these to the Mexican government's desirable standards for university lecturers in general (PROMEP profile), and then goes on to discuss the implications of the study for professional teacher education.

The study

Data was obtained and analysed for each of the criteria required for a desirable PROMEP profile. It was found that 9% of ELT staff sampled were officially accredited with a desirable PROMEP profile, and that other staff varied from the PROMEP profile in different ways and to different degrees. Nevertheless, many more ELT practitioners (11% of the sample) were found to have the academic qualifications and research background needed for a PROMEP profile, but are not in fact recognized. To place these figures in context, in our university 50% of the whole academic staff have a PROMEP profile. In addition to their teaching duties, 28% of the sample had the desirable postgraduate qualifications, 48% had published, 25% did research, 19% had directed degree theses and 32% had held positions of responsibility in their institutions. Having a PROMEP profile brings benefits to both staff and institutions so the low level of recognition of ELT practitioners within their universities and at national level must be due to other factors. Although the present study was carried out in a particular country, Mexico, the issues raised are of international concern.

Applied linguistics and teacher professionalism

The duties of ELT practitioners in tertiary education are in some respects similar to those of faculty in departments of medicine or architecture, as they include the education of future professionals as well as doing and publishing research.

However, professionalism in language teaching remains an under-researched and under-conceptualized area. For Freeman & Richards (1993) the work of language teaching may be classified as scientifically-based, theory- and value-based, or art/craft-based. The way in which teaching is conceptualized is fundamental to identifying the knowledge, skills and attitudes required of teachers, and consequently accrediting courses leading to suitable qualifications. Widdowson (1990:32) and Ur (1997) point out that the academic qualifications of teachers and their teaching skills are quite separate issues. Ur (1997) distinguishes professionalism in teaching from academic roles as well as from amateur or untrained teachers and highlights both reflective practice and membership of a discourse community as indicators of professionalism in teaching. Farmer (2006) focuses on service reliability, while Pennington's (1992) call for teacher accountability centres on outcomes rather than service criteria. Tsui's (2003) criteria for expert teachers concentrate on craft skills as well as reflective practice, while Yates & Muchisky (2003) place more emphasis on linguistic competence and knowledge about language, so that their criteria are more closely linked to an academic profile.

The professional duty of care

Departments of architecture and medicine enjoy a respectable status within universities, and the basis for their academic respectability may usefully be explored. What distinguishes ELT practitioners from counterparts in medicine and architecture may have less to do with the knowledge, or lack of it, available to professionals than with professional systems of accountability. Work in applied linguistics aimed at identifying, codifying and disseminating teacher craft knowledge (for instance Freeman & Richards 1993; Tsui 2003; Ur 1997) has perhaps led to making teacher education excessively teacher centred, even where learner centred teaching is explicitly endorsed. Teachers are taught by teachers to do what teachers do, in a closed system that tends to exclude effective accountability to either individual service users or the society as a whole.

Professionals in medicine and architecture, on the other hand, need the scientific and craft knowledge that allows them to meet their duty of care commitments, and those commitments are decided by the society through the court system, not by professional bodies (Dingwall & Fenn 1987).

A new direction for applied linguistics?

A duty of care approach to teaching would produce some interesting deviations from present teacher education paradigms, especially in the areas of administrative duties, teaching innovation, learner motivation and evaluation of learning. In the bureaucratic systems that many teacher's work within, administrative duties may consist mainly of providing evidence that teachers are doing what they are contracted to do. A learning centred administration, on the other hand, would document what is happening to learners, detecting learning problems and taking action. Innovation is highly valued in current teaching paradigms, but is rare in professional contexts. For a professional, any failure to predict accurately who may be helped or harmed by an innovative practice, how much and in what circumstances, may amount to professional negligence.

Conclusion

The lack of professional recognition of ELT practitioners is partly attributable to poor understanding of the knowledge base of teaching, and partly to a reluctance of practitioners themselves to assume the responsibilities accepted by other professions. However bureaucratic universities may become under political pressure, professions and academic professionals have their own systems of responsibility which legitimise their activities and the care they extend to the society. There may be a substantial role for applied linguistics in determining exactly what that responsibility should consist in within a language teaching profession.

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12

Measuring L2 English Phonological Proficiency: Implications for Language Assessment

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Introduction

The acquisition of pronunciation is an important aspect of developing L2 spoken language competence. Relatively little is known, however, about the way in which phonological and prosodic proficiency is acquired and displayed across proficiency levels. The Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR; Council of Europe, 2001), for example, provides little guidance about key phonological and prosodic features of learner speech: ‘Pronunciation’ is absent from the CEFR Spoken Language Use scale (p. 28-29) and only skeletal descriptors can be found in the ‘Phonological control’ scale (p. 117). More empirical work, therefore, is needed to describe and understand the development of pronunciation of L2 learners across proficiency levels.

The aim of the present research is to address this issue through an investigation of key distinguishing features of phonological and prosodic competence at the different CEFR levels. The research questions are (1) how reliably can levels of pronunciation ability be discriminated in L2 speech and (2) what pronunciation measures have the highest discriminative properties across proficiency levels. Such an investigation would shed light on pronunciation criteria that need to be considered within an assessment context.

Data

The dataset for this pilot study contains speech samples from 16 English learners from 3 typologically different L1 backgrounds and 4 CEFR levels, see Table 12.1.

L1/Level	German	Spanish	Korean
A2	x	2	x
B1	2	2	2
B2	2	2	2
C1	x	2	x

Table 12.1: Dataset

The participants represent ‘average’ learners at each level and were selected from video-recorded benchmarked speaking test performances used for examiner training. The elicitation tasks included description of a visual task (at B1-C1) and an information gap task (at A2). A 60-second speech sample per participant was analysed for this pilot study. This paper will present the preliminary findings for the 8 L1 Spanish learners of English.

Method

The pronunciation measures under investigation were selected to be cross-linguistically valid and included:

1. A set of systemic properties that differ cross-linguistically:
 - a. Sound segments and syllable structures:
English has richer and more complex inventories of sound segments and syllable structures than most other languages including Spanish.
 - b. Sentence stress (accentuation) and boundary marking:
Both the placement and the realisation of these vary between languages.
2. A set of rhythm metrics which reflect cross-linguistic differences in timing:
Languages have different characteristic rhythms, traditionally referred to as ‘stress timing’ and ‘syllable timing’ (Pike 1945, Abercrombie 1967) due to differences in their phonological properties, such as syllable structure (Roach 1982, Dauer 1983, 1987), and also to prosodic properties like accentuation and boundary marking (Prieto et al., in press). A number of metrics have been developed to quantify these rhythmic differences, and they have been successfully applied in research on child speech, clinical speech, and L2 speech (White and Mattys 2007, Payne et al. in press). In this study, the rhythm metrics V% (the proportion of vocalic intervals in the utterance), Varco-V and Varco-C (variability in vocalic/consonantal interval duration), and nPVI-C

(variability in the duration of consonantal intervals, normalised for speaking rate) were used.

The analysis was carried out with the speech processing software Praat (Boersma & Weenink, 2010). An example of the segmental and prosodic labelling is given in Figure 12.1.

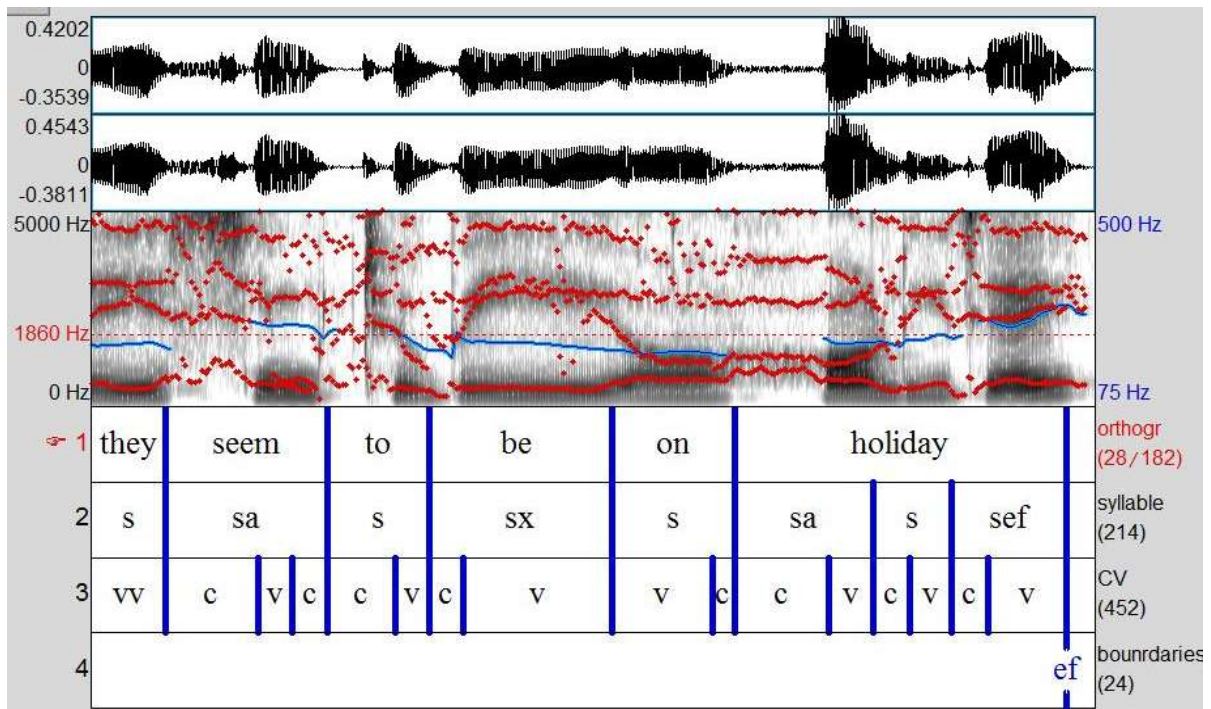


Figure 12.1: Praat segmental and prosodic labelling: an example

The first tier contains orthographic transcription. The second tier marks each syllable as unaccented (s), accented (sa), phrase-final (sef), accented/phrase-final (saef), or hesitated (sx). In the third tier, each vowel and consonant was segmented primarily by visual inspection of speech waveforms and wideband spectrograms. This procedure was carried out with reference to standard criteria (e.g. Peterson & Lehiste 1960). The fourth tier contains the phrasing information, i.e. beginning and end of an intonational phrase.

