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Foreword by Dr. Ahmet Acar

Welcome to the second issue of the Journal of English as an International Language. This issue presents the researchers and teachers many interesting and stimulating articles addressing a wide range of topics currently discussed within the domain of English as an international language, ranging from the issue of redefining communicative competence in relation to English as an International Language to the issues of standards, authenticity, linguistic imperialism and the ownership of English.

Roger Nunn, in his stimulating paper “Redefining Communicative Competence for International and Local Communities”, which is a follow-up paper to Nunn (2007), considers the meaning of competence when English is used as an International Language (EIL). This second paper focuses on definitions and concludes with a global definition of competence. ‘Discussion of the holistic, interlocking nature of five different types of competence is developed from the first paper and five characteristics of International Communicative Competence (ICC) are outlined.’

Takeshi SATO and Akio SUZUKI, in their article, “Diagnosing factors of the preference for English as a center variants of English in English as a lingua franca settings” explores ‘the relationship between NNS’s preference for center variants of English and other personal factors, based on the research question why NNSs still regard the English NSs use as their model despite the fact that it has been believed that English has become a lingua franca, which stands for the recognition of NNS’s ownership of English.’ They suggest that ‘NNSs’ preference for center variants of English stems mainly not from their age, sex, their external language learning environment and even their English linguistic competence, but from their notion that English that NSs use is perfect or authentic while English that they NNSs use is imperfect or wrong.’

My own article “Standards and competence in English as an international language pedagogy” presents some of the recent approaches to the issue of standards in English as an international language and discusses the issue of defining competence in relation to EIL.Z

It is concluded that competency in EIL would require being proficient in at least one variety of English, to be able to understand different varieties, and to be able to accommodate one's speech to be intelligible to the speakers of other varieties of English.

The fifth article "Global Englishes: A Challenge for English Pedagogy in China" presented by Changquan Zhou, examines the 'conception of global Englishes, describes the effects of the globalization of English on social life and English pedagogy in China'; and finally, cultural awareness and implications for English teaching is inferred from these discussions and analysis in a context of EFL in China.

The sixth article "'English Language Imperialism' - Points of View -" presented by Paul Z. Jambor, examines two camps with regard to the views toward English as an imperialist language. Jambor argues that 'While scholars in the one camp state that the English Language is Imperialist due to its growing stature in increasingly more domains around the world, intellectuals in the other camp counter with the argument that the English language is merely an innocent bystander while it is actually the economic and military might of the countries associated with it that are the real culprits and not the language per se.' Jambor, furthermore, claims that 'the arguments of the camp which holds the view that English is not imperialist are relatively misguided' and he holds the view that English is imperialist.

Ashley Souther, in his article "The English Occupation: Are We Language Teachers or Foot Soldiers of Cultural Imperialism?", discusses the question about whether we are language teachers, or foot soldiers of cultural imperialism concluding that 'whether we are foot soldiers of empire or teachers of language, depends on us. If we blithely digest and regurgitate the status quo idea of English-as-charity and providing access to "vast intellectual wealth," then we are in the company of the colonialists. However, if we have a critical understanding of the situation, there is ample room to maneuver. English can be used to empower, to understand, to critique, and most of all to share people's narratives with the world. It can serve the community's needs rather than those of the powerful. It must start with us, however, with asking questions and

with understanding the social impact of language. It is time we dissect the standard mantra of 'lingua franca' and of 'internationalization,' for behind these concepts is power.'

Dr. Ahmet Acar



Title

Redefining Communicative Competence for International
and Local Communities

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Bio Data

Roger Nunn has worked in EFL for over 30 years in seven different countries, including more than 22 years in Asia. He is currently working at the Petroleum Institute, a new University in Abu Dhabi, where he teaches communications and research skills. He is also Senior Associate Editor of the Asian EFL Journal. He has a Trinity College TEFL diploma, an MA and Ph.D. in TEFL from the University of Reading, UK. His Ph.D. study was on teaching methodology and curriculum development across cultural boundaries in a Middle East setting. He has published widely on a variety of topics and is particularly interested in international and intercultural perspectives on language teaching.

Abstract

This paper is a follow-up paper to Nunn (2005). In combination, these two papers consider the meaning of competence when English is used as an International Language (EIL). This second paper focuses on definitions and concludes with a global definition of competence. 'Competence' is partially defined in relation to the communities in which individual members apply it. In this paper, the meaning of 'community' is considerably developed from the discussion of 'speech community' in the first paper, to include 'discourse', 'bi-lingual', 'local' and 'international' characterizations. 'Competence' is then contrasted with other related concepts, such as 'proficiency'. Discussion of the holistic, interlocking nature of five different types

of competence is developed from the first paper and five characteristics of International Communicative Competence (ICC) are outlined.

International/global aspects of competence are always applied in specific, 'local' contexts. The middle section of this paper considers just two local educational contexts in Asia. The discussion is supported by a few data samples from projects reported elsewhere, including a full report of a sponsored project conducted at the Petroleum Institute in Abu Dhabi, a university that aims to produce engineers from the local community who are able to perform to international standards and to communicate in English within a multi-national organization (full report available electronically on request). Members of local institutions that aspire to educational excellence in an international field need to learn to interact with various kinds of 'communities' in order to achieve an appropriate balance between international and local conceptions of competence. As a comparison, a very different academic community will be described in a Japanese university where a general English course teaches skills for international communication to all first-year students regardless of academic discipline.

I. The meaning of competence

While it is common to *begin* a paper with 'definitions', characterizing the global, holistic and complex nature of the concept of International Communicative Competence is one of the *final* aims of this paper. A detailed definition will therefore be provided only in the conclusion. One approach to reading this very long paper would therefore be to start with the conclusion and then to read back to see how the definition was arrived at. The paper is also to be read as a follow up to Nunn (2005) in which it was argued, through a review of the literature on EIL, that competence has yet to be adequately addressed in recent considerations of EIL. The earlier paper first discussed the need to reconsider the scope of 'communicative competence' and then considered types of competence relevant to EIL including linguistic competence. It critically examined demographic descriptions of World English use in relation to competence and discussed the kinds of competence that are embodied in the corpora that are currently being used for the development of teaching materials.

This paper considerably develops the arguments presented in that paper with a view to attempting a definition of EIL competence. Traditional definitions of competence are often based on native use, whereas EIL students in local academic

communities are using English as a second language, and might normally be expected to achieve competence in relation to broad but inclusive international and global criteria. Local institutions that aspire to educational excellence in an international field such as engineering automatically belong to an 'international community' and need to aim for a balance between international and local definitions of competence. The notion of 'community' is important in this respect. As 'communicative competence' has often been defined in relation to monolingual 'speech communities' (see Nunn, 2005), this paper will first consider whether there is an equivalent notion of 'international community' and how this notion links up to the 'local communities' such as the PI community in which English is taught.

Competence and 'community'

Before even attempting to 'characterize' competence – for it is far too complex a concept to allow simple 'definition' – it is important to consider where it is actually located and where it is used. A common assumption is that it is a resource available to individuals and exists in the individual. However, competence in the various research disciplines related to language and communication is often defined in relation to a notion of 'community'. Competence is then related to what needs to be known by individuals within a particular community in order to function as a member in relation to certain shared values and norms. In this respect, some kind of ideal community is sometimes evoked. In attempting to characterize competence in our age of international communication within and across disciplines, it is difficult to propose a clear-cut characterization of 'international community'. The competent international English user will need to move between or operate within various kinds of communities. Some commonly used characterizations of community are considered below in relation to EIL.

Speech community

It was suggested in Nunn (2005) that 'Speech Community' was a term that usually refers to homogenous communities of native speakers. EIL competence needs for students in some local contexts might involve the need to communicate with or even within such monolingual English speaking communities. This could be for long- or short-term study purposes or for long-term academic and professional relationships. Trudgill (2003) is not alone in characterizing 'communicative' competence in terms

of native norms within speech communities. "All native speakers of a language also have to know how to *use* that language appropriately in the society in which they live" (p. 24). He adds, "Non-native speakers also have to acquire communicative as well as linguistic competence when learning a foreign language, if they are to be able to use that language effectively and appropriately and to participate in cross-cultural communication". Here the definition does not specifically relate to English and one implication could be that cross-cultural communication requires the non-native to adapt to the native norms, which is not always the case. In organizations such as ADNOC (Abu Dhabi National Oil Company) in Abu Dhabi for example, where students from one local context referred to in this research will eventually work, the norms used in relation to English are very diverse, but native speaker norms do not dominate.

Trudgill (Ibid.) goes on (p.49) to define speech acts as "acts of identity" within *speech communities*. Importantly for EIL communication, he distinguishes "diffuse" and "focused" speech communities. In focused communities, "only a narrow range of identities is available for enactment". EIL communication is more easily associated with the other pole, being potentially very diffuse, given the potentially broad differences within and between varieties of English. Trudgill does not define a speech community only in terms of native speakers, defining it also as "a community of speakers who share the same verbal repertoire, and who also share the same verbal norms of behaviour" (p.126). This definition would still not fit EIL use easily as norms of behaviour are unlikely to be shared. The idea of membership is also problematic.

Speech community is also used in socio-linguistics to refer to multiple memberships of sub-communities such as student communities, cricket-playing communities, classical-music communities, etc. In this view, we all belong to multiple communities within a parent community. Members of sub-communities have communication possibilities in common with other sub-communities across national boundaries and these may be stronger than the possibilities available with co-'members' within the parent speech community. Being a member of a cricketing speech community within one's own culture makes communication across cultures with members of cricketing communities possible. Members of a parent speech community, for example, listening to a cricket commentary and hearing discussions of key cricketing phenomena such as 'LBW', may understand very little. Cases of

'LBW' can be very complicated. (When the ball hits the batsman's pad in front of the wicket he might be given out 'Leg Before Wicket'.) While 'LBW' is incomprehensible to non-cricketers even within a mono-cultural speech community, it is more easily discussed between cricket-playing sub-communities from totally different national and cultural backgrounds.

Linguistic competence and speech community

'Linguistic' competence is often linked to the seminal work of Noam Chomsky. It is often pointed out that Chomsky's concern is with a universal innate language faculty of the brain and that Chomsky does not refer to any specific notion of an actual community. Indeed, Chomsky is normally associated with ideal use within a non-existent 'ideal speech' community. However, while Thompson (2004) and others suggest that Chomsky has nothing to say about language use, in "New Horizons in the Study of Language and Mind", Chomsky does address the issue (2000, pp.19-45). It is true that Chomsky suggests that there is reason to believe that the I-languages ('grammatical competence') are distinct from conceptual organization and 'pragmatic competence' and that these systems can be "selectively impaired and developmentally dissociated" (p. 26). However, there is also evidence that Chomsky (2000, p.27) sees I-language as part of an integrated communication system: "We are studying a real object, the language faculty of the brain, which has assumed the form of a full I-language and is integrated into performance systems that play a role in articulation, interpretation, expression of beliefs and desires, referring, telling stories, and so on." Chomsky (2000) still refers to his traditional distinction between 'competence' and 'performance' but does not necessarily dismiss the latter as unworthy of scrutiny, conceding that "I-languages are embedded in performance systems" (p. 34).

Of relevance to the notion of EIL competence is Chomsky's challenge to the view that communities own languages as fixed common entities. According to Chomsky, (2000, p.31) "...the notion of "community" or "common language" makes as much sense as the notion "nearby city" or "look alike" without further specification of interests, leaving the analysis vacuous." One view expressed by Chomsky (2000) is not dissimilar to Sperber and Wilson's (1995) challenge of another notion often used to characterize communities, the notion of "shared knowledge", when he argues that, "Successful communication between Peter and Mary does not entail the existence of

shared meanings or shared pronunciations in a public language (or a common treasure of thoughts or articulations of them)...” (p. 30).

This argument is interesting in that it can allow for the notion of individually different, or culturally different, knowledge between speakers of the ‘same’ language. Chomsky (op. cit. p.30) challenges the idea that “the basic function of a natural language is to mediate communication”. He does not argue that a language does not do this; only that “it is unclear what sense can be given to an absolute notion of “basic function” for any biological system”. Chomsky concludes that the notion of “conforming to the practice of a community” is problematic whether a community is defined as homogeneous or heterogeneous (p.31). The argument that individuals regardless of origin have the innate ability to create and can adjust their innate ability regardless of community constraints is a powerful, if problematic, concept with international potential.

While it is common to dismiss such claims as unverifiable, the question is whether such a view is just a question of faith. It can also be seen as the result, if not of conclusive evidence, of rigorous argumentation based on our undeniable common experience that distinguishes humans from other species. We may decide to exclude views of ‘internal’ competence from certain approaches to research, because they are difficult to investigate, but it is nonetheless, difficult to dismiss the existence of internal competence in the form of an I-language and attempts at global definitions cannot definitively exclude perspectives just because they appear to be incompatible with other perspectives. In relation to language learners, Chomsky (2000) argues that, “we gain no insight into what they are doing by supposing that there is a fixed entity they are approaching, even if some sense can be made of this mysterious notion” (p. 32).

Chomsky is also linked to a key idea that is arguably neglected in language teaching, the notion of linguistic creativity. Creativity in this sense is the ability to create an infinite number of utterances from the finite linguistic resources available. Utterances are not simply learnt and regurgitated. Humans have the ability to create utterances that are unique and have never been generated in quite that form before. There is still an assumption of limitation to this creative aspect of language. The original view seems to have been that the limits are related to what is deemed acceptable by the educated native speaker. This view is no longer workable in our age

of international communities and the preponderance of actual English use by and often between non-native speakers.

Gomez (2006) suggests that, in spite of the publicity given to Chomsky's view, "the key concept of linguistic creativity has only been minimally dealt with in the specialized literature of linguistics" (p. 50). (But see Crystal, 1998, on Language Play.) While the creative aspect of competence may appear to have been neglected recently, it has seen something of a revival as a response to over rigid advocacy of corpora as the only source of acceptable language use and in works in which native-speaker dominance is no longer accepted as an arbitrator of creative use, such as in Carter (2004). Gomez highlights the point made by Carter (2004), namely that linguistic creativity is not limited to the native speaker, and needs to be considered more carefully in relation to language learners. Zheng (2007) develops the idea beyond just linguistic aspects, suggesting that the current definition of creativity "is an ability to produce work that is novel and appropriate" (p. 6). Linguistic creativity is subtly related to this broader view in that it contributes to creative content within genres.

To sum up, 'speech community' is a problematic concept for EIL, but this does not mean that it is not a useful or adaptable concept. Students have very diverse reasons for using English and some of these may be for study and extended residence within a so-called native 'speech community', however heterogeneous this may prove to be. It will be argued below that some notions linked to 'speech communities' such as appropriateness can be disassociated from a narrow view of 'speech communities' and put to use to help define competence from a broader perspective.

Discourse community

In relation to education, EIL competence needs might also include the need to participate in some kind of academic or professional 'discourse community'. (See Nunn and Adamson, this volume, for further discussion.) A discourse community is characterized as a specialized community with relatively exclusive membership requirements in relation to a particular academic or vocational field such as a chemical engineering community. A paradoxical further characterization of discourse communities is that membership can be viewed as peripheral (Flowerdew, 2000, p.129) by a relatively large number of its so-called members. Flowerdew's membership criteria (2000, p.127) based on Swales (1990) include the following:

1. Common goals,
2. participatory mechanisms,
3. information exchange,
4. community-specific genres,
5. highly specialized terminology,
6. high general level of expertise.

Lave and Wenger's (1991) notion of "legitimate peripheral participation" as evoked by Flowerdew (2000, p.131) makes legitimate membership less exclusive in that peripheral participation (publishing an article in a journal, for example, or writing a lab report) is legitimate. Aspirant members may therefore attempt to participate in the community of practice of a discourse community and "even experienced scholars need to continually negotiate their position as members of the discourse community as that position is ratified by the acceptance of their writing for publication" (p.131).

Local community

Canagarajah (2006) points out that "local Englishes are now traveling" (p.590). Local characterizations of 'community' can no longer be opposed to international characterizations, as few local communities where English is used are now impervious to outside influence. Canagarajah (2005) provides a detailed characterization of the relationship between the global and the local. The way local communities absorb, reject, incorporate or resist outside influence is a complex phenomenon. Canagarajah (2006) argues that, "English should be treated as a multi-national language, one that belongs to diverse communities and not owned only by the metropolitan communities" (p. 589). The diverse communities compose a "heterogeneous system of Global English". He coins the phrase "code meshing" for the relationship between local varieties of English and a so-called standard. John Adamson (2007 - personal correspondence) puts this as follows:

Recent work by Canagarajah looks at the interface between national policies/globalization and local practices/knowledge. What strikes me as particularly resonant is that there is a discomfort in the interface between perceived speech community, national policy, globalized EIL and local realities especially in terms of what 'competence(s)' mean.

International community - A community of local and hybrid communities

We soon notice when processing international news that 'International Community' has become an example of convenient media speak and is most commonly used to serve narrow partisan national interests. Former American ambassador to the UN, John Bolton, is even quoted as saying, "there is no such thing as the United Nations. There is only the international community, which can only be led by the only remaining superpower, which is the United States." (<http://www.timesonline.co.uk/article/0,,11069-1515816,00.html> in a Times Online article). For a more global perspective, we must turn to international jurists such as Antonio Cassese (2003) who refers to 'fundamental standards of 'the world community' according to which individuals may be held to account.

For linguists it is difficult to accept a singular conceptualization of 'International Community', unless it is used as a global umbrella term for some kind of 'community of communities'. In this sense, it is a pluralized, multi-glossic concept that interacts with all the other concepts of community previously characterized. International communities may range from temporary communities that form and dissolve in relation to particular events (such as attendance at a conference) to semi-permanent more stable communities that share long-term goals, such as the Asian EFL Journal editorial group. To be called communities we might minimally specify (1) some form of common goal even if the details remain to be negotiated. (2) Some mechanisms of participation specifying things like attendance (whether through physical or online presence – such as skyping other members). Membership might be relatively unstable involving forming, dissolving, reforming. (3) Some need to exchange information also seems to be a pre-requisite to participate in a community. (4) Some common purposes and norms, while open to negotiation, might also be specified, although the extent to which these become 'genres' might not be rigidly defined. Temporary and evolving generic conventions might be the norm. No communities are permanent, but we may assume that the strains on maintaining membership in internationally oriented communities might be greater and it might be physically easier to stop being a member. (5) Linguistic and pragmatic negotiations of meanings are likely to be central activities of international communities. (This does not mean that mono-cultural communities do not also need these, but they might not be aware of language

issues to the same extent, even if evidence shows that they might need to be). The way that competence is defined in a local community will need to consider all the characterizations outlined above as membership of the community will also involve communication with or within different combinations of all these kinds of community.

II. Competence and related concepts

Competence is an abstract concept and as such difficult to define in a simple way. It is best seen as part of a network of concepts which might sometimes be used as synonyms, sometimes overlap, sometimes stand in contrast to each other. In the EFL domain some of these are: 'proficiency', 'ability', 'skills', 'achievement', 'knowledge', and 'performance'. In EFL writing, 'competence' still most commonly co-occurs with 'communicative' but is also commonly found in the company of such words as 'pragmatic', 'linguistic', 'academic', 'intercultural'. Partly depending on the collocational company it is keeping, it is subject to connotational layers of meaning that can be negative. Certain collocations, such as 'communicative competence' might also have outlived their usefulness due to overuse and their associations with particular ideologies of teaching that provoke polemical rather than balanced discussion.

The consequences of competence being a broad, holistic concept can easily be underestimated. As a global concept, it can be provisionally defined as *the total available range of (multi-cultural) abilities, skills, knowledge and experience that can be drawn upon for any particular performance by an individual or group of individuals to address a real-world task or set of tasks*. When competence is used as a local rather than as a global concept, it is then commonly redefined to focus on a local situation. A local definition is always only partial, consisting of *those aspects of global competence that are brought to bear on a particular real-world task in a local context*. Naturally 'local competence' does not exist in isolation, either from the global definition or from other local competences.

As a global concept that is always put into practice in specific local contexts it follows that competence can never be achieved or even comprehended fully by one individual or totally applied even by a group of individuals in any local constituency. Each of us has only a partial view of the whole. The metaphor of a globe is useful

here. We can only see a small part of the surface of the globe at any one time and cannot easily look below the surface.

In local institutions such as the Petroleum Institute in the UAE it is possible to view competence needs along a cline from local to international. On the one hand, the Petroleum Institute is a university with the aim of providing engineers for ADNOC, the national oil company. This is a relatively local issue. At the same time, the new university has the long-term ambition of competing internationally in terms of excellence. In such a situation, locally sponsored research has a clear two-sided need to consider both local and global definitions of competence. The dynamic tension between these two different motivations can lead to progress in both local and global definitions.

As an even broader concept, it then follows that ‘international communication competence’ cannot be fully displayed or possessed by mono-cultural individuals, or indeed in any total sense, by individuals even from multi-cultural backgrounds. It is likely to be most holistically displayed by groups of individuals working together synergistically from a variety of backgrounds.

Definitions of related concepts

In her detailed discussion on the problems of competence-related concepts, Iyldyz (2007) underlines the need for careful definition of the proficiency/competence concept within EIL. While ‘**competence**’ and ‘**proficiency**’ are sometimes used interchangeably, ‘competence’ will be contrasted with ‘proficiency’ in this paper, the former being a global concept, the latter being defined here only in relation to particular task specifications for tests (such as an essay-writing test), learning tasks (such as decision-making conversations) or communication genres (such as research report writing for engineering students). As mentioned above, characterizing ‘competence’ as a *global* concept is a useful metaphor, as rather like a globe, we can only see some parts of it at one time and do not easily see below the surface. In contrast, ‘proficiency’ is defined for this report in relation to the *levels* of ability or abilities actually demonstrated when performing particular academic tasks. It can be measured in relation to particular performances by using rating scales. Such scales are a partial summary of knowledge and behaviours in the form of banded descriptions of particular behaviours for different levels of performance on a task. These descriptions reflect global definitions of competence. Where ‘proficiency’ alone is used, the result

may become a purely utilitarian and often arbitrary evaluation of behaviours associated only with one task or one context, detached from any coherent global view of what constitutes 'competence' and even detached from a candidate's underlying ability. Measuring proficiency on a particular task might nonetheless be effective, but measurements of single performances are difficult to generalize across settings so proficiency is best measured using a variety of tasks. Furthermore, there is likely to be some unstated underlying lay concept of 'competence' that is difficult to identify or defend as it has not been made explicit.

'**Performance**' is used here only to mean a unique spoken or written outcome produced at one particular time and in one particular place in a particular set of circumstances. Proficiency is normally measured on a range of tasks which therefore encompasses several performances. In assessing levels of 'proficiency' on particular tasks, we need to appeal to a super-ordinate global concept of 'competence', as a holistic, multidimensional construct. Competence is seen as *a combination of the knowledge and the ability to use the knowledge that underlies every performance*. This implies that a competent person will normally be expected to perform well, but may sometimes perform badly in a particular situation without allowing a valid long-term judgment to be made on that person's competence.

One further construct, '*achievement*', is used here to refer to particular courses. We might ideally expect achievement over time to reflect competence, but achievement is a limited concept. It is associated only with the requirements of particular courses or tests or parts of courses or tests. These might highlight quite limited aspects of competence. It is possible to achieve a very high pass in an achievement test on limited components such as the form of past tenses of English verbs without being able to use these meaningfully beyond the test or beyond the course.

Compensation

These definitions imply that evaluating 'levels' of proficiency that reflect competence using over-specific criteria needs particular care. Two students evaluated as having equal levels may have a very different profile. No two students can be assumed to be equally proficient in all aspects of competence. Assuming each student is more proficient in different aspects, it is assumed that each one can compensate for those aspects which are less developed, the end result being a similar level of proficiency in

a particular performance. Compensation between components of a multidimensional construct makes it difficult to determine a fixed system of evaluating competence in terms of the categories chosen, as high ability in one might reduce the need for high ability in another.

Even when using common scales or rubrics, it cannot be assumed that two teachers are actually using the same criteria or will evaluate the same performance in the same way. Attempts are made in rubrics or rating scales to *summarize* a global concept, rather than describe it in a definitive way. In evaluating students during and at the end of a course, the complex relationship between ‘competence’, ‘proficiency’, ‘performance’ and ‘achievement’ needs careful consideration.

