Foreword

Welcome to the December 2015 issue of the Journal of English as an International Language! My Editorial team and I take particular delight and pride in this issue as it happens to be the tenth issue that we have produced since the genesis of the current editorial fellowship in May 2011. Needless to say that every issue since then has been a successive leap of faith, our shared values and concerns position us noticeably on the EIL world map as we continue to forge ahead in the service of EILJ!

The research agendas and insights presented in this issue chime in with EILJ's resolve and remit to foster a plurality of epistemic focus and conceptualizations. This is both central to and synonymous with our pedagogic aspirations and practices in the teaching of EIL. It is our fond belief that such bold pursuits and applications could provide the EILJ the synergy and stimuli it needs to fulfill its potential.

Robert Lowe's paper, "A Matter of Degrees: Native-speakerism and Centre Qualification Bias in Japan", sets the tone and tenor for this issue in that it resonates with EILJ's attempts to democratize and dehegemonize the use of English across the cultures of Asia and farther afield in the world. Needless to say that native speakerism has received an ever-increasing coverage in several scholarly outlets, the prevalence of 'centre' qualifications (those awarded by institutes in the political West) in 'periphery' educational settings and its rather unsavoury socio-political implications have evaded scholarly attention and scrutiny for a long time now. In light of this, the paper showcases the author's epistemic resolve and resourcefulness in unpacking the subtle nuances of the disenfranchising discourse of native speakerism and its attendant bias in favour of 'centre' qualifications. The range of issues and insights presented in the paper eminently positions it to address the paucity of a discourse of equitable orientation with regards to speaker hood and local expertise against a backdrop of dominant native speakerism and the accruing hegemony of 'centre' qualifications. We hope that our readership will come to terms with the immediacy and primacy of the beliefs and values explored by the author as they engender a discourse of current equitable reckoning to plug the esteem and parity gaps that still prevail in our professional and procedural domains around 'centre' qualification.

Nilufer Guler's paper, "Contrastive Rhetoric and Writing in Another Language", makes a convincing case for the role of cultural influences on the writing styles of college students. Drawing on the insights of the contrastive rhetoric theory,

she argues that some of the writing challenges faced by her Turkish students can be effectively addressed if teachers of writing moved beyond those simplistic strategies that overly focus on syntactic correctness and grammar as a measure of writing proficiency and encouraged their students to understand the transactional nature of their writing, which includes many components other than grammar and syntax. In light of this, the study reported in the paper encourages teachers and students to critically reflect on classroom practices such as comparing and contrasting L1 and L2 rhetorical patterns and teaching/learning of those discourse patterns of the target language preferred by students as they attempt to disambiguate their meaning. The dynamics and outcomes of the writing phenomenon discussed in the paper emphasize the how and why of L1 learning styles' influence on the L2 writing and vice versa. The methodology used is succinct and persuasive in that it serves well to exemplify the tenable nature of the study as well as its global implications. Given this, EAL teachers and writing teachers should look to contrastive rhetoric and make an informed attempt to learn more about the rhetorical patterns of their students' first language as this can help teachers scaffold the writing patterns of their students with a view to enhancing their writing motivations as well as their wiring proficiency.

The paper entitled "Exploring the Use of English in Omani Students' Everyday Conversations and its Influence on their Spoken Arabic", by Rahma Al-Mahrooqi and Khalsa Al-Aghbari presents a well-articulated EIL narrative of an Omani university setting. The paper assumes particular substance and prominence in this issue given that it represents the first ever linguistic study to chronicle and capture the use of English in Omani EIL students' everyday lives. Delineating the social factors that motivate the use of EIL in an Omani cultural ecology, it offers a data-driven analysis of the most frequently found linguistic patterns and word choices in the Omani use of English. It also discusses the phonetic and morphological influence of Arabic on English utterances and of English on Arabic words. The analysis of some 200 real conversations observed in informal/ natural Omani settings serves to infuse a good deal of momentum into the study. As observed and argued by the authors, the results reveal a correlation between the topics discussed and choice of words, on the one hand, and the amount of English used and gender on the other. On an even more important note, the results reveal the dominant prevalence of intrasentential code-switching in which English words are often inserted into the middle of Arabic sentences. The frequent use of English words in spoken Arabic thus appears to correlate with the amount of English that the Omani EIL learners possess, with the result that much English often finds its way into Arabic structures. Furthermore, the authors appear to take particular delight in their verifiable knowledge that Omani females used more English in

their Arabic interactions than the males did. Given the culture/context specific dimensions of the study, we hope that our readership will pick up on the interesting array of issues and insights that the authors have enthusiastically elucidated so as to deduce appropriate relevance for their culture/context specific pedagogies and practices in EIL.

Peng Wang's paper, "Accents of English as a Lingua Franca: A Study of Textbooks and Tests in China", reports on an engaging study predicated on the issue of native and non-native speaker accents in the use of English in China. It poses the question whether the English textbook series used in Chinese senior high schools provide non-native accents of English for students, and if they do, to what extent and in what kinds of situations. Further to this, the study attempts an informed scrutiny of the English tests in the National College Entrance Examination (NCEE) in China to ascertain whether the listening sections in these English tests include non-native accents of English for test takers. The ensuing coverage of issues and insights that underlie EIL practices alerts us to the unbeneficial nature of the steadfast adherence to native speaker accent(s) as stipulated by the listening segments in English text book series as well as NCEE. This factors in the need for including non-native accents both in listening tests and English text books. Pointing out the backwash/surrender effects of tests on teaching materials, the paper argues for an urgent change of mind and approach by which the concerned examination boards as well as the instructors of English would become more receptive and sensitive to local/non-native accents of English. As pointed out by the results of the study such a realization and outcome will be synonymous with the ever increasing dynamizing role of English as an international/global language. Needless to say that the paper has the potential to provoke "beneficial circumspection" for beneficial pedagogical changes in the Chinese EIL/ELF domains, it will serve as a "ground clearing operation" for research on texts and tests in the Chinese EIL/ELF contexts and further afield.

Filza Waseem's paper, "The Hidden Curriculum of English Language Teaching in Elite Pakistani Schools", investigates into the values and beliefs that underlie the teaching of English in the Pakistani elitist schools via its hidden curriculum. The global importance of English is so overwhelming that it appears to eclipse the scope and stature of local languages and its attendant cultures in Pakistan. Having been subject to the compulsions of the hidden curriculum, students learning the language internalize the dominant English discourse(s) much to the detriment of their peripheral identities and their sense of voice and agency in upholding their local cultures. The resultant world view of these students, would then be a world view which is predominantly averse as well as alien to their local milieu. This according to the author can have far-reaching negative implications for both the

educational as well as socio-cultural well-being of these students. Rather than use the hidden curriculum, to imbibe an English mono-culture, the paper strongly argues for using English as a via duct to promote and optimize the prevalence of intersectional identities of these students, who would be better placed to appreciate how their subject hood, voice and agency constitute their identities in a dialogic and multilingual space, where the local languages enjoy their due acceptance and admiration alongside English. The theoretical issues taken up for discussion in the paper serve as a bold reminder of what can possibly go wrong if the subject positions of Pakistani students are constantly subject to the overbearing nature of the dominant English (monologic) discourse. Viewed in terms of EILJ's epistemic stance, the paper is yet another expression of resolve to dehegemonize and democratize the use of English in the ecologies of local cultures.

Warren Hancock's "The Role of Neutral Projecting Frames in the Quest for Media Objectivity", is a well–nuanced and argued paper, which problematizes the notion of objectivity in the English mass media discourse. The sheer gusto with which he espouses his counter stance against the so-called notions of objectivity in the use of language by the mass media not only debunks our unhealthy preoccupations with objectivity in language use but also renders the very notion of objectivity untenable given the fluidity and provisionality of the meanings that operate in the English language. In many respects the paper is synonymous with EILJ's "spirit of action" in that it points to how even the prevalence of neutral attribution framers in media discourse is not free from the influence of value-loaded/egocentric positions and stances of reporters, who wish to be seen as disseminators of objective news. The author has used his well-grounded understanding of "hetroglossic engagement perspective, semiotic theory and transitivity" to both signpost and signify a range of linguistic mechanisms that constitute the genre of hard news. This has provided him with a strategic angle from which he could attempt vibrant analyses of mass-media discourse in his embedded sense-making of the notion of objectivity.

Having examined and explored the select strands of media discourse with reference to their textual properties and their underlying semantic and linguistic mechanisms, the author makes a robust case for challenging the tenability of a notion of objectivity that relies on neutral frames in discourse to validate itself. In sum and spirit, the paper is an evocative reiteration of EILJ's resistance to the positivist persuasions that operate in traditional SLA/language research, which measures and objectifies proficiency as an approximation to a non-agentive linguistic code rather a value-loaded, value-conscious sense-making of students who attempt border crossings to make sense of their world and being. In light of

this, we entreat our readership to apply the translatability of the issues debated in the paper and accordingly devise EIL pedagogies and practices that would foster inter-subjectivities and inter-sectional identities.

The paper, "Anyone for Tennis?—A Case-Study on Gender Bias in a Japanese Junior High School English Language Textbook", by Ian Clark is to be reckoned with as an articulate abomination of a historical legacy of ELT, which reinforces gender bias in favour of boys/males through the "hidden curriculum" that operates in the English language textbooks in Japanese ELT settings. Needless to say that his principled resistance to the hidden curriculum underlies his epistemic stance, it infuses a particular dynamism into his study thereby pointing to the significance of the gender bias against females and the resultant asymmetry in the Japanese ELT settings. The paper uses a case-study research methodology in order to examine closely the first book in the New Crown series at a time when the economic role of Japanese women is under political review. In light of this, it asserts that while men and women are represented equally in terms of quantity, there exists a significant overt and covert (subliminal) gender bias which impacts the identities of Japanese females as economically productive citizens negatively. While the author is not averse to the Japanese men being depicted as adventurous, confident, knowledgeable and dynamic in the English language textbooks, he finds it stultifying to note that a similar status of social elevation as well as preferential positioning is denied to the females in Japan, which can be verifiably attested by the discernible absence of female vignettes in ELT textbooks or if present they operate only to exaggerate bias. Such a prevalence of gender bias and gender asymmetry constrains the author to note that Japanese ELT writers and publishers neither meet the United Nations criteria for gender equity, nor those of the industrialized global community. Therefore, the author underscores the pressing need for a reform agenda focused on the redesign of ELTs at school level in order to bring a fair and equal degree of gender equity in a country such as Japan, which is already in the throes of a worsening demographic crisis. The embedded-sense making attempted in the paper concurs vibrantly with EILJ's agendas and affirmations in that it factors in issues of female identity, gender equity and gender sensitive practices in the teaching of EIL aimed at maximizing the discourses of a heterogeneous global English speech community.

Ria Jubhari's paper: "Comparing Indonesian and Australian Undergraduates' Citation Practices in Thesis Background", investigates into the dynamics and fallouts of citation methods observed in the undergraduate theses written by Indonesian students in Bahasa and Australian students in English. Using an interesting array of theoretical issues quite eclectically, the author lays out a methodology for a comparison and contrast study of the citation practices used by

the Indonesian and Australian students. On the basis of the gathered data, the author argues that while most studies have looked at citation conventions wholly on the basis of linguistic forms, they have not investigated into the different ways in which the linguistic forms of citations are used by the undergraduates. While the three categories of citation practices used by the Indonesian students supported their opinions, the ways in which the Australian students used their citations both supported and criticized an argument. In light of this, the author contends that the Indonesian students might be able to use their citations better if they are provided with instructional guidance directed at: combining sentences within and across paragraphs while retaining their rhetorical relationship, how to use appropriate transition signals showing interrelationships between arguments in their texts, attempting deductive and inductive analyses, synthesising a number of arguments, and making valid inferences from an argument. The pedagogical implications stated in the paper sound diagnostic in that they underlie a certain degree of inclusiveness with which the problems observed in the citation conventions of the Indonesian students could be addressed without undermining their culture affiliation to Bahsa. This could perhaps help them manifold in coming to terms with the border crossing nature of their academic writing and help them get over their fear of the "other".

In closing, I wish to applaud the confidence and competence with which the contributing authors of this issue have showcased their alternate discourses of current reckoning in EIL. Such endeavours are pivotal to EILJ's declared mission of creating a heterogeneous global English speech community, with a heterogeneous English and different modes of competence (Canagarajah, 2006, p. 211). Given this, it is my fervent belief that the agenda and insights discussed and explored in this issue would serve as a route marker to all of us, without which we could be stranded in a methodological wasteland of EIL. Read on!

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Chief Editor

A Matter of Degrees: Native-speakerism and Centre Qualification Bias in Japan

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Abstract

Native-speakerism is an ideology in English language teaching (ELT) in which so-called "native speaker" teachers, and the culture they are believed to represent, are perceived to be norm-providing both for the English language and for the ways in which English is taught around the world. While native-speakerism has been written on extensively, this study investigates one area in particular – the prevalence of "centre" qualifications (those awarded by institutes in the political West) in "periphery" educational settings. By investigating the qualifications held by instructors (both "native" and "non-native" speakers) working on large ELT programs at three Japanese universities and comparing these data to the number of similar qualifications available in Japanese universities, the research shows a possible bias towards centre qualifications in two of the institutions, and an overall bias in the data as a whole. It is suggested that this may be indicative of a subtle native-speakerism at play in which Western methods and approaches are preferred or idealised over locally developed techniques.

Keywords: native-speakerism, qualification bias

Introduction

This paper attempts to explore one aspect of the concept of "native-speakerism", as proposed by Holliday (2005). The majority of the research that has been published concerning this concept has been focused on the professional issues caused by the ideology for "native speaker teachers" and "non-native speaker teachers". In this paper I will attempt to explore another aspect of the concept which has not been given much attention by researchers, but which is symptomatic of the same ideological bias – the dominance of Centre qualifications, or degrees awarded and evaluated by institutions in the West, in Periphery institutions of higher education. I use the terms "Centre" and "Periphery" (introduced by Galtung, 1971, and adopted in the field of ELT by

Phillipson, 1992) with the understanding that these are limited in their explanatory and descriptive scope; however they are suitable for the purposes of this paper. In order to investigate this notion, data on the qualifications held by the instructors of three large-scale university English courses in Japan, a country which would be considered a Periphery educational setting, were collected, and this was then compared to the amount of similar qualifications actually available in Japanese universities. A large amount of Centre qualifications among the instructors, where alternative qualifications are available, would, I suggest, indicate a bias towards "Centre" qualifications; which itself could be seen as symptomatic of a creeping native-speakerism at play in these institutions.

Native-speakerism

"Native-speakerism" is a concept in English language teaching most fully described by Holliday (2005), which is defined as "a pervasive ideology within ELT, characterized by the belief that "native-speaker" teachers represent a "Western culture" from which spring the ideals both of the English language and of English language teaching methodology" (Holliday, 2006, p. 385). This definition encompasses three distinct ideological concerns:

1) Professional inequality among teachers caused by preference for "native" over "non-native" speakers.
2) Preference for Western-centric models of English other over varieties.
3) Deference to Western viewpoints on teaching methods.

Native-speakerism is an idea which has gained much attention among researchers, with a particular focus being placed on the first of the three points outlined above. There is a growing body of research on the topic of preferential hiring policies of "native speakers" over "non-native speakers", both before Holliday's coinage (see Mahboob, Uhrig, Newman, & Hartford, 2004; Pennycook, 1994; Phillipson, 1992) and afterwards, (see Clark & Paran, 2007; Kim, 2011; Mahboob & Golden, 2013; Selvi, 2010), demonstrating that there are clear inequalities faced by "non-native" speaker teachers when applying for positions in both Western and Non-Western educational settings. Similarly, much research has been conducted on the preferences held by different groups for Western models of English (see Matsuda, 2003; Saito, 2012; Sasayama, 2013), and some research exists examining the exporting of Western teaching methods into different educational settings (Appleby, 2010; Holliday 1994a). Holliday and Aboshiha (2009) refer to native-speakerism as a "chauvinistic professional discourse" (p. 671) which uses orientalist "othering" to promote ideas and concepts originating in the west, and the effects of this can be seen in a number of different ways. Not

only does the ideology of native-speakerism cause problems for "non-native speakers" in terms of employment opportunities, as noted earlier, but it is also occasionally reflected in "non-native speakers" having negative self-images (Bernat, 2008; Brutt-Griffler & Samimy, 1999; Kim, 2011; Pinner 2014) and students having a positive orientation towards "native" over "non-native" speaker English teachers (Alseweed, 2012; Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2002; Wu & Ke, 2009), both of which feed into the continuing professional inequalities faced by "non-native" speaker teachers (Kumaravadivelu, 2014).