Three annotators worked on the segmental and prosodic labelling of the data, achieving an inter-coder agreement of 97%.

Findings

The rhythm metrics scores of L2 English utterances produced by the L1 Spanish learners are shown in Figure 12.2.

The graph shows that the scores of V% decrease and the scores of Varco-C and nPVI-C increase, which reflect an overall progression across levels. In other words, as learners progress up the levels, they are better able to produce the various types of consonant clusters typical of English speech without vowel insertion or consonant deletion; therefore, the relative vocalic percentage in their speech decreases and the variability in the durations of consonantal intervals increases.

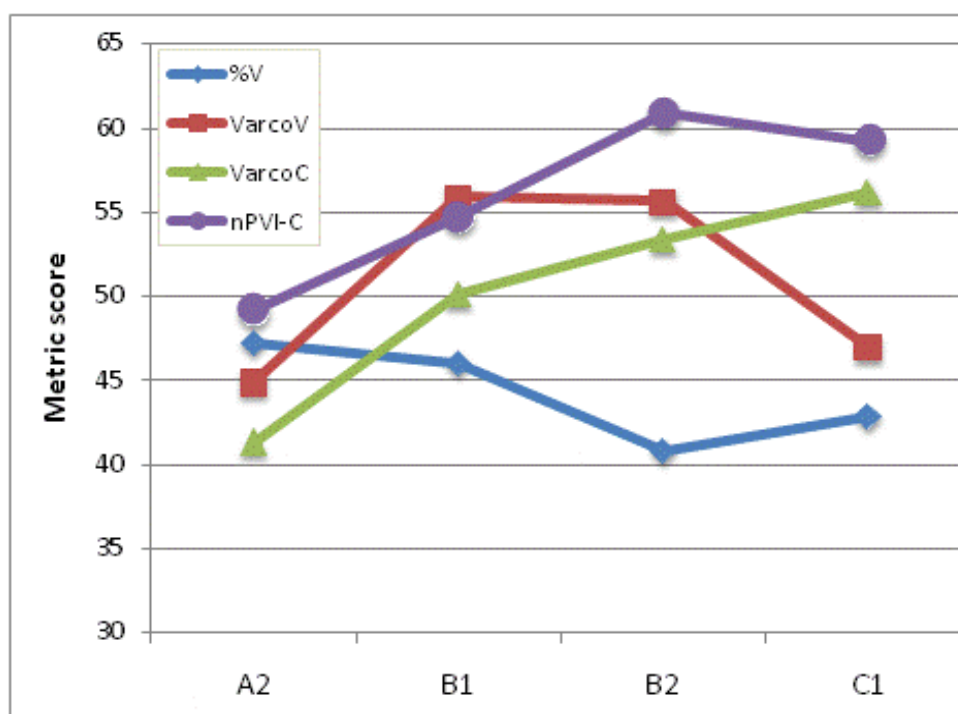


Figure 12.2: Rhythm metrics scores of Spanish L1 learners

However, Varco-V doesn't follow the expected rising trend and drops down at higher levels. The initial findings about how the Spanish learners mark the accented syllables might explain why the scores of vocalic variability (Varco-V) do not show progression at higher levels.

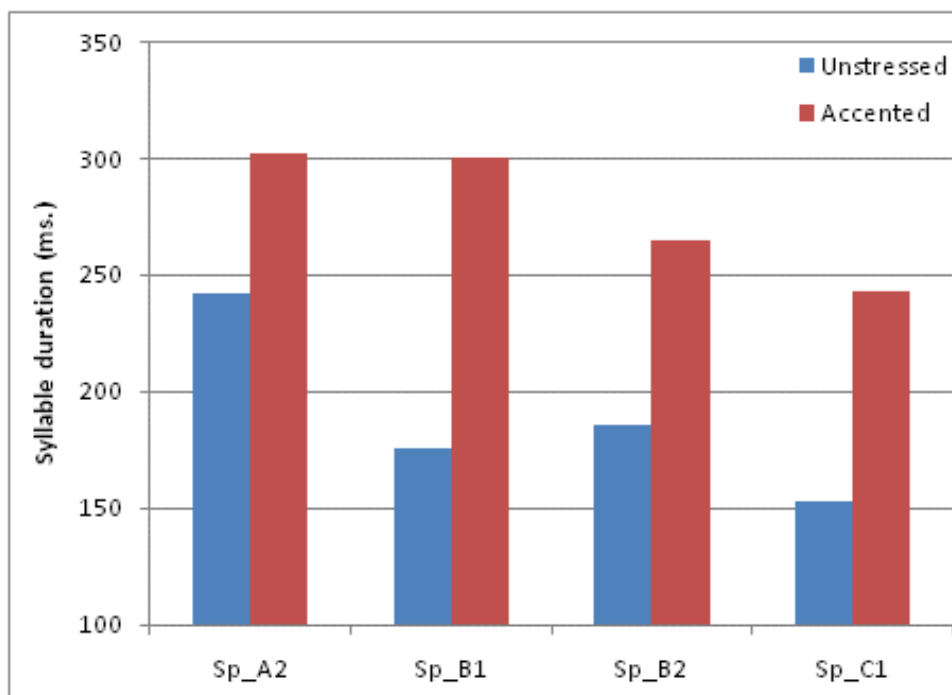


Figure 12.3: Accented and unaccented syllables in Spanish L1 learners.

Figure 12.3 demonstrates that the Spanish learners learn to differentiate more between unstressed and accented syllables when they become more proficient. The B1 level learners implement this by shortening their unstressed vowels. However, at higher levels, learners decrease the durations of their accented syllables, which in turn reduces the vocalic variability of their utterances.

Based on the findings of this pilot study, we can tentatively speculate that levels of pronunciation ability can be objectively discriminated in L2 speech across a range of proficiency levels, and the rhythm metrics investigated here seem to play a role as distinguishing features between levels. A better understanding of the properties which characterise different levels for pronunciation could provide valuable insights for language assessment and make largely generic assessment criteria for pronunciation (as seen, for example, in the CEFR 2001) explicit and more quantifiable, and could play an important role in enhancing the reliability of raters and the validity of the assessment overall.

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13

Facilitating anxiety in the EFL classroom: the other side of the coin

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Research on English language classroom anxiety (ELCA) has mostly highlighted its debilitating nature stemming from learners' low self-esteem, demanding oral classroom tasks, and unfriendly lockstep teaching environments, and resulting in learners' low achievement in EFL (Horwitz, 2000, 2001; Horwitz, Horwitz, & Cope, 1986). However, language anxiety should also be viewed as having a facilitating effect or even no effect at all on learners' performance (Dörnyei, 2005). The 'no effect' position largely originated from Sparks and Ganschow's (1991) Linguistic Coding Deficit/Differences Hypothesis (LCDH) stating that high performance in foreign language learning depends on learners' cognitive abilities, L1 deficiencies, and aptitude.

On the contrary, facilitating anxiety was shown to interact with learner motivation and amount of effort invested in learning (Chastain, 1975; Kleinmann, 1977). What facilitating anxiety actually represents is a kind of alertness (Young, 1992), positive energy (Aida, 1994), and tension or arousal (Ehrman, 1996) from the part of the learners in EFL situations. More recent research indicated that students experience both euphoric and dysphoric tension in the foreign language classroom; the former poses a challenge to the learners, but it is controllable and promotes positive and successful encounters with the language (Spielman & Radnofsky, 2001). Criticism to facilitating anxiety though has been made by Horwitz (2010, p. 154) who argued that "it is intuitive that anxiety would inhibit the learning and/or production of a second language" and that Kleinmann's (1977) study "unfortunately" indicated that "language students must be made a little anxious so that they will work harder" (p. 156).

To investigate the effect of facilitating anxiety on Greek EFL learners' classroom performance as well as the reasons why teachers occasionally make their students anxious, focus group interviews were conducted with twelve EFL teachers and nine EFL students in private language school settings in Greece. The focus groups were formed by using pre-existing groups, that is colleagues and classmates. The researcher opted for the

implementation of focus group interviews due to the self-disclosure, dynamism, and stimulation that they display when efficiently deployed in applied linguistics research. The data were analysed through qualitative thematic analysis with the researcher implementing two levels of coding.

Interpretation of the findings revealed that facilitating anxiety caters for high intrinsic learner motivation, a keen focus, and evident on-task behaviour in class:

“Anxiety, on the one hand, has certain positive aspects. It makes me want to succeed and learn more about the language. I want to know everything”.

“And this is what I call creative anxiety. Everything comes to my mind and I am completely on task”.