Appropriateness and EIL

As a key concept of communicative competence (Hymes, 1972), and originally used in relation to mono-cultural speech communities, ‘appropriateness’ has commonly been used to refer to the norms and values that help to determine what would be appropriate in a given situation within each community. In this study, a more diverse range of communities has been evoked. ‘Appropriateness’ will therefore be disassociated from any exclusive link to monolingual speech communities.

Standard dictionary definitions of ‘appropriate’ usually refer to ‘situation’, ‘context’ or ‘circumstances’. Collins Cobuild (1988), for example, defines appropriate as meaning “suitable and acceptable for a particular situation” (p.35). OALD (2000) suggests: “suitable, acceptable or correct for the particular circumstances” (p.50). Roget’s International Thesaurus (1988) provides the following synonyms: apt, expedient, relevant, right, timely, useful, well-chosen...” (p.812). Such non-specialized definitions leave several questions unanswered. Crystal (2003), in his specialized dictionary, links appropriateness to “a linguistic variety or form which is considered suitable or possible in a given social situation” (p. 30). Crystal’s definition also takes issue with the inclusion of ‘correct’ as a synonym as ‘appropriateness’ is not a prescriptive term concerned with correctness, but one that admits ‘different expectations of different situations’. Crystal goes on to suggest that, to be appropriate, certain criteria must be met, a potentially useful explanation for designing and interpreting rating scales.

‘Appropriateness’ for Spitzberg (1994) is defined as “enacting behavior in a manner that is fitting to the context, thereby avoiding the violation of valued rules,

expectancies, or norms” (p.31). Spitzberg usefully disassociates competence from conformity or even politeness, arguing that “there are novel situations in which there are no norms to conform to, and because one of the more competent maneuvers may be to renegotiate the existing norms or rules” (p.32). Spitzberg points out that one can be appropriate but ineffective and vice versa but that any definition of the elusive ‘ideal’ communication might need to include both. For EIL, many situations may be novel so interim norms will need to be developed. Where there are no common norms or norms are familiar to only one interlocutor, some form of negotiation of communication norms will be needed to be ‘effective’. This means that ‘appropriateness’ will sometimes need to be dissociated from the notion of ‘speech community’. An appropriate contribution can be made in intercultural situations in which the norms of just one particular speech community would be ‘inappropriate’.

An appropriate contribution is then one that considers the circumstances, the setting, the background of the interlocutors and the purposes of the communication. In academic communication it would include criteria such as audience, genre, task specifications and discourse community norms. It would consider feasibility and an awareness of what might be needed to be effective, although there is no guarantee of success even when a contributor makes every effort to behave appropriately.

III. Language holistically defined

Competence is defined for many different purposes and these purposes will influence the scope of each definition. Pedagogical definitions will highlight competence in terms of skills, such as literacy skills encompassing both reading and writing skills or spoken language skills encompassing speaking and listening skills. They will also highlight lexico-grammatical ability, including systemic notions such as collocation and colligation. Some approaches to language teaching emphasize multi-skill approaches. Other ways of viewing competence focus on what is needed to acquire it both in a first or second language context. Sometimes the most usable definitions come from the field of assessment, in which case, the attempt is to determine those aspects that should be tested.

The recent work of Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) and Thompson (2004) in systemic linguistics also points to the holistic nature of competence. The overriding implication of systemic linguistics is that the competent user has acquired knowledge

of a complex set of interlocking systems and that he is able to put this knowledge to use. Halliday and Mathiessen (2004) note that systemic theory attempts to be comprehensive: "it is concerned with language in its entirety, so that whatever is said about one aspect is to be understood always with reference to the total picture" (p.3). They provide this holistic framework as a representation of the kind of knowledge that underpins competent use of a language. A systemic explanation of language implies that the knowledge required for competent use acts as a holistic resource available to the user. Users create text and "a text is the product of ongoing selection in a very large network of systems – a system network" (p.23). "We cannot explain why a text means what it does, with all the various readings and values that may be given it except by relating it to the linguistic system as a whole" (p.3). A user makes appropriate local choices and selections in particular contexts based on the limitations of his or her systemic knowledge. "A language is a resource for making meaning, and meaning resides in systemic patterns of choice."

The systemic network can be divided into three components, 'ideational', 'interpersonal' and 'textual'. At each level, choices are made from within the three systems simultaneously for any utterance. Any utterance is hence multi-functional and the structure or form of the utterance is the *product* resulting from the *process* of making systemic choices at these three levels. While Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) concede that systemic linguistics provides a very complex explanation of language knowledge, they justify this by stating, "if the account seems complex, this is because the grammar is complex" (p.5).

Although the notion of systemic 'competence' relates to a user's whole knowledge (which is inevitably partial) not all aspects of this competence will be called upon in all situations. Conversely, certain aspects will need to be present in given situations. Another implication is that to demonstrate competence, students need to be assessed when handling substantial stretches of text. At the same time, demonstrating competence means the ability to make possible and appropriate choices from a finite linguistic system within the context that the choices are made in. These appropriate contextual choices are related to participation in the various kinds of community that individuals communicate in, as outlined in this section.

Evaluating individual competence

While competence is defined in terms of community membership, it is individuals who take exams, graduate, apply and are recruited for jobs. It is no simple task to evaluate individual competence in relation to team competence in such a complex area as academic writing. Flowerdew (2000, p. 19) suggests there are normal legitimate limits to the individual nature of academic writing citing Prior (1998). Prior describes academic writing as mediated. It is not normally an individual competence, as academic writing "does not emanate from a single author, but [is] jointly constructed by various parties in addition to the actual writer, as he or she reads, discusses, revises collaboratively, and so on" (p.22).

This implies that to assess competence a variety of different genres need to be envisaged. In the Petroleum Institute context, at one end of the cline is an individual diagnostic piece in which the student writes unassisted with a strict time limit on an unknown topic with no documents or reference aids such as dictionaries. At the other end, a team written research report is evaluated which is written through collaborative multiple drafting, with full academic resources including consultation and feedback on the first draft from tutors. It is, however, unrealistic and too simple to conclude that it is the first kind of text which reflects the student's competence. To consider the second type as a measure of individual competence is also problematic. Various intermediate stages can also be envisaged and need to be considered carefully.

Some inherent problems of defining communicative competence both locally and internationally can be addressed by using competent students' work as one a way of defining targets rather than just using an external model, which may be perceived locally as being irrelevant and unattainable. In this way, global aspects of competence are balanced with local realities. To illustrate how different 'local realities' can be, a very different academic community will be briefly described within a Japanese University where a general English course taught to all first-year students regardless of academic discipline develops skills for international communication.

IV. Comparison of two local contexts

The holistic, global concept of competence, while relevant to all contexts, can never be totally applied in local contexts. Certain aspects of competence described in this section were identified to respond to a local need at a national university in Japan, where a course in English Conversation had recently become compulsory for all first-

year students. Students at this level have diverse competence needs. Science students and International Studies students have potential membership needs in both monolingual English speech communities and in specialized international discourse communities. However, the majority of students are unlikely to develop a relationship with any kind of English 'community' and most students can be primarily identified as members of a monolingual Japanese speaking community. It is difficult to predict a common set of future needs for all students, although all must take the same course.

Observation of English classes in local secondary schools and initial assessment by university instructors indicated that students had had little experience in participating in conversations. The development of interactive skills was therefore identified as an appropriate general aim for first-year university classes.

The simple ability to keep a basic conversation going was identified as lacking in around 60% of students during placement tests for streaming students. 60% of students were identified as beginner, or elementary level speakers of English in a conversational context. Teachers' own subsequent evaluation at the start of classes with streamed students did not contradict this finding. While this was a compulsory course, it can be argued that many of these students would never use even the kind of basic lingua franca skills taught in this course in the future. But this is a somewhat circular argument as only students who have developed competence are able to use it. It is difficult to exclude the possibility that students will at some time, within their own country or when traveling or communicating online, need at least spontaneous lingua franca survival skills.

Why teach small-group interactive competence?

Assuming the need is correctly identified, sometimes in spite of the students' own perception, we might then make appeal to appropriate global theory to identify and conceptualize the competence required. The example below, which is perfectly understandable to the interlocutors, illustrates the problem of small-group interaction in impervious, mono-cultural groups:

- Where would you like to go?
- Maybe Italia.
- Oh, do you like Hide?
- Yes, of course.
- I see.

The solution found for this type of outcome was role-play involving students in researching foreign countries and playing the role of foreigners. Students must then realize the need to negotiate meaning as outsiders: “What or who is ‘Hide’?” (Hidetoshi Nakata, at the time of this conversation, was a famous Japanese footballer playing for an Italian team.)

Summary of needs

Lingua franca skills	Based on immediate local “needs” in terms of perceived weaknesses
Immediate returns	Basic “lingua franca” conversation skills of global applicability in temporary international communities
Focus on intelligibility	Adaptive intercultural skills for international communication
Supported by concepts and practices from global models	Turn-taking, negotiation of meaning

Conversational analysis is a useful resource for the kind of course that needs to develop an awareness that conversation is a participant-managed system. Active attention to the obtention and distribution of turns to speak is a key aspect of competence (Sacks and Schegloff, 1974, p. 234). But students in this local context are often extremely reluctant to either self-select or to take the responsibility for nominating the next speaker (“current speaker select next”) in a formal classroom context. Engaging in the “here-and-now” process of adjusting to other participants` contributions (Coulthard 1992; Tsui, 1994) and negotiating real understanding (Bygate, 1987, pp.22-41) are necessary skills in terms of interaction in a foreign language, and worthwhile in terms of promoting truly intercultural exchange.

A comparison of rating scales developed for two different contexts will be used here to illustrate how the global notion of competence can lead to the targeting of very local aspects in particular contexts. In the Japanese context, for the general education course in spoken communication skills, the following scales were developed based on

competence criteria largely drawn from conversation analysis after analysis of the local context.

Four scales were used covering (1) the ability to keep a conversation going, (2) the content of contributions, (3) lexico-grammatical intelligibility, (4) intelligibility of pronunciation. Only the first two scales will be illustrated here. These cover the interactive ability (1) to participate in keeping a conversation going in terms of turn-taking and negotiation, without which ability in other categories is difficult to demonstrate or assess, and (2) the ability to bring about a genuine exchange of information and express feelings, opinions and attitudes in relation to the information. Each of the four scales is a combination of two other scales. For example, scale 1 below is a combination of scales 1a and 1b.

1. Keeping a Conversation Going: Turn-taking and Negotiation

1. Has (almost) no ability to keep a conversation going. Without constant help, the conversation is always likely to break down.
2. Rarely self selects, but responds minimally to other speakers and sometimes supports their contributions. Negotiates rarely and/or only with a very limited repertoire. Communication sometimes breaks down without support.
3. Responds fully when nominated, supports other speakers and sometimes self selects. Has an adequate repertoire for negotiation. Communication almost never breaks down.
4. Is able to take initiatives, self-selecting and negotiating whenever necessary drawing on a wide repertoire of expressions and techniques. Helps other participants to join in and interrupts politely when appropriate.

1a. Keeping a Conversation Going: Turn-taking

1. Has (almost) no ability to exploit turn-taking to keep a conversation going. Without constant help, the conversation is always likely to break down.
2. Rarely self selects, but responds minimally to other speakers and sometimes supports their contributions. Only rarely nominates other speakers, even when he/she has the floor. Communication sometimes breaks down without support.
3. Responds fully when nominated, supports other speakers and sometimes self selects. Communication almost never breaks down.
4. Is able to take initiatives, self-selecting, holding the floor, interrupting or nominating as the conversation demands. Helps other participants to join in.

1b. Making Communication Effective: Negotiation

1. Has (almost) no ability to negotiate effectively. Without constant help, communication of even basic information is unlikely to be successful.
2. Sometimes adjusts to the contributions of other speakers, but only rarely negotiates and then only with a very limited repertoire limiting the effectiveness of the communication.
3. Is able to negotiate when necessary, adjusting to the contributions of other speakers and demonstrating an adequate repertoire for negotiation. Communication is normally effective and successful.
4. Is able to adjust fully to other speakers' contributions, taking initiatives and negotiating persistently whenever necessary, drawing on a wide repertoire of expressions and techniques. Takes a full share of the responsibility for successful communication.

Teachers in this context have observed that when these skills are lacking, it is difficult to evaluate the level of ability in any other category, such as the content of contributions (or lexico-grammatical competence.)

2. Content of Contributions: Exchanging Information, Ideas, and Feelings

1. Has almost no ability to communicate even basic information such as age, price, etc
2. Can only communicate the most basic information, and cannot really express ideas or feelings on anything but the most basic everyday topics.
3. Can communicate information on a reasonable range of topics and can express opinions, feelings and ideas to a certain degree on a more limited range of topics.
4. Has a sound ability to communicate information, and express feelings, opinions, and ideas on a variety of topics.

2a Content of Contributions: Exchanging Information

1. Has almost no ability to communicate even basic information such as age, price, etc.
2. Can only exchange the most basic information on common everyday topics.
3. Can exchange information adequately on a reasonable range of topics.
4. Has a sound ability to exchange information on a wide variety of topics.

2b. Content of Contributions: Expression of Opinions, Ideas, and Feelings

1. Has (almost) no ability to communicate even basic opinions, ideas or feelings.
2. Can only express opinions, ideas or feelings in a fairly limited manner on basic everyday topics.
3. Can express opinions, feelings and ideas adequately on common topics.
4. Has a sound ability to express feelings, opinions, and ideas on a variety of topics.

Intelligibility

When the course objectives lean more towards the confidence-building skills related to keeping a conversation going, the other two assessed aspects of competence, pronunciation (both individual sounds and intonation), grammar and vocabulary are both assessed in terms of intelligibility in a conversational context and not as ends in themselves.

Local Context 2

When compared to scales used to summarize the competence criteria of advanced research writing skills in a different context (Petroleum Institute, Abu Dhabi), it is difficult from an initial scrutiny to identify common features. (The upper band only is illustrated here for comparison.)

<i>Genre and Task Fulfillment</i>	Organization of the Whole Piece	Content and Argumentation (Within Paragraphs)	Language
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<p>Task fully understood. The writer demonstrates full awareness of the genre requirements, clearly defining the task in terms of his/her own research project.</p> <p>Virtually all parts of the task are fully addressed.</p> <p>Virtually all of what is addressed is relevant.</p> <p>Text references in the main body are always used appropriately.</p>	<p>Whole structure is extremely clear, cohesive and coherent.</p> <p>Excellent lay-out.</p> <p>Excellent transitions between paragraphs.</p> <p>Develops very coherently from a clear introduction to a well-supported conclusion.</p>	<p>Information is fully adequate in quantity, relevance and accuracy.</p> <p>Virtually all statements are consistently and qualitatively well supported with evidence and/or sound argumentation.</p> <p>(“Evidence” can include: examples, facts, primary and secondary data, reference to, quotation from, authoritative sources.)</p> <p>The writer demonstrates the ability to express a fully appropriate level of confidence in the evidence using modality.</p>	<p>Style and expression highly developed and engaging, with a consistent level of formality fully appropriate to the task.</p> <p>Sophisticated and appropriate use of a broad repertoire of grammar and vocabulary.</p> <p>Excellent coordination between sentences within paragraphs.</p> <p>Clarity and accuracy are of a high standard. Evidence of thorough, careful proofreading. Correct spelling and punctuation.</p>
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At the Petroleum Institute in Abu Dhabi, a university for engineering students, freshman students study two communication courses, the second of which develops communication skills through a semester-long team research project in two stages culminating in an extensive written report and a sophisticated multimedia presentation. Student teams create a variety of documents related to project management, such as memoranda of understanding, source evaluations, progress reports, research proposals and movie-maker presentation storyboards. The following is the upper band ('excellent') of the rating scale for research-based writing in this context.

The following is a task description of the research report drafted at the end of ten-week team project:

Task specification: Final Research Report

The final research report is a team-drafted report. There is no specified length but the report is normally a maximum of 5000 words including appendices and could be considerable shorter. All team members are expected to contribute equally to both the research project and the drafting of the report. The final product should be professionally drafted and presented and carefully proofread before submission. The first draft of this report counts 15% of your final grade and the second draft 10%. This means that by the time the first draft is submitted, a team needs to have become proficient at drafting and proofreading.

The report normally includes a general introduction to the project, a background review section, a description and justification of the methods used to gather data, a results section, a discussion section and a conclusions/recommendations section. A reference list is required for all in-text references. This pattern is a common one for academic reports but other variations might be possible depending on the topic and the research approach. The important point is to lead coherently to a discussion and conclusion section which answers your research question(s) and shows that you have done everything possible to achieve your aims. Competent writers of long documents often use meta-communication to explain the purpose of different sections and to explain their organization to the reader. They also explain their reasoning (demonstrating critical thinking) supported by facts, evidence and good argumentation. They do not make unreasonable claims about their findings, but use modality to express an appropriate level of confidence in them.

You are required to write an **abstract**, which is not an introduction. In the abstract, you should summarize your whole report including the main findings. The **introduction** typically describes the topic area briefly and explains and justifies the choice and relevance of the topic in general terms. You need to convince an academic reader that this document is worth reading, that your topic is relevant and that the research is useful. **The focus and scope** of the project might also be outlined here, and your research question(s) introduced, but you might feel you can do this better after the **background section**. The background section will include a literature review. (The library staff are available to provide assistance here.) You will provide important background information and summarize any relevant previous research on your topic. All sections should be relevant and appropriate use of citation and reporting verbs is very important. This section could be a synthesis of relevant parts of individual source evaluations already written by team members. It should also attempt to outline what research, if any, has already been done in the PI on this topic and might include other kinds of documents such as background interviews with specialists in the field.

The **method section** should explain the approaches you adopted to collect your data and why you chose them. Normally the methods chosen should be justified as the best ways to answer your research questions. A single method is often not enough. This section could also explain what kind of data you need and in what form. (Such as open-ended survey answers expressing detailed opinions.)

In the **results section** you should present all relevant findings (which does not mean all findings). Small charts should be integrated into the text document but should always be summarized in words. Large charts could be presented in an appendix. Normally they will be summarized and presented concisely and clearly here but will not be interpreted or discussed here unless you have a good reason for combining the results section with the discussion section.

The **discussion section** is not just a more detailed repetition of the results section. You do not need to discuss every finding. You could start by briefly summarizing your research aims and questions and then answering your questions **theme by theme** in linked paragraphs based on your findings. Discussing method by method might not always be the best approach as the same theme might require you to synthesize information obtained by different methods. Discussing a theme such as

public "awareness" of a problem your research raises might draw on survey and interview data, for example. Choose the most striking and relevant findings to discuss. The discussion and (conclusion) sections tend to be the sections in which repetition from previous sections occurs the most.

In your **conclusions** you should summarize, emphasizing only the most important findings based on key aspects from your discussion that answer your research questions and possibly suggest what further research might be needed. **Recommendations** could also be listed here, but they also might need justifying and ranking in terms of feasibility, importance, etc.

The writing process and developing competence

For students performing in their second language, it is sometimes argued that advanced skills of proficiency in report writing can be developed without focusing on linguistic competence. The following samples are used to illustrate the counter argument that general linguistic competence is an important factor in the perception of report writing proficiency. (This is not to exclude the possibility that first language users also need to be trained in linguistic competence.) Sample 1a (the submitted version) is presented as a relatively competent text in terms of linguistic competence. In the institutional context, it ranks as a competent text for freshman-level students.

Sample 1a – A competent text

“Finally, as an answer to the research question, we can say that the occupants in building 2 *might be at risk* of SBS because of poor ventilation, the locations of the vents (in the northern part of the building) and the accumulation of dust on the vents and in the ducts. On the other hand, building 3 *might not be* at the same level of risk *like* building 2, because of the *less* dust and dirt accumulation on the vents in building 3 and the appropriate locations of the vents. As for humidity, the records say it varies between 40-55%, which *may not trouble* the healthiness of *both* buildings in terms of SBS, according to [3].”

Sample 1a had been through a full team proofreading process. While three relatively minor linguistic errors interfere with the intelligibility of the text to a limited extent (blue script and italics), the overall perception of linguistic competence is high for freshman level students and the text also demonstrates an awareness of the need for

appropriate levels of modality (interpersonal systemic function) in relation to the evidence presented in the report (red script and italics). That is not to say that the advanced level students who wrote it do not need to work on linguistic competence more to refine their content message. Teaching in this context involves using extracts from students' first drafts in whole-class editing sessions. Sample 1b is an 'improved' text after one such editing session.

Sample 1b (Improved)

"Finally, as an answer to the research question, it can be argued that that there might be some degree of risk of SBS for the occupants in building 2 because of poor ventilation, the locations of the vents (in the northern part of the building) and the accumulation of dust on the vents and in the ducts. On the other hand, building 3 might not be at the same level of risk as building 2, because of the lower dust and dirt accumulation on the vents in building 3 and the appropriate locations of the vents. As for humidity, the records say it varies between 40-55%, which is unlikely to affect the healthiness of either building in terms of SBS, according to [3]."

Even in texts such as sample 1, it is argued that improved *linguistic* competence, affects the perception of the competence of the content of the message. This suggests that language and content are difficult to separate. The function of modality supports this point theoretically, as the degree of confidence expressed in the evidence generated by the research project relates to the content of the message, but depends on appropriate and subtle linguistic choices.

Sample 2a is an example of a less competent text written by students in the same freshman class. A comparison of sample 1 and sample 2 illustrates the difficulty caused by a lower level of linguistic competence. This appears to make it more difficult to evaluate the quality of the research content in sample 2.

Sample 2a – A less competent text

The second type of waste is plastic waste. Plastic waste is mainly made from organic compounds from oil. The huge amounts of plastic waste are taken to a factory in Musafah to be managed. **Additionally, this helps the environment even more, because it dose not only get red of plastic waste. Furthermore, the factory also transforms the plastic waste into fertilizers. These fertilizers help

the plants to absorb the nutrients from soil in which they provide. This process is working all over the PI and most of the other areas containing plants grown by man. This helps to prevent the harm of leaving the plastic waste to react and produce harmful products like gases as [1] concluded. The same process is done also to the third type of waste which is paper waste.

Having heard the students present their findings orally, and even from the evidence of the written texts alone, it can be argued that the actual research content in sample 2 is as competent as in sample 1. The main difference between them is linguistic competence, which affects the texts clarity and its coherence. For example, sample 2a has a serious problem with the textual function in the passage:

Additionally, this helps the environment even more, because it dose not only get red of plastic waste. Furthermore, the factory also transforms the plastic waste into fertilizers.

The message can be clarified as follows:

This helps the environment even more, because *the factory* not only disposes of plastic waste. *It* also transforms the plastic waste into fertilizers.

The linguistically ‘improved’ version of sample 2 (in sample 2b below) improves the perception of the research content. Most of the ‘improvements’ in sample 2 are only linguistic in nature, however.

Sample 2b – A linguistically improved version of sample 2

The second type of waste is plastic waste. Plastic waste is mainly composed of organic compounds of oil. Huge amounts of plastic waste are taken to a factory in Musafah to be managed. This helps the environment even more, because the factory not only disposes of plastic waste. It also transforms the plastic waste into fertilizer. These fertilizers help plants to absorb nutrients from the soil in which they grow. This process is in operation all over the PI and most of the other areas containing plants. This helps to prevent the harmful effects of leaving the plastic waste to react with other substances and produce harmful products like gases as [1] concluded. A similar process is used also for the third type of waste which is paper waste.

The samples used above illustrate the importance of linguistic competence in relation to research content in the PI context. They are representative examples of a very common phenomenon in that context. As these samples are taken from team-written texts that have been through a team proof-reading process, it is clear that attention to linguistic content in relation to research/scientific content is a very important issue. This is demonstrably true when the students are studying a subject like engineering in their second language in their own country. It is also true for even the most competent students from a linguistic point of view and the perception that native or native-like language ability would eradicate this problem is also naïve given the important symbiotic relationship that can be established between language and content.

There are no mistakes in the following example. While this is a competently written text, this extract supports the finding that modal auxiliaries tend to be overused even by competent students and that other forms could be substituted – “might be” could be replaced by “appears to be”, for example. The students’ own texts can be used to develop the following kind of exercise:

Use the following table to edit the paragraph below, using a broader range of modal expressions than the authors. Do not use any modal verbs. Make any other improvements you feel are necessary.