However one key area, which has been under-researched up until this point, is the prevalence of qualifications from Centre institutions in ELT programs in Periphery ELT settings. This is an important area to investigate because it is largely via the training signified by these qualifications that Western methodologies and educational approaches are imported into non-Western educational environments, and therefore the widespread presence of such qualifications would be indicative of a native-speakerist orientation. In addition, the fact that many people would seek to earn Centre qualifications instead of those offered in their own or other Periphery settings would demonstrate the extent to which there is an ideological belief in the superiority of Western methodologies and language models in the profession as a whole. This problem has been addressed in the past; Pennycook (1994) noted that "the export of applied linguistic theory and of western-trained language teachers constantly promotes inappropriate teaching approaches to diverse settings" (p. 159), and Holliday (1994b) argued that that "the most prestigious MA, diploma, and training courses for teachers are carried out either in BANA [British and North American] institutions, or in institutions in other countries which are staffed by BANA personnel" (p. 5). Appleby (2010) notes that this leads to a situation in which "periphery universities [become] consumers of knowledge from the center rather than producers of locally mediated knowledge" (p. 26). In this paper I will investigate the balance of qualifications in Japanese higher education by examining the kinds of ELT qualifications held by English instructors teaching on large English programs at three Japanese universities, which appear to be otherwise free of a native-speakerist orientation. This investigation will be carried out in order to discover whether there is an inherent bias in the kinds of qualifications sought after, either by instructors or by institutions, which may be symptomatic of an underlying, ongoing native-speakerism.

"Native speaker" and "non-native speaker" – a note on terminology

Throughout this paper, I will be making use of the terms "native speaker teacher" and "non-native speaker teacher". These terms are contentious, and are a major source of disagreement among scholars in the field. In part, this is because the

definition used commonly to describe what a native speaker is, and which can be found in the Longman Dictionary of Language Teaching and Applied Linguistics (Richards & Schmidt, 2010) has been demonstrated to be problematic due to its insistence on language of birth acting as a major defining criteria (Davies, 1995), and the fact that it is also used to describe proficiency, despite these two concepts not being necessarily intrinsically linked. In addition, the terms are usually used to describe people raised in Kachru's (1992) "inner circle", thus implicitly labelling speakers of non-standard varieties as "non-native speakers" (Jenkins, 2000), regardless of their mother tongue. A final point is that even those who reside in inner circle countries and would be considered "native speakers" speak wildly different local, regional, and national varieties to each other (Holliday, 2005), once again demonstrating that the concept itself is at least unclearly defined, if not in fact completely mythical (Davies, 1991, 2003). As such, it should be understood that whenever the terms "native speaker teacher" or "non-native speaker teacher" are used in this paper, they are not intended to be understood as value-free descriptions of people or groups. Rather, I am using them specifically in the way they are understood in the discourse of native-speakerism – as labels used to characterize people on ideological and political grounds. For example, it may be the case that a person who is functionally bilingual will be referred to as a "non-native speaker teacher" despite having equal proficiency in both languages, because this is the way in which they would be perceived by the professional discourse.

Methodology

There are two sets of data which needed to be collected for the analysis presented herein to be reasonably persuasive.

Available qualifications

As this study was concerned with investigating potential bias towards Centre qualifications over similar qualifications available in Periphery – in this case Japanese - institutions, it was first important to establish what qualifications were available in each setting. I decided to limit the scope of this research to postgraduate qualifications such as masters' or doctoral degrees, as this research was carried out in the tertiary sector. It would not be surprising to learn that institutions in the Centre have many qualifications available in fields such as TESOL, applied linguistics, ELT, and second language learning, however it was crucial to this research to discover whether many such qualifications were available in related fields in Japanese universities, in order for the comparison to be meaningful – after all, if no qualifications of this type were available in

Japanese institutions, it would be much less significant if instructors did not possess them. For the purposes of this study, qualifications considered related to English education included masters or doctoral degrees in English, English education, and Linguistics. An additional subject – English literature – was included because many of these courses require credits in English education, due to the close relationship in Japan between literature and language teaching.

Qualifications held by instructors

The second stage was to collect data on the qualifications held by instructors at Japanese universities. I limited this data collection to three universities, which were chosen on the basis that they run large-scale English programs featuring a number of instructors, with a relatively good number of both "native speaker" teachers and "non-native speaker" teachers. These programs were chosen for three reasons: firstly, because the information on their instructors' qualifications was either publicly available, or available to the author; while there are a number of other programs with large numbers of instructors in Japan, it was not possible to get reliable information either on some or all of the instructors at these institutions. As such, any data collected from these institutions would be incomplete and unreliable, and so was not included. A second reason for choosing these three programs was because they contained a mix of "native speaker teachers" and "non-native speaker teachers". At other universities considered for this study, their programs were based on a partnership with a Centre university, and so the majority of their instructors were connected to this institution. Other potential programs used the "foreignness" of their instructors in advertising their courses, which is explicitly native-speakerist. This research was intended to investigate the possibility of a more subtle native-speakerist bias towards Centre qualifications, and so the programs from which the data were collected were chosen on the basis that they did not have any other obvious signs of this bias. The final consideration was the type of qualifications held by instructors. Several other programs from which data could potentially have been drawn did not seem to favour instructors with language education backgrounds, and many of the instructors had qualifications in unrelated disciplines.

The data collection was also limited to the English instructors on the courses, rather than the professors either in charge of, or involved in each department. This decision was made because professors in charge of the department are usually not responsible for teaching activities, and instead supervise the course or act as a mediator between the instructors and the rest of the university. As such, it is not always required that they have qualifications related to language or language teaching.

In the case of two of the universities, the data were collected from publicly available sources, in one case from the university's faculty webpage, and in the other from an in-house newspaper provided to students with short introductions of each of the instructors working on the course. In the case of the third university, information was collected on a personal, one-to-one basis, on the condition of anonymity. Because of this, it was decided that all data from the three universities would be presented anonymously, both in terms of the individual instructors and the institutions to which they belonged. This was done in order to keep the conditions on the data presented equal. In total, the number of instructors included in the study was 115, and the data were then categorized in two different ways. Firstly, the instructors were divided into two groups; "native speaker teachers" (referred to as "NST"s in the data) and "non-native speaker teachers" (referred to as "NNST"s) - keeping in mind the caveat discussed above regarding these terms - and their qualifications were assigned either as "Centre", or "Periphery", indicating where their qualifications were earned. If an instructor received their qualification from an overseas branch of a Centre university, such as Temple University Japan, it was considered to be a "Centre" qualification. There were only three examples of this in the data, however.

Data

Available qualifications

A search of the university database "Daigakuten" (2015) revealed that, as suspected, there are a significant number of postgraduate qualifications related to the field of English language teaching available at Japanese universities, both at the master's and doctoral level. Further investigation, which was carried out on a university-by-university basis brought to light even more qualifications than were collected even on a comprehensive database such as Daigakuten. It would be impractical to provide a full list of available relevant qualifications in Japanese universities, but it is enough for the purposes of this study to note that there are over a hundred postgraduate qualifications available in universities all over Japan related to the field of English language teaching. As noted before, these include both masters' and doctoral degrees in the specific field of English education (or eigo kyouiku), as well as more theoretical degrees in linguistics (both general linguistics and English linguistics). English literature was perhaps the most common qualification of all, with almost every department of English language and literature offering postgraduate degrees in this subject, and many of these degrees featuring courses in English education and linguistics.

It is clear from even a cursory look at the available qualifications in Japan that there are enough postgraduate degrees available either in English education

or closely related fields for it to be concerning if these qualifications are not represented among the teaching staff of these same universities. In the next section I will discuss whether or not this large number of qualifications is, in fact, represented in the qualifications held by the instructors on the three large ELT programs at universities which were investigated for this study.

Data from university programs examined

Data were collected from 115 teachers, all of who were working (either full time or part-time) on large English programs at one of three Japanese universities. These teachers held, between them, 128 postgraduate qualifications in the fields described earlier. The number of qualifications and instructors do not match exactly due to some instructors holding more than one qualification. As previously stated, the universities were selected based on accessibility to participant information, and the data for each individual institution are provided in the following sections. The data are presented both numerically, and in the form of graphs in order to give the reader an "eyeball estimation" (Hurlburt, 1998) of the balance of qualifications in each institution.

Institution A

Institution A is a large public prefectural university situated north of Tokyo, which runs a mandatory English program for it's undergraduate students. This program was established in order to improve the TOEIC scores of the students, and is taught by 19 instructors in total, 11 of whom are "native speakers" and 8 of whom are "non-native speakers", with a total of 24 postgraduate qualifications held between them (Table 1).

Table 1: *Data from Institution A*

Institution A	"NST"s – 11	"NNST"s - 8	Total
Centre	11	10	21
Periphery	0	3	3
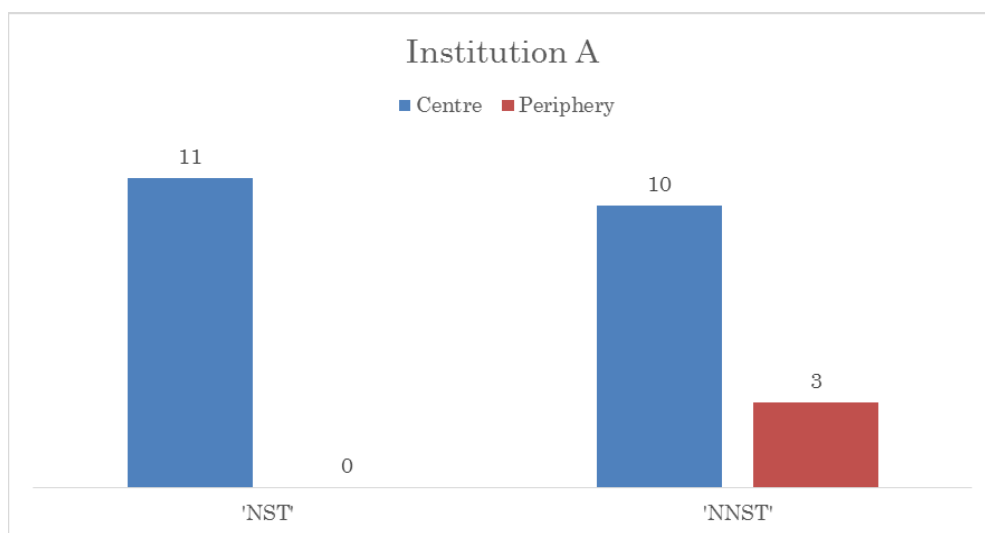
Figure 1. *Centre and Periphery qualifications in Institution A*

It is clear that in Institution A, there is a definite slant towards Centre qualifications, both among the "native speaker" staff and the "non-native speaker" staff. While there were some qualifications earned at Japanese universities among the instructors, these were an extremely small minority of the total qualifications present in the group. It is also perhaps notable that all of the Periphery qualifications were earned by "non native speaker" teachers, and that all of the teachers who had these qualifications also had a Centre qualification such as a masters degree. I will return to some of the possible implications of this later in the discussion section.

Institution B

Institution B is a sizable private university in Tokyo, which runs a large-scale English program designed to improve the communicative English skills of its first-year undergraduate students. On this program it employs 59 instructors in total, with 47 "native speaker" teachers and 12 "non-native speaker" teachers, who held 59 postgraduate qualifications (Table 2).

Table 2: *Data from Institution B*

Institution B	"NST"s – 47	"NNST"s - 12	Total
Centre	46	12	58
Periphery	1	0	1
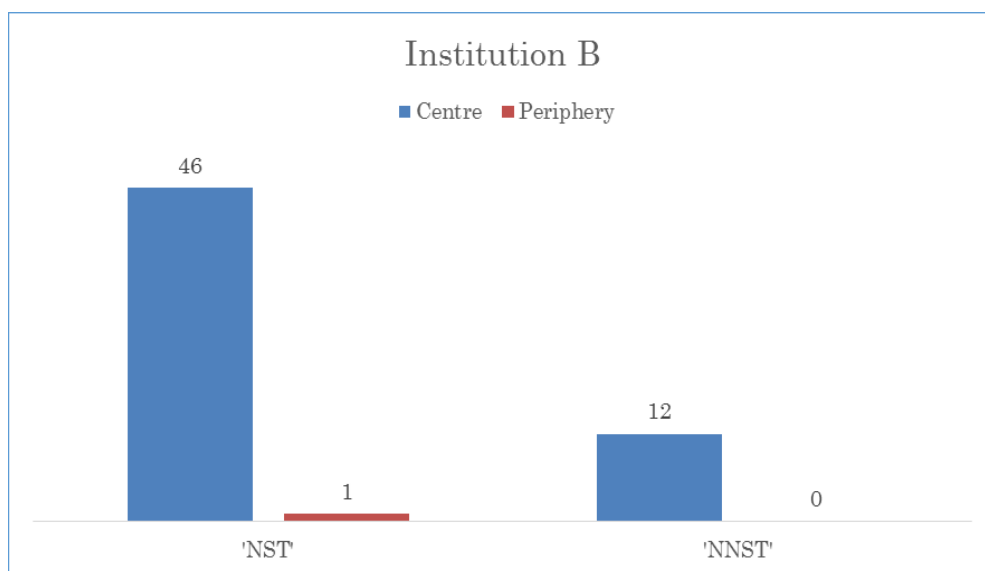
Figure 2. *Centre and Periphery qualifications in Institution B*

In Institution B, the qualifications were even more dramatically off balance, with all but one of the 59 qualifications having been earned in Centre institutions. What is perhaps interesting to note is that the one Periphery qualification that was found in the data were earned by a "native speaker" from an inner circle country, while the "non-native speaker" staff, who came from a variety of national backgrounds, had all earned their qualifications at Centre universities.

Institution C

Institution C is also a private university in Tokyo with a large and prestigious English program employing 37 instructors. The balance of "native speaker" and "non-native speaker" instructors is, in contrast to the other two programs described above, weighted in favour of the "non-native speaker" instructors, of whom there are 25 in contrast to 12 "native speakers". In total, these teachers held 45 postgraduate qualifications related to ELT (Table 3).

Table 3: *Data from Institution C*

Institution C	"NST"s – 12	"NNST"s – 25	Total
Centre	12	11	23
Periphery	3	19	22
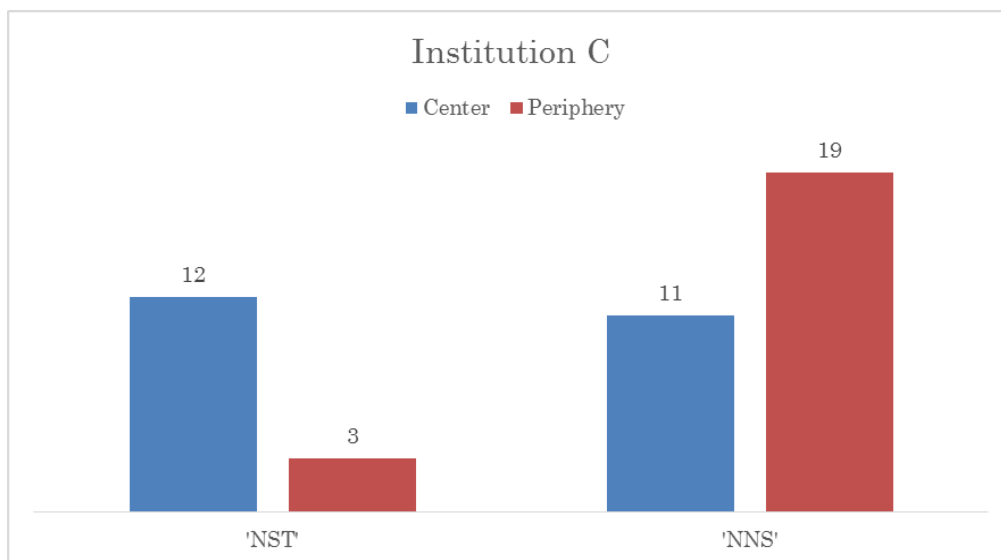
Figure 3. *Centre and Periphery qualifications in Institution C*

Institution C, in contrast to the other two programs investigated, actually had an almost equal balance of qualifications from the center and the periphery. This was also, perhaps relatedly, the only program which had more "non native speaker" staff members than "native speakers". These "non-native speakers" were from a variety of national backgrounds, with instructors hailing from countries in Asia, Europe, and the Americas, and degrees earned from institutions both in and outside of Japan.