“Productive anxiety makes me want to be perfect and self-confident. If I am anxious, I trust myself and my capacities”.

Setting clear objectives is also energised by being positively pushed forward:

“Being laid back does not always benefit us, the students. You need to be anxious sometimes and this helps you to set some goals. The more relaxed you are the less work you produce. Because you think that you will work harder next time, and then next time. And you end up completing your course without any progress at all”.

Evaluating facilitating anxiety from the instructor’s perspective, the teachers themselves reported using it in order to give students a motive for learning:

“When I am stressed, I can work. When I am not stressed at all, I don’t work at all. And this is what I am trying to make my students think, that they can be stressed up to a point, just to start working”.

The teachers also revealed that facilitating anxiety successfully works among adult learners:

“In adult learners you can see that they have already found their own ways to cope with stress and that’s why it works positively for them”.

To sum up, the present study aimed at investigating the under-researched facilitating side of ELCA. The results corroborated previous research and highlighted that pedagogical programs should not only limit themselves to reducing anxiety, but also seek ways to maximise it cognitively. Future studies could examine the correlation between facilitating anxiety and

performance, or look at this relation in a context – for instance, EFL learning among young learners – where certain variables would differ.

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14

Relevance and Influence of Phraseological Phenomena in Native and Non-native Text Production

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A native-like linguistic competence is often quoted as one of the main objectives of advanced language teaching. Yet despite a good command of lexis and syntax, few learners become truly proficient users of their selected target language. “It’s not wrong but it’s not proper English either” is what students often hear (Wray, 2000). Therefore this study took a closer look at learners’ lexical choice with respect to language perception in general and judgment of nativeness in particular.

A special focus concentrated on phraseological phenomena, which are - as Hausmann (1984) already pointed out thirty years ago - particularly challenging for learners of a foreign language. In more recent studies Waible (2008) and de Cock (1999) were able to show that native speakers and learners of English use indeed different phraseological expressions and are therefore easy to identify. Yet, Mittmann (2004) argues that this would also be true for speakers from different varieties of English, so the question remains, if these differences play any role as far as the judgment of a speaker’s linguistic ability is concerned.

In a corpus-based analysis a database of over 120 non-native and native texts has been analysed according to characteristic phraseological features. These results were then used as a basis for a more qualitative approach: Following the methodology of Herbst (1992), native and non-native teachers of English as well as native and non-native speakers without any background in EFL teaching were asked to evaluate a sample of eight texts. These texts were all based on the same picture story and written by more and less competent L1 and L2 speakers of English. With the help of an online questionnaire these short stories were then subdivided into short paragraphs, which the participants assessed and ranked in terms of “nativeness”.

In most cases, correct English phrasing did indeed have an impact on the perception of its reader. Unsurprisingly, native speakers of English have

hardly any problems to identify texts written by non-native speakers of English. However, this study also suggests that phraseological mistakes and a wrong choice of register give away the identity of the writer even more clearly than grammatical errors do. Furthermore, L1 teachers of English tend to be more tolerant in their evaluation than non-native speakers are; especially with phrases, which are quite close to their own mother tongue in wording and structure. On the other hand non-native speakers without an EFL background are more easily misled by a very confident, non-learner-stereotypical style.

These findings support two suggestions, namely, once more the assertion that there is in fact such a thing as a learner group specific phraseology and that native like phraseology within a text does not only trigger a corresponding evaluation of the authors background but also that these factors are partly more influencing than for example grammar. Hence the use of native-like phraseology within a text seems to be a rather influential factor, which should be taken into consideration in the assessment of linguistic competence as well as foreign language teaching and teacher training.

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15

Phonics or fun?

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Is our preoccupation with decoding and analysis in the teaching of reading killing our children's sheer enjoyment of engaging with books?

The announcement of Michael Grove in November 2010 that there will be 'a light touch phonics-based test for all year 1 pupils in England' is predicated on the premise that failure to achieve in reading is directly correlated to phonemic awareness. This initiative follows as a direct result of the recommendations of the Rose Report (2008) that the Searchlights approach to the teaching of reading should be replaced by programmes designed to teach purely synthetic phonics.

In direct contradiction, however, are the findings of the recently published Tickell Review of the Early Years Foundation Stage (EYFS) recommending that such testing of 5 year olds should be scrapped. The findings of the review acknowledge that, whilst recent early years strategies for the teaching of phonics had been successful this has not led to an increase in standards of reading.

'There is ... evidence to show that if children are to develop reading skills, they continue to need a balanced range of experiences which support their social and emotional needs'.

Whitehead 2009 as cited in the Tickell Review

In order to be fluent readers children do need to learn basic decoding skills, however, due to the phonemic variation within the English language, children develop their reading skills through a multi faceted approach. By the rigid application of a rule based system, there is a danger that children will become frustrated by their own efforts, thus put off the sheer enjoyment that books can bring and become part of a world where written words seem to be enemies rather than friends.

Furthermore the Tickell review recommends that play is the best vehicle for developing learning. Through such, in line with Vygotsky's Social Learning Theory (1934) children gain social and communication skills. By engaging with books as a naturally occurring part of the learning

environment, young children learn the basic concepts of how books operate whilst listening to a wide range of stories and rhymes support the development of listening skills. If these are approached holistically then there becomes a natural symbiosis of the underpinning prerequisites that will lead to emergent literacy skills. It is imperative that teachers are mindful that the process of learning to read is more complex than the mere acquisition of a subset of task analysis type skills.

Current literacy policies seem to be regardless of the raft of pedagogy which underpins our knowledge of children's reading and allow only cursory acknowledgement of children's Readiness to Learn. Having moved forward from the highly prescriptive nature of the Literacy Hour, the introduction of the synthetic phonics approach has merely served to continue the phonics debate. Vygotsky's (1934) metaphor of the analysis of water is apt here. Whilst we can reduce the components of water to the elements of Hydrogen and Oxygen, individually these do not give an indication of the true nature of water.

In considering the diametrically opposed recommendations of the Tickell Review and the Rose Report it is imperative to explore the politicisation of literacy policies. The government, driven by employers demanding higher levels of literacy skills in school leavers, has invested much cultural capital in the raising of standards. However, who should be the gatekeepers of pedagogy in informing government initiated reviews?

In a press release from the National Union of Teachers on 22nd November 2010, Christine Blower stated:

'It is this government's obsession with synthetic phonics that appears to be driving this latest announcement ... if children who don't do well in the tests just getting more of the same type of phonics teaching will not be of use to them'

Who, in fact, are the expert witnesses that government funded review committees? Within Higher Education the agenda driving Research Informed Teaching and the pressures to engage in Research that has impact, would suggest that academics in the field of pedagogy are in the best position to advise on policies. This is not, however, always reflected in the panel members of governmental reviews. There is a need to be sceptical when advisers themselves may have a vested commercial interest in the outcomes of any recommendations. There has indeed been an explosion of

new materials as publishers have leapt on the band wagon of the latest initiative.

In summary, according to Hannah Richardson (2011) BBC news education reporter:

The test-run of a new primary school reading check suggests two-thirds of pupils are likely to fail it when it is introduced in England next year.

If this statistic proves to be true, this only serves to question not only purpose and process in the teaching of reading but also appropriate forms of assessment. A pragmatic and creative approach is needed in order to fire children's enthusiasm for reading.

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16

Accents of English and Listening Comprehension: Evidence of Conflict between ELT Handbooks and Teachers' Practices

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Introduction

Listening to and processing the pronunciation of speakers of different native and non-native varieties of English presents a challenge for many learners; as Buck (2001: 35) puts it: "L2 listeners sometimes have considerable problems when they hear a new accent for the first time... an unfamiliar accent can make comprehension almost impossible for the listener". Nevertheless, the existence of different regional varieties of English in one country and the emergence of World Englishes create the need for learners of English to be able to understand a wide variety of accents. Thus, the general consensus among authors of recently published and currently used ELT handbooks (for example, see Celce-Murcia & Olshtain, 2001 or Harmer, 2007) is that accent is a very important variable in listening comprehension and exposure to different accents of English must be achieved through the listening element of any language course (for further information, see Kanellou, 2009).

Research Methodology

In order to discover if EFL teachers share this view and if this is reflected in their teaching practices, a questionnaire was completed by a representative sample of 47 EFL teachers in Thessaloniki, Greece. One questionnaire question explored the extent to which teachers are aware of the need to expose learners to various accents of English and another question explored the extent to which such an exposure takes place in the language classroom. The mean response for each questionnaire item was calculated and the paired-samples t-test was undertaken in order to determine if any differences in the scores were statistically significant. Interviews were conducted with 12 out of the 47 teachers that participated in the questionnaire survey in order to discuss the questionnaire results.

Results

The questionnaire results indicate that the perceived importance of the learners' exposure to a standard British or American accent was greater compared to the learners' exposure to standard regional, non-standard regional, or non-native accents of English (see Table 16.1). A similar pattern emerged in the teachers' responses in terms of the frequency of learners' exposure to various accents of English through the listening material of the course (see Table 16.2). Even though nowadays English is primarily used for communication among non-native speakers of English (see Jenkins, 2000), *non-native accents of English* received the lowest rating of all questionnaire items (see Table 16.2).