Ways of expressing modality – (based on Fowler, 1986, p.132)

Ways of expressing modality	Example and comment
Categorical statements (no “modal” language)	The sum of the angles of a triangle <i>is</i> 180 ⁰ . (This does not permit doubt even to a specialist.)
Modal auxiliary verbs: may, might, should, etc.	This might mean that... (Labelled as ‘subjective’ by some specialists.)
Modal adjectives, adverbs or sentence adverbs e.g. ‘probable’, ‘probably’, ‘in all probability’ ‘possible’, ‘certain’,	While it is possible that these results ... In all probability, these survey results can be relied upon as they are confirmed by previous research results in this field.

'certainly', 'likely'.	(Labelled as more objective by some specialists)
Evaluative adjectives and adverbs: e.g. 'fortunately', 'regrettably', 'inevitably'	Regrettably, the conclusions are not supported by irrefutable evidence. (Often represent value judgements)
Reporting phrases Eg. 'claim', 'is reported to have said', 'according to ...', 'state', 'argue', 'suggest', 'imply', 'interpret this to mean that'...	The present author interprets this result to mean that... The survey results (appear to) suggest that...' (Can be used to distance oneself from another researcher's statement or idea, not just to report.)
Verbs of knowledge, prediction, evaluation e.g. 'seem', 'guess', 'believe', 'appear', 'predict', 'approve'	It seems likely that these results were not produced by chance. These initial results appear to suggest that ... (Often seen as more objective than 'may' or 'might')
Generic statements: It is commonly stated that... It cannot be denied that... It is true that... It is clear that...	It is commonly stated that plastic waste ... (Often used to express the author's own position or to prepare for a counter argument.)

“Finally, as an answer to the research question, we can say that the occupants in building 2 *might be at risk* of SBS [sick building syndrome] because of poor ventilation, the locations of the vents (in the northern part of the building) and the accumulation of dust on the vents and in the ducts. On the other hand, building 3 *might not be* at the same level of risk as building 2, because of the lower dust and dirt accumulation on the vents in building 3 and the appropriate locations of the vents. As

for humidity, the records say it varies between 40-55%, which *may not trouble* the healthiness of either buildings in terms of SBS, according to [3].”

Below is a possible solution using alternative modal forms:

Finally, as an answer to the research question, [1] it can be argued that that there is some degree of risk of SBS for the occupants in building 2 because of poor ventilation, the locations of the vents (in the northern part of the building) and the accumulation of dust on the vents and in the ducts. On the other hand, building 3 does not appear to be at the same level of risk as building 2, because of the lower dust and dirt accumulation on the vents in building 3 and the appropriate locations of the vents. As for humidity, the records say it varies between 40-55%, which is unlikely to affect the healthiness of either building in terms of SBS, according to [3].

In this context, competence is developed in a local community using a combination of global models (systemic linguistics for ‘modality’ for example) and local texts. Higher levels of competence are first evaluated in relation to what the most competent students are able to produce. The teaching then focuses on taking this to a higher level.

Conclusions

The aspects of competence taught in just two very different local contexts have been contrasted for a specific purpose. They indicate that at first sight such different competences are not part of the same conceptual framework. However, a global definition of competence leads to a different conclusion. The same core aspects of bilingual (or diglossic), linguistic, communicative, pragmatic and intercultural competences are present but in different forms and at different levels.

The main general conclusions of this study are as follows:

1. Competence is linked to the notion of ‘community’. In any local context, the competence needs of students can be related to the different communities with and within which they will need to communicate. In the first context, it was difficult to identify speech communities or discourse communities within which students would need to interact. For the general English courses in this specific context, it is proposed

that basic lingua franca skills be addressed in relation to turn-taking and the negotiation of meaning to facilitate international communication. For this context, where English is taught as an international foreign language, task-based units were designed to develop competence beyond basic lingua franca skills (See Nunn, 2006 for a full description of the design of task-based units.) Increasingly universities around the globe are teaching content-based course in English and a high level of competence is required. In the PI context outlined briefly above, it can be concluded that all the various kinds of community discussed in this paper (speech community, discourse community, bilingual community, local community and international community) are potentially relevant. This has broad implications for the approach to language-related education and justifies a project-based curriculum that can act as a broad framework for the very wide variety of needs identified for PI students.

2. Basic criteria of adaptation (adapted from theoretical fields such as conversational analysis or pragmatics) to differential background knowledge can be applied to the teaching and assessment of both general and academic communication. They are also useful in providing criteria for developing critical thinking skills in relation to academic reading and writing.

3. A knowledge of genre emphasizing the purpose of different kinds of communication in context is useful as an important aspect of competence. Intercultural contexts can be seen as a genre in themselves. It is particularly important to develop a full awareness of the nature of genre rather than just an ability to reproduce genres in a formulaic way. Emphasizing the purpose of a particular assignment using meta-communication is one way of addressing this explicitly. Students need to develop the competence to be able to apply their experience and knowledge of different genres (and of the idea of genre in general) to new unpredictable genres in the future. 'Competence' is a resource that can be re-applied to future performances in different communities. Samples of competent writing are a useful starting point for developing genre awareness but imitating models is a poor substitute for developing the ability to improve on models and communicate creatively and originally within genres.

4. Systemic knowledge of language and communication is holistic and can never be possessed totally by any individual. Hence the importance of teamwork. Competent individuals can compensate for weakness in one area with strength in another. Assessment needs to provide opportunities for individuals to demonstrate the ability to compensate.

5. Certain aspects of holistic systemic competence such as modality and transitivity (which are themselves holistic and complex aspects of competence) can usefully be emphasized in analyzing and teaching academic communication. Analysis from research can be applied to communication courses. The ability to express appropriate levels of confidence in evidence and argumentation is an important component of academic knowledge creation and hence of academic literacy. While the theory is complex, it is possible to provide understandable summaries of the basic concepts that are accessible to students. (See Nunn in Brandt, 2008 forthcoming, in which a 3000-word summary of the systemic notion of modality based on the most complex and detailed (12,000-word) chapter of this report, chapter five, has been drafted.) Students have successfully used their understanding of epistemic modality to improve their academic communication competence, although words like 'epistemic' are never taught.

In any local context (here the PI in Abu Dhabi), achieving an appropriate balance between the global and the local is at the heart of any applicable characterization of EIL competence. Achieving a measure of acceptance both within local communities, and between local communities across international boundaries, remains the major challenge of this kind of research.

Competence and community - A summary

Training for EIL competence involves more than just skills and attitudes although these are important aspects. EIL competence implies an ability (not just a readiness) to interact in unpredictable multicultural contexts and the ability to adapt to a variety of communities and types of community. Some of these will be temporary multicultural communities, other will be monolingual and mono-cultural speech communities. Standards of competence are related to the composition of the membership of the community and are not definable in terms of 'native', or educated 'native' as members may not be native. In some mono-cultural speech communities

that EIL students will need to participate in, 'native' or 'near-native' norms will still be important. Other communities may have no 'native' members and natives will not necessarily possess the competence to join. Relationships are likely to become increasingly symbiotic between community types and developing even partial international competence for communication within and between different kinds of community requires experience, practice and training.

Five Types of Communities

International Communities	In the singular, the 'international community' represents a notion of a 'community of communities'. However, all communities are 'international' to varying degrees and in different ways.
Speech Communities	Monolingual, diffuse or focused, often idealized. Permits further diversity in sub-communities.
Bilingual, Di-glossic Communities	Most users of EIL belong to bilingual communities with strong maintenance of the first language. EIL is learnt for monolingual, but multi-glossic, multi-cultural use.
Discourse Communities	Specialized professional or academic communities with membership based only on competence. They are potentially multinational with no 'borders'.
Local Communities	Local communities in which EIL is used absorb, reject, incorporate or resist outside influence. They are international, and international use of English is always 'local'.

Types of Competence

Five important types of competence have been identified in these two papers. It can be concluded that an international view of communicative competence is not a reduced competence. It is a broader concept than communicative competence, although both concepts include linguistic competence as an essential component. The five aspects of competence below operate simultaneously whenever language is used.

Five Aspects of International Communicative Competence

Multiglossic	Bi- multi-lingual, di-multi-glossic. Interlocutors need to be sensitive to different identities and to be skilled in communicating their own identity intelligibly.
Strategic	In EIL communication, strategies, such as avoidance strategies, are not secondary. They are essential two-way components of intercultural communication.
Linguistic	In individuals and local communities linguistic competence in at least one variety of English is needed.
Pragmatic/Discourse	The ability to adjust language to context and to resolve differences of background knowledge is essential and requires training.
Intercultural	Intercultural competence for EIL is not based on the knowledge of one other culture for successful communication between just two cultures. It means the ability to adjust to unpredictable multicultural situations.

Five Important Characteristics of International Communicative Competence

In addition to the above, certain general characteristics of EIL competence have been identified.

Five Characteristics of ICC

Global	Holistic, interlocking, inclusive.
Partial	No individuals or local communities can possess holistic competence totally.
Compensatory	Strengths compensate for weaknesses.
Adaptive	Competence depends on adaptive ability. Strategic skills of adaptation are not optional. A locally owned variety must always be adapted for international use. Notions such as a tolerance, openmindedness, broadmindedness are all related to a notion of competence that is based on adaptive ability, not origin.
Creative	Second language users have the right and need to use English creatively.

The global holistic nature of EIL competence has important consequences for education and for issues such as geo-political ownership of English. It is a simple undeniable fact that no one culture and no individual within a culture can demonstrate more than a partial knowledge. This means that all EIL users will need to use their strengths to compensate for inevitable limitations. EIL Competence is necessarily an inclusive notion, not just for altruistic reasons, but by its very nature. Compensation for the problems created by partial knowledge is therefore an important skill that all EIL users need.

Final definitions

This discussion started by explaining why a paper on a broad and complex concept could not start with definitions. It was further suggested that ‘definitions’ are more appropriate in the form of broad characterizations. In a sense this whole paper has been defining competence for EIL, a kind of International Communicative Competence. The following definitions have evolved through discussion and research. They are intended as broad characterizations of global and local competences. The global definition is intended to be applicable across contexts and the local definition, is more specifically re-defined for the PI context discussed as just one example in this paper.

Global definition of competence

Global definition of ICC

While International Communicative Competence is too broad to define briefly, the following initial approximation might stimulate further debate.

Competence in communication is a **holistic, global and international** concept encompassing various **interlocking components** of usable **knowledge** and the **skills** and **abilities** needed to put these into practice within a variety of **communities** and **types of community**. The main components are **pragmatic, discourse, strategic, intercultural, interpersonal** and **linguistic**. Competence includes **skills** in areas related to both **written** and **spoken** language and certain **adaptive skills** such as the ability to **negotiate meaning** with people of different backgrounds. **Creativity** is also a characteristic of competence. The sum of these components amounts to something very large and only certain aspects of it will be called upon in any one **context**.

Individual competence is always **partial** and subject to compensation and development both for local and global use. Total competence is **beyond the range of any individual**, or indeed of any **single community**, but competent users and members of communities will **compensate** for weakness in one area with skill or knowledge in another. In an international sense, an ability to transfer competence acquired in one context, **adapting** it to a large variety of cultural contexts across discourse and speech **communities** is also implied together with the ability to use **at least one variety of English** in a manner which is **intelligible** to users of other varieties and which can be adjusted to the needs of **intercultural** communication. Users in different contexts may be at very different levels of competence and have very different needs. Certain needs are **global** and others **local**.

The implication of the above is that competence is **owned only by its users** and, where it is assessed, it should be, at least partially, assessed within the communities in which it is to be used. No one global standard will fit all users and communities but all competent users will have enough in common to be able to negotiate norms and interim norms in order to communicate successfully within and between particular communities and sub-communities.

Local PI definition

From this broad definition for international use, certain aspects can be expressed more specifically for the PI context.

Competence in communication in the local PI context involves various **interlocking components** of usable **knowledge** and the **skills** and **abilities** needed to put these into practice both within the local community and in preparation for communication with a variety of **communities** and **types of community**. The main components are **pragmatic, discourse, strategic, intercultural, interpersonal** and **linguistic**.

Developing competence involves developing transferable **skills** and **creativity** in areas related to both **written** and **spoken** genres. Competence implies the ability to handle general English to a high level of competence and to apply this within scientific and engineering discourse communities. Knowledge of basic systemic competences such as the ability to use appropriate modality is a transferable aspect of competence.

Total competence is **beyond the range of any individual student**, or indeed of any group of students within a **single community**, but competent students are able to demonstrate the ability to **compensate** for weakness in one area with skill or knowledge in another. Competent local students will have developed the ability to use **at least one variety of English** to a high level of competence and in a manner which is **intelligible** to users of other varieties. Individual competence is always **partial** and subject to compensation and development both for local and global use.

Competence in communication in the PI is related to global models of competence and does not exist in isolation. It is also **owned by its users** and can be expressed in its own terms in relation to competent performance within the institution. When it is assessed, it should be, at least partially, assessed within the community in which it is to be most immediately used. To be globally acceptable, competence expressed in local terms must also be related to competence in other comparable international contexts. For local competence to be meaningful in any global sense beyond the local community, achieving the best possible balance between global and local criteria is essential.

International Communicative Competence is linked to ownership, as all competent users have a stake-hold in the language. No community has a controlling share per se,

unless politics intervene to promote one variety of English. ICC embodies an ability to adapt to different cultures, all of which represent competence differently. Attitude is also an important aspect of EIL. Powerful political groups (whether 'native' or 'non-native') may not feel the need to adapt, but the global evolution of English is likely to make such an attitude counterproductive in the long term for those who adopt it and inflexible uncooperative users may ultimately find themselves excluded from membership of important communities because they do not have the competence to participate in them. Ultimately, ICC is a value-driven concept: an open- and broad-minded, tolerant approach is intimately related to the kind of adaptation that is required to put it to use.

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Title

Diagnosing factors of the preference for English as a center variants of English in English as a lingua franca settings

Authors

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Abstract

There exists a big discrepancy between the theory and actual use of English as a lingua franca(ELF). The deviation from the linguistic norm of Anglophone countries seemingly allows the acceptance of vernacular norms of English so that non-native speakers of English (NNSs) can use English without having low self-esteem. On the other hand, some NNSs tend to consider the centre variants of English like American English or British English, as their model. Given the actual condition, this paper explores the possible factors of such preference for specific dialects of the English used by Anglophone speakers in terms of the learning context of individual English language learners. A questionnaire survey, as an exploratory study, reveals that explicit factors contributing to the preference cannot be found from the external learning backgrounds of learners, emphasizing the need to examine the mental factors of English language learners in ELF settings.

Key words: English as a lingua franca, centre variants of English, native speakers of English, non-native speakers of English, English linguistic competence

Introduction

It has been believed by applied linguists that English has already become a global language, which results in the term: English as a lingua franca (thereafter, ELF). This has been shown by many kinds of statistical data. For example, the number of the

English speakers, for whom English is not a mother tongue (thereafter, NNSs, standing for non-native speakers of English) has gone way beyond that of native speakers of English (thereafter, NSs) (Crystal, 1997), which means that more opportunities for NNSs to speak English will increase with NNSs rather than with NSs. (Jenkins, 2000; Mauther, 1999). In response to this situation, some have argued about the current status of English eagerly: the ownership of English no longer belongs to NSs (for example, Widdowson, 1994; Norton, 1997) or new norms of ELF should be established, separated from the norms which regard NSs as models (for example, Jenkins, 1998, 2000; Seidlhofer, 1999) to make equal the power relation between NSs and NNSs.

However, in fact, there may exist a great discrepancy between theoretical emancipation from norm of English and actual situations NNSs have had. Firstly, the sociopolitical power of English between NSs and NNSs still seems to exist rather strongly not only in formal situations but also in private communications. For example, NNSs occasionally have difficulty in making themselves understood in English in their classroom or daily-life communications. As a result, many of them neither can claim their ownership of English nor consider their English as legitimate. (Wallace, 2002) NNSs, therefore, still tend to lose their self-esteem in speaking English, which is viewed as pivotal by Brown (1980) and Gardner & Lambert (1972).

Furthermore, more critically and problematically, there seem to exist many NNSs who regard the English that NSs use as their model. In the sphere of Applied Linguistic, it has been often believed that target language, the language which native speakers use, have to be modeled after by language learners, while ‘interlanguage’ (Selinker, 1972), the incomplete language which non-native speakers use, have to be modified to get close to a target language, which is the clear purpose of second (or foreign) language learning. This notion may form several existing language learning perspectives. However, our study questions this perspective because too much attention to ‘authenticity’ of English (Seargeant, 2005) may bring about learner’s perception of their English as “deficient Englishes.” (Kachru, 1992) In addition, their mimicry of the authentic English may cause the loss of their identity (Mauther, 1999) due to an Anglo-Saxon social persona for the successful use of English. (Kramsch, 1999) In that respect, it is evident that such mental condition in which NNSs have been cannot result in successful communication not only with NSs but also with NNSs, which is far from ideal situations in ELF settings.

Strong preference for the authentic English stems mainly from the belief of ‘native speaker fallacy’ (Phillipson, 1992), which is the notion that NSs are regarded as perfect and ideal speakers of English and therefore it is the English they speak and the English linguistic competence they have that NNSs should learn as a norm. Nunn (2005), on the other hand, has already suggested that the ultimate goal for EIL learners should be EIL competence rather than native speaker competence.

Native speakers’ fallacy is related to Norm Chomsky’s foundational concept of his generative grammar that a native speaker of a language is an ideal speaker and listener in a completely homogeneous speech community (Brain, 1999). NSs provide the model standard English grammar and vocabulary for NNSs (Phillipson, 1992) because they know “their language perfectly”(Brain, 1999;3) with their grammatical intuitions that NNSs do not.(Kramsch, 1998) As a consequence of wide spread of Native Speaker Fallacy, this leads to the notion of NNSs that the centre variants of English should be the norm for the periphery countries (Canagarajah, 1999) and therefore ideal English teachers are NSs for non-native English learners(Brain, 1999).

To address this kind of issue, many studies such as Fairclough (1992), Kachru (1992) and Phillipson (1992) attempt to account for the dominance of center variants of English from a linguistic imperialism perspective. However, there must also be some factors of such dominance within individuals who use English as a second language or foreign language. The aim of this paper is, therefore, to analyze the individual factors of taking center variants of English as a model; to be concrete, to explore the relationship between NNSs’ preference for center variants of English based mainly on Native Speaker Fallacy, and NNSs’ learning contexts of English.

In the following section, an exploratory study will identify NNSs’ tendencies to take the center variants of English as their model and not to adopt the center model. This study thus questions what the relationship lies between NNSs’ adoption of the center model and length of their English learning, their assessment of their linguistic competence of English language in general, their perception of their English in the four skills, and so on.

2. Exploratory Study

In order to address the situations of NNSs who prefer center variants of English, an exploratory study was conducted. Questionnaire survey to NNSs aims to clarify the

English learning background and the recognition of English abilities of NNSs who take the center variants of English as their model.

2.1 Method

2.1.1 Informants

Informants of this questionnaire survey make up 47 people, accounting for 14 men and 33 women, who are all postgraduate students or visiting scholars in an education institution in the U.K. Some of them are young graduates; others are quite experienced teacher trainers who are selected by their governments to study at the institution as postgraduates; and others are visiting fellows or part-time Ph. D students, who are university professors in their countries. This implies that all the informants have relatively higher English linguistic competence in that they came to the U.K in order to research their own topics through English, whether it is their second or foreign language. That is the reason no pre-test to examine their English linguistic competence was conducted.

The informants have significantly different backgrounds: 21 of them (45.65%) come from countries where English is an official or second language(ESL) such as Bahrain, Bangladesh, India, Nigeria and Sri Lanka, while 25 (54.34%) from the countries where English is a foreign language (EFL) such as Hong Kong, Greece, Italy, Japan, South Korea and Taiwan. (In this study, Hong Kong is regarded as an EFL country in that English is not the official language.) Their age is ranged from early twenties to fifties; more than 70% of them have studied English for more than 10 years. As for their experiences of residing in Anglophone countries before they came to the U.K. in this time, 63.8% of them have never stayed in Anglophone countries for more than 1 year. And 90% of them regard their English linguistic competence as relatively good, which is evident to see their academic backgrounds shown above.

2.1.2 Questionnaire

In order to demonstrate the conditions NNSs take the center variants of English as their model in using and learning English, questionnaires were carried out with them. The questions of this questionnaire consist of the following items: their age, sex, status of English, length of studying English, experience of staying in Anglophone countries, assessment of their English linguistic competence and the preference for

center variants of English. The data of the questionnaire is analyzed by statistical software: the item of center variants of English and the other items are cross-tabulated, conducting chi-squared test in order to examine the statistical relationship between the center variants and the other individual factors.

2.1.3. Procedure

Questionnaire survey was conducted on informants individually by the first author after providing a brief explanation of the research aim. Informants were given ample time to answer the five questions which were multiple choice. The questionnaire was collected only after the researcher was confident that informants had ample time and no questions.

2.2. Results

The finding through this survey was quite evident: according to our statistical analysis through chi-squared test, there is no relationship between the preference for center variants of English and the other factors such as age, sex, status of English, and so on, indicating people take the center variants of English, the English that Anglophone speakers use, as their model regardless of their English language learning backgrounds.

2.2.1 Preference for center variants of English and sex of informants

Figure 1 (see end of paper)

First of all, we cross-tabulated sex of the informants and their preference for a certain English variant: American English, British English, Canadian English and Australian English. As the result of the cross-tabulation shown in Figure 1, 11 men and 22 women prefer center variants of English, while 3 men and 11 women prefer the variants of English they are using or don't mind whatever variants of English they use. After a chi-square test, we obtained the following result: ~among four groups [$\chi^2(43)=0.66$, $p>.05$].

2.2.2 Preference for center variants of English and age of informants

Figure 2 Figure 1 (see end of paper)

Then as for the cross-tabulation between age of informants and their preference for a certain English variant, which is shown in Figure 2, more informants prefer center variants of English than the English they use, except for the group of 20-24. After a chi-square test, we obtained the following result: ~among seven groups [$\chi^2(37)=8.57$, $p>.05$].

2.2.3. Preference for center variants of English and the status of English

Figure 3 Figure 1 (see end of paper)

We shall move to the cross-tabulation between the status of English for the informants and their preference for a certain English variant. (See Figure 3) As for the informants who prefer center variants of English, 16 people are from the country where English is a second or an official language (ESL country), whereas 17 people are from the country English is a foreign language (EFL country). This result is interesting in that even those who use English as an official or second language even prefer center variants of English, not the English they use in their country. On the other hand, when it comes to indigenous variants of English, 5 people are from ESL countries, while 8 people are from EFL countries. After a chi-square test, we obtained the following result: ~among five groups [$\chi^2(41)=2.77$, $p>.05$].

2.2.4. Preference for center variants of English and length of studying English

Figure 4 Figure 1 (see end of paper)

Then length of studying English and their preference for a certain English variant are cross-tabulated. According to the result about center variants of English shown in Figure 4, 3 people had studied for less than 5 years; 8 had studied from 5 to less than 10 years; and 22 had studied for more than 10 years. On the other hand, as for those who took indigenous variants of English, 3 people had studied English from 5 to 10 years, while 11 had studied for more than 10 years. After a chi-square test, we obtained the following result: ~among five groups [$\chi^2(41)=1.5$, $p>.05$].

2.2.5. Preference for center variants of English and stay in Anglophone countries

Figure 5 Figure 1 (see end of paper)

Figure 5 shows the cross-tabulation between their linguistic preference and their experience of staying in Anglophone countries. According to the result in Figure 5, 9 of those who prefer center variants of English had stayed in Anglophone countries before this questionnaire conducted, while 24 of them had not stayed there. Furthermore, 8 of those who prefer indigenous variants of English had stayed in Anglophone countries and 6 of them had not. After a chi-square test, we obtained the following result: ~among four groups [$\chi^2(43)=3.8, p>.05$].

2.2.6. Preference for center variants of English and length of stay in the countries

Figure 6 Figure 1 (see end of paper)

In association with the previous cross-tabulation, concrete duration of stay in Anglophone countries and their preference for a certain English variant, are cross-tabulated in Figure 6. Sample number of this survey is quite small because those who say “yes” in the previous cross-tabulation are only available. As for those who prefer center variants of English, one person had stayed for less than 1 year, 5 for less than 3 years, 1 for less than 5 years and 2 for more than 6 years. On the other hand, as for those who prefer indigenous variants of English, 2 people had stayed for less than 1 year, 3 for less than 3 years, 1 for less than 5 years and 2 for more than 6 years. After a chi-square test, we obtained the following result: ~among seven groups [$\chi^2(37)=4.73, p>.05$].