Totals

The total number of qualifications held by instructors is given in the tables and figures below. It is notable that the number of Centre qualifications dwarfs the number of Periphery qualifications in the data as a whole. This favouring of Centre over Periphery qualifications is most obvious among the "native-speakers" from whom the data were taken, as would be expected. However, even though the "non-native speakers" had a better balance of Centre and Periphery qualifications, it is important to note that the number of Centre qualifications was still higher among these instructors than Periphery qualifications (Table 4 and Figures 4 and 5).

Table 4
Total number of Centre and Periphery qualifications in the three institutions

Centre Total	102
Periphery Total	27
"Native speakers" total	73
"Non-native speakers" Total	55
"Native speakers" Centre	69
"Native speakers" Periphery	4
"Non-native speakers" Centre	33
"Non-native speakers" Periphery	22
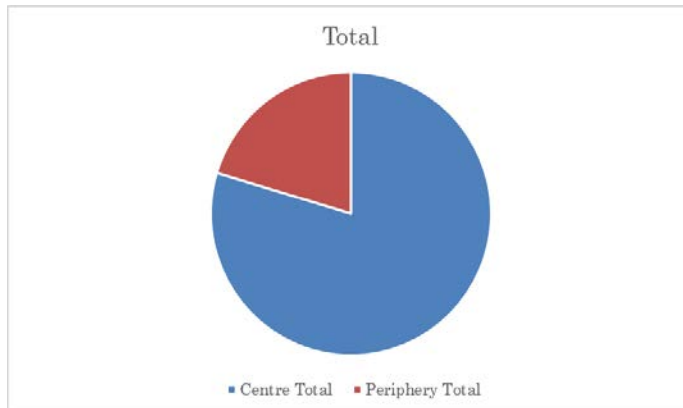
Figure 4. *Total number of Centre and Periphery qualifications in the three institutions*
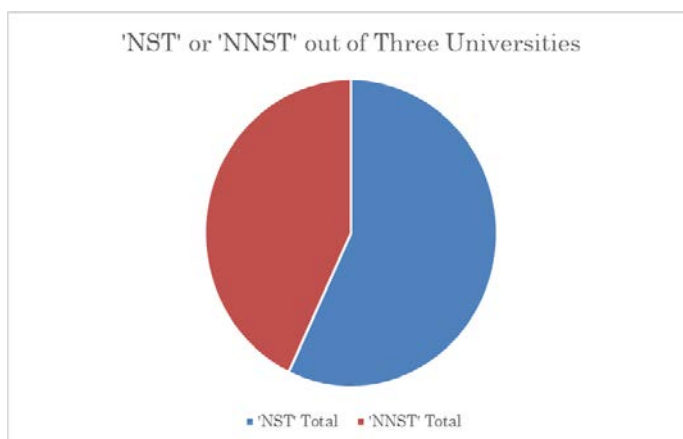
Figure 5. *Total number of "native speaker" and "non-native speaker" instructors in the three universities*

Discussion

As can be seen from the data shown above, in the three institutions, there was a general preference shown for Centre qualifications over those earned in the Periphery. However, the picture painted by the data on an institution-by-institution level is not so clear.

Certainly, it appears that at least one of these institutions - Institution B - has a strong native-speakerist bias in the qualifications that are held by its teaching staff. In fact, 98% of the qualifications held by its teaching staff are from institutions in the UK, the US, or Australia, and this is true of both its "native speaker" and "non-native speaker" staff. While one of the "native speaker" instructors holds a qualification earned from a Periphery institution, this is very much an outlier in the data, and it may be that this instructor's "native speaker" status was enough to compensate for the fact that their qualification was not from a Centre institution. It seems anomalous that, given the vast amount of qualifications related to language education available in Japanese universities, as discussed earlier, such a vast majority of qualifications held by the instructors in this English program would be from institutions in the political Centre of the ELT business.

A similarly native-speakerist position seems to be discernable in the pattern of qualifications earned by instructors at Institution A. While there are more examples of qualifications earned at Japanese universities present in this department, they are still a small minority of the total, and Centre qualifications are still dominant among the staff, both "native-speaker" and "non-native speaker". Perhaps most tellingly, all of the instructors who hold these periphery qualifications also hold similar or higher-level qualifications from Centre universities (e.g., an MA from a Japanese university in linguistics, and an MA or PhD in TESOL or a related field from a Centre university). This may show that the Periphery qualifications were not an important factor in their hiring, and that the Centre qualifications (generally speaking earned more recently) were a stronger contributing factor, though it cannot be inferred reliably from this data alone whether or not they played a role in the decision making process of hiring. In any case, it is still true that no instructors working in this department had degrees or qualifications earned solely in Japanese or other Periphery institutions, and this would appear to be evidence of a possible native-speakerist bias on the part of the university or the faculty.

Naturally, any inferences drawn from this data must be tentative, as there are many confounding factors that may come into play. For example, it may be

the case that very few people with appropriate Periphery qualifications applied for jobs in these programs, and so accordingly very few of these people were hired. This is certainly possible, but such a line of reasoning seems suspicious. If an employer had a staff of almost exclusively "native-speakers" and claimed that this was simply because no "non-native speakers" applied for the job, I think we would be cautious in believing them. The global "non-native speaker" movement around the world, and the forceful campaigning on the part of "non-native speakers" over their professional exclusion (Clark & Paran, 2007; Kim, 2011; Mahboob & Golden, 2013 ; Selvi, 2010) has demonstrated that such a claim would be rather unlikely to be true. We might instead infer a bias on the part of the employer, either in the ways in which they seek out applicants for jobs, or the ways in which candidates are chosen. This bias may be conscious or even subconscious, with the employer potentially unaware that they were exercising a prejudice, but it would seem highly unlikely that no bias was in play at all. We would, I think, be wise to exercise similar caution in the case of qualification bias. However, even if it were true that applicants with Periphery qualifications were not forthcoming this may still be, I would argue, evidence of a wider native-speakerist bias - a belief among teachers and among the profession at large in the superiority of Western teaching methods and approaches, the training in which is signified by these Centre qualifications. While we must be tentative in the inferences we draw from this data, it seems reasonble to suggest that a native-speakerist bias is, at some level, at the root of the qualification imbalance.

A claim that holders of Centre qualifications would not be interested in jobs in large English teaching programs is also brought into question by the data from Institution C, given in the table above. Institution C shows a striking difference in the balance of qualifications held by its instructors compared to the other two English programs investigated for this study. In this university, the numbers of "native-speakers" and "non-native speakers" is almost exactly the same, and this is also true for the kinds of qualifications held by those instructors. In fact, this was the only program examined in this study in which the number of Periphery qualifications held by the instructors was almost exactly the same as those awarded by Centre institutions. In addition, the qualifications were gained not only from Japanese universities, but also from a number of Periphery areas including institutions in Asia and Europe. This shows a strikingly different situation from that of the two other institutions from which data were drawn. In Institution C there is no clear native-speakerist bias in terms of the qualifications held by instructors. In fact, it seems the vast majority of those employed on this program earned their degrees in their home country, with a small number both of the "native-speakers" and "non-native speakers" having earned their degrees abroad. While it is important, as noted earlier, to exercise caution in interpreting these findings, it seems that Institution C does not have an overt native speakerist

bias in favour of degrees earned in Centre settings. It is also possible to cautiously infer a weak or potentially absent preference for Western methods and approaches to English instruction, showing that the institution is willing to value the training and qualifications of periphery settings. This stands in contrast with the other two ELT programs examined for this study, both of which appear to overtly prefer Centre-trained instructors to those who have received their language teaching education in a more Periphery setting.

The data from this study appear to point towards an overall native-speakerist bias within the Japanese tertiary ELT sector, based on the provenance of the qualifications of the instructors on the three programs investigated. This conclusion is made more compelling when we consider the fact that qualifications related to English and English language education are common in Japanese universities, and that even the "non-native speakers" on the programs discussed were far more likely to have Centre qualifications than to have those earned in Periphery institutions.

There is, however, a confounding result in the form of Institution C, which showed a much stronger balance of qualifications among the instructors on the university's English program. This is important, as it demonstrates that a native-speakerist qualification bias is not universal, and that the tertiary sector in Japan may be becoming more sensitive to these critical issues in English language teaching. A more in-depth study would have to be conducted in order to show in what ways, and to what extent, such a bias is present in the industry, however this paper has demonstrated that, at least in the institutions studied, there appears to be a native-speakerist bias at play with regard to qualifications, one that is likely based on the questionable belief that Western language teaching methods and expertise are in some way superior to the methods and expertise of those in other educational settings.

Conclusion

In this paper I have documented some evidence of a possible creeping native speakerism in Japanese higher education. Of the three large English departments from which the data for this study was drawn, Centre qualifications were dominant in two, with Periphery qualifications being only marginally represented among the program instructors. While one institution did display a clear balance of Centre and Periphery qualifications, including a more cosmopolitan collection of qualifications from non-Japanese Periphery institutions, the overall balance of qualifications in these programs did seem to clearly tilt towards qualifications from the Centre being far more substantially represented than those from Periphery institutions. While, as noted earlier, it is important to be cautious in over-interpreting the results from a small study like this, it seems to lend weight

to the notion that Centre qualifications are more highly valued by these institutions than those earned in Periphery settings. This bias points to a native-speakerist disposition among the staff and administrators of these institutions, in which the teaching methodology and expertise of the Centre is desired over local methods and expertise, due to the erroneous belief that they are inherently superior.

Further research will be needed to discover whether or not this issue is widespread throughout the rest of the Japanese tertiary ELT sector. Considering the negative effects that native-speakerism has had on members of the profession, and the undesirable political implications that lie behind such an ideological bias, it is imperative that we come to understand the subtle ways in which such prejudices continue to be played out in educational institutions. In this paper I have provided some evidence of one area - qualifications of instructors - in which native-speakerism appears to be influencing decisions, and this is something that should be considered carefully and critically in order for the ELT industry to move towards a more fair and equitable orientation with regards to speakerhood and local expertise.

Acknowledgements

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Contrastive Rhetoric and Writing in Another Language

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Abstract

Writing in another language has always been a difficult task. Using contrastive rhetoric theory as a theoretical framework, this study aims to focus on the effects of culture-educational patterns of Turkish EAL learners on English narrative essay writing. Narrative writings of 30 Turkish and 23 American college students were analyzed. The results showed that culture has some influence on the writing styles of students these college students, and contrastive rhetoric theory shows great promises to overcome these challenges.

Keywords: Contrastive rhetoric, intercultural rhetoric, Turkish writing, narrative writing, writing patterns

Introduction

Writing in the foreign language has always been a difficult task (Carson, 2001). Most of the research done on the English as an Additional Language (EAL) writing focuses on syntactical correction; and aims to make the EAL writing better in terms of its mechanics. However, proficiency in syntax is not enough to communicate in writing in the second language. Writing coherently and passing the message across in a meaningful way is as important as syntactically correct writing. Panetta (2009) highlights that "to persuade others of our intent and meaning, we depend on transactions between the speaker or writer and the audience and on logical connections between ordered information sets" (p. 13). So to communicate in the second language, in addition to learning the syntax, students need to focus on other components of a language as well.

Several theories have been developed to improve the writing skills of EAL students. One of the most popular, at the same time one of the most criticized, theories on EAL writing is contrastive (intercultural) rhetoric. Contrastive rhetoric has gained a lot of attention especially in foreign language education settings. Atkinson (2000) states that "contrastive rhetoric hypothesis has held perhaps its greatest allure for those in nonnative-English-speaking contexts abroad forced as they are to look EAL writing in the eye to try to understand why it at least

sometimes looks 'different'-often subtly out of sync with what one might expect from a 'native' perspective" (p. 319). Contrastive rhetoric brought important new insights to foreign language education.

What is contrastive rhetoric?

Even though Kaplan's (1966) ground breaking work is thought to be the first study on contrastive rhetoric, Connor et al. (2008) claim that origins of contrastive rhetoric goes back to Sapir and Whorf's linguistic relativity theory. Whorf (1956) argued that the language people use affects the way they perceive the world. Languages are not just organizations of expressions but also "stream of sensory experience" (p.55). So the cultural and educational skills we gain through the use of our first language affect our world view and conceptual thinking abilities. Contrastive rhetoric was first introduced to second language acquisition by Kaplan (1966) with his seminal work *Cultural Thought Patterns in Intercultural education.* Among other language skills, "effect of rhetorical patterns of written text has gained the most importance and has been investigated for more than thirty years" (Kubota & Lehner, 2004, p.8). Kaplan (1966) emphasizes that even the advanced level EAL students follow their native languages' rhetorical patterns while writing in the second language, which causes them receive feedback from their teachers such as "The paper is out of focus … lacks organization … lacks cohesion" (Kaplan, 2001, p.13). According to him, the foreign students' writings seem out of focus because the students are using a rhetorical pattern that violate the expectation of the native speaker. The students are using the rhetorical pattern of their first language which may not apply to the expectations of the Native English Speakers (NES). Kaplan (2001) underscores that it is as important to gain proficiency in the rhetorical pattern of the foreign language as to gain proficiency in its syntax and vocabulary.

Contrastive rhetorians highlight that there are different logic, rhetoric patterns for different societies. Kaplan (1966) claims that Anglo-European texts are linear; Semitic parallel; oriental, indirect; and in romance languages and Russian, digressive (See Figure 1).
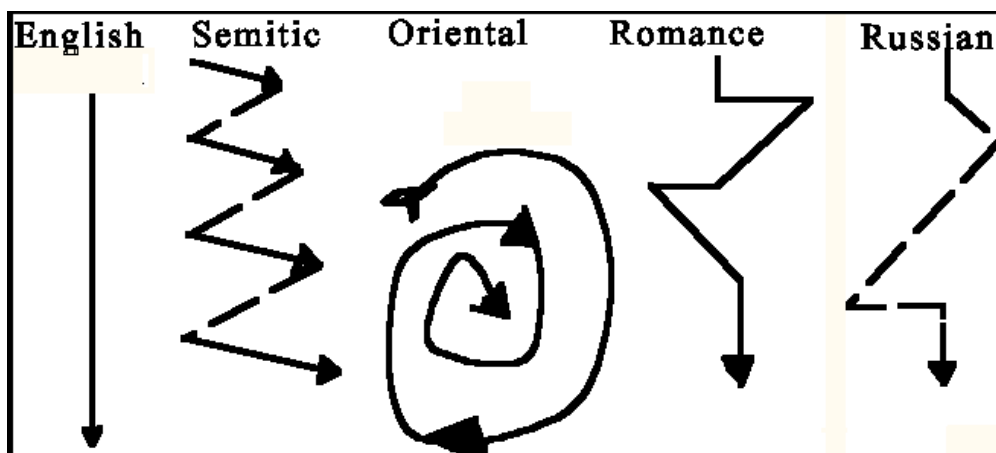
Figure 1. Kaplan's (1966) diagram on cross-cultural writing patterns
Source: Kaplan, R. (1966). Cultural thought patterns in intercultural education. *Language Learning*, *16*(1).

Contrastive rhetoric theory assumes that culture specific rhetoric patterns affect the writing of the EAL students in a negative way and Kaplan suggests that EAL students should learn to "write essays in an Anglo-American study model constructed with straight line of development" (as cited in Connor, 1996, p. 16). However, it should be highlighted that contrastive rhetoric does not assess or emphasize the effect of L1 on L2 writing in terms of syntax or phonology; but in contrastive rhetoric "the interference manifest itself in the writer's choice of rhetorical strategies and content" (Connor, 2002, p. 494). So the writing styles of the students and the effect of their culture and cultural-educational skills in choosing the certain writing styles is the subject of contrastive rhetoric.

Changes in the Contrastive Rhetoric Theory

At the outset of the contrastive rhetoric, audiolingual method was very popular and the EAL students were expected to correct the mistakes they do in EAL writing by imitating rhetorical writing patterns of the second language. Kubota and Lehner (2004) highlight that in the past "researches supporting contrastive rhetoric hypothesis recommended making rhetorical differences explicit, raising students' awareness of such differences, and acculturating students through language exercises with concrete models that meet audience expectations" (p. 13). However, with the development of more prescriptive language teaching in the area of contrastive rhetoric study has been expanded "to an interdisciplinary area of applied linguistics incorporating theoretical perspectives from both linguistics and rhetoric (Connor, 2002). Writing has been accepted to be a cognitive act,

rather than just descriptive rules. The reader and the context of the writing gained as much importance as the writer and the genre of the writing. Writing is accepted to be "interaction within a particular discipline or scholarly community" (Connor, 1996, p. 18). The first research that has been done on contrastive rhetoric may seem simplistic compared to the advanced research methods; however, Connor (2002) highlights that numerous researches have been conducted on contrastive rhetoric and the researchers investigated the subject from different perspectives. Kaplan (1987) admits that he "in the blush of a discovery, overstated some both the differences and his case" (p. 11).