	N	Mean	Std Dev
Native speakers of a standard British variety, i.e. Received Pronunciation	47	1.62	0.945
Native speakers of a standard American variety, i.e. General American	46	1.67	1.055
Native speakers of standard regional varieties of English, e.g. Scottish, Northern	46	2.61	0.977
Native speakers of non-standard regional varieties of English e.g. Cockney	46	3.17	1.141
Non- native (e.g. Italian, Bulgarian) but fluent speakers of English	46	3.11	1.197

Table 16.1: Perceived importance of exposure to a variety of accents of English through the listening material of the course (1 = extremely important; 5 = not at all important)

	N	Mean	Std Dev
Native speakers of a standard British variety	47	1.74	0.871
Native speakers of a standard American variety	47	2.02	0.989
Native speakers of standard regional varieties of English	44	2.91	1.178
Native speakers of non-standard regional varieties of English	44	3.70	1.091
Non-native but fluent speakers of English	46	3.78	1.172

Table 16.2: Frequency of exposure to a variety of accents of English through the listening material of the course (1 = always; 5 = never)

Discussion & Conclusions

This study demonstrated that ELT handbook writers' views have had little impact on EFL teachers' practices and the interview data helped reveal the reasons behind the teachers' preferences and practices. The great gap that emerged between ELT writers' recommendations and EFL teachers' views and practices was mainly attributed to the teachers' preoccupation with exam preparation; the priority attached to certain accents over others reflected the priority of the exams distributed by the major EFL examination boards. For example, the language of the 'Examination for the Certificate of Proficiency in English' (ECPE), an advanced-level general test of English as a foreign or second language by the University of Michigan's English Language Institute (ELI) is "Standard American English" (see Irvine-Niakaris, 2009: 4). Furthermore, the listening material available as part of the courses taught by the teachers of this study mainly exposed learners to standard British or American accents; exposure to non-native accents was not viewed as an important element of the 'listening' part of any of the Cambridge and Michigan EFL exams and, thus, there were hardly any materials available in this respect.

If a greater variety of native and non-native accents of English is included in the listening component of professionally designed English language tests, then we can anticipate that a wide variety of native and non-native accents of English will begin to feature in the listening materials used in class; changes made by major EFL exam boards will be followed by changes in listening materials and teachers' practices. Since teachers, at least in some contexts, focus on helping learners obtain an English language certificate, which the learners will use in the future as proof of their competence in English, the onus is on the major EFL examination boards to ensure that one aspect of that competence relates to learners having gained a degree of familiarity with a wide variety of accents of English.

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17 **Third Language Acquisition: L3 proficiency as a factor in Cross Linguistic Influence**

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This paper examines cross-linguistic influence (CLI) in oral and written L3 productions of British university students. In common with other students of German in Great Britain, the majority of students at the School of Modern Languages in Bangor, studying German, have English as L1, French as their L2 and German as their L3.

The purpose of this paper is to report on findings of a study carried out with first and third year students of German at Bangor University. The written and oral work collected for the purpose of this study is, as one might call it, “authentic academic data” and consists of essays, short texts, presentations and interviews. The aim of the study is to investigate if the L3 proficiency level is a key variable in CLI, therefore beginners’ and intermediate students’ productions were analysed.

Error Analysis in some form has been used as a tool by a number of researchers in the field of Third Language Acquisition who investigate Cross Linguistic Influence or transfer. In SLA researchers employ frameworks to describe learners’ errors such as James’ (1998). In TLA the majority of studies focus on the area of lexis (e.g. De Angelis & Selinker, 2001; Cenoz, 2001; Ringbom, 2001, 2006; Tremblay, 2006) and researchers either simply list the types of lexical deviation encountered, based on a descriptive grammar of the target language, or they use classifications such as Ringbom’s (2001), for analysing lexical transfer, such as language switches, coinage, deceptive cognates, semantic extensions and calques or Hufeisen’s (1998), whose framework allows categorizing deviations on all linguistic levels, from the grapheme and morpheme level to the text level, and of three different types, namely syntactic, semantic and pragmatic. For this study Hufeisen’s framework was amended and Ringbom’s classification integrated, which resulted in the following framework below (table 17.1).

Transfers of an L1 or L2 word form, or parts of it, to the L3 are included in categories 1 to 7, transfer of meaning, e.g. semantic extensions, calques and

collocational transfer from either source language to the L3 are part of categories 8-14. Category 15 to 21 contain deviations, which one might prefer to describe as “infelicities”, such as contracted or shortened forms, incorrect style and sign posting.

	Form	Meaning	Pragmatic
Grapheme/morpheme	1	8	15
Morpheme	2	9	16
Lexeme	3	10	17
Phrase	4	11	18
Clause	5	12	19
Sentence	6	13	20
Text	7	14	21

Table 17.1: Framework for analysis

The results show that the main areas of CLI in the L3 from an L1 or L2 at both levels are transfers of form, followed by transfers of meaning. The number of pragmatic transfers was too small to be statistically significant.

Generally the amount of CLI found in the data is relatively low. Only between 2.26 and 4.62 words per hundred words that were produced can be traced back to transfer from the L1 or L2. These quantities, which vary according to stage of learning and task type, are similar to the ones found in other studies, such as Tremblay (2006), Lindqvist (2009), Marx (2000) and Piller (2001).

The results suggest that in oral productions the L3 proficiency level is decisive for the use of other languages in at least two ways. First, the amount of all types of CLI (from L1, L2 and L1/L2) decreases with increasing L3 proficiency. This result is in line with previous studies on transfer, which report that less proficient students present more CLI. Second, regarding the type of transfer, combined (formal) CLI seems to be the main type of CLI in beginners. It seems that the reinforcing effect that formal similarities between two languages can have is particularly strong in beginners. In intermediate students the L1 is the main source of transfer of both form and meaning.

In the written productions, however, L3 proficiency does not seem to have a major influence on the quantity and quality of CLI. The figures are very similar at the two stages. L1 is the main source of transfer, followed by combined CLI and then CLI from L2, transfer of form is the main type of transfer, followed by transfer of meaning.

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18 **Enterprise culture as Projected in Mission Statements of Educational Institutions: A Functional Perspective**

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Introduction

The study aims at revealing the components of enterprise culture as reflected in mission statements, drawing upon systemic functional grammar (Halliday, 1994; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). Keat (1990: 4) defines enterprise culture as (a) the reconstruction of a wide range of institutions along business lines; and (b) the conduct of the individual, who should develop and exhibit ‘enterprising’ qualities, such as personal responsibility, independence, resourcefulness and self-discipline. Since a mission statement is primarily a reporting genre influenced by the colonization of the promotional genre (Bhatia, 2004: 84), and “decidedly persuasive” (Williams, 2008: 100), it is assumed that the departure point for identifying enterprise culture components is the analysis of mission statements within the Ethos Model suggested by (Isaksson and Jørgensen, 2010) and built on Aristotle’s ethos concepts (Aristotle, 1932 cited in Williams, 2008:101).

Method

Twenty four Mission statements are collected from websites of Egyptian private and public universities, 12 from each. Each text is analyzed into clauses, finite and non finite, and each clause into its main constituents (a) Process Type, mainly Material and Relational; and (b) Participants: Actor and Goal/Beneficiary/Client. According to Process Types and Participants, each clause is coded as representing:

- (a) Appeals for communicating ethos of Expertise, Trustworthiness, and Empathy expressed respectively by the rhetorical strategies of Self Promotion, Self Characterization, and Self-Sacrifice (Isaksson and Jørgensen, 2010: 230-1);
- (b) Enterprise culture components: (i) Commercial Enterprise, i.e. the tendency to run the educational institutions as a commercial

enterprise, “adopting a form of ‘enterprising managerialism’” (Mayr, 2008: 26); or (ii) Enterprising Qualities referring to the role of university as an Initiator in enabling stakeholders to acquire enterprising qualities. Lack of either component is coded as Ø Enterprise.

Total number of clauses analyzed are 157: 92 (58.6%) by private universities and 65 (41.4%) by public universities.

Results and Discussions:

On the basis of the ethos appeals analysis (table 18.1), enterprise culture components are identified.

Ethos Qualities	Rhetorical Strategy	Appeal	Public universities		Private universities		Total	
			No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Expertise	Self Promotion	Presence/resource	29		47		76	
		World knowledge	11		11		22	
		Knowledge/skills	2		17		19	
		Abilities/attributes	1		1		2	
		Entitlements/enhancements	0		1		1	
		Total		43	27.4	77	49	120
Trustworthiness	Self characterization	Integrity	11	7	8	5.1	19	12.1
Empathy	Self sacrifice	Attention	11	7	7	4.5	18	11.5
	Total		65	41.4	92	58.6	157	100

Table 18.1: Distribution of ethos rhetorical strategies:

The frequent use of Self Promotion (120 clauses, i.e. 75%), expressed mostly by the appeal of Presence/Resources (76 clauses, 47.5%) which refers “to any description, recommendation, offering or praising of products, services or specialization offered by the corporation” (Isaksson and Jørgensen, 2010: 231) indicates that universities, especially private ones, are being committed to do or doing several actions that promote their image and activities.