2.2.7. Preference for center variants of English and English linguistic competence

Figure 7 Figure 1 (see end of paper)

Then the assessment of the English language competence and their preference for a certain English variant are cross-tabulated in Figure 7. Among the informants for center variants of English, 4 of them regards their English language competence as very good, 17 regard good, 9 regard not bad and 3 regard not good. Meanwhile, among the informants for indigenous variants of English, 2 of them regard their

English as very good, 3 as good, 8 as not bad and 1 as not good. After a chi-square test, we obtained the following result: ~among six groups [$\chi^2(39)=4.6, p>.05$].

2.2.8. Preference for center variants of English and confidence in your English ability

Figure 8 Figure 1 (see end of paper)

In association with the previous survey, the skill they feel confident among four skills in English language competence and their preference for a certain English variant are also cross tabulated. Looking at the results as to those for center variants of English shown in Figure 8, they feel confident in literacy: reading and writing, compared with speaking and listening. This inclination can also see the result of those who prefer indigenous variants of English. This may affect the fact that the informants are the students or researchers. After a chi-square test, we obtained the following result: ~among seven groups [$\chi^2(37)=4.62, p>.05$].

2.2.9. Preference for center variants of English and lack of confidence in your English ability

Figure 9 Figure 1 (see end of paper)

Then, in contrast to the previous survey, we cross-tabulate the skill the informants feel unconfident and their preference for a certain English variant. Compared with the previous cross-tabulation, it is clear that those who prefer center variants of English tend to feel unconfident in productive skills: writing and especially speaking, which is more prominent in the group for center variants of English than for indigenous variants of English. After a chi-square test, we obtained the following result: ~among seven groups [$\chi^2(37)=1.73, p>.05$].

2.2.10. Preference for center variants of English and marginalization

Figure 10 Figure 1 (see end of paper)

Finally, Figure 10 illustrates the cross-tabulation of the feeling of marginalization and their preference for a certain English variant. In this survey, the term “marginalization” is used according to the description in Cambridge Dictionary Online (<http://dictionary.cambridge.org>); the verb ‘marginalize’ is defined as ‘something or someone that is marginalized is treated as unimportant.’

Furthermore, Halliday (1968) describes such situations:

A speaker who is made ashamed of his own language habits suffers a basic injury as a human being: to make anyone feel so ashamed is as indefensible as to make him feel ashamed of the color of his skin. (p.165)

With regards to those who prefer center variants of English, 26 out of 33 informants had had the feeling of marginalization, while only 7 informants had not. On the other hand, as to those who prefer indigenous variants of English, 9 out of 14 informants had had feeling of marginalization, and 5 of them had not. After a chi-square test, we obtained the following result: ~among four groups [$\chi^2(43)=1.09, p>.05$].

3. Discussion

As seen above, we have found some numerical differences between the preference for center variants of English and other factors. However, as the result of our chi-squared test, any value derived from our test is not put in less than 0.5, standing for the fact that no statistically evident relationship can be found between the NNSs’ preference and any other factors related to their age, sex, and English learning contexts. This means that statistically we cannot derive a conclusion that there is (or are) a (or several) factor(s) to provoke their preference.

Yet, the findings of this study may well indicate an important aspect: regardless of their background, anyone has the potential to take center variants of English, and therefore that the NNSs’ preference could be determined not so much by their external factors as by their inner factor - their preference is

personally formed by their assessment of the English they use.

Brown (1980) mentions that some degree of self-esteem and self-confidence play a pivotal role in successful cognitive and affective activities including English language learning. And we often tend to think that self-esteem is fostered by their English linguistic competence: the amount of knowledge about vocabulary, grammar, and expressions. However, the findings of our study shows that even those with good English linguistic competence take the center variants as their model, which results mainly from their native speaker fallacy.

Blind belief of native speaker fallacy may bring about NNSs' suffering from the feeling of deficiency of English linguistic competence (Suzuki, 1975; Honna 2000). This is because they recognize that they are still in the process of studying English and in a subordinate position (Stevick, 1980). In other words, they are always at a stage where their English is something wrong or incomplete (Tanaka, 1997) and therefore where they need a certain model to follow, which leads to their low self-esteem and as a result failure to successful English language usage.

Taking into consideration the settings of English as a lingua franca, where English has been used for the communications between NNSs, this notion should be reconsidered. As Jenkins(1998) mentions, the focus of English has been shifting from native-like competence to 'international intelligibility', which is not speaker or listener-centered, but an interaction between speakers and listener (Smith&Nelson, 1983:333). This means that in ELF settings users of English need to be self-oriented: that is, to interact with others as individuals, not those with their linguistic norms and values that come to the front. (House, 1999)

In this respect, although no conclusive factor that can lead to NNSs' preference for the centre variants of English can be drawn by our questionnaire survey, our study highlights the importance of NNSs' internal factor: the development of positive assessment of the English they use. This can be a vital issue not only for English language learners themselves but also for English language teachers.

4. Conclusion

The aim of our study is to explore the relationship between NNS's preference for center variants of English and other personal factors, based on the research question why NNSs still regards the English NSs use as their model despite the fact that it has been believed that English has become an *lingua franca*, which stands for the recognition of NNS's ownership of English.

After the questionnaire survey and analysis by chi-square test, no statistically significant relationship between NNS's preference and their personal factors can be found. However, our study suggests that NNSs' preference for center variants of English stems mainly not from their age, sex, their external language learning environment and even their English linguistic competence, but from their notion that English that NSs use is perfect or authentic while English that they NNSs use is imperfect or wrong. This notion appears to prevent NNSs from using English as a *lingua franca*, even though they have good English linguistic competence. Tied with this notion, NNSs may often feel that there is something short in their English and they have to reach the English that NSs use, which leads to their native speaker fallacy. In this point, Kachru(1992) suggests attitudinal readjustment towards second or foreign speakers of English. Kachru(1992) mentions that non-native users of English ought to develop an identity with the local model of English without feeling that their English is a deficient model.

In our study, much more elaborated research must be needed because no statistical relationship cannot be found, which means no articulate conclusion cannot be drawn by our findings. Another adjusting point is that the age range of the informants is confined to adult learners:from twenties to fifies. Thus, the inquiry not only into adult learners but also into child learners should be needed. However, we believe that our study have enough evidences to show the impact of native speakers fallacy in English language learning and teaching.

In conclusion, this exploratory study tells us that not only enhancing English linguistic competence but also deviation from native speaker fallacy should be needed to be good facilitators of English in the world of English as a *lingua franca*. In that respect, this study illuminates the significance of sociolinguistic perspective in English language learning and teaching in English as a *lingua franca* settings.

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Figure 1

		sex of informants		Total
		male	female	
English variety	English Center Model the English you speak (don' mind)	11	22	33
		3	11	14
Total		14	33	47

Figure 2

		age of informants					Total
		20-24	25-29	30-34	34-40	40-	
English variety	English Center Model the English you speak (don' mind)	0	8	9	11	5	33
		3	4	3	2	2	14
Total		3	12	12	13	7	47

Figure 3

		the status of English			Total
		native language	second or official language	foreign language	
English variety	English Center Model the English you speak (don' mind)	0	16	17	33
		1	5	8	14
Total		1	21	25	47

Figure 4

		length of studying English			Total
		less than 5 years	less than 10 years	more than 10 years	
English variety	English Center Model	3	8	22	33
	the English you speak (don' mind)	0	3	11	14
Total		3	11	33	47

Figure 5

		stay in Anglophone countries		Total
		yes	no	
English variety	English Center Model	9	24	33
	the English you speak (don' mind)	8	6	14
Total		17	30	47

Figure 6

		length of stay in the countries					Total
		not answered	less than 1 year	less than 3 years	less than 5 years	more than 6 years	
English variety	English Center Model	24	1	5	1	2	33
	the English you speak (don' mind)	6	2	3	1	2	14
Total		30	3	8	2	4	47

Figure 7

		English linguistic competence				Total
		very good	good	not bad	not good	
English variety	English Center Model	4	17	9	3	33
	the English you speak (don' mind)	2	3	8	1	14
Total		6	20	17	4	47

Figure 8

		confidence in your English ability					Total
		not answered	speaking	listening	reading	writing	
English variety	English Center Model	1	5	4	17	6	33
	the English you speak (don' mind)	1	5	0	5	3	14
Total		2	10	4	22	9	47

Figure 9

		lack of confidence in your English ability					Total
		not answered	speaking	listening	reading	writing	
English variety	English Center Model	1	14	6	2	10	33
	the English you speak (don' mind)	1	4	3	2	4	14
Total		2	18	9	4	14	47

Figure 10

		marginalization		Total
		yes	no	
English variety	English Center Model	26	7	33
	the English you speak (don' mind)	9	5	14
Total		35	12	47



Title

Standards and competence in English as an international language pedagogy

Author

Ahmet Acar

Abstract

The global spread of English has resulted in varieties of English in different sociolinguistic and sociocultural contexts. The emergence of varieties of English in diverse settings has raised the issue of whether to adopt a single standard English for all English contexts or to recognize a variety of standards. This paper aims to investigate the issue of standards in teaching English as an international language. While the native standard English is advocated as the model in the expanding circle, it is argued that raising the students' awareness of varieties of English should also be recognized in EIL pedagogy. The issue of standards is furthermore discussed in relation to the concept of competence in English as an international language pedagogy.

Introduction

The global spread of English has brought English to new un-English sociolinguistic and sociocultural contexts. With the development of new norms in these sociolinguistic contexts the current discussions have begun to revolve around the issues of English language standards and defining proficiency in the English language. While some (Quirk, 1985) argue that a single standard English (American or British English) should be promoted the whole world over, others (e.g. Kachru, 1985) argue that new standard Englishes have arisen in new sociolinguistic and sociocultural contexts and these sociolinguistic reality of English should be recognized. While the former defines proficiency in terms of the native speaker, the latter argues that "the native speaker is not always a valid yardstick for the global uses of English" (Kachru, 1992, p.358) and focuses on non-natives' proficiency in the light

of bilingualism or multilingualism. The discussions on the issues of standards and proficiency, however, are not restricted to these two opposing camps but extend to several other models of English labeled by different terminologies such as ‘English as a Lingua Franca’ (Jenkins, 2000, 2006; Seidlhofer, 2001, 2004), ‘World Standard Spoken English’ (Crystal, 2003), ‘English as an International Language’ (Modiano, 1999a, 1999b), ‘English as an International Auxiliary Language’ (Smith, 1983), ‘Nuclear English’ (Quirk, 1982), ‘General English’ (Ahulu, 1997) and ‘English as a Family of Languages’ (Canagarajah, 2006). This paper aims to present different definitions of EIL, focuses on diverse discussions on the English language standards, and on defining competence in relation to English as an international language.

1. Defining terminologies

The term “English as an International Language” does not refer to a single phenomenon but is used by different researchers to refer to a different entity. Furthermore, there are other terminologies circling around within the discussions of the status of English in the global context among which are ‘World Englishes’, ‘World English’ (in the singular), ‘International English(es)’, ‘World Standard Spoken English’, ‘English as a Lingua Franca’, ‘English as an International Auxiliary Language’, ‘Nuclear English’, ‘General English’, ‘English as a Family of Languages’ etc.

Some (e.g. Kachru, 1991) makes a distinction between English as an intranational language (the use of English in countries traditionally referred to as ESL countries, where English is used for internal purposes) and English as an international language (the use of English across different nations traditionally referred to as EFL countries, where English is used for external purposes), still others (e.g. McKay, 2002) do not make such a distinction and use the term English as an international language to refer to the uses of English in both contexts.

Smith (1976), for example, defines the term ‘international language’ as “one which is used by people of different nations to communicate with one another” (p. 38, in McKay, 2002, p.11). EIL, in this definition, is used in a global sense rather than a local one. McKay (2002), on the other hand, uses the term EIL both in a global and a local sense as it is used by speakers from both the outer and the expanding circle speakers as she notes that

In examining the use of English as an international language, an important question is whether or not the use of English within multilingual countries like South Africa and Kenya is an example of the use of English as an international language. I would argue that in some sense it is. If one assumes that one of the essential characteristics of English as an international language is that English is used to communicate across linguistic and cultural boundaries, often in more formal contexts, then there seems little reason to require that these boundaries must coincide with national borders (p. 38).

McKay (2002), however, notes that the use of EIL in a local sense in the outer circle countries “has not become de-nationalized but rather its ownership has become re-nationalized” (p. 12).

Kachru (1985), on the other hand, seems to use the term EIL to refer to the function of English in the expanding circle countries:

The third circle, termed the expanding circle, brings to English yet another dimension. Understanding the function of English in this circle requires a recognition of the fact that English is an international language and that it has already won the race in this respect with linguistic rivals such as French, Russian and Esperanto, to name just two natural languages and one artificial one” (p. 12).

Kachru, furthermore, presents the global spread of English under the general term world Englishes as depicted with his three concentric circles of world Englishes. Thus while McKay uses the term EIL as an umbrella term to cover both the global and the local uses of English in the world, Kachru depicts this situation with the term world Englishes.

Jenkins (2003, 2006a) and Seidlhofer (2001, 2004), on the other hand, use the term world Englishes in a strict sense to refer to the outer circle Englishes, and English as a lingua franca (ELF) to refer to the use of English in the expanding circle. It is also important to note that both authors also use the terms EIL and ELF interchangeably to refer to the same entity.

More recently, Jenkins (2006a) citing Bolton (2004) has presented three possible interpretations of the term world Englishes:

Firstly, it serves as an “umbrella label” covering all varieties of English worldwide and the different approaches used to describe and analyze them. Secondly, it is used in a narrower sense to refer to the so called new Englishes in Africa, Asia and the Caribbean (Kachru’s outer circle)...Thirdly, it is used to represent the pluricentric approach to the study of English associated with Kachru and his colleagues, and often referred to as the Kachruvian approach, although there is considerable overlap between this and the second interpretation of the term. The first use is also

sometimes represented by other terms, including World English (i.e., in the singular), international English(es), and global Englishes, while the second is in fact more commonly represented by the terms nativised, indigenized, institutionalized, and new Englishes or English as a second language (p. 159).

There are still other terminologies used by different researchers to denote different entities. Smith (1983), for example, uses the term “English as an International Auxiliary Language” to refer to a type of English which is formed of features of world Englishes of the outer circle and the native speaker standard English and Quirk (1982) proposes the concept of “Nuclear English” to refer to what may be called a simplified form of native speaker standard English.

Crystal (2003), on the other hand, uses the term “World Standard Spoken English” to refer to a global standard English which he believes will develop above the current local Englishes. This concept is somewhat similar to Modiano’s (1999a, 1999b) use of the term “English as an International Language” which refers to a global standard for English which comprises the features of English which can be easily understood by both native and non-native speakers.

2. Standards for English in the outer circle

The most famous debate over standards was between Randolph Quirk and Braj Kachru, first at a conference held in London in 1984 to mark the fifteenth anniversary of the British Council and then in the pages of the *English Today*, which is known as the *English Today* debate.

In the discussions on the issue of standards, Quirk (1985) argues that

The relatively narrow range of purposes for which the non-native needs to use English (even in ESL Countries) is arguably well catered for by a single monochrome form that looks good on paper as it sounds in speech. There are only the most dubious advantages in exposing the learner to a great variety of usage, no part of which he will have time to master properly, little of which he will be called upon to exercise, all of which is embedded in a controversial sociolinguistic matrix he cannot be expected to understand” (p. 6).

Quirk’s position mainly indicates a view of variation (in the non-natives’ use of English) from the native standard English as mistake or error, and of non-native varieties of English as interlanguage on the way to native speaker standard usage and accordingly as inappropriate pedagogical models in non-native contexts. Thus, for

Quirk, a common Standard of use is warranted in all contexts of English language use” (McKay, 2002, p. 50).

Kachru (1985), on the other hand, presents the sociolinguistic profile of English in terms of three concentric circles “representing the types of spread, the patterns of acquisition and the functional domains in which English is used across cultures and languages” (p. 12). These are labeled as the inner circle, the outer circle and the expanding circle. The inner circle comprises the countries where English is the primary language such as the USA, UK, Canada, Australia etc., the outer circle comprises the institutionalized non-native varieties of English in such countries as India, Nigeria and Singapore, and the expanding circle comprises such countries as Russia, Israel and China, where performance varieties are used.

Kachru (1985) also classifies the English-using speech fellowships in the three circles as norm providing, norm developing and norm dependent. While native speaker Englishes (inner circle Englishes) are classified as norm providing, outer circle Englishes are argued to be norm developing and expanding circle Englishes are classified as norm dependent. In Jenkins’ (2003, p.16) words:

English-language standards are determined by speakers of ENL, but while the ESL varieties of English have become institutionalized and are developing their own standards, the EFL varieties are regarded, in this model, as ‘performance’ varieties without any official status and therefore dependent on the standards set by native speakers in the Inner circle.

Thus, while Quirk rejects the endocentric norms for English in the outer circle and hence the legitimacy of outer circle Englishes, Kachru argues for the recognition of variations (in the use of English in the outer circle) from the native standard English as innovations rather than mistakes or errors, of outer circle Englishes as local standard Englishes rather than interlanguages and ultimately urges for these Englishes to be taken as pedagogical models in these local contexts. In this sense, the notions of “ambilingualism” (in the sense of native speaker proficiency), “interlanguage” and “fossilization” are irrelevant in the consideration of the proficiency of the non-native speakers and their Englishes in the outer circle.

While Quirk (1985) and Kachru (1985) put forward diverse views on the legitimacy of non-native Englishes in the outer circle, they are in agreement on the issue of standards for English in the expanding circle and argue that expanding circle countries

are dependent on the norms set by the native speakers. This position, however, is rejected by some ELF researchers (e.g., Jenkins, 2006a and Seidlhofer, 2001) who claim that expanding circle Englishes are also norm developing just the same as the outer circle Englishes.

3. Standards for English in the expanding circle: English as a lingua franca

The study of English as a lingua franca in the expanding circle has arisen as a new research area in applied linguistics. With its emphasis on the existence of ELF varieties such as Euro-English and East Asian English, and other specific varieties such as Korean English, China English and German English, ELF research is argued to be an alternative approach to English as a foreign language. When making the distinction between EFL and ELF Jenkins (2005) argues that

Speakers of EFL use their English chiefly to communicate with NSs of English, often in NS settings. They need at the very least to be intelligible to NSs, to understand them, and often to blend in with them. Their learning goal is therefore to approximate as closely as possible a NS variety of English, generally Standard British or American English. The norms of EFL, then, are NS norms. Speakers of ELF, on the other hand, use their English primarily (or entirely if one takes the 'purist' interpretation of ELF) to communicate with other NNSs of English, usually from first languages other than their own and typically in NNS settings. They need therefore to be intelligible to, and to understand, other NNSs rather than to blend in with NSs and approximate a NS variety of English. Instead, ELF speakers have their own emerging norms (retrieved from <http://www.hltmag.co.uk/mar05/idea.htm>).

Thus, what this research field suggests is that variations in the use of English in this circle should not be considered as mistakes or errors but rather as innovations or legitimate English usages, that expanding circle Englishes should not be considered as interlanguages but rather as ELF varieties in their own right, that native speaker standard English should not be taken as the only model of correctness and native speaker proficiency should not be the ultimate level of achievement for the English learners in the expanding circle.

The two most widely known ELF research projects are that of Jenkins (2000) on phonology and Seidlhofer (2001) on lexicogrammar.

Jenkins (2003) proposes the Lingua Franca Core, with her own words, "the most fully researched and detailed attempt that has as yet been made to provide EIL speakers with a core intended to guarantee the intelligibility of their accents" (p. 126) Some of these core features are as follows:

- some substitutions of /θ/ and /ð/ are acceptable (because they are intelligible in EIL)
- rhotic 'r' rather than non-rhotic varieties of 'r'
- British English /t/ between vowels in words such as 'letter', 'water' rather than American English flapped /r/
- allophonic variation within phonemes permissible as long as the pronunciation does not overlap onto another phoneme, e.g. Spanish pronunciation of /v/ as /β/ leads in word-initial positions to its being heard as /b/ (so 'vowels' is heard as 'bowels' etc.) (Jenkins, 2003, p.126).

Seidlhofer's corpus study, VOICE (Vienna Oxford International Corpus of English) aims to "find out which items are used systematically and frequently, but differently from native speaker use and without causing communication problems, by expert speakers of English from a wide range of L1s" (Jenkins, 2006, p. 169).

Some of these items that Seidlhofer (2004, p. 220) has specified in her corpus study VOICE are:

- non-use of the third person present tense –s ("she look very sad")
- interchangeable use of the relative pronouns *who* and *which* ("a book who," "a person which")
- omission of the definite and indefinite articles which are obligatory in native speaker English and insertion where they do not occur in native speaker English
- use of an all-purpose question tag such as *isn't it?* or *no?* instead of *shouldn't they?* ("They should arrive soon, isn't it?")
- increasing of redundancy by adding prepositions ("We have to study about..." and "can we discuss about...?", or by increasing explicitness ("black colour" vs. "black" and "How long time?" vs. "How long?")
- heavy reliance on certain verbs of high semantic generality, such as *do*, *have*, *make*, *put*, *take*
- pluralisation of nouns which are considered uncountable in native speaker English ("informations", "staff", "advices")
- use of that-clauses instead of infinitive constructions ("I want that we discuss about my dissertation") (Jenkins, 2006, p.170).

Thus, Jenkins (2000) argues that some sounds that are often found in native speakers' speech but that are difficult for non-native speakers to produce are not

necessary for international intelligibility and similarly Seidlhofer (2004) maintains that some lexicogrammatical features that are present in native standard Englishes but that are absent in nonnative English use such as the third person singular present tense ‘-s’ marking are not necessary for international intelligibility through English as a lingua franca.

4. Beyond the three circle model of English:

The discussions on the issue of standards for English in the global context extend beyond the three circle model of English and lead to different proposals as to what constitutes the nature of English as a global language. These proposals range from the concept of a global standard English for the entire world (e.g. Crystal, 2003; Modiano, 1999a, 1999b; Smith, 1983; Quirk, 1982) to the notions of “General English” (Ahulu, 1997) and “English as a Family of Languages” (Canagarajah, 2006).

Towards a global standard English

There has been efforts to conceptualize a global standard English to be used among native and non-native English speakers, and different proposals have been put forward as to what constitutes the nature of this code resulting in different labels to characterize it e.g. “Nuclear English” (Quirk, 1982), “English as an International Auxiliary Language” (Smith, 1983), “English as an International Language” (Modiano, 1999a, 1999b), “World Standard Spoken English” (Crystal, 1997), “Global English” (Languapedia, 2007).

Quirk (1982) proposes the concept of Nuclear English for international communication. Quirk’s Nuclear English, however, is not a new global standard English covering new norms used by non-native speakers in non-native settings but rather is a simplified form of native standard English which would be easier to learn and use as an international language. Thus, Nuclear English is the native standard English which is stripped of features which can be dispensable such as:

-items which are ‘disproportionately burdensome’ such as question tags, e.g. ‘I’m late, aren’t I?’ ‘She used to work here, didn’t she?’

-items which are ‘semantically inexplicit’ such as non-defining relative clauses, e.g. ‘I chatted with the captain, who was later reprimanded’ (= and he was later reprimanded or as a result he was later reprimanded?);

-items which are completely ambiguous such as many modal verbs, e.g. 'Able Baker 123 may land at O'Hare in five minutes' (= the flight will possibly land or has permission to land?). (Jenkins, 2003, p. 129).

Smith (1983), on the other hand, proposes the concept of English as an International Auxiliary Language, which would serve as a neutral means of communication in English in a global context. This form of English is formed of features of world Englishes of the outer circle and the native speaker standard English and it is not tied to the native speaker standard English nor to the native speaker cultures. Thus both native and non-native speakers would need special training to use English as an international language.

Crystal (2003) predicts that a 'World Standard Spoken English' will develop above the local varieties of English as he argues that

If Englishes did become increasingly different, as years went by, the consequences for world English would not necessarily be fatal. A likely scenario is that our current ability to use more than one dialect would simply extend to meet the fresh demands of the international situation. A new form of English- let us think of it as 'World Standard spoken English' (WSSE) - would almost certainly arise. Indeed, the foundation for such a development is already being laid around us. (p. 185)

Crystal (2003) furthermore hypothesizes that to involve in international communication the speakers of local varieties of English will need to switch into the World Standard Spoken English.