Even though some researchers believe that contrastive rhetoric improved the teaching of EAL writing "in particular in the area of English for Academic Purposes university settings" (Connor et al., 2008, p. 1), contrastive rhetoric has been severely criticized for the last decade for several reasons: Over-generalizing the term "Oriental" (Hinds, 1983), insensitivity to cultural differences (Scollon, 1997; Spack, 1997, Zamel, 1997), for being so simplistic in research methodology (Matsuda, 1997), promoting the superiority of Western writing (Kubota, 2001).

Some of these arguments are invalid because since the students address the readers of the second language (L2), and since L2 is English in this case, it should not be accepted as seeing the Western writing as superior than the others. In fact, Walker (2004) highlights that writing in another language besides English would require the native English writers to conform to the L2 under the same circumstances. Kubota and Lehner (2004) claim that "critical contrastive rhetoric encourages teachers and students to critically reflect on classroom practices such as comparing and contrasting L1 and L2 rhetorical patterns and teaching/learning "preferred" discourse patterns of the target language" (p. 9).

Connor et al. (2008) points out that these criticisms on contrastive rhetoric are not true in that they assume contrastive rhetoric is static and "frozen in space"(p. 3). In fact, contrastive rhetoric has changed a lot with the development of teaching techniques. Kaplan also confessed that the first introduction of contrastive rhetoric was not a detailed work that was prepared with a deep data analysis (Connor, 2002). Connor (1996) also highlights in her book that during the 1990s the contrastive rhetoric field has been experienced a paradigm shift "broader definition that considers cognitive and socio-cultural variables of writing… has been substitutes for a purely linguistic framework" (p. 18)

One of the recent research findings is that since writing and writing rhetoric is a learned skill at school, the newly learned rhetoric may affect even the first one, which means that L1 learning styles can influence the L2 writing and the opposite also may be the case. (Uysal, 2008, p. 185). The extensive research on the subject has shown that CR is an important part of second language acquisition research and its deep benefits should be utilized in EAL classes.

The effect of learning the culture specific writing requirements improves L2 reading skills as well. Kang (2006) states that "knowing culturally preferred narrative features and evaluative elements in English narrative discourse may help comprehending English reading passages" (p. 402). Learning the writing discourse patterns will increase the meta-linguistic awareness of the students to these patterns and make even the reading passages more comprehensible for them.

Soler-Monreal et al. (2011) investigated the writing styles of Spanish and English PhD students in their dissertations. They found that the dissertations of Spanish and English students changed greatly in terms of their length. "The introductions in the English corpus tend to be longer and present more subdivisions than Spanish ones, and longer ones contain subsections and sub-subsections" (p. 6). The English dissertations also had some moves back and forth, i.e. the authors of English theses tend to refer back to the previous information they have cited in the earlier sections of the introduction. "The first striking difference between the corpora is that the English PhD thesis introductions have a more complex organization (they contain a total of 145 moves vs. 50 in the Spanish corpus)" (p. 8). One of the most important findings of this study is that authors of English dissertations have more interest in informing the audience about the previous research that done and which gap their study is filling. However, Spanish writers "tend to emphasize the presentation of their own work" (p. 9).

Uysal (2008) used quantitative methods for her analysis. She recruited 18 Turkish participants who were living in US. Some of these participants were graduate students in US, some were housewives and some are taking ESL classes at a college in USA. To make sure that all of the participants had a certain degree of education in writing, Uysal (2008) chose participants that had a bachelor degree in Turkey. The participants wrote two argumentative essays one in English and one in Turkish. The subjects of English and Turkish essays were different. Uysal (2008) found that all of the participants had introduction, development and conclusion parts in their essays. When they were asked, the participants stated that they learned to use these parts at schools both in Turkey and USA. The participants all used thesis statements (some put them initially in the introduction part and some of them put them in the conclusion part). However some of the participants did not use any topic sentences. Uysal (2008) explained this diversity as "participants demonstrated some rhetorical preferences similar to both stereotyped English and Asian writing preferences surprisingly parallel to Turkey's geographical location right in the middle of East and West" (p. 194).

Uysal (2008) also found that the participants used some of the rhetorical patterns of English writing in Turkish essays of the participants and concluded that there was a bidirectional transfer in students writing. To illustrate, frequent use of transitions is a signal for transfer from English to Turkish for Uysal (2008).

In her study, Kang (2006) recruited 42 Korean college students and 28 American college students. Kang's (2006) study revealed that Korean native speakers used different narrative styles than the American students. Kang (2006) concluded that the differences between the American and Korean students' writing styles were caused by the cultural rhetorical patterns of Korean speakers.

Narrative Essays

Kang (2006) states that narratives are the earliest discourse forms acquired by children. Narrative essays tell "about an event… This type of essay retells a meaningful event and, either historical and personal" (Lindler, 2005, p. 260). Even though there have been excessive research on argumentative essays and contrastive rhetoric, there has not been much research on narrative essays and contrastive rhetoric (Dyer & Friederich, 2002).

Schanck (1990) classifies narratives into five main categories.
1. Official stories: These are the stories that we learn at or from official sources such as school or work.
2. Invented stories: These stories are created by people.
3. Firsthand stories: The stories that people tell about their own lives.
4. Secondhand stories: These stories are the firsthand stories of others that we retell.
5. Culturally common stories: The stories that are from our environment. No one person tells them, but everyone knows these stories.

Children start using narratives at very early ages. It was found that mothers educate their children to use the narrative structures that are accepted and valued in their societies (Blum-Kulka; 1993; Kang, 2003; Melzi, 2000). Blum-Kulka (1993) investigated the conversations at dinner tables of Israeli and American families and found cultural difference plays an important role on the discourse patterns used by the speakers of both languages.
 Melzi (2000) focused on the narrative dyads of Spanish-speaking Central American and English-speaking European American mothers and found differences on the conversational focus of these parents. According to Casanave (2005) narrative plays an important role in L2 writing and research; and also "more accurate narrative inquiry in L2 writing research can potentially help L2 writing researchers dismantle stereotypes of cultural pattern" (p. 29).

Even though this is one of the most commonly used writing style in EAL and mainstream writing classes, narratives and L2 writing has not been studied enough (Dyer & Friederich, 2002; Kang, 2006; Sun, 2011). In addition, there is not much research focusing on the narrative skills of Turkish EAL learners in their English essay writing. Most of the studies done on Turkish narratives

focused on oral narratives more than written narratives (Furman & Ozyurek, 2007; Genc et al., 2006; Kuntay & Senay, 2003), or focused on the Turkish narrative telling in writing (Ozyildirim, 2009) but did not compare them with another language. Akinci, Jisa and Kern (2001) analyzed the differences in narratives of bilingual Turkish children (ages 5, 7 and 10) in Turkish and French, and compared and contrasted these written narratives. Akinci et al. (2001) found minimal differences in the written narratives of the Turkish and French. Students made less mistakes and formed longer sentences in French. Akinci et al. (2001) attributed these differences to more frequent exposure of the students to French narratives at school.

In this study, I will focus on the firsthand narratives in Schack's (1990) categorization. This study aims to focus on the effects of culture-educational patterns of Turkish EAL learners on English narrative essay writing by asking how Turkish EAL learners' written narratives in English similar or different from American native English speakers writing?

The Study

For this study 30 Turkish and 23 American college students were recruited. The participants signed a consent form to participate in the study and their participation was totally voluntary. Participants were asked to write a firsthand personal narrative essay about "what they did last summer". Even though all of the students from Turkey were university students, their proficiency level in English was different. All of the participants asked to write the essays in English, Turkish EAL learners were asked to write the essays in Turkish as well.

The English language proficiency levels of the students were very different. Turkish participants had 5 years of formal English education on average. These students are studying at different colleges in Turkey and all of them are studying at the intensive English Program at their colleges. Intensive English Programs are prepare their EAL students for academic English. For one academic year, participants take intensive English classes, and at the end of the year they take a test similar to TOEFL, if they cannot attain a certain score, they cannot graduate from the program.

The native English participants were university students at a Midwestern state university in USA.

Results

Disregarding all of the grammatical mistakes, while analyzing the data, I first divided each narrative into T-Units. Hunt (1977) describes the T-units as "a T-unit is a single main clause plus whatever else foes with it… Perhaps it is safe for

us to think of T-units as the shortest grammatically complete sentences that a passage can be cut into without creating fragments—but it is safe to do so only so long as we remember that two main clauses must be counted as two T-units" (p. 92). After I divided the narratives into clauses, I analyzed the narratives in terms of following narrative aspects: *narrative length, orientation, overall organization.*

Narrative length

The number of clauses used by the Turkish EAL learners and English Native Speakers (NES) was different. The mean for clause number NES was 9.2 and it was 16.7 and 26.1 for Turkish EAL learners and Turkish narratives respectively. Turkish students wrote longer stories in both in English and in Turkish.
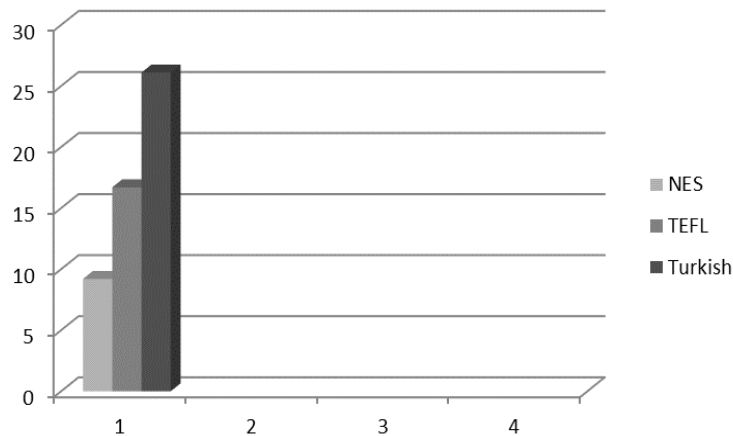
Figure 2. Narrative length of the essays

Turkish EAL learners tended to write simple sentences by not using any conjunctions. However, NES preferred to use conjunctions and combine the sentences. They indicated the cause and effect; beginning and end relationships for the events in their essays. Turkish EAL writers tended to list the events and did not make many connections between the events. These results may be attributed to the fact that English is the second language of the Turkish EAL students and they may hesitate to form complex sentences in English. However, when the Turkish EAL students' essays in Turkish were analyzed, it wass observed that Turkish EAL students used the same structure in their Turkish essays as well. They did not form complex sentences in Turkish and they tended

to list the events that happened in their summer vacation in their Turkish essays as well.

Overall organization

In term of overall organization, all of the participants, NES and Turkish EAL learners had an introduction, body, and conclusion in their English essays. The introduction part of the essays was very similar for Turkish EAL learners and NES. They included a thesis statement.

However, the body part of the essays was different in that the NES tended to focus on one important event in their summer vacation and describe the event; but Turkish EAL learners tried to list all of their summer vacation without focusing any of them in detail. NES used more description of characters and place and include more abstracts i.e. emotions, stating expectations, comparisons of expectations with reality and evaluation of events in their essays than Turkish EAL learners.

The average number of events that the Turkish EAL students cited in their essays is three and this number was 2.1 for NES. Turkish EAL learners tended to cite the events they experienced chronologically like a list and then finish their essays in an evaluative way such as "It was a great summer", "it was a boring summer". Turkish EAL learners made the conclusions about their summer for the readers.

Participant nine, male Turkish EAL learner, describes his summer vacation as follows:

> I went to Afyon, Antalya ad Mersin last summer. Afyon was great because there was a spa. Than [sic], I went to Antalya. There was a beautiful beach, a lot of tourists and night clubs. Sun was very good in Antalya. Antalya's hotels and night clubs are very famous.

> Finally, I went to Mersin. There is my house in Tomuk in Mersin. I swam in swimming pool and sea.

NES also made comments, yet NES tend to make comments on the specific events happening during the summer such as "It was a great way to pad my savings account", "It was a great summer job". Turkish EAL writers did not put their voices and ideas in their essays as much NES writers.

Participant 10, a NES female, described her summer vacation as follows:

> The bulk of my summer was spent in the works place a student could imagine-the classroom. Because of crazy scheduling and degree

requirements, I was enrolled in three courses totaling nine credit hours. For an eight-week session that's a big load.

On top of my studies, I also found myself working almost twice as much as I had originally intended. While I had only asked for twelve to fifteen hours a week at work, I had been assigned about thirty. While this was certainly somewhat tiring, it was a great way to pad my savings account for the coming semester.

The Turkish EAL learners also comment on the events but 23 Turkish EAL learners out of 30 finished their essays by making an evaluative comment about all of the events they experienced during the summer for the readers. These students used descriptive just for places but not for people around them. However, NES avoided making descriptions of people but they described the environment, their job, and their feelings in their essays.

Orientation

It has been found that the Turkish EAL learners tended to describe the events in order and also describe the places that the events took place. NES did not describe the place, time of the events as much as Turkish EAL learners but they tended to describe the effects of certain events on themselves. They were describing the events and while combining the events they wrote sentences like "This trip thought me the importance of patience" and their emotions on what they did.
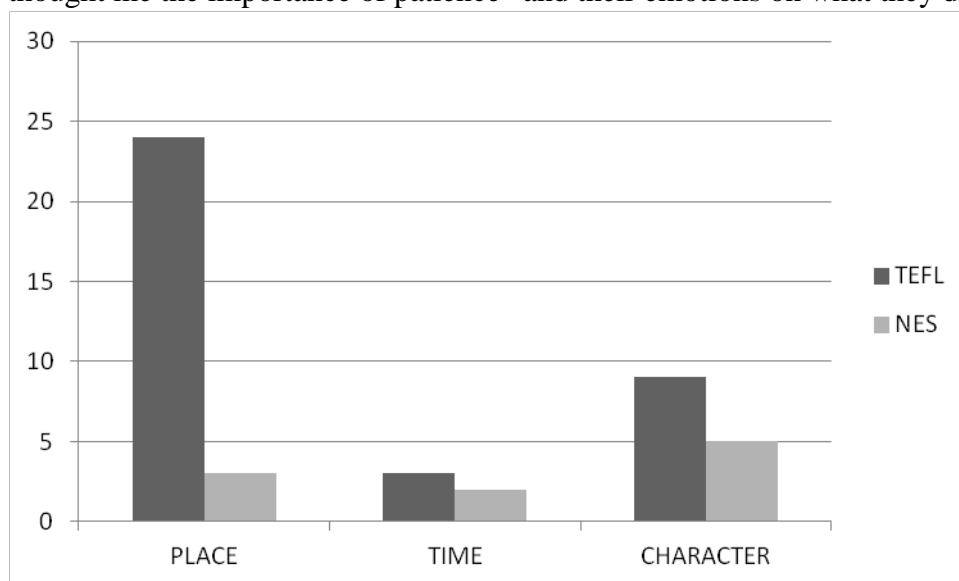
Figure 3. Use of orientation in essays

Participant 23, a female Turkish EAL writer, described his summer vacation as follows:

> Last summer, I went to Gaziantep. I stayed uncle's home with my cousin. I like animals so I went to zoo with my cousins. I saw a lot of animals. We went to picnic. We played volleyball. It's enjoyable. I went to department store. I did shopping. I bought a lot clothes and shoes. I loved do shopping. I went to restaurants and cafes with my cousins.
> Gaziantep foods very good [sic]. I had a good time. Everything was very fantastic.

Participant one, a female, NES described her summer vacation as follows:

> Summer vacation! I absolutely love summer vacation. Last year's was filled with tons of adventures. I went on four different trips-Chicago, Cofumel (Mexico), Camping and Houston. Each trip meant something different to me and taught me valuable lessons. I started my trip off with my mother, sister, newphew, and I taking a train from St. Louis to Chicago. This trip taught me the importance of patience while traveling, since our train was delayed by hours.

Discussions and Implications for teaching

In this study it has been observed that Turkish EAL learners and NES have some commonalities and differences in terms of their English narrative essays. The similarities are in that both Turkish EAL learners and NES tend to use a thesis sentence and a conclusion sentence in their essays.