The commercial component is identified by grammatical and lexicosemantic features that express positive appraisal of services:

1. Carrier + Relational Process + Quality Attribute + Material Process (perfective or imperfective aspect) + Goal + Circumstances
The university is committed to teaching and research, and offers exceptional liberal arts and professional education in a cross-cultural environment.
2. Carrier + Relational: Attributive: Intensive + Attribute
The University is a premier English-language institution of higher learning.
3. Nominal Group [Epithet + Thing(Noun)] : *a leading institution; outstanding products; highly qualified graduates; exceptional liberal arts and professional education; Non-traditional study programs; pragmatic and innovative solutions; World class graduates*
4. Thing (Noun) + Prepositional phrase [Post-Modifier/Qualifier]: *a taste of quality; superiority/excellence in teaching; ticket to a bright future; research of the highest caliber.*
5. Nominal Group [Epithet + Thing(Noun)] + Prepositional phrase [Post-Modifier/Qualifier]: *A British-style education of the highest quality*
6. Non-Finite Verbal Group: *to move forward; maximizing;*
7. Paratactic Verbal Group Complexes: *to sustain and provide; recruit, develop and retain.*

The role of university in instilling enterprising qualities in students and community is recognized through several structural patterns, where the university acts as an Actor/Initiator:

1. Material Process (enabling) + Beneficiary/Client + Material Process + Goal
enables students to develop advanced knowledge and skills, provide leadership and service for their communities, and improve the productivity of their organizations.
2. Material Process + Beneficiary/Client + Goal
to instill in them (students) critical thinking

3. Material Process + Beneficiary/Client (Epithet + Thing)
(University) produce the most comprehensively prepared, multidisciplinary and innovative graduates.
4. Material Process + Beneficiary/Client + Goal + Material Process
Provide world class graduates with the ability to compete and excel
5. Actor + Material Process + Goal + Beneficiary/Client
University builds a cultural of leadership among its graduates.

Comparing enterprise culture components in public and private universities (tables 18.2 and 18.3) revealed the findings:

1. Public universities tend to show Ø Enterprise and Commercial Enterprise with almost similar percentages (respectively 41.5% and 40%). The Ø Enterprise attitude may be attributed to the fact that public universities do not have to market their services since governmental education is state-funded and students pay nominal fees. However, they still find it essential to enhance their image, possibly for accreditation purposes, by projecting Commercial Enterprise attitude.
2. In contrast, Commercial Enterprise component seems to dominate private universities mission statements (73.9%), mostly realized by Self-Promotion (61.9%), while the Ø Enterprise attitude tends to diminish (7.6%).
3. Both public and private universities are inclined to adopt similar trend towards the Enterprise Qualities component, with relatively low percentage (18.5%), disregarding the Egyptian Higher Education Enhancement Plan (HEEP) which has explicitly referred to these qualities as ‘Higher Education Goals’ (www.heep.edu.eg/about-heep.htm#1).

Rhetorical strategy	Appeal	Commercial Enterprise		Enterprising Qualities		Ø Enterprise		Total	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Self promotion	Presence/resource	7		11		11		29	
	World knowledge	4		0		7		11	
	Abilities/attributes	1		0		0		1	
	Knowledge/skills	2		0		0		2	
	Total	14	21.5	11	16	18	27.7	43	66.2
Self characterization	Attention	4		0		7		11	16.9
Trustworthiness	Integrity	8		1		2		11	16.9
Total		26	40	12	18.5	27	41.5	65	100

Table 18.2: Distribution of ethos rhetorical strategies projecting enterprise culture in public universities mission statements:

Rhetorical strategy	Appeal	Commercial Enterprise		Enterprising Qualities		Ø Enterprise		Total	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Self promotion	Presence/resource	29		16		2		47	
	World knowledge	10		0		1		11	
	Abilities/attributes	1		0		0		1	
	Knowledge/skills	16		0		1		17	
	Entitlements/Enhancement	1		0		0		1	
	Total	57	61.9	16	17.4	4	4.3	77	83.7
Self characterization	Attention	3	3.3	1	1.1	3	3.3	7	7.6
Trustworthiness	Integrity	8	8.7	0	0	0	0	8	8.7
Total		68	73.9	17	18.5	7	7.6	92	100

Table 18.3: Distribution of ethos rhetorical strategies projecting enterprise culture in private universities mission statements:

Conclusion and Implications:

Enterprise culture, accounted for within the Ethos Model, tends to be more projected in private universities than in public ones, indicating that the former are plausibly more market-driven and aware of competition forces. Inadequate attention is paid to internal and external stakeholders, including

students, staff and community. For public universities, mission statements may perhaps act more as a reporting tool than promotional one, while private universities are likely to use them as a promotional tool for self-presentation and positive appraisal of their persona and services.

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19

A Case Study of Developing Student-teachers' Language Awareness through Online Discussion Forums

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Given the value of online discussion forums, there has been growing interest in the use of electronic discussion platforms to support teaching and learning. Significant reported advantages of online discussion forums include learners being engaged effectively outside the classroom and learners being encouraged to participate actively in higher-order thinking and reflection processes (Thomas, 2002). While statistical analysis of hit counts plays a major role in studies investigating the effectiveness of an online forum, research shows that qualitative approaches such as content analysis of the discussion posts could help to reveal important aspects of the forum like learners' social presence in online discussions (Swan, 2003). Through context analysis, this case study investigated the extent to which an online discussion forum was successful in achieving the intended learning outcomes of a language awareness course.

The teacher language awareness course, which was part of an initial teacher education programme in Hong Kong, aimed at developing student-teachers' language awareness as it relates to different language systems. According to Thornbury (1997), teacher language awareness refers to the knowledge that teachers have of the 'underlying systems of the language [i.e. English in this case] that enables them to teach the subject [i.e. English Language] effectively' (p.x). There are thus two main dimensions of teacher language awareness. The declarative dimension refers to language teachers' knowledge about language, that is, their explicit knowledge about how language works. The procedural dimension refers to language-aware L2 teachers reflecting on their knowledge about language, and their knowledge of the learners, and drawing appropriately on their knowledge about language in all aspects of their pedagogical practice (Andrews, 2007).

The present study aimed to address a specific research question: To what extent do the student-teachers taking the language awareness course engage in reflection of the declarative and/or procedural dimensions of teacher

language awareness as manifested in the online discussion forum? The majority of the student-teacher participants were genuine novice teachers of L2 English with no formal English language teaching experience. All of them were products of the local education system, that is, an EFL context. The eighteen posts they initiated in the forum during their teaching practice, which the research team considered their foci of reflections, were the primary data of the study. The findings of the analysis of the messages were triangulated and discussed with other representations, for example, student comments collected in a feedback session on the forum, to achieve a better understanding of the operation of teacher language awareness of these student-teachers.

The content analysis reveals that the forum engaged, to different extents, the novice teachers of L2 English in reflection on the declarative and/or procedural dimension(s) of teacher language awareness, bridging the gap between the two. While some student-teachers posted only comments and questions concerning explicit knowledge about language, hoping to obtain input from their fellow group members through the e-learning platform, others asked follow-up pedagogical questions in addition to language questions, in other words, moving from knowledge about language to content-related pedagogical decisions. Only one post showing a move from the procedural to the declarative dimension of teacher language awareness was identified. In the informal feedback session on the effectiveness of the online forum, some student-teachers pointed out that they were well aware of the move from the declarative to the pedagogical dimension of teacher language awareness in their reflections. A few of them stressed that the other way round--coming to realize their lack of knowledge about language from their teaching--would simply imply inadequate preparation for classes, which, according to them, should be avoided.

The findings also reveal that the language-aware student-teachers played a significant role in structuring the language input for their students (Andrews, 2007), and their focuses varied during the different stages of the practicum. For example, the first five messages posted by the student-teachers in the early stages of their teaching practice, during which time they were believed to be heavily dependent on the teaching materials they had been given, were all initiated by their reflections on the language found in the assigned teaching materials. The online forum reveals that towards the second half of the practicum, many of the student-teachers began to notice the patterns and problems in their students' language output and asked for advice in the forum to resolve their students' language problems.

What they did shows that 'the linguistically aware teacher can spot opportunities to generate discussion and exploration of language, for example, by noticing features of texts which suggest a particular language activity' (Wright, 2002, p. 115).

The study, though exploratory, has opened up a small window for people to understand the operation of teacher language awareness of this group of student-teachers during their teaching practice. Although at times these student-teachers were caught out by their own and/or students' questions on the language, the data show that their teacher language awareness had an overall positive impact on a number of pedagogic tasks including evaluation and adaptation of teaching materials, and assessing learner performance (Wright and Bolitho, 1993).

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20 Discourse Analysis: An Open-Ended Approach to Validity and Impact

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Introduction

The presentation focused on how the experience of conducting original empirical research provided a TESOL practitioner-researcher and early career researcher with insights into the tensions and rewards of using discourse analysis in researching language teacher learning. Although the original research looked at how teachers shape the meanings of aspects of language teacher development (Mann, 2005), it was the nature of insights into validity and impact especially in relation to the use of discourse analysis that was presented.

Impact

An understanding of impact as something which means a number of different things to a number of different people was presented. Gardner (2011) views it as ‘impact in the thinking and practice’ of various interested groups, while Francis (2010) views it as being split between impact on policy and impact on practice. It was recognised that others still view the term itself as unfortunate, suggesting associations with metaphors of more physical and harmful notions, such as Saunders (2011). This paper drew on this diversity to allow for a focus to be drawn on impact as something that can be viewed as related to the creation of a greater impetus for change in the practice setting. Insights into such impetus for change and its ongoing nature were held to be evident in the results of a discourse analysis approach exploring the interweaving of interview data as analyzable sequences of interaction (Silverman, 2007) with participant validation.

Coherent structures and effects

The approach to discourse analysis used in the project, developed through the project, allowed for the data to be arranged as groups of utterances called ‘weaves’. These weaves were considered as maintaining the holism of the discourses and held ‘to have a coherence and a force to them in common’ (Mills, 1997 writing on Foucault’s identifying of discourses). Alongside these structures, the representations of the effects of these discourses were charted as ‘arrays’. These charts or arrays allowed for the study of the consistencies, diversities and relative positions of the effects of the discourses as performed by teachers, it was felt.