A similar argument is also made by Modiano (1999a, 1999b), who proposes the concept of 'English as an International Language' in place of native standard English for international communication. To Modiano (1999a, p. 27) "EIL is by definition a composite of the features of English which are easily understood by a broad cross-section of native and non-native speakers". Modiano suggests that speakers of local varieties of English will be considered EIL speakers if they can code-switch into EIL.

One project to be mentioned in this context is the Languapedia Project (Global English Project) set up by Paul Robertson (as an initiative of the Global EIL Congress) and designed by Chris Patch. The aim of the project has direct resemblance to Modiano's (1999a, 1999b) theoretical framework since it attempts to find out the forms of English common to all the varieties of English in the world but it is an empirical realization of such a framework. As expressed in its web page, "the Global

English project seeks to uncover a core of the English language that can be considered international. The purpose of uncovering a Global English is to develop a standardized version of the language that can be taught internationally.” (“Languapedia,” 2007, retrieved from http://www.languapedia.com/index.php?title=Main_Page). Since the project is currently in its early phase we are yet to see the development of it.

General English

Another viewpoint to the issue of standards for English in the global context is that of Ahulu’s (1997) “General English”. Ahulu (1997) takes up the issue of Standard English /New Englishes debate that occurred between Kachru (1985) and Quirk (1985) as described earlier in this paper and concludes that neither Quirk’s ‘Standard English’ perspective nor Kachru’s ‘New Englishes’ perspective reflects the real nature of English as an international language. Thus, Ahulu (1997) aims to redefine the concept of ‘Standard English’ or ‘correctness’ by “looking at the limitations of both the concept of ‘Standard English’ and the concept of ‘New Englishes’” (p. 17). Ahulu, on the one hand, considers Kachru’s viewpoint that nonnative varieties are legitimate varieties in their own right unrealistic. On the other hand, he criticizes the Standard English perspective for its consideration of any divergence from native standard English as an error. What the ‘General English’ framework suggests is that the divergent forms in the non-natives’ use of English would better be explained as modifications of standard English or styles of standard English and not as errors as Quirk views them nor as different national varieties of English as Kachru suggests. Thus Ahulu is against the discrimination between native speaker usage and nonnative speaker usage as reflected by Kachru & Quirk debate and considers them to be within the realm of possibility of each other. Thus “the concept of ‘Standard English’ that encapsulates such international variability will reflect the grammar of ‘General English’ (Ahulu, 1997, p.21).

English as a family of languages

The other new orientation to the issue of standards for English that go beyond the Kachru & Quirk debate is that of Canagarajah’s conceptualization of English as a family of languages. Canagarajah (2006) questions the relevance of the debate whether the norm for testing should be the inner circle norms (Quirk, 1985) or world

Englishes norms (Kachru, 1985) and argues that in today's society we need a "both and more" perspective rather than an "either / or" perspective. While Canagarajah finds the Kachru's three circle model of English useful for legitimizing outer circle Englishes, he argues that some features of postmodern globalization requires us to question the assumptions behind the Kachruvian model and he puts forward a set of arguments in favor of a new orientation towards a notion of "English as a Family of Languages". Firstly, while Kachru argues for the legitimacy of outer circle Englishes in local contexts (e.g. Indian English is valid for India, Nigerian English is valid for Nigeria) Canagarajah (2006) argues that in today's world speakers of local varieties of English as well as speakers of inner circle and expanding circle countries need to develop an awareness of each other's varieties of English. Thus Indian English is also necessary for Americans, American English is also necessary for Indians etc. Secondly, to Canagarajah (2006) , speakers of English in the expanding circle do not use English solely for international purposes but they also use English for intranational purposes in such countries as China, Vietnam, Brazil etc., which calls into question the ESL/ EFL distinction. Thirdly, Canagarajah indicates that the speech community in the expanding circle would better be classified as norm developing as they use English as a lingua franca contrary to Kachru's view of these communities as norm dependent, and lastly, he maintains that while Kachru's classification of speech communities as norm providing, norm developing and norm dependent leads to a core and periphery distinction designating the inner circle as the core and the outer and expanding circle as the periphery, the current statistics of number of English users (e.g. Graddol, 1999; Crystal, 1997) questions the periphery status of the outer and expanding circles and gives them a central position in the development of English.

Based on these assumptions, Canagarajah (2006, p. 232) calls for a need to view English as "a heterogeneous language with multiple norms and diverse grammars", which would be a model of "English as a family of languages", where the varieties of English in the world relate to each other on a single level rather than on three hierarchies as in Kachru's three circle model of English.

5. Local versus international uses of English and the issue of EIL competence

Given the diverse views on the issue of standards in EIL, the issue of competence becomes a complex matter in the consideration of English as an international

language leading some (e.g. Nunn, 2005) to call for a need to define competence in relation to EIL. Defining competence in EIL depends a lot on the conceptualization of the nature of English as an international language and the context of cross cultural communication in English in today's world. At one point the issue is whether a single standard English will emerge above the local standard Englishes as some (e.g. Modiano, 1999a, 1999b and Crystal, 2003) argue . In such a conceptualization speakers of local varieties of English will need be proficient in two varieties of English: their local variety and an international variety, and they should also have the ability to code switch from their local varieties to an international one. The point, however, is that while Crystal (2003) already acknowledges that "it is too early to be definite about the way this variety (WSSE) will develop" (p.186) Modiano's (1999a, 1999b) concept of English as an international language as the core features of the English language "which are used and are comprehensible to the majority of native and competent nonnative speakers of English" (p. 11) is still problematical as some (e.g. Jenkins, 2003) indicate that "the difficulty of distinguishing between core and non-core varieties remain" (p. 21). Such a theoretical concept needs to be supported by an empirical study like the Languapedia Project to find out the common core of English as a global language.

At another point the issue is whether Ahulu's "General English" framework with its assumption that native and nonnative norms should be considered to be within the realm of the possibility of each other would be a valid conceptualization for the nature of English as an international language. Thus proficiency in English would be proficiency in "General English". This would make the case rather pessimistic in terms of proficiency since being proficient in EIL would mean being competent in the native standard English with all its styles and registers, which would be a burden for the learners of EIL.

Canagarajah's conceptualization of "English as a family of languages" where the varieties of English in the world relate to each other on a single level rather than on three hierarchies as in Kachru's three circle model of English requires a different view of proficiency in EIL. From this point of view, "to be really proficient in English today, one has to be multidialectal" (Canagarajah 2006, p.133). This view of proficiency however does not mean being proficient in all the varieties of English in the world. What Canagarajah stresses is the importance of raising the students' awareness of different varieties of English as well as developing the negotiation skills

for shuttling between different varieties of English. The conceptualization of expanding circle speech communities as norm developing in this model, however, does not meet a common consensus among the researchers. Thus whether testing in this circle should include local norms (English as a lingua francas) or not is not yet definite.

Jenkins' and Seidlhofer's conceptualization of English as an international language in the expanding circle or English as a lingua franca argues for the existence of new standard forms in this circle and proficiency in EIL would mean having such forms in one's linguistic repertoire for use when the need arises, having language awareness (awareness of the diversity in English) and accommodation skills to cope with the variability in English. Jenkins (2006) stresses that "instead of speaking a monolithic variety of English, it is considered more important for speakers of WEs and ELF to be able to adjust their speech in order to be intelligible to interlocutors from a wide range of L1 backgrounds, most of whom are not inner circle native speakers. (p. 174)

One important point in these considerations is whether the use of English in what Kachru labels as outer circle should be considered as the use of EIL. I assume that a distinction between English as an intranational language and English as an international language is a valid one and I define EIL in a global sense as a language of wider communication between countries largely but not exclusively in Kachru's expanding circle. One issue to be discussed in this context is whether the speech community in the expanding circle should be norm developing or norm dependent, an issue which is crucial for the choice of a pedagogical model and for defining proficiency in EIL.

While the ELF studies (Seidlhofer, 2001 and Jenkins, 2006) suggest that new norms are emerging in the expanding circle the case cannot be generalized to the whole expanding circle countries. While we will be able to talk about the emergence of Euro English if English is being used intensively and extensively in the European Union (a future configuration) there is however certainly not a distinct variety called Turkish English which would find place in the educational setting in Turkey. Expanding circle Englishes thus should be better classified as norm dependent (dependent on the native Standard Englishes e.g. American English and British English) for the reason that English has no intranational function in many countries of the expanding circle and hence it is far away from having established local norms. Thus native standard English (es) should serve as the model for teaching in this circle.

The other point is that taking inner circle varieties as a model in this circle does not necessarily mean the students should achieve native like proficiency at all levels of language. Pragmatic and discourse variation in the expanding circle speaker's English use will better be considered as a natural consequence of the sociocultural context of these speakers since such norms are strongly shaped by the cultures of these speech communities.

The other important point in the consideration of competence in EIL is the context of cross cultural communication. As Canagarajah (2006) points out in the post modern globalization borders become less important and we often see that the speakers of outer circle, expanding circle and inner circle countries often involve in cross cultural communication in English among them. Such being the case, Indian English is also relevant for Americans and American English is also relevant for Indians etc. Expanding circle speakers also do not need just inner circle English but they also need to be familiar with other varieties of English. Thus raising the students' awareness of the varieties of English (Language awareness) is gaining importance. The same is also true of the inner circle and outer circle speakers. As Canagarajah (2006) points out "postmodern globalization requires that students should strive for competence in a repertoire of English varieties as they shuttle between multilingual communities" (p. 229). The passive competence to understand new varieties is part of this multidialectal competence (Canagarajah, 2006, p. 233).

Another relevant point about the issue of proficiency in the postmodern globalization is the importance of accommodation skills. Kubota (2001: 50) argues that

In a community that promotes monoculturalism and monolingualism, the dominant group forces the dominated group to accommodate and acquire the dominant way of life. However, a multicultural society affirms cultural and linguistic differences and rejects a one-way accommodation. In communication between inner circle mainstream speakers and other speakers, the accommodation should be mutual with both parties exploring ways to establish effective communication.

Thus, the speakers of EIL should also have the necessary skills to cope with variability in English in today's world, a point also shared by both Canagarajah (2006) and English as a Lingua Franca researchers (Seidlhofer, 2001; Jenkins, 2006). Jenkins (2006), for instance, argues that "instead of speaking a monolithic variety of English, it is considered more important for speakers of WEs and ELF to be able to

adjust their speech in order to be intelligible to interlocutors from a wide range of L1 backgrounds, most of whom are not inner circle native speakers (p.174)

Thus, along the line of Canagarajah (2006), I argue that proficiency in the postmodern globalization would better be explained as being multidialecticism. This would mean competency in EIL would require being proficient in at least one variety of English, to be able to understand different varieties, and to be able to accommodate one's speech to be intelligible to the speakers of other varieties of English. For the expanding circle speakers, for example, competency would mean being proficient in the linguistic norms of the inner circle native speakers, making use of their own pragmatic and discourse norms, having the ability to understand local varieties of English and to be able to accommodate their speech to be intelligible to the other speakers of English from different countries. The application of this paradigm shift in proficiency is yet to be seen in the assessment objectives in the ELT profession.

Conclusion

This paper aimed to present some of the recent approaches to the issue of standards in English as an international language and to discuss the issue of defining competence in relation to EIL. EIL is defined in a global sense as a language of wider communication between countries largely but not exclusively in Kachru's expanding circle. It is argued that while the inner circle native speaker standard English should still serve as the pedagogical model in this circle there must be allowance for pragmatic and discourse variations in these English users' speech since these levels of language are strongly shaped by the cultural contexts of these speakers. Moreover it is indicated that expanding circle speakers do not need just inner circle English but also need to be familiar with other varieties of English as a requirement of post modern globalization (Canagarajah 2006). Thus it is argued that raising the students' awareness of the diversity in English (Language awareness) is gaining importance. This would also require that the speakers of EIL should also have the necessary skills to cope with variability in English, that is, accommodation skills. Such assumptions lead us to conclude that competency in EIL would require being proficient in at least one variety of English, to be able to understand different varieties, and to be able to accommodate one's speech to be able to intelligible to the speakers of other varieties of English. Whether these requirements will find application in the testing of English as an international language is yet to be seen in different educational contexts.

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Title

Global Englishes: A Challenge for English
Pedagogy in China

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Biodata

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Abstract:

The globalization of English in the 20th century has been widely discussed and analysed (Crystal 1997, Holborow 1999, Graddol 1999). It has been seen in both a positive and in a negative light. Those who regard the globalization positively (Fishman et al 1975, MacArthur 1999) comment on the empowering role of English, the values of openness it brings, the access it provides both to knowledge and to markets. Those who regard the globalization negatively discuss the hegemonising of the weak by the strong, the ways in which English is used by the powerful west and their allies to dominate, much as they dominate through economic and military means. This dispute means that the globalization has aroused some new issues in English teaching and learning in many countries. This thesis discussed about the conception of global Englishes, described the effects of the globalization of English on social life

and English pedagogy in China; and finally, cultural awareness and implications for English teaching have been inferred from above discussions and analysis in a context of EFL in China.

Key Words: Global Englishes, China English, Challenge, pedagogy.

Introduction

Globalization is undoubtedly one of the major defining characteristics of modern society. It constitutes both a threat and a challenge, depending on the points of view and the predisposition of the observer. This paper looks at the effects of globalisation in the area of English language teaching (ELT), concentrating on the teaching of English to speakers of other languages, particularly to the speakers of Chinese Mandarin as a foreign language (EFL). It reviews the present situation of ELT with regard to globalization based on the status of the native speaker as apposed to that of the non-native speaker of English, as well as some methodological considerations regarding the need for raising our intercultural awareness as a means of safeguarding against the more dangerous effects of English as a global language.

The paper begins with a conceptualization of the globalization and implementation of the language -- English in the world, and then we also consider its roles in foreign language pedagogy particularly with its reference to immediate linguistic, cultural and teaching environment, i.e. that of English language teaching in China, and the possible impact of the English language on Chinese culture. The article ends with a number of methodological suggestions for foreign-language classrooms.

Globalization and Global English

Globalization has been defined by Giddens (1990:64) as ‘the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa.’ Globalisation, as a notion and term, is predominantly a loan from the science of economics, but it is more widely implemented to denote the interrelationship of economic, political and cultural issues. This phenomenon can be perceived in different ways, some (such as Kartz, 2001) tracing it back to the 15th century when Europeans began to map and colonize the world; others (Graddol, 1997; Anchimbe, 2006) give it much more recent history, as an extension of an American imperialism that has characterized international relations over the past three decades; and yet

others (Ferguson, 1983; Troike, 1977) hold a more balanced view, rejecting the idea that globalisation is a question of Western Dominance over ‘the rest’. Globalisation can be thought of as the broadening, speeding up, strengthening, and growing impact of worldwide interconnectedness. Still others, like Yano (2001) and Salverda (2002), argue that globalisation is crucially linked with the rise of the English Language. According to Walraff (2000, online), ‘the conventional wisdom holds that English is destined to be the world’s lingua franca—if it isn’t already’. While McCrum et al (1992) pointed out some years ago, English is the first truly global language.

As many features of globalization, English has been established an inseparable association with it. English was supported by the British government at its emergence as Basic English (Ogden, 1937) during inter-world war period, and was greatly strengthened by American economic and political dominance in the 1950s onwards. In the 1990s on, with its great technological leaps forward, particularly in the realm of communication, the world has become a global village where global English was the lingua franca (McArthur, 2000). Phillipson (1992) has used the term linguistic imperialism to describe this phenomenon.

English is now spoken in every country of the globe. Some 380 million people speak it as their first language and perhaps two-thirds as many as their second (Graddol, 1997). A billion are learning it, about a third of the world’s population are in some sense exposed to it, and by 2050, it is predicted, half the world will be more or less proficient in it (Graddol, 2000). It is the language of globalization: of international business, politics and diplomacy. It is the language of computers and internet. Warschauer (2000 PAGE) says: “The last few decades have seen a growth in the role of English around world as the lingua franca for economic and scientific exchange.” Study by Crystal (1997) shows that 85% of international organizations make official use of English, though they may not be headquartered in an English-speaking country, at least 85% of world’s film market is English, and some 90% of published academic articles in some academic fields are written in English.

English influence can be seen or heard everywhere in China. Names, especially clusters of initials, are highly visible, such as CCTV, MTV, McDonalds, KFC, Bar, Starbucks, Hotel, VCD and DVD. One can hear the stop announcements in both Chinese and English when taking a bus or tube. Many local TV stations have English programmes alongside CCTV (China Central Television) English channels. Heaps of Chinese films and videos are shown with both Chinese and English captions.

A great number of publications in English are coming out each year, notably from Beijing Foreign Language Teaching and Research Press and Shanghai Foreign Language Education Press. More and more international conferences are held in English in China. And many joint ventures in China adopt English as a lingua franca, a development which creates a national need for training in English (cf. Graddol, 2000).

ELT in China

China has embraced English with unparalleled fervor, educational institutions at all levels, from kindergarten to university over the country, have placed an increasing emphasis on English language teaching (ELT). There has been an explosion in the development of public school English programs and private English language schools throughout China in the past ten years. ELT has become very big business. Reports show that ELT has become a 10-billion RMB Yuan (about 1.3 billion U.S. dollars) business. Of the 37 billion Yuan annual book sales, ELT takes up as much as 25% of market share (Limin & Juan, 2002).

China boasts the largest English-learning population in the world. 'It seems there are more people learning to speak English in China than there are English speakers in the whole of the United States' (Taylor, 2002). Over 200 million children, about 20% of the total in the world, are learning English in schools, and about 13 million young people at university level. The Chinese government has decided to offer English as a compulsory course nationwide from the third year at primary school. While schools in rural areas are trying to find qualified English teachers, those in large cities like Beijing and Shanghai have begun to do so as soon as the children start school at the age of six. Shanghai was the first city to do first-year English in the country and, at the same time, learning hours in the city's schools were doubled from 1,000 to 2,000. Some key schools in Guangzhou city are doing something different: courses such as math, physics and chemistry are to be taught in English, and Oral English is to be added to the high school graduation course list (Yajun, 2003).

English is introduced into kindergartens in Shenzhen and some other cities, the so-called 'Bilingual kindergartens', in which kids are learning to speak English and Putonghua, the standard form of Chinese, have become the first choice of many younger Chinese parents. 'In fact, English is almost a compulsory subject in Beijing's kindergartens as a growing number of parents want their children better equipped for

the future,' said Malaysian DAP (Democratic Action Party) national chairman Lim Kit Siang in 2002.

College students are struggling with the College English Test (CET), a national test sponsored by the higher Education Department of the Ministry of Education of China. While only 100,000 candidates sat for the test in the first year in 1980, the academic year of 2002 alone saw more than six million testees in the country (Yang, 2002:1). CET certificates (CET-4, CET-6) are now a must for more and more job seekers.

The Ministry of Education has asked those universities under its direct administration to use popular foreign (mainly English) textbooks and to conduct lectures in English and, at the same time, to encourage Chinese professors to compile teaching materials in English. The Ministry expects 5-10% of the university courses to be taught in English within the next three years (Yajun, 2003).

In China, just as in many parts of the world, irrespective of the quality of a degree, a sound working knowledge of English is indispensable qualification in the eye of many would-be employers, which means graduates who have not acquired a measure of proficiency in English will find many doors closed to them, and will probably have to engage in lengthy and arduous searches for suitable employment, with no guarantee of obtaining it. As for the educated employees, they have to sit a proficiency test of a national foreign language (mainly English) if they are expecting a higher promotion. Failing in the test would mean a rejection of promotion without taking into consideration of your achievement in other areas. A campaign has been started in Beijing called *Beijing Speaks English* (China Daily, 1995) long before the city won the bid to host the 2008 Olympic Games. It is estimated that about 2.42 million people in Beijing can communicate in English with foreigners, and hopefully, by 2008 the number will have risen to 4 million, to be ready for the Olympics (Taylor, 2002). Policemen, taxi drivers, and even elderly matrons involved in community services are expected to be able to communicate in English when the time comes for the Olympics, and English materials for Policemen, taxi drivers etc are available in bookstores. Shanghai has been doing the same since the 2001 Shanghai APEC meeting, which used English as its working language, and is continuing to do so for the 2010 World Fair, for the first time hosted by a developing nation. Guangzhou, the capital of Guangdong province, requires all of its civil servants born after 1960 to

pass an English test to make sure that they are able to communicate in English by the year 2004.

There is no shortage of ways for people to learn English in Chinese cities. In addition to these 'formal' English learners, millions of others are involved in the craze in various private training classes for TOEFL (Test of English as a Foreign Language), GRE (Graduate Record Examination), GMAT (Graduate Management Admission Test), and IELTS (International English Language Test System), or for other purposes outside schools and universities, creating a fast-growing new ELT industry in the country. There are more than 3000 ELT schools in Shanghai city alone, and 'the figures have doubled or even tripled in just a year' (Dai and Du, 2002). The two who have really made great success are the New Oriental School, based in Beijing, and the language entrepreneur Li Yang, known throughout Asia for his 'Crazy English' approach.

The Beijing New Oriental School was founded in October 1993 with a total faculty of four and about a dozen English learners. It has since grown into the largest and most popular English training center in the country and has branches in more than ten cities in China and one in Toronto, Canada. The school had total of 250,000 students in 2001 (Dai and Du, 2002). More than 70% of all mainland Chinese students studying in the United States are reported to have taken courses at New Oriental (Jakes, 2000:73). The annual income of the school is believed to be 200 million RMB *Yuan* (almost US\$25 million).

Li Yang is another legendary figure who has been made enormously rich and influential by the nationwide English craze. What is different with Li is that he does not TEACH English; he YELLS in English at his followers, who normally fill stadiums that hold thousands of people. His teaching principles are: 'Speak as clearly as possible, speak as fast as possible, and speak as loudly as possible.' Li believes that his teaching method makes Chinese learners more confident because Chinese students are normally shy and quiet in class (Ni, 2002)

To date, Li has lectured to over 20 million people in China, Japan and the Republic of Korea. Over 100 members of the media from 30 countries, including Canada, the US and Australia, have interviewed him. His 'Crazy English' has been commercially successful, but 'no formal analysis or assessment has been conducted so far and we are not sure if this 'Crazy English' can really raise the standard of English

among Chinese learners' (Lai, 2001:34). Li is considered more a guru than an English teacher in English teaching circles in China.

Is EFL a modern Trojan horse in China?

Chinese people are embracing English with the same enthusiasm as other peoples elsewhere. Governments are encouraging their citizens to learn English, parents are persuading, even forcing, their children to speak it and college students are doing English at the expense of their majors. Even in academic circles, 'Fluency in English covers up all defects and deficiencies and you may as well as do without initiatives and achievements. You are kept away if you are not efficient in English' (Wei 2002:134). However, Qiang and Wolff (2005: 55) argue that linguistic imperialism can occur when English becomes a gatekeeper to education, employment, business opportunities and popular culture and where indigenous languages are marginalized. Pennycook (1999) is doubtful whether the spread of English is beneficial, while Cooke (1988) uses the metaphor of the Trojan horse to describe the way in which English "may be welcomed initially in a country but then cause concern as it dominates the native languages and cultures" (Ljungdahl, 2002, 6: 135).

As English is viewed as the 'gatekeeper' to higher education, employment, economic prosperity and even social status, as a result, 'Fluency in English covers up all defects and deficiencies and you may as well do without initiatives and achievements. You are kept away if you are not efficient in English' (Wei 2002:134).

Lai (1999, 12:3) writes that Academician Xie Kechang of the Chinese Academy of Engineering has questioned the necessity for the entire nation to learn English. It is a compulsory subject in college entrance examinations, and college students whose English falls short of the required standard do not receive their diploma. English is also a decisive aspect of the postgraduate entrance examination. White-collar workers expend a lot of energy on English learning, despite having few opportunities to use it, because it is a precondition for promotion. A professional's English language level is considered indicative of their overall caliber. Lai (2001, 2:35) also mentions that 'English remains a gatekeeper to higher education, better jobs and social position in the Hong Kong SAR.'

Chinese students studying English believe that they will eventually reap increased economic benefits as a direct result of EFL study. A survey (Qian & Wolff, 2003a) reveals that their motivations were predicted upon either their parents' desire

or their own desire for improved economic future. However, some scholars have seen the negative side of the spread of English in China. Choyee (cf. Yajun, 2003, 2:6) argues that the widespread study of English is a waste of valuable resources to detriment of the study of Mandarin. Du (ibid) also 'warned of the negative effects if English were to become the common language of the academic world in China. He argues that 'globalization' is a form of Western domination. If Chinese follow these trends blindly and put too much emphasis on English in this country, it could take up a lot of people's time and energy, decrease confidence in the Chinese language, and block the development and popularization of Chinese culture.