The differences are more obvious especially in terms of the length of the essays. Turkish EAL learners tend to write longer narrative essays in both Turkish and English. They have several repetitions during their essays. Turkish EAL learners tend to focus on several events in their descriptions compared to NES who usually focus one or two events.

In addition, Turkish EAL learners mostly tend to state the event and describe the place it took place. However, NES tend to state the importance of the event by making it clear how it helped them to improve personally, emotionally or even financially. NES not only describes the events but also states the importance of it in their lives.

Even though there were a lot of similarities in terms of narrative writings of Turkish EAL learners and NES, there were also a lot of differences. Uysal (2008) highlights that "cultural-educational factors still were found to constitute an important part of second language writing process and products" (p. 197). So it is very important for EAL teachers to be aware of the specific writing requirements of the second language and train their students to be aware of these requirements

to enable the development of discourse strategies that are more appropriate for the target language. To illustrate, the Turkish EAL learners should be aware of the type and amount of information that NES tend to provide in narratives are different than Turkish EAL learners do. So to express themselves and their ideas better, not to sound "unnatural" in the second language, they need to learn the rhetorical patterns of writing in the target language.

Connor (1996) highlights that "contrastive rhetoric was not meant as a teaching pedagogy but as a knowledge and awareness on differences in writing patterns across cultures" (p. 166). If the teachers recognize the possible differences in the rhetoric style of different languages, it will be much easier for them to help their students with their needs.

It is very important for EAL teachers to be the aware of the culture-education differences between languages and increase their knowledge in terms of English writing discourse patterns. Most of EAL writing still focuses on syntax and vocabulary development yet research shows that even the most advanced EAL students may produce syntactically perfect writing samples which would be criticized for being non-cohesive, linear and even understandable. As stated above, most of the Turkish EAL learners focus more than three events in their narratives while NES tend to focus on just one. This kind of essays may sound too overwhelming for NES and non-native students may lose credit for that.

Contrastive rhetoric should not be perceived as a way of assimilation of EAL writers but it should be appreciated as a way of expressing oneself better in the second language by using the rhetorical patterns of the target language. The teachers should highlight these differences to their students. No matter if it is native or foreign language writing, there is always a place for creativity of the students. Contrastive rhetoric does not kill the creativity and uniqueness of the EAL students; on the contrary, it enables them to express their unique and creative ideas in L2 writing in a more cohesive and understandable way.

In addition, teachers need to teach the cultural differences explicitly in order to help their students to be successful in the second language environment. Connor (2002) states that Teachers of English and others, such as consultants in grant proposal writing, need to educate students or clients about readers' expectations" (p. 505). Walker (2004) highlights that just teaching the rhetorical patters on the target language and expect students to learn them may not be an effective strategy. However, EAL teachers can ask their students to write on a topic and then providing some sample writings of native speakers on the same topic for a comparison of the rhetorical patterns. The students and the teachers can discuss the similarities and differences in small or large groups.

Walker (2004) found in his dissertation research that teaching students about contrastive rhetoric was especially important for lower level EAL students. Learning about contrastive rhetoric helped the improvement of writing styles of

these students a lot. Walker (2004) also states that especially teacher conferencing individually with the students was very beneficial for the students. But the success of the teacher-student conferencing for contrastive rhetoric also has some regulations. In these meetings, the students should be encouraged to talk about their ideas and thinking strategies, "not about teacher's agenda and assignment clarifications" (Walker, 2004, p. 110). So EAL teachers should attract the attention of especially lower-proficiency EAL students to rhetorical patterns of the target language and when it is necessary help students individually.

In addition, Kubota and Lehner (2004) found out that quality of writing in L2 is closely linked to quality of writing in L1. Students who write in L1 observed to write better in the L2 also. This result indicates that practicing writing is another indicator of better writing in L2.The students should be encouraged to write a lot in EAL classrooms and the teachers should help students see the different uses of rhetorical patterns in L2 with several examples.

Xing, Wang and Spencer (2008) also found that online education can provide a great source for increasing the cultural and rhetorical writing of EAL students. Accessing to online courses abroad may not be possible for all EAL students and teachers; however, EAL students and teachers can use online platforms such as Wiki and Blogs, and find opportunities to exchange writings with native English speakers.

Limitations
This study aims to close a gap in EAL narrative writing. However, I believe the low number of the participants was a limitation in this study. Conducting this same study with a bigger number of participants would eliminate this limitation.
In addition, in this study participants were asked to write one essay. It would have been very beneficial to ask participants write multiple essays over longer periods of time to observe the reoccurrence of the patterns.

Conclusion

This study shows that the students should be taught about contrastive rhetoric especially at lower levels of instruction. It does not mean that learning about the contrastive rhetoric will solve the all ills of the EAL essay writing. However, as stated above it will help students to write in a more cohesive way in the second language. In addition, the instructors themselves should educate themselves about the role of culture and contrastive rhetoric. This study supports the previous research stating that contrastive rhetoric play a very promising role in helping EAL learners (Hinds, 1883; Reid, 1989; Walker, 2004; Uysal, 2008). Studies on EAL writing proved that only teaching the rhetorical patterns of the second language is not effective. EAL teachers and writing teachers should be aware of

contrastive rhetoric and if possible learn more about the rhetorical patters of their students' first language. This will help teachers to better scaffold the writing patterns of their students. Teachers may benefit from different teaching methods to increase the awareness of their students towards contrastive rhetoric. The teachers can lecture about the rhetorical differences between the native and target languages of the students, use peer learning and benefit from online interaction forms.

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Exploring the Use of English in Omani Students' Everyday Conversations and its Influence on their Spoken Arabic

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Abstract

Though the topic enjoys a general currency within informal scholarly debate, this is the first linguistic study to explore the nature and extent of the use of English in Omani EIL students' everyday lives. It delineates the social factors that influence this use and offers a data-driven analysis of the most frequently found linguistic patterns and word choices. It also discusses the phonetic and morphological influence of Arabic on English utterances and of English on Arabic words. It draws on analysis of some 200 real conversations which took place in informal natural settings. Results revealed a correlation between the topics discussed and choice of words, on the one hand, and the amount of English used and gender on the other. They also revealed the dominance of intrasentential code-switching in which English words are often inserted into the middle of Arabic sentences. The frequent use of English words in spoken Arabic correlates with the amount of English EIL learners possess, with the result that much English often finds it way into Arabic structures.

Keywords: EIL students, code-switching, English, phonetic and morphological influence

Introduction

On college entry, EIL students are found to have barely enough English to understand their foundation courses and to communicate with their instructors. Thus, during their first and perhaps second semester, they limit their use of English to the classroom. Since everyone else beyond the classroom speaks Omani Arabic, EIL students do not feel obliged to continually use English there and in everyday life. Naturally, they feel more confident using their mother tongue than venturing into a new language, given the low level of English they have brought from high school. Hence, to avoid embarrassing situations, they usually converse with their fellow students in Arabic. Furthermore, as juniors, it is always convenient for them to ask questions in Arabic, the dominant language of

their interlocutors, as they familiarize themselves with college life and requirements.

However, as their English level improves and they find they must use the language for class discussion and written assignments, they begin to realize the importance of using English outside the classroom too. Also, some EIL teachers demand that students spend considerable time outside class to verbally exchange thoughts on a given English task or assignment. And so English is found to surface in student conversations during the later years of their program. For example, they use it when talking about registration, their courses, teachers, assignments, presentations, exams and such quotidian topics as summer holidays, homes, siblings etc.

It is revealing and intriguing to explore the nature and extent of this use. Since Arabic and Arabic dialects dominate in these students' lives, one can readily identify certain of their effects on the type of English used. At the same time, English influences the overall structure of Arabic. For example, bound morphemes like –*ing* are freely added to Arabic words (e.g. *tamaming* from *tamam* "well, Ok"). On the other hand, Arabic *t(a)-*, which marks the present tenses, is attached to English verbs (e.g. tshayki] "check, fem. Sing"). In dominant English conversations, Arabic religious terms like *insha'a Allāh* (if God wills) and *alhamdulillāh* (praise be to God) are especially frequent.

This study, then, is a pioneering attempt to explore the actual use of English in EIL students' lives in Oman and, more specifically, at Sultan Qaboos University [SQU]. Not only does it describe the nature and extent of this use, but also offers a data-driven linguistic analysis of it based on a very large number of informal conversations. It investigates the social functions and linguistic features of student interactions outside the classroom, while examining the influence Arabic has on English and vice versa.

Literature Review

The use of two or more languages in a single conversation is called code-switching, a topic of much recent research. Studies tend to focus on two aspects: the social functions of code-switching and the linguistic patterns characterizing it. This section reviews literature on code-switching research in the Arab world, how Arabic and English are different, and the use of English in Oman and other Arab countries.

Al-Enazi (2002) explored the syntactic constraints and social functions of code-switching among Saudi bilinguals who lived in the USA for three to seven years. He argued that none of the available theories of code-switching could account for his data. Al Qudhai'een (2002), on the other hand, exploring the

syntax of intra-sential code-switching employed by Saudis at different American universities, said it was systematic and rule-governed. His analysis used the syntactic proposals of Chomsky's principles and parameters, such as the government binding and minimalist approach. He observed that code switching occurred in adults' speech when academic terms and objectivization were needed, while children code-switched when seeking cultural and religious terms. Hussein (1999) gave a questionnaire to approximately 622 college students coming from various departments and majors to examine the most frequent English expressions used in Arabic among them and their overall attitude towards this practice and concluded that students code switched simply because of a lack of equivalent Arabic words. He also noted that students did not code-switch to develop their general language proficiency, but rather because it helped them to learn terms in science and technology. However, the current study found that EIL learners code-switched not because they lacked Arabic equivalents for the English words they used, but rather because the practice happens as a result of gaining confidence in the language and leads to more familiarity and correct use of these words in context. Elsaadany (2003) explored the social factors behind code-switching among Arabs of diverse origins and backgrounds and concluded that they code-switched to clarify and emphasize a particular point. Al-Khatib and Sabbah (2008) suggested that code-switching simply facilitates communication, while also observing that within English sentences it is used to insert religious terms and for employing academic and technical terms. Two other reasons they mentioned were prestige and the need for euphemisms. Alfifi (2012) studied the occurrence of code switching in 1000 screenshots of Facebook posts which related to 10 topics, including gossip, humor, technology, compliments and thanking, achievement, movies and songs, family and intimacy, make-up, travel and religion. One of her findings, also mentioned above in other studies, was that Saudi females used intersentential code-switching merely to facilitate conversations and relate to friends.

How English is used in the Arab World and Oman

In Oman and in many other Arab countries, English is taught at school from grade one to grade 12. When high school graduates enter college or university, they are described as low to intermediate English learners. Research on the various problems they face in learning English reveals that they do not use the language much outside the classroom since Arabic is universally spoken. Thus, they lack proficiency and basic communication skills in the target language (Al-Mahrooqi, 2012a, 2012b). Being confined to the classroom context deprives them of the opportunity to "understand and communicate [in English] using a variety of notions and linguistic functions based on everyday situations" (Rababah, 2003, p.

1). Rababah documented various difficulties encountered by Jordanian students, also citing in his paper work done on problems faced by Yemeni, Sudanese and Egyptian students learning English in school and college. He mentioned, for example, Kambal (1980), who analyzed composition errors committed by first-year Sudanese undergraduates and noted errors in verb and noun phrases which are basic to an understanding of written English. Based on his experience of teaching English in many Arab countries, Rababah (2003) concluded that "Arab learners… find difficulties in using English for communication. When engaged in authentic communicative situations, they often lack some of the vocabulary or language items they need to get their meaning across" (para. 10)

Using English to communicate in real life situations is crucial. Halliday, McIntosh and Strevens (1984, p. 16) make the point firmly: "Oral mastery depends on practicing and repeating the patterns produced by a native speaker of the foreign language."

The difference between Arabic and English

In addition to Modern Standard Arabic (the high register form), there are numerous dialectal varieties. In Oman alone, dozens of dialects are heard in the different geographical regions of the country. And when speakers of these dialects converse, they use a common medium or variety of dialect that can be understood by all. As Blair (2000) states, "There is at least one level between Modern and the dialects, which some call Educated Spoken Arabic (MSA) … [it] is a mixture of written and vernacular styles … with modifying […] speech in the interest of mutual intelligibility" (p. 47). According to Blair, MSA lacks morphological case, mood endings, indefinite markers, internal passive, and dual markings on verbs and adjectives.

Arabic, a Semitic language, has distinct phonetic, morphological and syntactic systems. Its sound inventory includes a set of back and emphatic consonants, which English, an Indo-European language, lacks. For example, Arabic has /χ/, /ɣ/, /ʕ/ and /q/ and emphatics, including /S/, /T/, /D/ and /H/. Blair (2000) states that morphologically

> dialectal Arabic has stem morphemes that consist solely of consonants. … Base morphemes, highly productive fixed consonant-vowel patterns or templates, combine with the stem to establish nominal and verbal patterns, which are often related to a certain semantic class. (p. 54).

Arabic marks the present tense by attachment of the prefixes *ta-* (for feminine) and *ya-* (for masculine). English, on the other hand, uses a set of suffixes to mark present tenses and plurals. Meanwhile, Arabic words are loaded with meaning,

whereas English words show a direct relationship between form and meaning. The word order in Arabic is VSO, though both VS and SV also occur.

According to Nakhallah (n. d.), Arabic and English also differ in grammatical form and lists the following areas as examples:

1) English has a limited set of pronouns. For example, while [you] is used for masculine, feminine, singular and plural, Arabic has a separate pronoun for each semantic meaning [huwa, hiya, hunna, hum].
2) English and Arabic are different in active/ passive constructions.
3) English and Arabic are different in elliptical structures.
4) The lexical form of Arabic is different from that of English.

Nakhallah also pinpoints a number of linguistic and social differences between the two languages, like lexical and meaning ambiguity. As for cultural differences, they are listed as relating to situation.

The Study

Exploratory in nature and data-driven, the study offers a qualitative linguistic analysis of the English used in 200 real-life conversations carried out by EIL learners outside the classroom context. It assesses the occurrence of English in Arabic matrix conversations, the occurrence of Arabic in English matrix conversations, and identifies most frequent word choices. For this last activity it looks into three semantic categories - academic, technical and miscellaneous. It also investigates the social functions of code-switching among these students who are in the third and fourth year of their program.

Importantly, the study also investigates the factors that influence this interaction. And, finally, by identifying the most common English content of these conversations, it casts light on linguistic patterns, language functions and overall trends in word choice.

Forty EIL learners were asked to record five real-life conversations in different settings outside the classroom and then to describe in writing their precise settings and topics. They could be either participants involved in the recorded conversations or mere observers. In response, the researchers received 200 real conversations as a corpus of data on which they based their linguistic and social factor analysis.

The participants were homogenous in terms of age and education level. Their ages ranged from 20 to 22 and they were all third or fourth-year EIL students. However, in terms of gender, there was less consistency, for there were 10 male and 30 female students, the reason for this being that females outnumber males at SQU are thus easier to find as willing participants.

Although all the participants were Omanis, they came from diverse backgrounds and areas of the country. Since Oman is linguistically rich and uses many dialects,

the researchers could deduce the participants' origins from their choice of Arabic words and expressions.

Analysis of the Use of English in Arabic Conversations

Social Factors

This section highlights the social dimensions of the use of English among EIL students in their everyday lives. For example, gender, topic, settings, and purpose are examined. Moreover, the study reports results based on four crucial social aspects: 1) the overall occurrence of English in EIL students' conversations; 2) the frequency of Arabic matrix with English words; 3) the frequency of English matrix with Arabic words; and 4) the relation between topics and choice of words. Many social factors determine the frequency of English usage in Arabic conversations and the level of formality or affection observed between interlocutors.

Gender

The study revealed significant differences between males and females regarding the amount and kind of code switching used. Females did more code-switching than males and used more kinds of it. They also used many more English words in their conversations than males. To illustrate, in some male conversations, speakers did not include any English words at all. An example was a conversation that took place at SQU's mosque, where five students were discussing an atheist biologist keen to disprove the existence of God. Another example was a conversation between two students waiting for a taxi to take them home. The only English word was "taxi" and yet it is used very frequently in Arabic. A third conversation was between the father and uncle of an EIL learner. These two men used Arabic alone. As an example of a conversation in which little English was used, EIL learners were discussing a course and used only the words "assignment" and "bye", the rest of the conversation being in Arabic. In a conversation between two male EIL learners in the College of Arts' cafeteria, one, under probation, was depressed about not being able to study to raise his GPA. Despite the fact that they were purely academic matters, they only used six English words - four relevant to their classes and two miscellaneous words. Other male conversations often included just a single word like "CD".