An analogy was found to be useful for understanding the coherent nature of the discourses. A simple distinction was made between a jar of sweets and capillaries in the context of the body, where the former is akin to the categorising of utterances as similar according to some criteria but isolated from one another. The latter suggested a closer affinity to the weaves, whereby utterances share a form of interconnection and force. It was the charting of the effects of these forces that enabled the presentation of how participant validation continues the discourses established through the interviews, enhancing views of impact in turn.

A positioning lens

Through the performance of positioning practices (Davies and Harré, 1990), teachers shape the meanings of aspects of their development (Peters, 2009). In addition:

- breaks with earlier positioning can become the focus of talk – these became known as ‘epiphany’ moments in the original research and viewed as a form of critical engagement, providing greater impetus for change.
- The interweaving of utterances of participant validation with the weaves showed positioning in these utterances can be in line with earlier positioning even if utterances explicitly suggest change has taken place, therefore suggesting how discourse analysis and positioning theory can enable a richer and deeper view of impact at a practice level.

Discussion

In a number of responses to the paper, the question of participant ‘cheating’ was raised. This might be put in terms of the question: What do you make of your data if your participants are playing up to perceived expectations in the research and the researcher in the interviews and in the validation processes? Potter and Wetherell (1987) provide that we can value all utterances as discursive practices rather than seeing them as a hindrance to research and its validity. In the original research, all utterances were seen not as a way to expose hidden truths or realities, but rather to allow the researcher to access the meanings actively sought by the participants. Utterances were viewed as speech acts (Austin, 1975) that came to be understood as ways to perform positioning practices. Participant validation data can be viewed similarly and as continuations of performances in these discourses. The question might therefore be understood not so much in terms of whether or not the participants are telling the truth, as rather how they are positioning themselves, others and their views in relation to each other in the given setting, a setting which includes the research setting.

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21

Communicating Strategically in Spanish as L2

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One area of language learning in which Applied Linguistics has made an important contribution is in extending our understanding of the important role of Communication Strategies (CSs). This term refers to the different mechanisms L2 learners apply to overcome difficulties encountered in communicating. However, research has not thoroughly examined CSs in interactional contexts and has focused mainly on lexical problems and English as L2. This paper, which presents work in progress, examines the way in which English L2 learners of Spanish use CSs in communicating face-to-face with other learners (NNSs) and native speakers (NSs) of Spanish. The final aim is to investigate CSs and their possible contribution to learners' successful communication.

Learners with two different proficiency levels interacted face-to-face in dyads of NNS-NNS and NNS-NS performing two types of tasks: a closed task (a jigsaw activity) and an open task (a free-conversation activity). Both tasks were selected from a pilot study previously conducted and which aimed at finding the best methodology for the collection of data for this larger research. A total of 36 interactions with different combinations of dyad and task were elicited by means of video and audio recording, observation of participants' interactions and stimulated recall methodology. For the subsequent analysis, the tasks performed by the participants and their retrospective comments were transcribed using the software Transana (Woods & Fassnacht, 2005). This data was then examined using the theoretical framework proposed by Dörnyei & Körmös (1998), and the interactional and paralinguistic CSs presented in a previous review on these strategies by Dörnyei & Scott (1995). In order to carry out this analysis and be able to identify the greatest number of mechanisms possible, a categorisation of the different ways of identifying the CSs was devised. This classification constituted the coding scheme that was set up with the software used for the analysis, the UAM corpus tool (O'Donnell, 2007). As a final procedure a one-to-one inter-rater reliability test was carried out to assess and validate results and reduce the researcher's bias.

Quantitative and qualitative analyses were conducted to investigate possible associations between CSs and the three variables under examination: tasks, dyads and proficiency levels. The research therefore seeks to identify the number and type of CSs produced, and analyse the possible effects of each variable on the learners' strategic use of the language. In addition, the aim is to identify the strategies which appear to allow the learners at both levels to use CSs to communicate successfully in these two settings: in interaction with a NNS/NS and while carrying out both tasks.

Findings show significant relationships between most of the variables and the patterns of CSs indicating so far a higher use of CSs in beginner levels, and in the closed task. Results regarding the proficiency factor show a proportionally higher frequency of CS use by the lower proficiency level learners; however, a more detailed examination of the data shows some differences in the strategic use of the language produced by both groups. The lower level learners are more likely to resort to CSs such as *message abandonment* when facing communicative difficulties. This can be related to the fact that their L2 knowledge is less and they have fewer resources in the target language. The more proficient learners on the other hand are less likely to abandon their message but instead attempt to *restructure* their output more frequently than the less proficient subjects. In addition, the lower level learners rely on their L1 more often primarily by means of *code-switching* in their attempt to communicate mostly lexical items (nouns) and thus avoid a communication breakdown. Again, this appears to be a reflection of their lack of L2 linguistic repertoire. These learners also resorted to *sub-approximation* (the use of an alternative related lexical item within a restricted lexical set), which was demonstrated through their search for the appropriate item within a related lexical set. A higher use of *lexical tip-of-the-tongue phenomenon* was also observed in the lower group, compared with a more frequent production of *morphological tip-of-the-tongue* generated by the more proficient learners. The use of this CS by the lower level, together with the use of *code-switching* and *sub-approximation* suggest that these learners are more concerned with solving lexis-related problems over grammar-related problems. Another mechanism that was markedly more often employed by the lower level was *grammatical reduction*. This CS involved leaving out grammatical words (prepositions, articles, auxiliaries), reducing the copula form 'está' for 'es', and the use of infinitive and present forms instead of the correctly conjugated verb form. This linguistic behaviour seems to suggest that these learners rely mostly on their lexical knowledge by trying to communicate

meaning through mainly content words (as shown in the omission of auxiliaries and verb inflections). This may therefore support the fact that the lower level learners are more lexis-oriented. Finally it was observed that although both levels were able to correct their own output by means of *error-repair*, the more competent learners were able to repair it more successfully than the less proficient subjects. All these differences in the strategic use of the language generated by these two groups were combined in general terms in the production of a less comprehensible and less fluent L2 output by the lower level as opposed to a more understandable and coherent speech generated by the higher level learners.

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22 Shaping healthcare planning in England: front stage and back stage language play

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Healthcare planning is often presented as a formal, rational process that can be planned in advance. We challenge this view, drawing on theories and methods allied to linguistic ethnography to explore healthcare planning as a ‘drama’, occupied by a range of institutions, actors and artefacts (Hajer & Wagenaar 2003, Degeling 1996), and involving a process of dialogue and exchange (Shaw 2010, Bacchi 2000).

The focus of our work is on the exchanges that take place in planning health services in England. More specifically it is on one kind of actor that often features in these exchanges: the think tank. Think-tanks are non-governmental institutions, largely autonomous from government, political parties or organized interests and set up with the aim of influencing policy (Pautz 2011). They are increasingly visible in healthcare and yet little is known about how they operate and the circumstances in which they shape policy.

Drawing on publicly-accessible publications and presentations, combined with an ethnographic account from a senior member of staff working within a think tank, we explore how different planning discourses are mobilised at different times for strategic effect. Following Degeling’s concept of ‘context dependent language play’, we explore the type of ‘planning talk’ that takes place front stage, back stage and under stage. We focus on planning in relation to integrated care, an area concerned with how health and care services work together to ensure people get the right treatment and care that they need.

Our emerging findings suggest that ‘under stage’ captures the thinking and debating that goes on behind the scenes to explore and agree what integrated care is about. Those feeding into under stage discussions are a small and select group, afforded access through established networks and discourse coalitions. Under stage interactions tend to be private, closely guarded and characterised by ‘profane talk’ (Degeling 1996) i.e. the political dimensions of planning including (e.g. shaping the agenda for

integrated care in line with wider policy reforms seeking increased efficiency and productivity in healthcare) and efforts by participants to build coalitions of support for particular ideas.

Back stage interactions appear to provide a protected space for the think tank to ‘work through’ problems of integrated care. Such interactions bring together healthcare planners alongside those interested in integrated care such as clinicians, healthcare managers and/or regulators. The think tank crafts and manages back stage performances (e.g. working meetings) by, for instance, restricting access to spaces and events and inviting only ‘trusted friends’. The nature of back stage planning allows a mix of talk bringing together the political dimensions of planning characteristic of under-stage settings, with the evidence and theory allied to integrated care (what Degeling refers to as ‘sacred talk’). Such talk might on the one hand explore the limited evidence on efficiency savings brought about by different approaches to integrating care and, on the other, explore practical ways in which healthcare professionals might seek financial savings through better coordinating care in their area.

Official think tank performances occur front stage. They are highly crafted and might be thought of as ‘position statements’ that outline a specific approach to one or more problems of healthcare planning. Performances (e.g. presentations, publications) are tightly managed with considerable time and resource directed to impression management and on sacred talk. Such talk tends to emphasise the values that key players agree are important (e.g. rationality, efficiency) and draw on the technologies, tools and findings from fields such as epidemiology, systems theory, health economics, health care finance, clinical medicine and public health. For integrated care, such position statements emphasise the potential value in improving outcomes for patients and achieving efficiency savings.