In 1995, this topic came up at a famous university in Shanghai when graduate students failed a Chinese exam. That set off alarm bells and set people to thinking there was urgent need to improve students' ability in their own language (Oct. 10. 2002, 21st Century).

Wei (2002) complains that teaching in English and writing in English in the 'English circle' in China has resulted in a 'class' who are not able to write acceptable Chinese. He suggests that the 'English class' at the undergraduate and graduate level develop an awareness of the mother tongue and culture before taking up their research in the English language, culture and literature. Rui (2000) says that the internationalization of English is making Chinese a dialect. These authors hold such opinions about the effect of English learning in China, but actual research needs to be conducted to provide convincing support to their statements.

During the colonization of large parts of the world by the European powers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries it was commonplace for the spin doctors of the time to advocate the supremacy of their language to help justify the pillage of the colonized territories and the subjugation of their inhabitants, as they argued that they were ethically empowered to behave this way because they were a superior race, with superior means of verbal expression to go with their superior physiognomy (Smith, 2005, 2: 57).

By far, the most successful implementation of a European language was achieved with English, as the British Council, the United Kingdom's international organization for educational opportunities and cultural relations, states that, 'The English language is UK's biggest export success story' <www.britishcouncil.org.belgium/english>. Though Britain's role remains an essentially imperial one, acting as junior partner to US global power (Graddol, 1997;

Qiang and Wolff, 2005); helping to organize the global economy to benefit its corporations; and to maximize Britain's independent political standing in the world and thus retain a 'great power' (Curtis 2003).

The US has since replaced the UK as the driving force behind globalization, English, which in the words of Steiner (1975: 469) 'acting as the vulgate of American power and Anglo-American technology and finance', secured its status as a global language in the 20th century, and has acted as a force facilitating globalization. (Dendrinos 2002; Phillipson 2001) . "Economic, political and cultural domination of the single super-power today, the USA, goes hand in hand with the language that encodes the cultural practices that it helps to sustain. Therefore, alarm about the domination of English does not merely reflect disquietude regarding its ruling power over other languages, large and small, nor to its colonizing effects on them, but conceals consternation concerning the role it plays in minimizing the importance of the nation and maximizing the role of globalization" (Dendrinos 2005 cited from Qiang and Wolff, 2005, 4:57). 'American hegemony – its geopolitics driven by the key assumption that it has defined the way of life that must be adopted by all – must rely on the learning of its language in order to maintain and cement its control' (Templer 2002, cited from Qiang and Wolff, 2005, 4:57).

English is the same colonial language that it was in the last century, but in an even stronger form today. Globalist economic ideologies have pronounced English a key element in creating technical labor forces that must meet their investment specifications, and national ministries of education have uniformly complied with these ideological demands by stacking their pedagogical chips on more English (cf. Pennycook 1999).

Upon China's accession to the WTO, reporter Antoaneta Bezlova stated, 'Its biggest benefit probably is the hope that free trade will eventually lead to the triumph of free society' (Qiang and Wolff, 2005, 4:57). And therefore globalization in reality has been regarded as different name of re-colonization or reshaping the world in the image of the economic powers in the West.

As most people (such as Brown, 1994; Xiaoxia, 2006) argue that language and culture are inseparable, so when Chinese students learn English, they also learn Western culture. As Chinese students study Western business, they necessarily learn all about 'democracy', which is the foundation for Western corporate ownership and

management control. It follows that the nationwide Chinese EFL campaign brings with it an immersion in Western concepts, including social, cultural, business and political thoughts. It is inevitable that certain amount of traditional Chinese thought will give way to a certain amount of Western thought, which translates into a society developing with confusing input. But, actually, the statements above can not be taken for granted unless further researches have been conducted to prove them.

The final result may be a country that is neither purely Chinese nor purely Western, but rather a Westernized China which might more aptly, if ruefully, be referred to as 'Chingland'. The people, their culture, and their language will either be Mandarin sprinkled with English words or a Westernized Chinese people who speak the local variety of English of their own.

Moreover, Qiang and Wolff (2003a) argue that the current political structure of China will not be immune to the forces of change wrought by the infusion of 'Democratic' ideas through teaching EFL. There are those who suggest that the current invasion of EFL teachers is merely the new wave of Western evangelist missionaries (Hadley, 2004), engaging in a different type of 'war of words' that has merely replaced the 'cold war', wherein world domination by the English-speaking world was pursued through military intimidation: that is, wars and threats of wars. Qiang and Wolff (2005) argue that this Trojan horse is an invited guest, which has taken up permanent residence, and will not be evicted without a major battle for the minds and souls of all the people of the world. They even doubt if English culture will inevitably become the monoculture of the world through universal adoption and use of English as the monolanguage of international commerce. However, at present there is no concrete research to prove the worries of the above authors.

Linguistic imperialism – defined by Phillipson (1992: 47) as 'the dominance asserted and maintained by the establishment and continuous reconstitution of structural and cultural inequalities between English and other languages'— is itself a struggle for power (cf. Tollefson 1995). Qiang and Wolff (2005) warn that it is an insidious weapon used by one country to interfere with the internal affairs of another country, and language planning must not only consider the affirmative needs of a particular society but must also have defensive element to protect against linguistic imperialism perpetrated by another society. They hold such a view that EFL is a modern-day Trojan Horse, filled with EFL teachers cum soldiers cum missionaries, and armed with words rather than bullets, but intent nonetheless on re-colonizing the

world and remaking it in the image of Western democracy. However, Qiang and Wolff (2005) argue that as long as there are those who value their ethnicity, culture and language more than money, and are willing to fight to protect what they value, the ‘inevitability’ of an English-language-based New World Order is in jeopardy.

Cultural Awareness

As the main purpose of learning English is to achieve international communication, understanding the culture of the target language and its community has been regarded as essentials. According to Brown (1994:164), culture has been defined as ‘the ideas, customs, skills, arts, and tools that characterize a given group of people in a given period of time’. So language and culture are closely related to each other. Brown (165) describes the two like this: ‘A language is a part of culture, and a culture is part of a language; the two are intricately interwoven so that one cannot separate the two without losing the significance of either language or culture.’

To increase students’ communicative competence, the awareness of the role of culture in English-language acquisition has been stressed. Generally speaking, misunderstanding between people from different countries arises due to cultural differences. ‘Researchers in the language socialization tradition believe that language and culture are not separable, but are acquired together, with each providing support for the development of the other’ (Mitchell & Myles, 1998:183). Successful communication therefore largely depends on mutual understanding, rather than simply being able to produce grammatically correct sentences. In teaching English, in addition to linguistic information, teachers should be able to provide more cultural input and place more attention on how language varies according to social situation.

At the same time, we also need to be aware that teaching English should not homogenize all of our society. Instead EFL in China should be additive, rather than replacive. This means that by means of teaching EFL, According to Alatis (2005: 32), ‘we seek to add a new register of language to a student’s repertoire rather than eradicate or replace the register he already possesses—and in doing so, conveying that his own register was less worthy. The goal of Teaching EFL is to impart our students the ability to switch codes instinctively and communicate in the most appropriate language or dialect, in a manner most conducive to producing the greatest amount of co-operation and least amount of resistance.’

Alatis (2005:32) also holds that ‘teachers of English need to be linguistically sophisticated, pedagogically sound, and culturally sensitive,’ as teaching EFL as a field of international activity, and we should advocate cross-cultural communication as a means of fostering international understanding and world peace. We oppose imperialism of any kind—linguistic, cultural, or political. Poon (2006) argues that we should not Anglicize or Americanize our students; rather we need to focus on content dealing with life and culture around world, and more on our Chinese cultural context in particular rather than that of the United Kingdom or the United States. He (ibid) also suggests that if English is considered to be a global language, it should not be restricted to any single culture, and English as an international language should be able to accommodate different cultural elements and thoughts. As Yun and Jia (2003: 47) put it, ‘to embody different cultures in English is an effective way of putting non-native learners at ease in a global context of multicultural communication.’

Braj Kachru (1997) has seminal research to demonstrate that neither British nor American English can be used as a ‘standard’, and he came up with the concept of not just English but Englishes: that is to say, a large number of varieties of English. He recognized that there is no one standard of English that is acceptable throughout the world, ‘unless one is created as a prescriptive exercise’ (Kachru, 1980). Kachru also came up with the notion of the neutrality of English as opposed to association with British, or American, or Australian, or Canadian, English, and Kachru developed his theory of the Inner Circle, the Outer Circle and the Expanding Circle, roughly equivalent to ENL, ESL, and EFL, and which will be illustrated in the following section.

So we, non-native speaking teachers of English, should stop worrying so much about whether we are teaching ‘standard’ English to our students. Instead, we should ask ourselves at least these three questions:

- Do our students feel at ease to engage in multicultural communication in a global context?
- Do we allow our own Chinese culture and context to play a part in their English learning process?
- Can students communicate their own culture within the world community?

When our students are able to communicate their own culture in a global context, we need to have a further understanding of China English, a variety of English in global Englishes.

Varieties of Englishes and China English

As English is being used and learned in such a crazy trend register all over the world as well as in China, it means that varieties of Englishes are also increasing. British English and American English, which have been traditionally regarded as the only two varieties of 'standard' English, are now only two World Englishes among many. According to Kachru (1997), these Englishes fall into three increasingly well-known categories:

The Inner Circle

Where English is the mother tongue and includes countries such as Australia, Canada, Ireland, New Zealand, the United States, and the United Kingdom.

The Outer Circle

Which uses English as an additional institutionalized, official language, though not a mother tongue, including Bangladesh, Ghana, India, Kenya, Malaysia, Nigeria, Pakistan, the Philippines, Singapore, South Africa, Sri Lanka, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe; many people in these countries can use English fluently for virtually any type of communication.

The Expanding Circle

Which refers to English as a foreign language, the countries being mainly China, Korea, Nepal, Russia, Saudi Arabia and several countries in South America.

Each of the Englishes above differs from the others in various and often unique ways. Each variety has its own lexical, phonological and grammatical features that mark it, but 'however esoteric or remote a variety may be, it has running through it a set of grammatical or other characteristics that are common to all'. A 'common core' dominates all varieties (Quirk & Greenbaum, 1973:1).

In China, one major variety, now widely known as 'China English', is attracting growing attention from linguists, researchers and educators (cf. Jia Delin 1990; Jia Guanjie & Xiang Mingfa 1997; Jiang Yajun 1995; Li Wenzhong 1993; Wang Rongpei 1991). Li (1993) considers that China English (CE) 'is based on a Standard English (SE), express Chinese culture, has Chinese characteristics in lexis, sentence structure and discourse but does not show any L1 interference' And Xu (2001) notes that China English has the following four characteristics:

- Varied pronunciation because of a variety of different accents and in particular the phonological features of Putonghua.
- Certain terms reflecting Chinese culture, such as open-door policy
- Distinctive syntactic characteristics, such as subject-free structures caused by first language influence: Saw her last week.
- Different discourse patterns, such as beginning with many questions, in order to elicit the main topic of interest.

Delin suggests that there are differences between China English and Standard English in terms of sentence structures and discourse patterns. In China English, for example, a common feature of sentence structure is 'open head' while Standard English is 'open end' as in (Delin, 1990, 5-121):

SE: It is doubtful whether he would pay the part.

CE: Whether he would pay the part is doubtful.

There is also a tendency in China English to arrange sentences according to time sequence, and simple and compound sentences tend to be commoner than complex sentences. In dialogues and written passages there are also considerable differences between the two kinds of English. Some China English communicative patterns are strongly influenced by Chinese thought patterns and some are therefore direct translations from the mother tongue. When analyzing the patterns of written discourse in China English, Kaplan (1996) noticed features which he characterizes as 'an approach by indirection'. In this kind of writing, 'the development of the paragraph may be said to be turning and turning in a widening gyre. The circle of gyre turn

around the subject and show it from a variety of tangential views, but the subject is never looked at directly' (ibid. p.10).

Although many scholars are reluctant to accept China English as a variety of English, evidence has begun to accumulate to show that it is neither possible nor desirable for Chinese learners to attain a native-like proficiency in a Chinese sociocultural context in which English is learned and used as a foreign language. As the role of English increases as a medium of international communication in China, intelligibility competes as a measure of excellence with local value expressed through the language. And intelligibility is a dynamic concept, as more and more foreigners make more contact with Chinese culture, intelligibility will presumably increase.

Methodological Implications for EFL Teaching

Language has a dual character: both as a means of communication and a carrier of culture. This study offers a new direction to English education in China. Studying a foreign language does not change one's identity. One's culture and ideology remain the same. English as an international language can be used by anyone to express a person position or cultural heritage. China English is a result of struggling to keep one's own cultural identity within the framework of intercultural communication, which has provided some insights into English teaching and learning in China.

First, people nowadays using English do not communicate solely with native speakers. More often than not, they communicate with non-English speakers; their English therefore does not need to reflect Anglo-Saxon culture. English is no longer a colonial language; it is a tool with which people all over the world communicate with each other. (cf. Kirkpatrick 2000). Nobuyuki (2001:57) writes: "We learn English not only because we use it to communicate with British or American people. What is more important, we use English to communicate with Chinese, Koreans, Thais, Indonesians..." So if China English is to become an educational goal, it needs to be fully described. Norms have to be established that will ensure communication in respect of pronunciation, grammar, syntax and lexis. Already a number of phonological and grammatical forms that deviant from standard English but facilitate language learning while not impeding communication have been identified in the speech of many non-native speakers of English, e.g. replacing *th* by *t*; and using *who* and *which* interchangeably. It is predicted (Kachru, 1986) that English will be many

people's second language, and it is likely that China English will become the variety of English spoken by the largest number of people in the world.

Second, we should integrate China English into textbooks and other teaching materials. As English is sweeping the world as a lingua franca, nativization is inevitable. Currently, the situation in China is that almost all English textbooks and readings, from kindergarten to university, either originate in the Inner Circle countries or represent their culture. Why cannot we give courses in Chinese literature and Chinese politics, for example, in English that reflect our culture? Many Chinese students know a great deal about the West, but very little about their own country. This is largely the fault of the teaching materials used. Sadly, there are many young people who seem to be acquiring a higher regard for Western culture than for their own.

According to some researchers (Yun and Jia, 2003; Qiong, 2004; Qiang and Wolff, 2003b), one cause of lack of success in the teaching and learning of English as a foreign language in China is inappropriate and unrealistic teaching materials. Some (Humin, 2003; Wenzhong, 1993) argue that the degree of students' familiarity with the subject matter to which they are exposed may greatly influence their performance in language study. Since it is well agreed that language is tied to the culture of its users, we have to readjust our English teaching materials in order to help learners to use English fluently in a Chinese cultural context, and enable foreigners to understand our culture better. It is good to make China English the standard. Kirkpatrick (2000) argues that the native speaker model could be incorporated as external models, but not as a must, since they are unrealistic, and virtually unattainable objectives.

As the purpose of all languages is effective communication. A local variety of English is understood amongst the native Hawaiian people and it also enables them to effectively communicate with the English-speaking foreigners who are occupying their homeland. 'Singlish' is an effective form of English communication amongst the people of Singapore and the English-speakers over the world. In fact, almost every nation that has adopted English as a second language has developed a form of English that can be used by the lowest common denominator within its own people's abilities to communicate and still have effective communication with the native English speaker.

So China has its right to develop a form of English that best suits the needs of its general population when communicating with one another as well as native

English speakers, while insisting on more refined English only for its certain professional groups of official translators such as lawyers, accountants, and medical doctors. That is to say, 'Chinglish is not a bad thing! In point of fact, it is inevitable' (Yajun 1995: 1).

Thirdly, let students be widely exposed to a variety of cultures in Global Englishes, and take communicative responsibility for what they themselves say. Studies have shown that where communication is not a problem, it is a non-standard pronunciation rather than syntax, grammar or even lexis that produced a negative reaction. It is a well-established fact that beyond the age of puberty, it is virtually impossible to acquire a standard pronunciation in the target language. Exposure of students to different varieties of English, particularly through movies, sound recordings and television, can considerably reduce the problem. When American films were first shown in Britain, many viewers believed that they were listening to a foreign language! In the Chinese context, English teachers from countries from the Outer Circle and Expanding Circle, like India, Singapore, Korea, Russia, etc. can be employed to teach English in our country, so that our students may have a better understanding of the contents and pronunciation of global Englishes.

Conclusion

While a study is to offer comments and insights which may increase the competence of Chinese learners of English in intercultural communication, considerations need to be given for maintaining their cultural and social identity as well as the extent of the necessity of EFL teaching and learning in China.

Qiang and Wolff (2003a) argue that China is recognized as a developing nation in economic terms, but there is doubt whether adequate consideration has been given to the fact that it is also a developing nation in social and cultural terms and that its nationwide EFL provides a defining moment in the development. There should be no reason for China to forsake Mandarin with such a concerted effort to require 1.3 billion its speakers, 25% of the world's population, to learn English as EFL. Since Mandarin is already one of the six working languages of the United Nations, China should realize the reality that the emerging China has the immediate clout to demand that those desiring to do business in China or with China should learn Mandarin, rather than expect 1.3 billion Chinese to learn English. We need to reflect on that the current EFL policy in China is an act of misguided, self-inflicted English

colonization, brought about by tacitly (if not officially) adopting EFL acquisition as a national program.

The European Union has a very firm understanding of the relationship between maintaining a national language and maintaining a national identity. They hold that 'it is the democratic right of every member state to use its own language. This rule must be kept' (*China Daily* 11-5-02: 'European union turning into Tower of Babel with enlargement'). Following this EU model on a world scale, all WTO rules and regulations, proceedings and decisions, should be translated into Mandarin, as should all international business transactions involving China or its business entities.

Could or should China learn something from the EU's prioritizing the preservation and continued use of native languages? Is the risk posed by EFL to China's social, cultural and even political structures and systems outweighed by the potential economic benefits such that China's Chineseness is for sale? EFL at any cost? Should the love of money replace traditional Chinese wisdom as the most valuable asset of New Chingland? Should economic gain be at the expense of what makes China different from all other nations? National identity is tied directly to the preservation of the native language.

It would appear that linguists and other scholars throughout China have a fundamental obligation to seek enlightened answers to the questions posed herein and to provide the appropriate guidance to China's leadership so that the future course for China may be properly charted in the best interests of the people of China and thus avoid decisions resulting from tunnel vision. Is it incongruous that while China's relics and antiques are not for sale, the underlying heart and culture of China is now on the auction block?

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Title

‘English Language Imperialism’ - Points of View

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Bio

Paul Z. Jambor has been teaching English as a foreign language since 1996, in both Hungary and South Korea. He is currently a professor of English in the ‘Tourism Japanese’ Department at Dongnam Health College in Suwon, South Korea. He also worked as a professor of English in the Department of English at Hoseo University in Cheonan/Asan, South Korea, for 5 consecutive years, from March 2002 to February 2007. He has an MA in TES/FL from the University of Birmingham in the UK. He specializes in teaching English Conversation and has conducted research in finding the best methods of promoting adult learners’ abilities to converse in English. He is the author of the Bridgeways EFL book series 1, 2 & 3 (Published by Hakmun Publishing, Seoul South Korea) which is based on group styled English conversation.

His poetry has been published in both the United States and Canada.

Abstract

There are generally two camps with regard to the views toward English as an imperialist language. While scholars in the one camp state that the English Language is Imperialist due to its growing stature in increasingly more domains around the world, intellectuals in the other camp counter with the argument that the English language is merely an innocent bystander while it is actually the economic and military might of the countries associated with it that are the real culprits and not the language per se. Although scholars in each camp produce compelling reasoning to

back up their views, it is within the author's intent to show that the arguments of the camp which holds the view that English is not imperialist are relatively misguided. Overall, he strives to give increasing validity to the view that English is Imperialist.

Introduction

The English language is being learned by more and more people around the world, with its global status growing daily. It is being established as the preferred international language in numerous global domains. The exceptional spread of English most likely began during the early years of the British Colonial Empire which established the language as a 'lingua franca' among the various people that were colonized.

The advancement of the English language into domains previously held by minority languages, starting out from the inner circle moving toward the outer rim, is considered by linguists as language shift. For instance, the Maori language in New Zealand was slowly displaced by English in most domains until its recent comeback. Language shift could in effect lead to language death, whereby a majority language, such as English, becomes a 'killer language' and completely eradicates other minority languages. This was certainly the case with several Aboriginal and North-Amerindian languages which were, in a sense, 'killed' by the English language. In effect, language shift and language death, at the hands of the English language, are persuasive signs of English Language Imperialism.

Being alarmed by the effects of ELI, certain governments implement language planning which legislates the mandatory use of their native languages in various domains.

There are compelling arguments illustrating that English has imperialist tendencies, however, counter-arguments show that English lacks 'imperialist' qualities on the basis that it is accepted and learned by 'choice', therefore, since there is little or no 'force' exerted on nations and people to permit it into their lives, it should be viewed as 'non-imperialist'. This argument tends to put forth the ideas that 'English is neutral' and that 'English is democratic'.

I myself tend to lean toward the view that 'English is imperialist' because whether English is accepted by 'choice' or 'force' the end resulting hegemonic position of the language nevertheless remains the same.

As a teacher of EFL in Korea, my employment, in my opinion, is premised on ‘imperialist practices’, however, I offer no apologies as I am amply salaried.

Linguistic Imperialism (LI)

It is perhaps most appropriate to start by examining a couple of definitions of LI. Phillipson, for instance, defines LI as follows:

In my usage, *linguistic imperialism* is a theoretical construct, devised to account for linguistic hierarchisation, to address issues of why some languages come to be used more and others less, what structures and ideologies come to be used more and others less, what structures and ideologies facilitate such processes, and the role of language professionals. ... Linguistic Imperialism is a subtype of *linguicism* ... linguicism studies attempt to put the sociology of language and education into a form which furthers scrutiny of how language contributes to unequal access to societal power and how linguistic hierarchies operate and are legitimated. ... Linguistic imperialism takes place within an overarching structure of North/South relations, where language interlocks with other dimensions, cultural (particularly in education, science and the media), economic and political. (Phillipson, 1997:238-239)

Phillipson employs the term ‘linguistic imperialism’, theoretically, as a means of stating that languages are hierarchized, in an attempt to deal with the reasons why some languages get used more than others and to figure out what principles lie behind this and the role language teachers play. His use of the term ‘linguicism’ (Phillipson, 1997:240) in his definition points towards a biased system whereby a scheme of linguistic hierarchisation contributes to keeping people in their assigned positions based on language use. That is to say, ‘linguistic power’ helps to maintain hegemony. He affirms that the North/South - otherwise known as Kachru’s inner/periphery circles of language speakers - relationship is shaped by cultural, economic and political dimensions. Or rather, the Northerly (inner circle) countries exercise political, economic and cultural influences on the Southern ones (outer & expanding circles) (Appendix 1), through the relatively high status their languages enjoy in the South (periphery).

The second definition is by Knowles:

Seen in its simplest terms, *language imperialism* involves the transfer of a dominant language to other peoples. The transfer is essentially a demonstration of power--traditionally military power but also in the modern world economic power--and aspects of the dominant culture are usually transferred along with the language. In view of the prestige of the dominant power and its culture, the transfer may not be imposed but actually be demanded by the peoples who adopt the dominant language. It is likely to be regarded as an intrinsically superior language and accorded alleged virtues--*e.g.*, that it is more logical, more beautiful, or easier to learn than the dominated languages. Among the most successful imperial languages are Latin, Arabic, and English. ... (Knowles in Encyclopedia Britannica)

Knowles talks of the transfer of 'dominant languages' to other countries. He maintains that languages were originally spread militarily, but in modern day terms they enjoy the support of economic constructs designed to empower them. He further states that cultures were spread along with the languages and makes it clear that this need not happen by force as the adoption of the 'dominant languages' could even come by way of 'choice'. The language may be adopted because of the high status, perceived beauty and linguistic dominance it enjoys in relation to the 'minority group language' (Holmes, 2001:64).

While Phillipson and Knowles may well provide us with an enhanced understanding of LI, the query that remains unreciprocated is; 'Does the English language itself have imperialist qualities?'