On the other hand, females seemed to have a better command of English since a lot of it was used when discussing a variety of topics. We observed that they tended to excessively use such academic words as "assignment", "exam", "quiz", "report", "lecture" and "class". We also observed that they sometimes

resorted to the use of full English sentences in their conversations, a phenomenon not recorded in male conversations.

It is natural to see a correspondence between the amount of English which surfaces in a conversation and the level of English possessed by the participants. In fact, we observed that when participants knew more English, they used it more often to relate to others and to express themselves. The degree of formality observed between participants also depended on the amount of English used in conversations. When close friends talked to each other, less English surfaced.

Settings and Topics
Male EIL students' conversations covered a variety of topics and took place on and off campus. In conversations at SQU, they often talked in cafeterias, restaurants, the ETS office, corridors, male common rooms, car parks across campus, SQU's bank and the Arts or Main Library. They conversed about the courses they were taking that semester, their assignments and the research papers they were expected to write. In a number of conversations, they talked about their interest in joining the ETS (the English and Translation Society), or about organizing exhibitions, the Brazilian Culture Day and workshops, registration for a course on disability offered on campus. Some conversations, occurring in the campus restaurant, covered lectures they had attended or were about to attend and the quality of food offered free at SQU. In a number of cases, the topic was the weekend and how it had been spent. Topics in restaurants outside the university included chapters to be read and quizzes to write.

Typical male conversation topics were those relevant to technology and cars. In one recorded example, a male was getting angry with his phone and was about to throw it at a wall. Another conversation was about buying cars, so English words like "service", "system" and "four-wheel-drive" surfaced. Conversations with siblings at home during the Eid holidays involved words like "busy".

Outside SQU, males conversed in their apartments in Al Khoudh, a nearby suburb, in their cars driving to restaurants, at the barber's, in malls, cell phone stores or on social media where such words as "chatting", "application", "confused", "cost", "guarantee", "no problem" and "travel agency" were a few of the English words appearing in their Arabic conversations.

Three EIL learners were talking about teaching practice and the teachers' strike that coincided with their course during that academic year. In another conversation, six users of an Arabic online forum were answering an Omani student at a UK university who was looking for someone to write him a research paper about fish. Words surfacing in this conversation included "copy paste", "reference", "search", "rephrase", and "plagiarism". One student used a full

English sentence [Omani 100%. Thanks for the new technique, I didn't know it before].

With respect to the settings of female conversations, evidence from the 150 recorded revealed that they mainly occurred on the SQU campus – in, for example, the main or Arts library, in common rooms and corridors, in the English Department or College of Education, in the Deanship of Admissions and Registration, in classrooms, elevators, instructors' offices, the Photo Society office, the campus meeting hall and the university hospital. In one that took place between an EIL learner and a high school student in grade 12 no English word was used, despite the fact that the learner had previously taught English to the high school student.

As for topics, most conversations were about academic matters - writing assignments, for example, and course-related tasks. But females also talked about events in certain classes and teachers' attitude towards Arabic. The topic might initially be about their classes and then change finally to going home for the weekend. They also talked about finding resources, copying them, asking staff at the library reception desk for help, their struggles with registration, summer vacations, cars and getting a driving license. Not to be omitted were conversations about organizing graduation and birthday parties. One conversation was between two female science students dwelt only on physics, chemistry, and school teaching practice. Conversations generally tended to move from one topic to another, main and minor ones perhaps arising haphazardly. In one conversation, about a brother teaching his sister to drive, such words as "steering wheel", "handbrake", "petrol", "bonnet" and "license" were heard.

One recorded conversation on the steps students needed to take when tackling their research project included the words "proposal", "literature review", "methodology", "data collection", "data analysis", "results" and "recommendations". An interesting linguistic conversation that took place between two EIL learners discussed a pidgin word in Omani Arabic, its derivatives and varying use across Oman.

In a mixed conversation between a female (Assistant Head of the English and Translation Society (ETS)) and a group of males in the ETS office, the female used English in full sentences. She asked them about teaching a section of a speaking course given by ETS members and a course for the disabled.

To sum up, we observed that in conversations about non-academic matters students used fewer English words. For example, when two females were talking about taking decisions, they only used two phrases – "that's it" and "time is money". The amount of English used when talking about academic matters exceeded that used when conversing about other issues. Students were found to use specific school-related words, technical and academic, to facilitate communication and express mutual interests with their peers (the same

assignment, the shared course or same teacher). To achieve solidarity and accommodate with an interlocutor who came from the same background and shared the same interests, EIL students at Sultan Qaboos University code switched between Arabic and English.

Types of Code-switching

In this study, Omani EIL students were found to use a rich variety of code-switching types including intersentential (within sentence boundaries), intrasentential (mid-sentence) and tag switching (i.e. switching a word from one language to another).

The most frequent kind of code-switching among males was intrasentential, whereby an English word was inserted in an Arabic conversation. However, it was also common to find entire sentences such as "It's Britain man", "Let's get down to business", "It's a piece of cake", "What do you think about it?", "I will make up my mind", "Once I am in, I'm in", "I appreciate it, yet I need some time to decide". Other expressions included "By the way", "We'll be in touch", "Goodbye", "Goodnight" and "Too much".

The main or dominant language in most of the collected conversations (also called the matrix language) was Arabic while the embedded one was English. In most cases, single words and phrases from English were inserted. However, in a few conversations, larger English constructions (i.e. full sentences) were being used. Moreover, in two conversations, speakers spoke English throughout. Three EIL learners were in a computer lab. The conversation began in Arabic and continued in it until one learner asked about the writing class. A few English words began to surface in Arabic sentences including "writing", "draft", and "body of paragraph". Then, suddenly, they all shifted into English and uttered complete sentences like "I think he means that you are being subjective in your writing", in response to his friend's complaint about a teacher's comment on a paragraph. The whiner then said, "But I supported my ideas with a lot of evidence, so how come I am accused of being subjective?". The third student said, "There are serious accusations in your writing", and the reply was "I will check later." By way of advice the first student added, "Try not to postpone your assignments," which brought the reply, carrying a religious term in Arabic, "Ok brother, insha'a Allah I won't." This exemplified the first use of an Arabic word in an English matrix sentence. The students then shifted to another topic, this one about paying their utilities bill. The landlord had demanded 15 Rials on top of the 20 they had paid and the conversation was in Arabic. One said, "Don't count on me, guys, I'm not with you this time. I already have enough stress with my studies." More Arabic was gradually introduced before the closing comment in

English: "I'm sorry guys I have to go back home, I'm very tired – I'll catch you later."

Other phrases and sentences in male conversations were these: "You did not expect it", "We are the same", "Tests one and two", "I've been thinking about that so long", "It's not a good idea" and "You'll find it is somewhere here."

The matrix language among EIL female learners was also Arabic but with many English words included. In a recorded lecture, the lecturer used English matrix sentences but also inserted many Arabic words and phrases.

Varied code-switching patterns also occurred in female conversations, including tag code-switching where a conversation starts and ends completely in English, followed by Arabic with some English words. Many technical terms like [captured by me], [drifting], and [tire squealing] are used. In many cases, pragmatic and semantic mistakes occurred when English was used. To illustrate, when trying to translate some sentences for a course, friends in one conversation gave inaccurate suggestions.

The main matrix language in male conversations was Arabic. However, in rare cases, this was English with Arabic expressions inserted, covering daily trivia which seemed to work as fillers for the English sentence.

Females used complete sentences, such as "You know how to manage your time" and "This is the grade you deserve." In a number of cases, full sentences were used in cues. For instance, when two girls were talking about their teacher who counts class numbers in a strange language, one said, "I would tell him 'You know Arabic.'" You don't know Arabic! It is a shame that you do not know it." She used five full sentences describing her anger about her teacher's ignorance of Arabic.

A conversation rich in literary vocabulary was recorded when two girls were discussing a poem about nature, language and culture. The conversation had Arabic matrix sentences with many English words inserted in them. Alternatively, females on occasion also used Arabic matrix conversations with no English words, like one about the extinction of donkeys in Oman.

Choice of words

The learners utilized a variety of English words and expressions to address a large array of topics. However, word choice was mainly dependent on conversation topic. We noticed that the most frequent English words which occurred in Arabic conversations were technical and academic. For example, words related to courses taken or assignments, such as "presentation", "report", "test", "quiz", "lab", "assignment", occurred very frequently. But terms of endearment, greeting and encouragements also surfaced. Alfifi (2013), who explored code switching in informal Facebook interactions among bilingual Saudi females, drew similar

conclusions, observing that in English conversations, the most frequent Arabic words were those related to religion.

When two male students were talking about the cultural, economic and social aspects of Brazilians for showcasing during a planned Brazilian Cultural Day, they used technical words like "carnival", "hair extension", "customs", "studio" and "models". Also when males were talking about ETS activities, words like "workshops", "drama", and "speaking" were heard. At one point, when learners were discussing where these workshops would take place, they used cornaraat (corners) and spots (no change) and groupat (groups). In a number of cases, full phrases and sentences occurred, like "Don't worry", "Everything is going smoothly so far", "All schools kill creativity", "We should not blame them for our faults", and "Both are getting worse day by day". There were even such idiomatic expressions as "You stole my thunder", "Just like that" and "Just kidding". In conversations about academic matters, we heard "courses", "registration", "students", "Discourse analysis", "Foundation Program", "instructor", "evaluation", "semester", "evaluation", "booklet", "final exam", "lectures", "practical", "class", "assignments", "tests", "grades", "class", "poster", "section", "week five", "quiz", "workshop", "article", "meeting". Technical words included "functions", "experiment", "acceleration", "velocity", "tutorial", "projectiles" and "vectors".

As for the semantic classification of these words, EIL males used three categories - academic, technical, and miscellaneous. These included words like "class" (klaasat), "meeting", "culture day", "plagiarism", "deadline", "chapter", "surprise" (which also appeared as sabrizaat), "curriculum", "assignment", "almethod" [the methods] "assignment", "sources", "research", "CV", "computer", "debating", "handouts", "presentations", "spoon-feeding", course names (such as "Methods of Teaching"), "details", "elective course", "prerequisite", "skimming", "reading center", "peer tutoring", "session", and "vocabulary". Greeting words like "goodnight", and "congrats" were also heard.

Conversations during registration period included such words as "timetable", "transcript", "authorization", "unbelievable", "board", "class", *halayti* (in response to hello). Technical terms heard included "bif baf", "headset", "sonic", "smart phone", "keyboard", "faces" (feesat), "android", "format", "wipe cache", "home", "back-up". Miscellaneous words included "fantastic", "guy", "see you", "welcome", "bank account", "scan", "ID card", "branch", "password", "prestige", "active", "passive", "you are welcome", "anytime", "thanks so much", "colorful", "fashion", "audition", "theme" and "interesting".

Conversations on technology included words like phone, stuckat (so much stuck, facing many obstacles or hurdles), slidaat (slides), datat (data), system. Males also used [windows], [proxy address], [internet browser], [internet option] and [portal]. Whole sentences could also surface as in [click the advance], [then

check both boxes under proxy]. Females also spoke about technology, using words like [wireless], [tab], [settings] [logs], [contacts], [icon] and [plan].

Conversations about teaching practice and microteaching included technical and academic words like [portfolio], [action], [research], [study plan], [unit plan], [assignment], [psychology], [rEILection], [theories] and [cases].

Greeting words like "hello" and "hi" were very common. However, these were phonetically altered to *halaawi*, *haliwaat* (plural of hello) and *helloween* (two hellos) and *haayaat* (plural of hi). Other miscellaneous words included "Ok", "thank you", and "interesting", which was preceded by the Arabic word *waayid* meaning *"very"*, cool, tricky, welcome and dear.

In at least two conversations, foreign words which were neither Arabic nor English were observed. These included *barabar*, *goona* and *xobee* "good, fine", *tiimni gaan* "honey, darling", which are most probably borrowed from Hindi. We also recorded *biysaab* (dear brother in Hindi) in a cafeteria while the student was making an order. A male student also used "same same" which is mainly used by Omanis when talking to Hindus in Oman. Another curious word was used by a male student who said "roob"?! An Italian word also surfaced in one male"s speech. He said "Chao" meaning bye as he left for his classroom. Finally, the word *asitoun* was also recorded in a female-female conversation.

Effects of Omani Arabic on English Use

Patterns of plural formation applied to Arabic, like sound and broken plurals, were transferred to pluralizing English words in these EIL learners" conversations. When the context required a plural or dual form, they immediately made the English word fit the Arabic sentence. Resulting forms were *lectraat, claasat, mid-termiin, presentashaniin, articlat, igzaamat, practisaat, korsat, labaat, testat, greedat, quizaat, semistrin* "two semesters", *notat* "notes", *midaat* "midterms", format, *banraat wa boostraat* "logos and posters" coordinator etc. In Omani Arabic, pronouns like *–ik* or *–ish* are attached to nouns to refer to "your" And a word that kept surfacing in these school-related conversations was *greedik* ("your grade").

The Arabic definite article *al* was attached to English nouns, as in alarticle "the article". Sometimes, the whole phrase received the definite article as in [al-arabik literature], [altext], [Madat alapplied], [madat alsystem], [add alsambel], [Alshabakah down], [fialresearch] "in research".

We list a number of further observations below:
1) Males also used tankyuwaat "thanks", baybayaat "byes", hna sisteraat, delifrey "delivery", bonaatkan [your coupons] and instead of [to charger], *yetsharage* was recorded.

2) LEILaat for levels, goodation, tamaamition.
3) Elliptical words like field instead of field method, uni instead of university were also used. Deletion of half a word, like state instead of statement, as in [show me your state] also occurred.
4) Full constructions altered to sound Arabic included [yefarmatu feeh] (they are formatting it) and [feeshan] (fashion).
5) The Arabic present tense marker *ta-* was added to verbs, as in tasayif ("save"). The sound v was altered to f since Arabic lacks a v.
6) We found [wrong seed] instead of wrong side, since the vowels in Arabic are *ii, uu, aa*.
7) Nicy was found instead of nice. Arabic y was added for nisba. Style "al"teaching (word order and article).
8) Words were pronounced with a /g/ based on Omani Arabic pronunciation and serfis since, as mentioned above, Arabic does not have v sound.

Effects of English on Omani Arabic

Omani EIL learners were found to transfer their knowledge of English morphology into Arabic. To illustrate, plural and past tense markers in English were found to be attached to Arabic words in these EIL learners'' conversations. Many Arabic words were found to be pluralized using the English plural –s (e.g. the word is tamam**z** "perfect"). Other Arabic nouns took on the progressive marker –ing form, as in hamas**ing** "excitement". However, it was really intriguing to see how learners attached these markers to different lexical categories. For example, in hamas**ing**, the –ing is not attached to verbs, *modulo* to English. The derivational English suffix turning verbs into nouns was attached to nouns, as in [tartobation] "sounds good, great" and [tamamition] "sound good, great".
English words were also made to end in nonsensical suffixes, as in "OK" which ended with the suffix –ik to become [Okik], and [niceo] "nice" that attached the suffix –o.

At the phonetic level, nonexistent sounds in Arabic easily surfaced in such English words as [fife] instead of [five], since, as mentioned above, Arabic does not have the sound v.

Also at the phonetic level, we also observed that many English words were pronounced with such pharyngeal back consonants of Arabic as /ʕ/, /ɣ/, /χ/ and /q/. The word [meeting] was pronounced with a final pharyngeal sound, meetinɣ, while [group] was pronounced as "qroub" with a uvula sound, a sound nonexistent in English.

The active participle marker in Arabic ma- was attached to verbs, as in [mshaykah] "I checked", sakaashin, shakshna, homeworkaat, somehowmessage, net, lab, al system fih problem.

Both languages seemed to integrate well in the conversations of Omani EIL learners. A phrase might have two English words with Arabic connective particles, as in [schedule b al-events "schedule of the events"], or one English and another Arabic [system altaʕleem] "educational system", [saglish absent] "ħe marked you absent", [wayid interesting] "very interesting,[alcupboard] "the cupboard", [alemail] "the email", [allift] "the elevator".

Morphologically, an English noun was found attached to a plural marker and pronoun in EIL learners" conversations as in [greed**atik**] "your grades", klaaskan "your (fem. Plural) class".

Conclusion

This study reports on the use of English in Omani EIL learners' everyday lives, describing the nature of this use by delineating the recurrent type and word choices employed. We observed that learners most frequently used academic terms relevant to their courses and study at SQU in intrasentential code-switching. We also noticed a gender difference in the amount of English used in Arabic conversations. Females used more English in their Arabic interactions than males did. The study also exposed the phonetic and morphological influence of both languages on each other.