Front, back and under stage performances are all vital to healthcare planning, each being informed by what happens elsewhere. Furthermore interactions are dependent on the relationships of the audience to the performance. In back stage and under stage settings a more ‘truthful’ performance appears to be given to select audiences. These kinds of discussions are not possible on the more public front stage where planners are concerned to emphasise rationality, objectivity and efficiency. Indeed the sacred character of what takes place front stage in the name of planning means that it is not open to negotiation. However, some players exploit opportunities to have ‘off the record discussions’ in which they clarify what

is open to negotiation. These ‘off the record discussions’ happen back stage and under stage, with the think tank clearly embracing those perceived to shape and influence health reform.

Our emerging findings suggest that (i) the capacity of think tanks to influence healthcare planning is based not simply on their political wisdom and skill, but also on their ‘back stage’ access to structural power and knowledge; and (ii) different (potentially competing) discourses are mobilised in different settings as think tanks attempt to structure and contest their relationships with other players.

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23

Naxi, Chinese, English or ASEAN Languages: A Study of Language Policies of Naxi Community in Lijiang, China

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Among 56 officially-recognized nationalities in China, the dominant Han comprises about 92% of the total population while the other 55 minority groups represent about 110 million people with about 120 mother tongues and only 30 minority languages have written scripts. The Naxi ethnic minority in Lijiang, a tourist area of Yunnan in Southwest China, are of particular interest as an ethnic minority due to their unique culture and diverse forms of written language including the unique pictographic Dongba script. Naxi speak Naxi, local Chinese variety, mandarin Chinese and learn English or ASEAN languages as foreign languages. Having been recognized by UNESCO as the World Heritage site destinations, Lijiang has experienced a booming tourism with tourists from both home and abroad and has brought change to language policies and language practices among Naxi.

There are several studies of Naxi on Naxi geography, culture and language, bilingual and trilingual education policy (Blachford & Jones, 2011), language transfer (Hong, 2005), schooling and identity (Hansen, 2011; Yu, 2010). However, there is paucity of research that investigates the interplay of Naxi, Chinese and English/foreign languages policies and interrelation of language policies with linguistic power in a complicated multiethnic and multilingual context. Language policy is “another mechanism through which ideology is meant to turn into practice or practice into ideology” (Shohamy, 2006, p. 76). This study aims to fill in this gap with the theoretical frameworks of language policy to explore the hierarchical relationship between language, power and inequality. I argue that language policies of Naxi, Chinese, English and ASEAN languages and practices need to be meditated and justified from the sociolinguistic perspective and understood as local, national, social and political constructions in a multilingual, multiethnic and multicultural context. Two general questions guide this study. (1) What language policies have been implemented in Lijiang? (2) What is the gap between rhetoric and the reality on the

ground? I will draw on data from a qualitative study of ethnographic approach which includes government documentations, individual interviews, focus group, on-site observations and fieldnotes.

Promotion of standard Chinese was constitutionally legitimized under the 'one-nation-one-language' ideology since 1949. This top-down policy consolidated the hegemonic status of standard Chinese nationwide. Although bilingual education policy was implemented to promote Chinese and preserve ethnic languages, Chinese actually assimilates and speeds up language attrition and death of ethnic languages. English policy was implemented to increase national quality and build global and international image. From early 1950s to 1976, English experienced ups and downs but it became very significant in realizing the four modernizations since 1977. English teaching in secondary education has been emphasized since 1982 and required in primary education from 2001 onwards. English has been a form of symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1991) to step cross the threshold for graduation and employment and get access to various forms of social resources. It created more inequality.

In 2009, Yunnan Province has decided to localize foreign language education policy by promoting key ASEAN languages such as Vietnamese, Thai and Burmese to keep trade partnership with ASEAN countries. This provincial policy makes the already-complicated foreign language policy even more complex. Although Naxi being officially recognized and stipulated in the Constitution, the Naxi-Chinese bilingual education pushed Naxi into a disadvantaged and inferior position. Not until the local tourism started booming did Naxi regain its significance as an inexhaustible tourism resource and a commodity to represent the ethnicity authenticity. Naxi language policy was legitimized bottom-up by the local government to keep sustainable development of tourism. Naxi is now being preserved and inherited through government and non-government measures. However, due to lack of the central support and the linguistic value perceived by the community, Naxi is endangered.

Chinese policy created a political public discourse and ideology of national language. This monolingual ideology forms the dominance of Chinese and causes social inequity and exclusion. English policy implies a political, face-built, market-directed and capital-invested discourse. The regional gap hasn't been fully taken into account in a real positive sense and a lot of problems concerning learners' factors, insufficient educational funding, teacher qualifications, teaching facilities, access to learning resources are

ignored. ASEAN policy is economy-directed and not scientifically planned because there is no systemic study of social and learners' needs. Naxi policy has stipulated Naxi preservation and inheritance. However, due to the dominant status of Putonghua, Naxi is still in a very subordinate position and the number of Naxi speaker is becoming smaller gradually. Tourism-driven Naxi preservation serves more like a show to meet the need of heritage sites assessment and tourism.

Language policies need to be fully studied before implementation. Language is not setting for presenting the government political and public profile. When an official language or a foreign language is to be promoted, the maintenance and protection of indigenous languages, especially the minor ones should be fully considered by the language policy-makers. Multilingualism will be an ideology and a language order (Zhou, 2006).

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24 **The Development and Cross-Language Transfer of Phonological Processing Skills Among Taiwanese Young Learners of English**

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Introduction

Abundant research has shown that phonological sensitivity—an ability to analyze spoken language into smaller sound units—plays an important role in learning to read alphabetic scripts among native English-speaking children (Bowey, 2001; Metsala, 1999), children of other alphabetic languages (de Jong, Seveke, & van Veen, 2000; Winkler & Widjaja, 2007), and children using non-Roman alphabetic scripts (Shatil & Share, 2003; Sieh, 2007).

Despite the unanimous view on the crucial role of phonological sensitivity, disagreements have persisted over whether its development followed a stage-like or a diverse pattern (Burgess & Lonigan, 1998; Muter & Snowling, 1998; Gottardo, Stanovich, & Siegel, 1996). In addition, recent bilingual research has revealed a positive cross-language transfer of phonological sensitivity in speakers of other alphabetic languages (Cisero & Royer, 1995; Comeau, Cormier, Grandmaison, & Lacroix, 1999). Bialystok, Luk, and Kwan (2005) further proposed that such skills were transferred only when both languages were written in the same system, i.e., alphabetic system.

In stark contrast, Chinese learners of English are at a great disadvantage because Chinese has long been regarded as a language requiring no knowledge of phonological awareness. They consequently seem to develop no phonological skills in the L1, let alone transfer them to the L2 (Bialystok et al., 2005; Cheung, Chen, Lai, Wong, & Hills, 2001; de Gelder, Vroomen, & Bertelson, 1993). The deficiency in phonological awareness was attributed to a complete lack of sound cues in the logographic script (Cheung, 1999).

However, research on bi-literacy instruction has indicated the possibility that phonological awareness in the L2 is likely to develop as a result of how L1 is taught, even when learners had to process an L2 with distinctively different writing scripts (Gottardo, Yan, Siegel, & Wade-Woolley, 2001; Wang, Koda, & Perfetti, 2003). In other words, L1 literacy background, rather than writing systems, might be the key to development of phonological processing skills.

The present study aimed to investigate, on the one hand, whether Chinese-speaking children could develop phonological processing skills at sub-syllabic level in English in the beginning of learning the new alphabetic language. On the other hand, it also attempted to explore whether these skills might have, due to the method used to teach Chinese in Taiwan, transferred from Chinese to English.

Method

Participants, Materials, and Procedure

A total of 63 fourth-graders from 2 classes were recruited from a suburban elementary school in southern Taiwan. They were 31 boys and 32 girls. All participants were aged from 9 years to 9 years 11 months at the beginning of the experiment ($M = 113.33$, $SD = 3.72$ in months).

The participants had a wide variance in foreign language learning experience. About 51% of them started learning English from Grade 3 and received extracurricular English instruction from one to four hours a week. Fewer than a quarter had attended extra English lessons in Grade 1 and Grade 2. The mean of their English instruction length was 29.83 months but a wide difference ($SD = 19.23$) existed among individual learners. None of them had visited or lived in an English-speaking country. In contrast, their native language experience was similar. The majority of them spoke both Taiwanese and Mandarin Chinese, to which they had been exposed to since birth.

Assessment of phonological sensitivity was developed into five corresponding tasks in Chinese and English. They included (a) Rhyme Detection, (b) Head Detection, (c) Rhyme and Head Detection, (d) Rhyme and Head Production, and (e) Initial Consonant Isolation. All English testing items consisted of a CVC syllable structure and Chinese testing items three phonetic symbols.

Chinese assessments were always administered to the whole class as precursors to their English counterparts during class time. In each task, three trials were used to demonstrate how to tackle the question items. Correct answers to the trials were provided to help participants clarify their reflections. Each Chinese assessment, including trials, lasted around 25 minutes.

The corresponding English assessment was immediately introduced to the whole class after their completion of a Chinese task. Likewise, three trials were used to explain what the participants were required to do in each task. In contrast to the Chinese ones, the participants had to click on the mouse to indicate their answers in the English *detection* tasks. All participants were tested individually during breaks in the control room of the audio-visual auditorium of the primary school. Each task took about 10 minutes to complete.

All tasks were scored manually except for the three online English detection tasks, whose accuracy was automatically recorded by the computer program. One point was awarded for a correctly answered question and the total points awarded for correct answers consisted of the score of a task.

Results and Discussion

Development of Phonological Sensitivity from Rhyme to Phoneme

The participants had a similar developmental pattern of phonological sensitivity in Chinese and English (see Table 24.1). A paired-samples *t*-test revealed that they had more developed phonological sensitivity in their L1 than L2 ($t[62] = -4.657$, $p < .000$, [two-tailed]).