English as an Imperialist Language

Phillipson would surely answer 'yes': He asserts that "the dominance of English is asserted and maintained by the establishment and continuous reconstitution of structural and cultural inequalities between English and other languages" (Phillipson, 1992:47) supports the idea that English is an imperialist language. Additionally, Holy (1990, in Finch, 2000) claims that English "can also act as a means of politico-cultural

colonisation of the spirit, serving the interests of the most powerful concentrations of economic power the world has ever known”.

One organization which aims to keep English, or at least British English, established in a position of relative worldwide authority, is the British Council. In a sense, the Council is exercising ‘English Language Imperialism’ (ELI) (Phillipson, 1992:300-301). The British Council was established after 1945 to help improve the global status of British English, in an effort to counter the spread of American English (Knowles in Encyclopedia Britannica Online). By and large, Kachru’s Three Circles of English Speakers may serve best to illustrate the council’s outward influence.

Kachru’s Tree Circles of English Speakers

According to Phillipson the ‘inner circle’ (native speaker) countries, such as the U.S.A., Britain, Canada and Australia, exercise political and economic control over the ‘outer circle’ (speakers of English as a second language) countries such as Pakistan, India, Nigeria and over the ‘expanding circle’ (speakers of English as a foreign language) countries such as Korea, Japan and Hungary (Zughoul, 2003). Generally speaking, it is this kind of ‘outward pressure’ the British Council’s philosophy is built on and it is this inner circle influence, which in my opinion, is a major driving force behind English Language Hegemony and thus ELI.

The Opposing Camps

While Phillipson strongly supports the concept that English is imperialist, other scholars rebuff the idea completely. David Crystal - lecturer at the University of Wales, Bangor (UWB) and the University of Reading - for instance, terms the undue assertion that English is imperialist ‘linguistic luddism’ since he believes that it is an “attack on the wrong target” as the more relevant economic issues are ignored (Crystal, 2003: 25). English in his view is innocent. However, since languages and cultures are so closely related, the English language could easily share the blame with its associated economic system given that its pertinent cultures are largely built on capitalist money-making principles.

Davies (1999), also in opposition to Phillipson, states that there are two types of ‘guilt’ driving the support for ‘linguistic imperialism’; one of ‘pure guilt’ for the establishment of former colonies and the other of the simple romantic notion that we should change our current ‘imposing practices’. Rajagopalan makes an even stronger

claim by stating that these types of 'guilt' generate a guilt complex within the ELT community (1999:200-206).

It may be that certain ELT professionals feel a sense of guilt for the apparent 'imperialist nature' of English, however, I myself make no apologies for taking advantage of the rewards being offered to me as an EFL teacher. That is, while a number of my students may resent the fact that I am teaching them a language they consider as being unnecessary within Korea, I am nevertheless getting paid for it amply and that is nothing to feel guilty about.

English is Neutral

In added response to the view that English is imperialist, Crystal states that "English is now so widely established that it can no longer be thought as 'owned' by any single nation" (Crystal, 2003: 26). By this notion, since the English language has taken so many forms in so many countries, it is erroneous to say that the language maintains its imperialist qualities.

What's more, Crystal theorizes that because English is already so varied and thus so neutral, with the different varieties of Englishes becoming increasingly unintelligible, the global community may eventually require a 'World Standard Spoken English' (Mydans, 2007).

As a result of Crystal's hypothetical suggestion that 'English' should undergo 'standardization' (Preston, 1989: 200) on an international scale, it may well be fundamental to identify, at least some of the various Englishes, i.e., Indian English, Singlish (Singaporean English), Nigerian English, the English of the West Indies, etc.. Although it should be stated clearly, that regardless of the variance, it is still the different forms of 'native Englishes' - American, British, Canadian, Australian and to some degree Irish, Scottish, South African and New Zealand - that hold the high world status. To exemplify this, Japanese people characterize Western Culture as prominent, particularly American Culture, in addition to backing Western ownership of English (Patil, 2006). As a further illustration, Patil makes the following claim:

The hegemony of native varieties of English finds nourishment from two sources: the mechanisms created by the West, and the self-nullifying attitude of the non-native speakers toward their own varieties. (Patil, 2006:97).

According to Patil, the West has constructed devices to maintain native English supremacy - i.e., the abundance of teaching materials from inner circle countries (Appendix 2) and the native speaker's presumed knowledge of the language. - Patil also states that speakers of non-native Englishes regard the native varieties superior to their own.

Accordingly, the belief that 'English is not owned' does little to disprove the linguistic imperialist theory since the language nevertheless remains hegemonic whereby it is held in high international status above all other languages around the world (Patil, 2006). Perhaps the assumption that English is democratic might stand firmer in disproving the linguistic imperialism hypothesis.

English is Democratic

Certain languages such as Korean and Hungarian have two systems of honorific expressions: One for friends and subordinates, as well as another to show respect to those in positions of relative reverence. In Korean, for instance, some adjectives and particular nouns have '-yo' attached to the end of them to signal respect, while in Hungarian there are two ways of saying you. The first is 'te' for friends and equals, whereas the other is 'ön or maga' for elders and for people with whom one is not closely acquainted. In English, however, there is no such honorific system in the grammar. The following quote by David Crystal should further elaborate on this concept:

there have been comments made about other structural aspects, too, such as the absence in the English grammar of a system of coding social class differences, which make the language appear more 'democratic' to those who speak a language (e.g. Javanese) that does express an intricate system of class relationships. (Crystal, 2003:9)

As Crystal states, Javanese too has a grammatical system of signalling the class or status of an individual, therefore, English may very well seem more democratic than Hungarian, Korean or Javanese, for example. Nevertheless, this still fails to invalidate the theory that English is imperialist on the basis that this argument, as well, neglects to challenge the view that English is hegemonic.

‘Choice’ vs. ‘Force’ – The Fine Line

While the supporters of English Language Imperialism, such as Phillipson, believe that language choices are made while outside pressures are bearing down, those in opposition, such as Davies, believe that choices are made freely on individual basis and that minority language speakers adopt English to suit their own needs (Davies, 1997:248). David Crystal, for instance, believes that exterior languages, i.e., French and English, are accepted due to the economic, political and religious influences exerted on any given society by the respective external powers (Crystal, 2003:11). In effect, societies are under no direct ‘force’ to allow entry for the incoming language. Crystal further states that it takes a military might to ‘establish’ a language, however, an economic power is required to ‘maintain’ and ‘expand’ it (Crystal, 2003: 10). With this in mind, it could be said that while the British Colonial Army spread the English language as a ‘lingua franca’ (Wardhaugh, 1998: 55), a contact language nonnative to all parties, it is now the economic might of the United States that keeps it in its esteemed international position (Crystal, 1997 in Zughoul, 2003). That is, while initially imperialism was evident, what followed is simply a matter of economic related ‘choices’ rather than ‘force’.

According to Widdowson, ‘force’ is essential for English Language Hegemony to exist and if a language is adopted by choice it should be considered non-imperialist on the premise that if there was hegemonic control it could not be challenged (1998:398). In accordance with this hypothesis, if the English language is freely accepted by minority language speakers, it would be wrong to label it as imperialist.

In contrast, Knowles states that even though the dominant language may well be invited into a country, it still could be deemed an ‘imperialist language’. I also believe that ‘choice’ may play little relevance since, in my view, it is the underlying hegemony, whether the English language is imposed or elected, which is a central determining factor in English Language Imperialism.

To expand on my hypothesis, the following metaphorical representation of the Ancient Romans should now be looked at: - Many of the people conquered by the Ancient Romans simply gave in by ‘choice’. The Roman strategy was to avoid teaching people their religion and way of life just to make them become more Roman and, instead, get the people to swear allegiance to Rome while still being able to keep

their own way of life. Consequently many nations willingly joined the Roman Empire without a fight (Tyler, 2004). As follows, whether conquered by ‘force’ or ‘choice’ the conquered people nevertheless became a part of the ‘Empire’ and few historians would be willing to state otherwise. Consequently the English Language can similarly be invited in and still be considered as being imperialist. After all, it is indefatigably being established as the new International Language and this is a persuasive sign of a new Global Linguistic Empire (GLE) on the rise.

English as an International Language

With the new GLE on its way to becoming progressively more established, the benefits of learning English, the new International Language, may perhaps outweigh the disadvantages. For instance, learning English as a global ‘lingua franca’ could prove extremely beneficial for its speakers in securing business deals and forming partnerships.

Furthermore, even though English is well behind Chinese (Mandarin) when it comes to the number of native speakers it has (Appendix 3), it makes it up in the total number of speakers category which is anywhere between 570 million to 1.68 billion according to Kachru (Appendix 1). Moreover, English is overwhelmingly ranked ‘number one’ when it comes to the estimated economic strength it possesses in the new global financial system (Appendix 4). Additionally, 28% of all books published globally are in English, with Chinese falling second at just 13.3% (Appendix 2). Moreover, scientist from around the world may very well fail to achieve world recognition unless they publish their papers in English. German physicists, for example, claim 98% of their working language to be English, while chemists from the same country say; for them it is 83% (Appendix 5). 78% of all medical papers, 33% of newspapers, 85% of films and 99% of popular music on a global scale are released or published in English, along with 80% of all websites and 85% of international organizations set up in English (Crystal, in McKay, 2006).

Also, to be able to entertain a worldly audience, a writer should transcribe his/her work into the international medium of English. Phillipson points out, for example, that Chinua Achebe, a Nigerian fluent in his mother tongue, chose to use English instead as it allows for reaching an international audience and thus maximizing his monetary gains (Bisong, 1995). Phillipson believes that the Nigerian languages are so “immaterial” that the legitimacy of English is simply unattested, and

thus Ashby's report in English is a clear indication of 'English as an imperialist language' (Phillipson, in Bisong, 1995:124).

What is more, English has become the official language used by the 'European Central Bank', despite the fact that the bank is in Frankfurt and there are no predominantly English speaking nations (including Britain) as members of the 'European Monetary Union' (Wallraff, 2000).

At this point, it may be crucial to list Graddol's 12 international 'domains' of English (1997) in order to exemplify its true qualities as an 'international language':

1. English is the working language of international organizations and conferences. Crystal (1997) reports that about 85% of the international organizations now use English as one of their working languages, 49% use French and fewer than 10% use Arabic, Spanish or German. English is also a major language of financial institution.
2. English is now the "the international currency of science and technology".
3. English is the language of international banking, economic affairs and trade.
4. It is the language of advertising for global brands.
5. It is the language of audio-visual/cultural-products (e.g. film, TV, popular music).
6. It is the language of international tourism.
7. It is the language of tertiary education.
8. It is the language of international safety (e.g. "airspeak", "seaspeak").
9. It is the language of international law.
10. It is a "relay language" in interpretation and translation.
11. It is the language of technology transfer.
12. It is the language of Internet communication

(Graddol in Zughoul, 2003)

It should be evident from Graddol's list that English plays a leading role within the international community, therefore, the enticement to learn English for some people may be irresistible. Many even find that acquiring English is not a 'choice' but a necessity they can not live without. Along these lines, Holmes states that Minority groups are increasingly prone to surrender to mounting pressures to take on the dominant group's language (Holmes, 2001:55). For example, a number of my students in Korea are finding it progressively more essential to acquire English so they can attain better jobs. In my opinion, this bolsters the credibility of the Linguistic

Imperialism Hypothesis as the element of 'choice' is becoming gradually less available.

English a 'Killer Language'

While English is considered by some scholars as a 'killer language' (Holmes, 2001:55 & Crystal, 2003:20), by no means is it impossible to revive a language once a total 'language shift' has occurred. Nevertheless, 'language death' is difficult to reverse.

In most cases, once a language dies, it is seldom revived. Many Amerindian and Australian Aboriginal languages, for example, were completely overtaken by English, Spanish and Portuguese, although several of them are still alive but have regardless been casualties of 'Language Shift' (NRC, 2004 & Cavallaro, 2005). Of the 100 remaining North Amerindian Languages 50 are considered to be endangered (URC, 2003). Be that as it may, it should be noted that the Central and South Amerindian languages were mainly victimised by Spanish and Portuguese. However the majority of North Amerindian and the Australian Aboriginal languages fell victim to predominantly English, with French also playing a role in Upper North America (Crystal, 2003:21).

The above is surely a sign indicating that, at least in the past, English was a 'killer' and an 'imperialist' language beyond any reasonable doubt. Nevertheless, it could be argued that it was actually the former British Army which is responsible for its previous colonial imperialist practices and not the language per se, but conversely it might be more fitting to propose that the English language should share a portion of the blame since, at least at the time of British Colonialization, it embodied its respective imperialist culture. To elaborate, language and culture could be considered as being closely related even though the relationship is often hidden from view (Wardhaugh, 1998: 229). Bernstein, for instance, views language as influencing culture and vice versa (Wardhaugh, 1998: 326) while Whorf goes further by claiming that "the relationship between language and culture was a deterministic one" (Whorf in Wardhaugh, 1998: 216-217); the 'Whorfian Hypothesis'. That is to say, languages, in effect, shape the way individuals view the world and thus the way they act (Swoyer, 2003). As follows, since languages can be seen as such integrated parts of their respective cultures, the English language should share at least a portion of the

blame with the former British Colonial Army for its culture-induced imperialist practices.

Government Legislation - Language Planning

Bearing in mind the foregoing reasoning, the French Canadians go to great lengths in countering the English language influence on their 'French' culture. To elaborate; the province of Québec, Canada has elected to remain out of the Canadian constitution which states that all provinces in Canada are obliged to support French-English bilingualism in an effort to hold onto the use of the French language in all domains. - Unlike the rest of Canada, French is the only official language in Quebec and store signs must be in French with English only allowed in small print. Even the stop signs read 'ARRET' (stop in French), while in France all stop signs read 'STOP'. Also, children of newly arrived immigrants to Canada are legally required to attend French language schools. - (Corrigan, 2006)

Similarly, other governments around the world, i.e., China and France have created legislations in way of language planning that require TV and Radio stations to play mainly native content, thus, restricting access to English language programs (Kennedy, Knowles, Caldas-Coulthard and Coulthard, 2001:76 & *China 'bans primetime Simpsons'* BBC Online News).

Overall, a number of governments struggle hard to prevent English from infiltrating their respective native tongues by way of 'language shift'. They are, in effect, countering the effects of English Language Imperialism.

Language Shift

Language shift occurs when an incoming language gradually overtakes the native tongue one domain at a time. Ralph Fasold advocates that in order for 'language shift' (Holmes, 2001:52) to occur, a community must willingly give up its identity only to take on a new identity as part of the incoming community. Often times the infiltrating community is a larger group that exercises social control over the minority group being taken over (Fasold, 1984:240).

Language shift is frequently the result of political and economic pressures, i.e., to learn the incoming language to get work. People may shift not only their language but their location as well. For instance, the Gaelic, Welsh and Scottish, in the last few decades, have moved to England and to the English language in the hope of finding

jobs. But of course if the majority group does the physical moving, the result still ends up being the same, with language shift occurring in a similar fashion (Holmes, 2001:55) as occurred when English speaking European settlers moved to Australia and North-America, causing the indigenous languages *-minority languages-* to fall victims to the imperialist mechanisms of the English language *-majority language-* (URC, 2003 & Cavallaro, 2005).

In the majority of cases language shift takes place in one direction with the minority group's language being taken over by that of the dominant majority group (Holmes, 2001:56). The lower status of the minority language does little to spur the dominant group to learn it while the esteem associated with the majority language is a highly motivating factor for minority groups to adopt the dominant tongue. Not only does the majority language get used almost exclusively in the political arena, but it is also the lingo of the stars young people hold in high regard. Consequently, the majority language has the tendency to exhibit glamorous qualities which many minority language speakers find simply irresistible (Holmes, 2001:55). For instance, English is the dominant language of popular music and the movie industry that young people find admiration in and is already established as the highly esteemed international language in numerous global domains.

In effect, this further bolsters support for the view that English is hegemonic and hence that English is imperialist.

The Maori Language Shift in New Zealand

An actual instance of Language shift began late in the nineteenth century when the Maori people in New Zealand started out with speaking only Maori, then moved on to English-Maori bilingualism and by the second half of the twentieth century only ten percent of Maori people were reasonably fluent in Maori with the language used in just a few domains, i.e., church and the pub (Holmes, 2001:56).

People residing in locations geographically cut off from the main society stood a greater chance in keeping their language than those living in urban areas. However, with the development of better roads and infrastructures of communication to the main culture, language shift and infiltration by people from the larger group gained increasingly more acceptance (Fasold, 1984:241).

Before the introduction of the mass media, school was the only domain for English, with all matters of personal interactions, as well as church services, public meetings and trading carried out in Maori (Holmes, 2001:59).

Similar to the Maori, the Samoa people in Hawaii are experiencing language shift from Samoa to English. Additionally, in South Africa, language shift from Afrikaans to English has long been under way. Overall, the aforementioned language shifts in New Zealand, Hawaii and South Africa are persuasive signs of English Language Imperialism (ELI). Nevertheless, since the Maori people have recently produced a commendable effort to revive their language in a fight against ELI (Holmes, 2001:64), it is less likely that their language will completely die out. However, language shift can nevertheless lead to language death on certain occasions.

Language Death

Language death can be abrupt in instances when all speakers are wiped out swiftly, as was the case with some Australian Aboriginal tribes as a result of social despair, diseases introduced by European settlers and being killed by the settlers themselves (Hughes, 2007:10). Nonetheless, if language death occurs slowly it can appear similar to language shift, whereby the minority language is taken over by the majority language one domain at a time. Once older generations of proficient speakers die out, younger generations less proficient in the minority language gradually lose the ability to communicate in it. (Holmes, 2001:57)

Language Death sets in when there are no more speakers of the language in question. This could, in effect, be added as the ninth stage of 'Fishman's (1991) eight stages of language decay/death':

Stage 8 The Language is spoken by a few isolated older people. It is close to extinction.

Stage 7 There are cultural events and ceremonies.

Stage 6 Children are learning language from parents, neighborhood, and community.

Stage 5 There is local literacy in the community, literacy programs in native languages.

Stage 4 The language is in the schools.

Stage 3 The language is in the work sphere.

Stage 2 The language is in the local mass media, local government.

Stage 1 The language exists at the highest levels in government, universities, national media.

(Fishman in Language Loss in Micronesia)

The eight stages of Fishman's 'language loss' would necessarily occur over several decades or even centuries.

This kind of language death actually took place with numerous North Amerindian languages being gradually eradicated since the beginning of the European colonization of North America (URC, 2003). This occurred with the total number of speakers of the native languages simply dying out while failing to pass on their native tongues to their descendants (Yeboah, 2005). In effect, the English language took over the minority languages in every domain. By and large, this is linguistic imperialism at its grandest.

Conclusion

Some intellectuals view English as imperialist whereas others see it as democratic or neutral, however, there is little use in denying that English enjoys a substantial international status.

Certain nations like China, France and even the Provincial Government of Quebec, Canada legislate against the acceptance of English into domains occupied by their native languages in an attempt to counter the increasingly persuasive forces of English Language Imperialism. English is perhaps the language governments are alarmed by the most since it has already caused countless language shifts and numerous language deaths, for example, in Australia, North America and New Zealand.

The English language may or may not become the sole language of the new global world, although, one thing for sure is that it will benefit the inner circle speakers to a greater degree than those in the periphery circles. And since the inner circle influence is more and more conspicuous around the world, it may be increasingly difficult to deny the development of a Global Linguistic Empire and thus the status of English as an imperialist language.

In my opinion, English is imperialist as a result of its hegemony and inner circle influence and also because it is infiltrating into progressively more domains globally. What is more, whether it is adopted by 'choice' or by 'force', the imperial nature of the language nevertheless ends up remaining the same.

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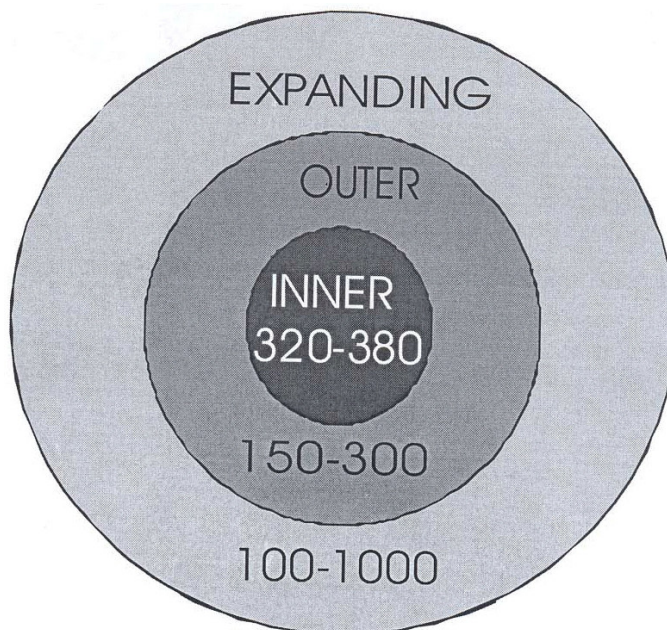
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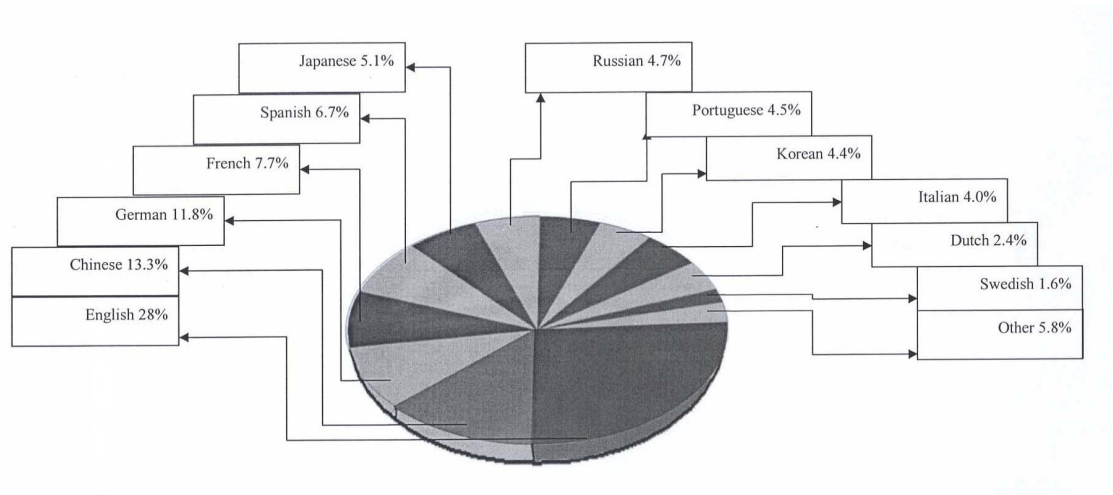
Appendices

Appendix 1 - Kachru's Three Circles of English Speakers (x 1,000,000)



(Crystal (1997) in Zughoul, 2003)

Appendix 2 - The proportion of the world's books published annually in each language



(Graddol in Zughoul, 2003)

Appendix 3 - Major world languages in millions of first-language speakers

Table 3: Major world languages in millions of first-language speakers according to the engco model and comparative figures from the Ethnologue (Grimes, 1996)

	Language	Engco Model	Ethnologue
1	Chinese	1,123	1,113
2	English	322	372
3	Hindi/Urdu	236	316
4	Spanish	266	304
5	Arabic	202	201
6	Portuguese	170	165
7	Russian	288	155
8	Bengali	189	125
9	Japanese	125	123
10	German	98	102
11	French	72	70
12	Italian	63	57
13	Malay	47	47

(Grimes (1996) in Zughoul, 2003)

Appendix 4 - Estimated economic strength languages in USD billion

Table 4: Estimated economic strength languages in USD billion
(after Ammon, 1995)

1	English	4,271
2	Japanese	1,277
3	German	1,090
4	Russian	801
5	Spanish	738
6	French	669
7	Chinese	448
8	Arabic	359
9	Italian	302
10	Portuguese	234
11	Dutch	203
12	Hindi/Urdu	102
13	Indonesian	65
14	Danish	60
15	Greek	49

(Ammon (1995) in Zughoul, 2003)

Appendix 5 - Disciplines in which German academics claim English as their working language

Table 6: Disciplines in which German academics claim English as their working language

Physics	98%
Chemistry	83%
Biology	81%
Psychology	81%
Maths	78%
Earth Science	76%
Medical Science	72%
Sociology	72%
Philosophy	56%
Forestry	55%
Vet. Science	53%
Economics	48%
Sports Science	40%
Linguistics	35%
Educational	27%
Literature	23%
History	20%
Classics	17%
Theology	12%
Law	8%

(Graddol in Zughoul, 2003)



Title

The English Occupation:
Are We Language Teachers or Foot Soldiers of Cultural Imperialism?