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Accents of English as a Lingua Franca: A Study of Textbooks and Tests in China

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Abstract

This study investigates the current situation of English textbooks used in Chinese senior high schools to explore whether the English textbook series provide non-native accents of English for students, and if they do, to what extent and in what kinds of situations. In addition, this study also looks into the English tests in the National College Entrance Examination (NCEE) in China to examine whether the listening sections in these English tests include non-native accents of English for test takers. Therefore, the backwash effect of tests on teaching materials was discussed. Through both quantitative and qualitative methods, this study revealed that Inner Circle accents are extremely predominant in both textbooks and tests; there is no Outer Circle accent in both textbooks and tests, and thus non-native accents only consist of Expanding Circle accents. Considering the backwash effect of tests on textbooks, it is mainly recommended that examination boards should take the initiative to change the English tests in NCEE, and that instructors' awareness and attitudes towards ELF should be refined.

Introduction

English as a lingua franca

The conventional method for teaching English as a foreign language (EFL) has attached much importance to the native speakers' behaviour, contending that students and teachers should imitate native speakers in both linguistic and cultural aspects. The language competence of native speakers has become the unique model and the ultimate goal in English learning and teaching (Rajagopalan, 2004). However, with the rapid development of English status, there are an increasing number of non-native speakers (NNSs) of English, who have outnumbered native speakers (NSs) of English worldwide (Crystal, 2003; Graddol, 1997). This phenomenon indicates that English not only serves as the

mother tongue among NSs, but also acts more as a lingua franca among NNSs. English as a lingua franca (ELF) refers to English utilised as a vehicular language by people of different language backgrounds (Kirkpatrick, 2007), and it is depicted by Mauranen (2003, p. 514) as "a new variety that emerges in situations where interlocutors do not share an L1".

From the perspective of ELF, the key function of English is to enable different people with different languages to communicate with each other. The ability to use English as a vehicular language to perform successful interactions is the ultimate goal. It is noteworthy that the communication might also involve speakers for whom English is the first or second language, even though the majority of ELF speakers are NNSs (Seidlhofer, 2004). Nevertheless, concerning English teaching, Jenkins (2002) argues that an international community should gradually replace the British or American one to become a new target community. This means that NSs should no longer serve as the yardstick with which to judge NNSs. Graddol (2006) even makes a prediction of the "death" of EFL, seeing English as a basic subject in which there should not be a standard. Yet, it is still necessary to have some norms of English in the teaching and learning of English, and ELF concept does not suggest getting rid of native varieties as norms regardless of contexts (Kirkpatrick, 2007). However, as regards accents and pronunciation, Jenkins (2000) points out the occasional inappropriateness of native models.

ELF aims to prepare NNSs to smoothly interact with other NNSs, since ELF ideology necessitates comprehending English spoken with a variety of non-native accents. Jenkins (2000) claims that English learners should have sufficient exposure to a wide range of non-native accents in order to perform successful EFL interactions. In addition to enhancing the comprehension of the accents, exposure is also called for so as to promote a broader outlook of difference. Seidlhofer (2004) also argues that English learners should be provided with a foundation for understanding both native and non-native varieties which can be fine-tuned to adjust their own English. However, Jenkins (2009) puts more emphasis on the exposure to non-native accents than that to native accents, as English learners have more opportunities to communicate with NNSs than NSs. Hence, this calls for new English teaching methodology to modify the traditional one where the native accents have dominated. If NNSs have only been exposed to native accents during their English education, it could be difficult for them to understand other NNSs. Jenkins (2000) suggests that learners should be provided with repeated exposure to different accents in order to improve their familiarity with various accents.

ELF, English teaching and materials

Although the ELF notion has received more attention and interest, the impact it exerts on English teaching practice and English teaching materials is still very limited (Jenkins, 2002). Many ESL and EFL English textbooks are still primarily concentrating on Inner Circle norms, even though a few textbooks have introduced different speakers from Inner, Outer, and Expanding Circles (Brown, 1995). Matsuda's (2003) research in Japan found that the Inner Circle varieties are still the focus of the local English textbook, and British and American varieties are the typical representation of English. In other nations such as China, this field has not gained much investigation, which is the main rationale for carrying out the current study.

Jenkins (2004) considers the authors of English textbooks as gatekeepers who often neglect the importance of ELF; most of them overlook ELF speakers in their teaching materials, despite the fact that NNSs models would be most beneficial to learners. With regard to audio materials, Jenkins (2000) points out that few published materials have included the audio recordings of speakers with various non-native accents. On the other hand, Seidlhofer (2003) claims that some textbooks include limited Outer Circle accents such as Singapore or Indian accents in order to enrich the cultural instruction.

Teachers' attitudes towards non-native accents are crucial, because they have a great influence on deciding the textbooks used for English teaching. Although ELF perspective has aroused much questioning and reconsideration about language pedagogy, many English teaching practitioners still regard NSs as the authority and criteria in their real teaching practice (Jenkins, 2007). Many studies have been conducted to investigate the identity of ELF speakers in which the participants are primarily teachers and learners of English. Interestingly, contradictory or ambiguous findings have been uncovered. Jenkins (2007) notes that teachers hold paradoxical views on ELF: on the one hand, they tend to agree on the notion of ELF; whereas on the other hand, they do not truly believe that ELF varieties are justifiable. Jenkins (2000) claims that one possible explanation for not really employing ELF notion in the actual teaching practice may be that most EFL teachers have negative attitudes towards non-native English. For instance, it is revealed that native speaker norms in teaching are preferred by both teachers and students (Timmis, 2002). It is also found by Decke-Cornill (2002, p. 261) that English teachers in Germany "felt very much compelled to teach their classes 'proper English'". Furthermore, it is found that Greek teachers of English lack awareness of the role of English acting as a global language, and hence they merely conform to the native models (Sifakis & Sougari, 2005). Jenkins (2007) points out that non-native accents have received more unfavourable attitudes from NNSs compared with those from NSs. She also indicates that the negative

attitudes are mainly due to the emotional and irrational dependence on American or British English. Jenkins's investigation also demonstrates that a number of non-native English teachers believe that a native-like accent is a significant indicator of a successful teacher.

In terms of English learners, a study carried out by Chiba, Matsuura, and Yamamoto (1995) demonstrates that Japanese students show preference for Received Pronunciation (RP) and General American (GA) compared with non-native accents of English. In addition, a study conducted by Pihko (1997, p. 51) reveals that Finnish pupils as English learners even often see non-native English accents "unsophisticated, ugly or irritating". Jenkins (2007, p. 164) also claims that "non-native speakers were unable to conceive of NNS accents as being better than or even as good as NS English accents".

Apart from the unfavourable attitudes towards non-native accents, there is another explanation for not applying ELF into practice, that is, there is a very limited amount of explanatory reference and specific instructions on ELF, so that teachers and students have little chance to become familiar with the notion of ELF (Jenkins, 2007; Seidlhofer, 2004). However, with more and more studies on ELF corpora coming out, deeper understanding about the application of ELF into practice has been gradually achieved. Furthermore, Ranta's (2010) study suggests that particularly young Finnish teachers of English have realised and accepted the lingua franca status of English worldwide, and they are trying to introduce ELF ideology to their students in their teaching practice. This may result in new attitudes towards non-native accents, and generate new pedagogical implications.

ELF and English language tests

Lowenberg (1992) points out that even though ELF ideology has attracted much attention, relatively little attention has been attached to the variability inherent in the linguistic norms for English which are generally tested. Furthermore, many researchers pertaining to English language testing seem to implicitly assume that the benchmark for English proficiency worldwide should be the norms accepted and adopted by NSs of English. Jenkins (2009) also mentions that NSs varieties, particularly British and North American ones are still the goal of teaching and testing in many parts of the world. She continues to contend that examination boards have to change their traditional ideology and create new criteria for English tests based on the notion of ELF; otherwise, little is likely to change. This means that tests have a "backwash" effect on teaching and learning: that is, teachers aim to teach and learners desire to learn the very language and skills which are tested in examinations (Hughes, 2003). "The term 'impact' is also increasingly used to describe the way a test can affect teaching, materials, and the broader learning context" (Taylor, 2006, p. 54). Hence, tests appear to be the

pivotal engine to shift people's attention from NSs model to a wider outlook of ELF. On the other hand, however, Taylor (2006) argues that there seems to be no simple linear relationship between teaching and testing, namely, teaching and learning will automatically change according to the changes of tests, because sufficient research has suggested that backwash and impact are far more complicated than this (Alderson & Wall, 1993; Saville & Hawkey, 2004).

The Current Study

The purpose of this study is to investigate the present situation of English textbooks used in Chinese senior high schools to explore whether the English textbook series provide non-native accents of English for students, and if they do, to what extent and in what kinds of situations. In addition, this study is also to look into the English tests carried out from the year of 2009 to 2013 in the National College Entrance Examination (NCEE) in China to see whether the listening sections in these English tests include non-native accents of English for test takers. Therefore, the backwash effect of tests on teaching materials will be explored.

Clarification of terms

In this study, Kachru's (1985) model is adopted to classify different English accents, namely, Inner Circle (countries with native speakers of English), Outer Circle (English as an official language) and Expanding Circle (English as a foreign language) (Kopperoinen, 2011). However, this categorisation has its limitations: as the language policies in some countries continually change, it is difficult to judge whether English serves as a second language or a foreign language (Kachru, 1985). Nowadays, there are approximately twenty nations such as Denmark which are transiting from the status of English as a foreign language (EFL) to that of English as a second language (ESL) (Graddol, 1997). Moreover, English is in effect used as the first and only language by some Outer Circle speakers, in Singapore for example (Jenkins, 2009). Another problem of this model is that it does not consider the actual linguistic performance of speakers (Jenkins, 2009). Despite these weaknesses, this model is employed since it is a useful tool for classification in this study.

  The term "native accents" is used to refer to Inner Circle accents; "non-native accents" refers to Outer and Expanding Circle accents.

Material & Method

The textbook series are called *New Senior English for China*, which are used in many senior high schools in China. There are five compulsory textbooks constituting the whole series, namely, from *Student Book 1* to *Student Book 5*. Most senior high school students have to spend three years completing the five compulsory textbooks, which aim to prepare them for the English test in NCEE at the end of their studies. Therefore, the English textbooks are designed and used for the final English test in NCEE. In this study, *Student Book (SB1)*, *Student Book 3 (SB3)* and *Student Book 5 (SB5)* which are respectively used for the first-year, second-year and third-year students were selected to analyse by listening to the tapes designed for the three books. All the audio materials, consisting of the recordings of instructions, texts, vocabularies as well as language exercises were examined. Five English tests of National Version II carried out from 2009 to 2013 in NCEE were chosen to collect data on English accents through exploring the listening sections embedded in the English tests. The audio recordings of listening sections consist of dialogues and monologues in English, whereas the instructions are in Chinese.

In this study, both quantitative and qualitative methods are adopted, whereas the former is predominant in the data analysis, since the amount of non-native accents is calculated. In addition, qualitative method is also employed to examine the situations in which non-native accents appear. Specific descriptions of accents are used to identify all the accents available in the data. Trudgill and Hannah's (2002) *International English: A guide to varieties of standard English* is adopted as the main source for identifying native accents (Inner Circle accents). Swan and Smith's (2001) *Learner English: A teacher's guide to interference and other problems* is used as the primary source for non-native accents.

Results

Overview: Inner, Outer and Expanding Circle accents

One of the most significant findings in this study is the amount of non-native accents compared with native ones. The following Figure 1 demonstrates the distributions of the Inner, Outer and Expanding Circle accents in the data. From this figure, it can be seen clearly that the Inner Circle accents are extremely

predominant in both textbooks and tests, whereas the Outer and Expanding Circle accents are very limited. More specifically, there is no Outer Circle accent in both materials, and thus non-native accents only consist of Expanding Circle accents in this study. In textbooks, only one per cent of Expanding Circle accents which are exclusively Chinese accent are found. In tests, no Expanding Circle accents are found, and all accents are Inner Circle accents
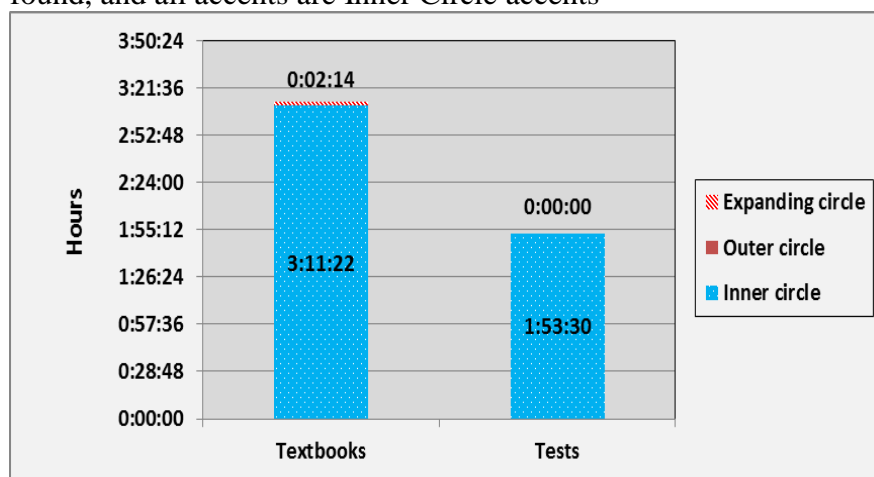
Figure 1. Inner, Outer and Expanding Circle accents textbooks and tests

Inner Circle accents in textbooks consist of RP, GA and "other variation", whereas only GA is found in tests. As the focus of this study is on non-native accents, Inner Circle accents are not discussed here further.

Contexts of non-native accents in textbooks

The very few Chinese accents of English are found in two listening exercises called "Using Language" in *SB1*. One is a situation in which a presumably Chinese student writes a letter to another Chinese (see Appendix 1). The introductory speech is as follows:

> *Read the letter that Lisa wrote to Miss Wang of 'Radio for Teenagers' and predict what Miss Wang will say. After listening, check and discuss her advice.*

Here, "Miss Wang" seems to indicate that she is a Chinese. Lisa might be a Chinese, since the audio recording of Lisa's letter is spoken with a Chinese accent of English, and also many Chinese students have their English names in learning English. However, this prediction cannot be guaranteed.

A second situation is one where a Chinese office secretary writes a letter of invitation to another presumable Chinese (see Appendix 2). The introductory speech is as follows:

> *Here is a letter of invitation. Read it carefully and imagine that you are the student who has been invited to give a speech.*

In the letter of invitation, Tangshan is a city in Hebei province, China. Thus it can be seen that the letter is sent from a place in China and also mostly sent to a Chinese student, since the instructions ask Chinese students to imagine they are the one invited to give a speech. Moreover, the signature indicates that the letter addresser is a Chinese, since it is a Chinese name. Therefore, this letter is spoken with a Chinese accent of English.

In summary, Chinese accents appear in the contexts where Chinese people and Chinese events are involved, and the non-native speakers' names in the texts provide a clue regarding the Chinese accent.

Discussion

Predominant Inner Circle accents in textbooks

The current study demonstrates that the explored textbook audio recordings have included a very few non-native accents. Yet, this does not suffice to say that ELF notion is substantially applied into the English teaching materials for Chinese senior high school students. Despite the fact that most communication in English at this present time takes place between NNSs, native accents are still holding a dominant position in most texts. It can be argued that textbooks should be revised to better mirror the real situation which students tend to face in their daily lives. Chinese senior high school students tend to use English often with NNSs such as Japanese and Korean students, because there is an increasing number of student exchange programmes between China and many non-English-speaking countries such as Japan, Korea, and Russia. Also, the communication on the Internet is rapidly growing, where most of the other participants are NNSs of English. English is mostly used as a vehicular language between Chinese students and other NNSs. Therefore, it would help familiarise students with various English accents in order to have successful EFL communication if students could be exposed to as wide a range of accents as possible during their English schooling (Jenkins, 2000).