In addition, they had more sophisticated large-unit phonological sensitivity when both Rhyme Detection ($t[62] = 12.302$ in L1 and $t[62] = 5.174$ in L2, both $p < .000$, [two-tailed]) and Head Detection ($t[62] = 7.237$ in L1 and $t[62] = 4.609$ in L2, both $p < .000$, [two-tailed]) were computed against Initial Consonant Isolation. The better developed rhyme sensitivity lends support to the claim of a developmental trend from large- to small-unit phonological sensitivity among children (Goswami, 2002). Nevertheless, despite the lower grades in small-unit phonological sensitivity tasks, a

diverse developmental pattern seems to be emerging (Muter & Snowling, 1998).

Measure		M	%	SD	Max.
Chinese tasks	Overall	13.22	66.10	2.40	
	Rhyme Detection	16.70	83.49	2.17	20
	Head Detection	15.25	76.27	2.83	20
	Rhyme & Head Detection	12.19	60.95	4.31	20
	Rhyme & Head Production	10.30	51.51	4.29	20
	Initial Consonant Isolation	11.63	58.17	2.94	20
English tasks	Overall	15.04	60.16	4.19	
	Rhyme Detection	17.97	71.87	3.89	25
	Head Detection	17.17	68.70	3.60	25
	Rhyme & Head Detection	16.59	66.35	4.99	25
	Rhyme & Head Production	10.27	41.08	6.67	25
	Initial Consonant Isolation	13.19	52.76	7.47	25

Table 24.1: Descriptive Statistics for Phonological Processing Assessments (N = 63)

Furthermore, the result has an implication in relation to EFL learners of a non-alphabetic writing system: Phonological sensitivity might be a general cognitive mechanism which would develop regardless of the L1 orthography. In the present study, all participants had been taught the alphabet and phonics for more than one year when these tasks were administered to them. Although they had received more instruction in small-unit awareness, i.e., phonics, the result shows that they had more sophisticated large-unit phonological sensitivity. It was likely that large-unit phonological sensitivity was more of a universal skill reflected in the phonology of all languages and developed regardless of whether an opaque relationship existed between the orthography and the phonology of a language (Gottardo et al., 2001).

Cross-Language Transfer of Phonological Sensitivity

A series of correlation analyses revealed moderate inter-correlations between corresponding tasks in both languages shown in the diagonal line (see Table 24.2), suggesting that cross-language transfer of phonological processing skills might have occurred.

The fact that the participants had better developed Chinese phonological sensitivity indicates that such sensitivity was more likely to transfer from their L1 to L2, rather than vice versa. The finding is consistent with that of previous research on alphabetic language users (Cisero & Royer, 1995; Comeau et al., 1999) and on learners with a non-alphabetic language background (Bialystok et al., 2005; Gottardo et al., 2001; Wang et al., 2003).

English Task \ Chinese Task	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Overall	.679**	.477**	.552**	.659**	.568**	.440**
2. Rhyme Detection	.543**	.403**	.344**	.500**	.480**	.383**
3. Head Detection	.441**	.355**	.380**	.352**	.282*	.382**
4. Rhyme & Head detection	.571**	.335**	.542**	.539**	.473**	.382**
5. Rhyme & Head production	.613**	.423**	.459**	.606**	.515**	.411**
6. Initial Consonant Isolation	.211	.198	.166	.304*	.246	-.015

Note. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

Table 24.2: Intercorrelations Between Phonological Sensitivity Tasks in Two Languages as a Function of Cross-Language Transfer of Phonological Processing Skills

The strategies of teaching Chinese in Taiwan might account for this unexpected finding. Taiwanese children learn to read Chinese with the assistance of Zhu-Yin-Fu-Hao, a separate phonetic script. They first learn to read each of the 37 phonetic symbols and then put two or three of them together to sound out a Chinese character. As Zhu-Yin-Fu-Hao is placed alongside each Chinese character in the texts of all textbooks from Grade 1 to Grade 4, and alongside only new words from Grade 5, Taiwanese children are used to combining phonetic symbols to pronounce new words. In other words, Zhu-Yin-Fu-Hao has inadvertently taught Taiwanese children to manipulate phonological units at phonemic level, which might have, in turn, enabled the participants in the present study to apply their L1 phonological sensitivity when tackling those English tasks.

Conclusion

The results from the present study show that, despite the emerging small-unit phonological sensitivity, the participants had more sophisticated large-unit phonological sensitivity, which is likely to be a universal skill reflected in the phonology of all languages and develops regardless of whether an opaque relationship exists between the orthography and the phonology of a language. In addition, the observed inter-correlations suggest that cross-language transfer of phonological processing skills might have occurred from L1 to L2 because of L1 literacy instruction.

But the interpretation of the results is not without faults. As the phonemic segmentation task was a production assessment, it posed a higher degree of challenge to the young learners and consequently might have compromised the assumed developmental trend of phonological sensitivity. Suggestions

for further study would be an employment of tasks with the same type of response. In addition, it is advisable to recruit preschoolers as well as novice readers so as to verify if Taiwanese children could only develop sub-syllabic awareness in the wake of Zhu-Yin-Fu-Hao instruction.

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25 Repetition by a recently arrived teacher in a complementary classroom

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In general, less fluent speaker of a foreign language repeating the speech of a more fluent speaker give a rather passive and submissive impression than active and controlling in terms of involvement in discourse. With disparity in language competence taken into account, repetitions in contact situations are often seen as signs of uncertainty in comprehension and/or requesting for clarification, where articulateness sounds more powerful than inarticulateness. Multilingual intergenerational conversation in migrant communities is not an exception to situations where disparity in language competence and power issues come into play.

How do adults in a migrant community use language/s with younger members? How are the expected roles fulfilled by the use of language/s? Using linguistic ethnography, which involves interactional sociolinguistics and micro-discourse analysis, this paper analyses repetitions in Japanese by a Muslim complementary school teacher from South Asia.

Mrs. B used English, Japanese, and Urdu in the classroom, where English is the main language used for most instructions and some feedback. The instances where she used Japanese were far less than that of English. However, more than half of the Japanese utterances Mrs. B used were partial, full, or ‘rhythmic’ repetitions of the prior turns where Japanese-Urdu bilinguals spoke in Japanese. An analysis of an example of a full repetition is as follows.

Extract: Not “pick it up”

Note: Beginning of recording, beginning of class.

01 Mrs. B: Give me your textbook.

02 (1.0)

03 Khareem: eet-to **totte** <uum (can you) **pick it up**>

04 (1.0)

05 Mrs. B: **totte** ja’nai jibun de <not **pick it up** (do it) yourself>

At the beginning of the class, Mrs. B tells Khareem, who is sitting one metre in front of her, to give his textbook to her, which is on the floor, to her. Khareem is still getting ready for class, taking out things from his bag. Without trying to pick it up, but with a small hesitation “eet-to” which is interpreted here as a hedge in dispreferred response, Khareem responds with **totte** <(can you) pick up>. Mrs. B here ‘recycles’ **totte**, constructing negative stance towards it in Japanese, rather than using English or Urdu, the languages she is more fluent in.

‘**Totte** ja’nai’ directly and easily refuses the request. Other ways of showing a negative stance could have been “I’m asking you to/you need to/you pick it up” in standard English. The cognitive load is lighter when directly quoting the Japanese part and negating it than translating into English.

The ungrammaticality of the utterance is not picked up by the pupils, despite its face threatening nature for the teacher. The ungrammaticality does not lead to incoherency either. Paradoxically, the very form of this phrase makes the utterance more coherent and thus powerful. The repetitions make her message clearer in terms of what she is referring to, strengthening the coherence in relation to Khareem’s utterance. The direct quotation makes the negative stance sound stronger, echoing Johnstone et al (1994:7); ‘the closer the repetition is to identical, the closer it often is to direct disagreement’. Mrs. B does not hedge, avoid using Japanese, or step back in silence. This repetition shows her active involvement in communicating with the pupils, as Tannen (1989:3) writes ‘(...) syntactic repetition functions in conversation in production, comprehension, connection, and interaction, and that the congruence of these functions contributes to a fifth, overriding function in conversational coherence’. The shift into Japanese is not a condescending move, as she is articulate and direct. It is rather a way to ‘keep on level’ with the pupils by using Japanese, showing that she is able to comprehend them and get her message across using their terms.

Ethnographic data showed that competence in Japanese seems to be considered important in teaching these pupils in the community. Interviews with other teachers who do not speak Japanese as well as Mrs. B does indicated that they feel they are not in control of the pupils because of their lack of competence in Japanese, or they blame themselves for pupils’ incomprehension of the task to the fact that they are not instructed in Japanese.

Other examples of Mrs. B’s repetitions involve ‘doing the caring nurturing teacher’, where she sound more affectionate and nurturing, which may be another model of how the teacher should be in the community.

In sum, repetitions help Mrs. B to fulfil her role as the good teacher in control of the pupils, constructing coherence and involvement at form level and at discourse level. Ungrammaticality is not necessarily penalised, which may be an indication of pupils’ powerlessness and deference towards the elder members in the community. Further directions of research in language use of migrant adults towards the younger generation involve investigating identities and language ideologies micro and macro.

Transcription conventions

- (1.0) pause in seconds
- totte** repeated part
- ◇ translations of Japanese parts
- () words which are not in the original phrase but added in translation to provide the nuances of the phrase

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