Author:-

Ashley Souther

Bio

Ashley Souther holds a masters degree in Peace and Conflict Resolution from American University, and has taught English and Conflict Theory at High School and University level throughout the Middle East and Japan. He is currently researching the connection between language and conflict through the lens of critical discourse analysis. His other interests include alternative methods of peacemaking, including people-to-people sports programs and negotiations.

Abstract

Language is inextricably linked with culture. Different languages represent the values, histories, and flavors of the cultures from which they originate. In this sense, languages are not "neutral," but are culturally and politically 'loaded.' This is even more so in the case of a "lingua franca;" originating in one cultural setting, being used in many. English as a common language has cultural and political baggage that means different things in the many different places it is found. In Japan, though English has become as commonplace as convenience-store sushi, it still cannot be separated fully from the US-Japan relationship. The Black Ships of Perry that opened the country by force, the bombs dropped by plane and the chocolates handed out by GIs in WWII, the post-war US occupation and continuing hegemony, all of this forms the long shadow cast by English in Japan. So, the question is what, as English teachers, do we do with this?

What challenges does this pose to our profession's world view of English as a means to economic and social integration? Should we ignore it as ancient history? Or is it possible to incorporate this critical understanding of language and its impact, and to use it to serve the communities we work and live in? This is the challenge to today's ESL professional; a challenge that will help us to answer the question about whether we are language teachers, or foot soldiers of cultural imperialism.

Introduction

As an American teaching English in Japan, the question occurred to me, as I'm sure it has to the many who share that description – why is it not the other way around? Why isn't it Japanese that is taught as core curriculum in American schools and not vice versa? And anyone who thinks about it for more than five seconds invariably bumps up against some version of the same idea. It is the idea that was introduced to me at an early age by my neighbor Roy, gleefully preaching cold war-era-doom over our backyard fence: “boy, you better git’ ready to start learning Russian! he, he, he!” The idea is that language is power are connected; ‘they’ learn English because ‘we’ won the war, and that if we lost the cold war, I would have had to learn Russian (or worse, the metric system!). Of course this sounds an exaggeration, but it touches on the central idea: that language and power are linked. It is this link that leads us to English in Japan, and a central question.

Why?

In Japan, English is everywhere. It is on clothes, spare tire covers, advertisements. It is highlighted on huge signs which light up the cities – cities that are crowded with private English academies whose attendees have already had years of it force fed them in schools. Even the Japanese language is packed with more and more English “loan-words.” Most discussion about English in Japan tends to focus on the ‘how’: how to increase fluency or make teaching more efficient. Seldom is asked the question of ‘why’? Why all the English? Such questions are usually met with the seemingly self evident invocation of ‘internationalization’, ‘lingua franca of business,’ or some vague allusion to a future in which English will be the key to survival (like lamb’s blood splattered over the door). Inquisitors don’t know ‘why,’ only that, for some reason, they must learn English, or at least impart it to their children! But the question still stands unanswered, and the standard mantra of English

education in Japan only serves to perpetuate itself and to veil the real social impact of English saturation. The impact is hidden, it blends into the background and is taken for granted. Yet questions still arise. Questions about the gap between the 'perceived need' for the general public to know English, the angst it creates and the industry it drives, and the 'actual need' for them to use English ever in daily life. Japanese who actually need to use the language are a self-selected group. Be they executives, world travelers, or pro wrestlers, they learn it and have no unusual problems. But they are a definite minority, hardly justifying the type of resources devoted to English in Japan. If such an across-the-board English program is not in response to a correspondingly concrete need, then what is it a response to?

The Social and Political Nature of Language

To get to the answer to that question, it is important to remember the nature of language. Language is not just a vessel or container like a cup carrying spoken or written information. If it was, each language would be a unique cup that changed the flavor of the drink it carried ever so slightly. Language is always 'loaded'. "There is no such thing as an 'apolitical' language as there is no such thing as an 'apolitical' person... Politics is human relations, and language is an organic component of such relations." (Perea, 1992, p. 250-256). Language is loaded with the culture and history it represents. Words not only convey meaning but are themselves meaningful; connected intrinsically to the social context from which they come. For example, Muslims consider any translation of the Koran to be inauthentic; only the original Arabic can convey the true essence. Also, it would be hard to imagine that the subtle hierarchical relationships in Japanese society would be possible to maintain without the Japanese language to define and enforce them. The language itself is infused with the ideology of the culture, without which it would be impossible to teach the language. Vocabulary and grammar of the language reflect these value systems, be they Monotheistic or Confucian. Or, as Gunter Kress states, "the defined and delineated set of statements that constitute a discourse are themselves expressive of and organized by a specific ideology. Language can never appear by itself – it always appears as the representative of a system of linguistic terms, which themselves realize discursive and ideological systems" (Kress. 1985)

If you look at English in Japan with its social and historical context, it is tied to the US-Japan relationship. The Black Ships of Perry that opened the country by

force, the bombs dropped by plane and the chocolates handed out by GIs in WWII, the cold-war and present periods of economic partnership and US hegemony, all of this forms the long shadow cast by English in Japan. It is this shadow that makes the language socially and culturally loaded indeed.

So, English in Japan represents America and language is linked to power relations between people. Does this, then, mean that English in Japan is just a linguistic aspect of the American occupation? Does that make English teachers mere foot soldiers of the occupation? That will seem quite distasteful an idea to some of us. It would be tempting to dismiss out of hand, settling for the 'normal' idea that power and politics have nothing to do with English. Many in the profession do, in fact. They contend that English is itself benign or at least neutral, and that teaching students in Asia, Africa, South America, and the Middle East is merely granting them access and opportunities they would not have otherwise. 'English is a tool for upward mobility and communion with the global community,' as they claim. This is a comforting idea for many, but history tells a different story. Although it cannot be denied that increased opportunities for the individual may derive from learning the 'language of the conqueror,' that is not the main purpose of language spread. A policy cannot be judged by its side-effect but by its true purpose and main effect, which is rarely stated and must be deciphered. The extinction or spread of languages doesn't happen in a vacuum. It accompanies the rise and fall of nations, the ebb and flow of conquest and ruin. That is why many 'conquered' First Nations now fear for their cultural existence as their languages fades with each passing generation, such as the Ainu or Native Americans. Each has been or is being replaced by the language of the 'winner.' I am reminded again of my neighbor – was he really exaggerating so much? Just consider it: if today it was Russian military bases that dotted the globe, if the UN were in Moscow, if all the cool movies were in Russian, then perhaps his tirades might not seem such braggadocios. Regardless, thinking along these lines reveals a pattern, and language can be seen as a symptom of what Jared Diamond calls 'histories broadest pattern.'

Language and Power

The pattern is the interwoven tales of language and power, and it is a clear pattern. Looking back upon history, language politics coincide with “struggles for social and economic supremacy – which normally lurk below that surface of public debate.” (Crawford, 1996, p.7). Though the exact aim of different language policies differ as we shall see, the justification remains fairly constant. Some of the same arguments that are used today to justify English education have been used in the past, where in the foreground of aggression and pilfering, they seem brutally disingenuous. The Spanish used language to spread the Catholic faith and unify their empire. The British also saw English in their colonies as being tied to the “societal and cultural values” that they wanted to spread. The Romans, Japanese, and Aztecs all used language policies to consolidate their control of conquered land, always citing benevolence towards the conquered as motivation. That language is a component of empire was articulated by Antonio de Nebrija in his treatise on language policy, “Castilian Grammar”: “language has always been the companion of empire, and it followed it with such a way that together they began, they grew, and they flourished, and afterwards, together, they both fell” (Nebrija, 1946).

The United States is no exception. English was, after all, only one of many languages in North America. Campaigns to eradicate French, Spanish, and Native American languages coincided with the territorial expansion of the U.S. The Francophone population in Louisiana Territory, the long-established Spanish-speaking Californio culture on the West Coast, the many languages of Native American nations were all the victims of such campaigns. Lingual aggression spread with the empire, forcing Puerto Ricans and Filipinos to learn English after they were taken over during the Spanish-American War of 1898. In Puerto Rico fifty years of English education was forced upon its people and was met with constant and fierce resistance. (Crawford, 1996). English was declared the official language of the classroom and school was taught only in English, yet met with scant results.

Although it was a continuous failure, the American rulers never wavered in their campaign to Anglicize their new Caribbean island. The paternal President Franklin D. Roosevelt lamented in 1937 that that Puerto Ricans had not learned English despite the heavy-handed efforts, saying “only through the acquisition of this language will Puerto Rican Americans secure a better understanding of American ideals and principles”, and that “they will be greatly handicapped if they have not mastered English.” He points out that “The American citizens of Puerto Rico should profit from

their unique geographical situation and the unique historical circumstances which has brought to them the blessings of American citizenship by becoming bilingual.” (Roosevelt, 1937: 160-161) (Perhaps the President would have liked them to be more ambitious – something they could certainly have learned from the United States, a country that never failed to “profit” from the “blessings” of geography that laid weakly defended islands at its doorstep, though given the imperial passions of he and many other American leaders, the situation can hardly be called “unique.”) Having failed to make Puerto Rico an English-speaking island, forced English education in eventually ended in 1948. The policy did, however, do several things effectively, including “depriving generations of children of a meaningful education. Most instruction (having) consisted of rote repetition of a language they had no opportunity to use outside the classroom.” (Crawford, 1996, p.15) So the language policy proved effective in the de-development of Puerto Rico, which doesn’t make sense as an aim unless you consider that de-development precludes independent development. This would seem to fit with a TINA (There Is No Alternative) strategy of English education in conquered territories in which only development along the approved path – the approved language, approved trading policies, approved leaders – would be tolerated. But could this really be the policy? If the same cynical lens is applied to English in California, more evidence is found for this conclusion. The first generation of language policies required the presentation of English-language documentation of land ownership in court, or the land would be lost. These were documents that the Spanish-speaking gentry did not have, and resulted in the robbing of them of millions of acres and making way for the new English-speaking ranchers and ‘forty niners’. (Pitt, 1996) After this was accomplished, English-only policies in California served a different purpose. It is one which we can see today:

English-only... served a new symbolic purpose. There was no longer any significant Hacendado class for Anglo-elites to compete with. Instead, the effect was to divert working-class resentments in a safe, xenophobic direction, the main targets being Spanish and Chinese-speakers who competed with whites for low-level jobs. This exemplifies one of the earliest uses of English-only measures for purposes of social control: depriving a minority of its rights, thus reinforcing a sense of privilege among white workers and pre-empting the solidarity of labor. (Crawford, 1996, p.11) .

So we see that the aims of language policies are not always what they seem. What was the purpose of powerful states imposing their languages or outlawing the languages of a weaker states or minorities? Why did the English outlaw Welsh? Why does anti-Spanish legislation persist in California? Why did the Japanese require their language in occupied Korea or outlaw English at home in the wartime period? It has little to do with language and everything to do with control; with breeding acquiescence and preventing resistance. In some cases the aim is assimilation, in others division or de-development, depending upon the situation. How about English education in Japan? What aspects of the US-Japan relationship may give illumination to its true aims?

Love Me Tender – New/Old Nationalism and English in Japan

The attitude towards English in Japan reflects the attitude towards America and to power. In the shadow of English is the US occupation and even Japanese nationalism. U.S. occupation and English share clear enough links, but one may be forgiven for not seeing those between English and Japanese nationalism. English is, after all, the language of the country that destroyed Japan not long ago. Yet many of the most conservative and nationalist Japanese leaders are very pro-U.S. As the country's policies drift towards the right and historical white-washing in schools increases, compulsory English education also increases. Why is this? The image of former Prime Minister Koizumi alongside George Bush at Elvis' Graceland home crooning "love me tender" is quite revealing. That Koizumi goes to pay homage not only to the Japanese WWII military legacy at the Yasukuni Shrine, but also to the shrine of the King of rock-n-roll in Memphis, Tennessee also is telling. It is telling of Japan's paradoxical identity. This identity is one of both hard-line nationalist and loyal client state. It both shields Japan from the natural balance of power in East Asia and allows it to defiantly relapse into provocative nationalism

English is part of this identity due to its cultural association with America, an identity that has been carefully constructed since the end of World War II. Most recently re-articulated in the Armitage Report of 2000, which updates the cold-war idea of Japan as a spearhead of US policy for the current era: Japan as the 'Britain of Asia' – more connected politically and socially to America than to the rest of East Asia (Takeshi. 2005). Within this context, the role of English in Japan becomes clearer, and our roles as teachers become shadier.

Ultimately whether we are foot soldiers of empire or teachers of language, though, depends on us. If we blithely digest and regurgitate the status quo idea of English-as-charity and providing access to “vast intellectual wealth,” then we are in the company of the colonialists. However, if we have a critical understanding of the situation, there is ample room to maneuver. English can be used to empower, to understand, to critique, and most of all to share people’s narratives with the world. It can serve the community’s needs rather than those of the powerful. It must start with us, however, with asking questions and with understanding the social impact of language. It is time we dissect the standard mantra of ‘lingua franca’ and of ‘internationalization,’ for behind these concepts is power.

Conclusion

The study of language as a science, structure, or instinct is currently popular in linguistics. This research poses important questions about how language evolved, how it is learned and used, its common structures, etc. The contributions made by this view to the understanding of human language are very important. They focus upon what language is. However, to get the full picture, we must also take a broad view of language in concert with many factors; we must ask how language interacts within society and why certain languages are used as they are. Politics is just as important in studying language as are social factors in assessing economic investment. Just as an economist must assess non-pecuniary costs and benefits that cannot be measured in dollars or yen but that may have a great impact upon an investment, linguists must look at politics to find the full aims and effects of language in societies. It is even more so with language, tied, as it is, to our identities and interactions with each other. To fully understand these inner workings, a holistic, gestaltic view of language is needed alongside a scientific one. Only by using both views can we reach the fullest possible picture of language, such a vital and basic part of all our cultures and lives.

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Book Review

Title: Controversies in Applied Linguistics
Author(s): Seidlhofer, Barbara (editor)
Subtitle: Oxford Applied Linguistics Series
Publisher: Oxford University Press. ISBN 0-19-437444-0
Year: 2003

Reviewed by: Philippa Mungra, University of Rome La Sapienza, 1st. Medical School

Summary

Generally, scholars publish their works in journals associated with their fields of research, so it is not journalistic practice to devote much space to contrastive views. Because of this lack of attention to academic controversy, the editor of this volume, Seidlhofer, outlines several academic controversies in linguistics by presenting the original papers in which the various scholars outline and defend their differing points of view. Seidlhofer holds that controversy is part of academic life and can lead to dialogue. She suggests that there are different voices in each of us that see the pros and cons of a controversy and in a thinking process, we generally evaluate these arguments and arrive at a conclusion. The book attempts to trace the dialogic interaction of well known academics of a series of five controversial issues and was aimed at helping students learn to evaluate different sides to a controversy by following confrontational interpersonal exchanges between scholars on academic issues.

In **the first section**, the broad topic is the current lively debate on language education dealing with the global spread of English – an issue not only for educators but also for sociologists concerned with knowledge-as-a-commodity, with the threat

to local languages and the creation of a local elite with power relations in world affairs. The first controversy outlines the broad positions by presenting the papers of the archetypical proponents – an exchange between Widdowson, champion of standard native English and Krachu, who coined the terms “the inner, outer and expanding circle” and who addresses issues of non-native Englishes.

In the second controversy of the same issue of global spread of English, Berns et al. documents the predominantly negative reactions of her graduate seminar students after having read the assigned Phillipson’s well-known text on linguistic imperialism. In all fairness, it should be said that all the participants were from both native and non-native English countries and displayed a consensus of rejection of, and difficulties with, Phillipson’s style, tone, credibility and academic coverage. They document their reaction by using a linguistic critique of the book. Phillipson holds his position and appears piqued as he accuses Berns et al of “using an inventive and invented platform...to make unwarranted generalizations”. Berns et al in two rounds of rebuttals also hold their position.

The final controversy dealing with global English sees Phillipson as the reviewer of a book by Crystal in which he attacks Crystal’s historical vision – with an accusation of having a political agenda that may be deleterious for education and language rights for developing countries. In two rounds, the contenders attack one another at a personal level - with reciprocal accusations flying about the lack of objectiveness when reviewing the other’s book, and defiant posturing about the number of reprints of his own. This is followed by a rebuttal and an interesting summary by Seidlhofer, who indicates incongruous publishing policies by the editors of the journals where the controversy was published. This section finishes with a series of study questions and recommended reading, with suggestions for further library research on other socio-political controversies in linguistics.

In Section 2, Seidlhofer explores the debate surrounding the relationship between Corpus linguistics and language teaching: their nature and professional standing and relative competencies. The first controversy is set out in a series of letters between two well known corpus linguists MacCarthy & Carter and Luke Promodrou, then an English teacher from Greece. In discussing the relative

importance of linguistic description by academics even from a “real” corpus, Promodrou holds that pedagogical choices that teachers have to make on the ground may not always reflect the realities of genres actually used. Promodrou holds that there is a role for both undoctored authentic material and for specially written dialogues, and that teacher should have freedom in choosing materials and not have only authentic material foisted upon them.

Seidlhofer draws our attention in the second controversy to discerning whether Carter has changed opinion following the exchange with Promdromou. Carter advocates the use of corpora but, according to Cook, there is an inherent danger of assuming that this new tool implies alignment of pedagogical choices. The final contribution to the controversy is furnished by Gavioli & Aston who, in a rather more scholarly manner, suggest more extensive use of language corpora in language pedagogy.

Section 3 deals with the role of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). In this section, Seidlhofer opens the debate by giving the floor to Widdowson to outline his vision of what CDA should be all about and he underlines two main ideas: that discourse should be distinguished from text and because any analysis is always conditioned by the hearer/recipient, there is considerable confusion as to the relation between analysis and interpretation of pragmatic meaning. Objective analysis or CDA thus is difficult to execute and should expose how language is used in the socio-political abuse of power. Fairclough challenges him on this last issue and suggests that although it may be true that hearers come to the same text with differing motives, assumptions and thus read different interpretations in the same text, Widdowson’s vision is restrictive and has not kept pace with new developments of CDA which now include more trans disciplinary approach – that is a fusion of linguistics and the social sciences.

Widdowson then replies to Fairclough with a clarification which includes a marvelous plea for rigor and to avoid bashing. He suggests that despite differing opinions and different voices, controversy in the academy should not be avoided, but analysis should aim at exposing texts that cause readers to be subject to hegemony and manipulative abuse. Seidlhofer then closes with further reading and indicates her

stance in the words of Cameron that “there is no single orthodox version of CDA”. She links her stance to that of the topic of the next section on Second Language Acquisition (SLA).

The definition of the term “acquisition” and its difference from the term “learning” are the subject of the debate in **Section 4** of this text. The context of this debate is described by Seidlhofer in historical terms beginning with the seminal study of Corder who introduced the idea that there may be a positive or negative interference of the first language or positive/negative transfer as the mechanism by which learners grasp the learning process and make it their own. The contributions of Ellis and Krashen help clarify the relation between SLA, applied linguistics theorizing and language teacher education and define the position of Firth & Wagner (F&W) who criticize research which does not take into account social and contextual orientations, especially in data from research on discourse or interactive communicative strategies as well as interlanguage. Seidlhofer selects three papers by Long, by Poulisse and by Gass to highlight three areas for widening the base of research in SLA. Long criticizes F&W’s limited vision of SLA as being too heavily weighted in favor of psycholinguistics while Poulisse pleads for sound methodological studies for research, whichever the orientation. Gass instead defends the use of interlingua as an area of research and advocates more sociolinguistic research. In their rebuttal, F&W reject Long’s accusation and suggest that a functionalist vision of language “firmly rooted in contingent, situated and interactional experiences of the individual as a social being” is a better model for language research.

The second controversy is sparked by Norton-Pierce’s ethnographical study of how social identity could stimulate learners, in this case immigrants to Canada, to “invest in” a second language. This vision of social identity as motivation and power/empowerment is challenged by Price, who suggests that such a post-structuralist vision might be true at an individual level but that does not constitute a theory either of learning or of resistance to power in language learning. Seidlhofer sums up this section by suggesting that the issues of competence in SLA should be defined in terms of mainstream English for native speakers, English as a foreign language and English as a lingua franca, and that the previous sections of CDA, of

Corpus linguistics are in one sense pertinent to these definitions. Seidlhofer also suggests that the issues in SLA are much broader than the sociolinguistic vision and should include research that incorporates not only the mechanistic acquisition of language competence but also a semiotic vision.

In the final **Section 5**, Seidlhofer attempts to outline differing opinions about the nature of Applied Linguistics (AL), not hiding the “doubts, identity crises and fear of fragmentation” that beset researchers in this field. She gives a historical perspective on development in this field by citing Catford, Krashen and Ellis who share the same vision of the coverage of AL, but indicates that a major controversy exists in AL as to the mode of enquiry and the application of linguistics to language-related problems. The problem highlighted is which language question should be studied and how, that is, what methodological standards should be used. Seidlhofer then presents two controversies concerning the relationship between theory and practice and what direction it should take and whether or not it is relevant. The first paper cited is that of Rampton, who suggests that what he calls the “Widdowson-Brumfit” vision of research in AL is not sufficiently teacher-based, despite its emphasis on interdisciplinarity. Rampton replies in a paper which suggests that research in AL should be “socially constituted” in the Hymesian tradition. The section continues with the rebuttal by both Brumfit and Widdowson. In a scholarly paper, Brumfit underlines the need for interdisciplinary nature of research in AL but Widdowson is more piqued and attacks Rampton’s vision, accusing him of ignoring the value of academic rigor in favor of a “socially constituted linguistics” rather than the Hymes vision of language that is socially constituted, but examined with academic rigor. Rampton replies to Widdowson asserting his preference for a socially constructed approach to research and suggesting that Widdowson may have old fashioned ideas and that his theoretical paradigmatic interpretation of data may constitute a cage and not be suitable in the newly opening areas of AL. He refers to this as being like a hedgehog, whereas AL researchers should be more fox-like. This is a reference to the famous Isaiah Berlin tale of the fox and the hedgehog. Widdowson has the last reply, suggesting that “the disposition of the hedgehog can be readily institutionalized into conventional centripetal knowledge ... while unprincipled, scattered and diffuse ideas of the fox cannot since they fly off

centrifugally in all directions”, which might be read as a warning about not applying academic rigor to research in newly developing areas of AL.

Evaluation

Both for the audience it was intended and for the academic world at large, this fine volume is a minefield of information on the specific controversies and a trove of citations and references to support either view presented in the controversy. Besides the bibliography at the end of each paper, Seidlhofer adds her own bibliography of further readings to broaden the picture for her students and to help contextualize the controversy. Such a massive effort in tracing citations and references makes this volume well worth purchasing.

Another excellent feature of this book is the list of study questions at the end of the book. This pedagogical feature could be very useful in any linguistics course to break the ice and stimulate discussion in a group unused to voicing disagreements in public or shy of doing so or even could be used as a guide for a critique for a portfolio of written work. Not only is this feature of study questions very versatile but also the questions themselves that students must address are evaluative in nature and ensure that all aspects of the controversy are examined, since the questions are based on content, organization of the papers presented, expression and style and individual reaction to the paper. My only criticism of this text is that perhaps, the study questions could have used more of the techniques of the APPRAISAL approach based on Systemic Functional Linguistics, as proposed by Martin & White (2007) and White (2005).

As Seidlhofer indicates, controversy could be an “unedifying spectacle” but in the academy it should “stimulate critical engagement”. In presenting these five controversial topics, Seidlhofer leads her students through the controversy by helping them examine the opposing sides, but her presence is discrete and in no way does she try to influence opinion in her introductions. Neither does she furnish any answers to her own questions such as the one she raised with respect to editorial policy of the journal *Applied Linguistics* in 21(3) of 2000:415 on the republishing of material for one author of the controversy and not the other. The editor’s discreetness makes for an interesting contrast with the gusty confrontational articles that she has chosen to

exemplify the controversy as she tiptoes around the blows that the protagonists unleash on one another.

This book is a must-have and I would definitely list it as recommended reading in a course for language teacher educators and post-graduate language students.

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