As illustrated above, the Chinese accent of English is introduced to students, serving as the only representative of Expanding Circle accents. The recording of Chinese accent only lasts for less than three minutes, taking up approximately one

per cent of the total recordings. Hence, a question can be raised as to whether such limited extracts are beneficial to students. Of course, this is a complicated question how much exposure of non-native accents could be adequate for students. On the one hand, these extracts can be seen as useful to raise teachers' and students' awareness of other English accent varieties. On the other hand, however, it appears to be unnecessary to merely include the Chinese accent, since Chinese students are frequently exposed to this accent when communicating with their peers and teachers. One possible rationalisation for including the Chinese accent could be to offer students encouragement to bravely speak English with their own accent, which is considered significant by ELF researchers (Jenkins, 2004). Although much more other non-native accents are expected to be introduced in the textbooks, the limited amount of Chinese accent reflects a step towards ELF ideology.

As indicated above, it is a difficult question to decide how many non-native accents ought to be provided in teaching materials. According to Jenkins's (2000) argument, however, teaching materials should include more non-native accents than native ones. Specifically speaking, Outer and Expanding Circle accents should occur throughout some texts, and more examples of these accents should be offered in listening exercises. It is worth mentioning the *Unit 2 "English around the world"* in *SB1* (see Appendix 3). This unit reflects the notion of ELF, but does not sufficiently apply it into the materials. The term "World Englishes" appears in the beginning of this unit, and some different uses of words between British English and American English are covered, for example, elevator/lift, rubber/eraser, petrol/gas, in a team/on a team. As for accents, only British and American accents are found in the text recording. Interestingly, in a listening exercise, Texas English dialect is spoken in the recording of the text (see Appendix 4). However, this dialect still belongs to the Inner Circle accent. Therefore, it could be claimed that the textbook publishers were aware of the notion of ELF and aimed to introduce different varieties of English, but seemed to have a restricted understanding of ELF, believing that "World Englishes" only refer to British and American Englishes. This seems to correspond with the argument that textbooks publishers as gatekeepers do not attach much importance to ELF, and they often marginalise ELF speakers in their teaching materials (Jenkins, 2004). Furthermore, this may also reflect the claim that many textbook publishers who are often engaged in teaching have negative attitudes towards non-native accents of English (Jenkins, 2007). Hence, it has become essential to provide publishers and teachers with detailed introduction and guidance on ELF ideology and how to apply it into practice (Jenkins, 2007; Seidlhofer, 2004).

Predominant Inner Circle accents in English tests

The NCEE in China is a very high-stake achievement test, which concerns a huge number of Chinese senior high school students (Hughes, 2003). The total marks of NCEE, to some extent, determine the students' fate for their further study and career. Therefore, textbook publishers and English teachers often regard the English tests in NCEE as the benchmark in order to enhance students' ability to obtain high marks in the tests. In other words, what is going to be tested during the English tests has a profound backwash effect on what is going to be taught in the textbooks (Saville & Hawkey, 2004). Even though the textbooks have taken in some new elements of ELF, it is far from sufficient to apply ELF into the real teaching practice. As Jenkins (2006, p. 49) suggests, "it is changes in teaching which keep pace with changes in testing and not vice versa". Therefore, it could be argued that English tests exclusively with the native accents result in the textbooks with almost purely native accents except little Chinese accent. Moreover, it is very pivotal for the examination boards to have a deeper understanding of ELF and add more ELF elements in the influential English tests. It is strongly recommended that the examination boards should realise the international community of English (Jenkins, 2002) and design listening comprehension tests with various non-native accents, which subsequently would give rise to the demand for more non-native accents in teaching materials (Kopperoinen, 2011). However, examination boards should be very prudent not to create testing criteria differing only in name from their existing one; rather, they are supposed to truly realise the pluricentricity of English, the language rights and identities of various speakers in international communication (Jenkins, 2006). It could be strongly predictable that, with the development of ELF ideology, the future English teaching materials, teachers' awareness of and attitudes towards ELF would change step by step in accordance with the changes of English tests.

Conclusion

A conclusion can be drawn from the results of this study that Chinese students of English are primarily exposed to native accents of English at their senior high schools, which cannot make sure that they have a good understanding of non-native accents and conduct successful international communication. According to the ELF ideology, it can be pointed out that the present proportion of non-native accents in Chinese senior high school English textbooks is far from sufficient given the new role of English as an undeniable global language. However, it appears to be reasonable that the textbook publishers would not like to create books which do not accord with the English tests in NCEE. When considered from the backwash effect of testing, it can be claimed that English tests are where the change should begin; the status of ELF should be admitted and accepted there. Therefore, in order to change the current situation of English textbooks,

examination boards should take the initiative to change the English tests in NCEE. Nonetheless, the attitudes of textbook authors and teachers are also critical. Provided that they believe that the aims of English teaching and learning should be shaped in accordance with the ELF ideology, there would be more non-native accents on textbooks tapes.

Limitations to this study must be acknowledged. Due to the fact that three out of five textbooks and five recent English tests were selected as the samples to investigate, this small scale does not allow for findings to be generalised. It might be possible that Outer Circle accents and more Expanding Circle accents could be found in the textbooks and tests which have not been explored yet. Secondly, it was sometimes challenging to classify different tracks, as only some typical characteristics of one particular accent are discovered in some of the tracks, while RP and GA still dominate the majority of the texts. As mentioned above, these tracks were referred to as 'other variations'. Nevertheless, it is hoped that insights obtained from the findings of this study might open a door for more research on ELF in teaching materials and English testing in Chinese context. Furthermore, hopefully, this study could also contribute to raising English teachers' and examination boards' awareness of ELF, and exploring appropriate methods for well applying ELF ideology into the real teaching and testing process.

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Appendix 1

Using Language

Reading and listening

1 Read the letter that Lisa wrote to Miss Wang of *Radio for Teenagers* and predict what Miss Wang will say. After listening, check and discuss her advice.

Dear Miss Wang,

I am having some trouble with my classmates at the moment. I'm **getting along** well with a boy in my class. We often do homework together and we enjoy helping each other. We have become really good friends. But other students have started gossiping. They say that this boy and I have **fallen in love**. This has made me angry. I don't want to end the friendship, but I hate others gossiping. What should I do?

Yours,
Lisa

2 Listen to the tape and try to spell the words as you hear their pronunciation. Then divide each of the sentences into several sense groups.

1 There is nothing wrong with you and this boy _____ friends and _____ together.
2 _____ your friendship with this boy would be a _____ thing to do.
3 Teenagers like to _____, and they often see something that isn't real.
4 My advice is to _____ your classmates. That way you will _____ them that you are more _____ than they are.

3 Listen to the tape again and use the exercise above to help you answer the following questions.

1 What does Miss Wang say about their friendship?
She says that _____.
2 Why doesn't she think that Lisa should end their friendship?
She thinks that _____.
3 How does she explain why Lisa's classmates gossip about their friendship?
She says that _____.
4 What is Miss Wang's advice?
She asks Lisa to _____.

Speaking

Do you agree with Miss Wang's advice? Discuss it in small groups. You may use the following expressions in your conversation.

AGREEING	DISAGREEING
I agree. Yes, I think so. So do I. Me too.	I don't think so. Neither do I.
Exactly. No problem. Sure. Certainly.	That's not right. Yes, but ....
Of course. All right. You're right/correct.	I'm afraid not. No way. Of course not.
Good idea. I think that's a good idea.	I'm sorry, but I don't agree. I disagree.

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Appendix 2

Using Language

Reading and speaking

1 Here is a letter of invitation. Read it carefully and imagine that you are the student who has been invited to give a speech.

Office of the City Government
Tangshan, Hebei
China

July 5, 200 ___

Dear _____ ,

Congratulations! We are pleased to tell you that you have won the high school speaking competition about new Tangshan. Your speech was heard by a group of five **judges**, all of whom agreed that it was the best one this year. Your parents and your school should be very proud of you!

Next month the city will open a new park to honour those who died in the terrible disaster. The park will also honour those who helped the survivors. Our office would like to have you speak to the park visitors on July 28 at 11:00 am. As you know, this is the day the quake happened thirty-_____ years ago.

We invite you to bring your family and friends on that special day.

Sincerely,
Zhang Sha
Zhang Sha

2 Now in pairs prepare a short speech, in which you should:
- thank those who worked hard to rescue survivors and list some of the things the workers did to help them;
- thank those who worked hard to build a new city; (For example: they built new homes and offices in only seven years. The UN honoured them for their quick work.)
- thank the visitors for listening to your speech.

I would like to **express** my thanks to ... who ....
Here, I wish to express my thanks for the great efforts ....
I'd also like to thank ....
No words are strong enough to express our ....
It was terrible when ....   It seemed as if ....
I remember ....   I felt ....
Not long after that ....   Luckily, ...

* 3 Look at the stamps of new Tangshan and discuss in groups what had to be done to rebuild a city after an earthquake.

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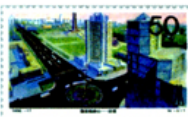
Appendix 3

Unit 2 English around the world

1 Do you know that there is more than one kind of English? In some important ways they are very different from one another. They are called world Englishes. Look at these examples. Can you understand the different kinds of English these people are using?

Let's go to the pictures!

OK. But how shall we go to the movies?

Why not go by Underground?

Er, but the subway station is far away.
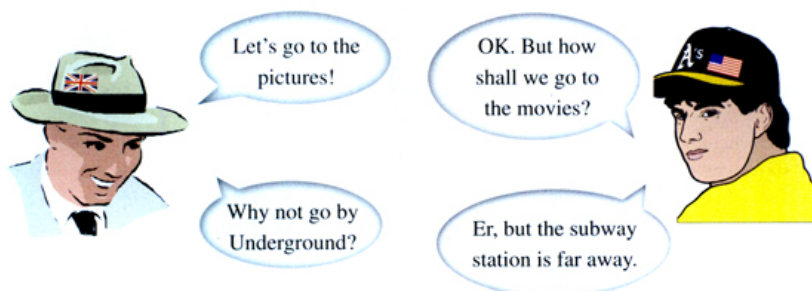
2 Guess which of the following words is British English and which is American English.

elevator / lift   in a team / on a team   rubber / eraser   **petrol / gas**

Pre-reading

1   With your partner, list the countries that use English as an **official** language.
2   Which country do you think has the most English learners?
3   Look at the title of the following passage and guess what it is about. Then read it quickly and see if you are right.

Reading

THE ROAD TO MODERN ENGLISH

At the end of the 16th century, about five to seven million people spoke English. Nearly all of them lived in England. Later in the next century, people from England made **voyages** to conquer other parts of the world and **because of** that, English began to be spoken in many other countries. Today, more people speak English as their first, second or a foreign language than ever before.

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Appendix 4

Listening

1 Before you listen, look at the picture below and read the exercises. In doing so, you can get some idea about the listening and predict the content. Discuss your ideas with your partner.

2 Imagine that you are in Houston, Texas, a city in the American South. This is an example of the local dialect. Listen and read through the text and take note of the accent and intonation.

Hey, y'all, this here is Buford. I come from a big oil town in Texas. Now, y'all need to understand that we ain't really a state, but a whole 'nother country. Now let me tell ya a story 'bout when I was just a pup. One hot summer's day I was swimmin' with my cousins Little Lester and Big Billy Bob. We was jumpin' in the water and feelin' good. Then along comes this catfish 'bout the size of a house. Well, alright, maybe a little smaller than that. Little Lester starts to thinkin' it's goin' to eat him sure 'nough. Man, you shoulda seen him! He got outta the water fast as **lightning** and climbed up a tree. Big Billy Bob and I just laughed and laughed. To this day, Lester won't go near that place.

3 Listen again and put these sentences in the right sequence.

_____ Lester climbed a tree.
_____ Buford, Billy Bob and Lester went swimming.
_____ Lester thought the catfish would eat him.
_____ Buford and Billy Bob laughed.
_____ Lester saw a catfish.
_____ Now Lester is too afraid to visit the place.

4 Answer the following questions after listening.

1 What does Buford think of Texas? How do you know?

2 How large was the catfish?

3 Why did Lester get out of the water so quickly?

4 Why did Buford and Big Billy Bob laugh?

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The Hidden Curriculum of English Language Teaching in Elite Pakistani Schools

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Abstract

This review article aims to sensitize educationists and stake holders about the hidden curriculum of English language teaching employed in the elitist schools of Pakistan. Due to its global importance, English is emphasized in all areas of school life, and local languages and culture are excluded. Research in the socio-cultural dimensions of second language teaching, shows that implicit messages and norms are internalized by the learners which serve to reinforce the dominant English discourse. English teaching methodologies, school environment and culture collude with the state's education policies to cause learners' subject construction. The study is relevant for language teaching situations where emphasis on English poses a threat to the peripheral students' identities.

Keywords: Hidden curriculum, identity, subject construction, language shift, postcolonial societies

Introduction

"Do you know your Peter and Jane, little man?" The minister asks my grandson, peering into the little face tucked in the pushchair. I had entered the ancient church in Surrey, UK, to while away the baby sitting time while my daughter attended a course. It takes me some time to comprehend, but when I do, I make out to say that in our part of the world, we have our own version of Peter and Jane, but then stop and think, do we really? Isn't what is taught in language classes mostly lessons around a Peter or a Jane or their equivalents? Earlier the same kindly minister had shown me a handmade map in which visitors from all parts of the world who had visited the ancient Evangelical Church, were depicted by strings connecting their countries to the church, which interestingly looked like tracing the historical reach of the British Empire to its colonies.

This little incident set me thinking how English has become so much part of our schools' life that the idea that any school in Pakistan can operate without English has become inconceivable, and how the innocent remark, mentioned above, masks the assumption that English language and western educational

systems are the only way to get knowledge. Of more concern for me in the Pakistani situation is how the hidden curriculum of English education creates subject positions for the non-native learners in the elitist institutions.

English education and language has continued to grow in influence and demand steadily. Coulby (2005, p.75) says: "English is increasingly becoming a compulsory subject in curricular systems worldwide". English owes its position in Pakistan to its colonial past. It is the official language and is used by the westernized, educated elite, in the domains of power and is also the medium of instruction in private schools and in higher education. Society has come to regard English as a social, economic capital, as a privileged, powerful language, which confers economic opportunities, upward social mobility and a certain snob value. There is a strong demand for English medium education. Coulby (2005, p. 75) notes: "Families all over the world invest large amounts of money to ensure that their children will acquire competence in English". A majority of the Pakistani state schools use the national language "Urdu" as the medium of instruction and interaction. These schools are cash strapped, lack basic resources and their standard of education is low (Mansoor, 2004; Rahman, 2004; Shamim, 2011). Although the standard of teaching varies a lot in the numerous English medium private schools, the elite schools which operate as chains in the major cities, are truly elitist in the sense that their fee structure is well beyond the affordability of even the upper middle class. English is the means of school interaction, local languages are banned and the whole ethos of the school revolves around English, incorporating aspects of Western culture and ideology. Stakeholders generally and educationists particularly are unaware of how the teaching of English and the denigration of local languages affect the identity of learners. Acculturisation and assimilation into the linguistic norms of English are the side effects of this education in Pakistan where English language is highly prestigious and societal attitudes regard social, economic and social opportunities to be hinged on it.

Purpose of Study

English language is ubiquitous in the education systems all over the world and the emphasis on English in all areas of school life establishes it and the accompanying culture as more valuable than local languages, identities and cultures. Research has mostly focused on pedagogical issues and the socio-cultural dimension is largely ignored, whereas the need is to see the learner as a social entity, affected by the micro as well as macrocosm of the schools and the society (Canagarajah, 1999; Pennycook, 1994). This paper explores the hidden curriculum of English language teaching in Pakistan's elite schools, to bring to light those aspects of English teaching which go unnoticed by a majority in ELT circles. This study aims to find answers to the questions as what are the

implications of English teaching; how do subtle, elusive messages impact the students, faculty, curriculum design and pedagogical practices in terms of affecting the identity and world view of learners, and is curriculum really "hidden", misunderstood or is it just ignored?

Review of Literature

The manner in which the hidden curriculum functions is one of the many controversies that abound within educational circles. The hidden curriculum constitutes all the learning, not included in the official curriculum, which takes place in school with students receiving conflicting message in the process of everyday school life. It is hidden in the sense that it is not noticed, is ignored or its implications are not debated and thus not understood. Eisner (1994) points out:

> There is something of a paradox involved in writing about a curriculum that does not exist. Yet, if we are concerned with the consequences of school programs and the role of curriculum in shaping those consequences, then it seems to me that we are well advised to consider not only the explicit and implicit curricula of schools but also what schools do not teach. It is my thesis that what schools do not teach is as important as what they do teach. (p. 79)

Dewey (1914) was the first educationist to point out the existence of the hidden curriculum as "the collateral learning of attitudes by children" at school. He brought awareness to the fact that what children learn at schools is more than the stated educational objectives of the school, and that schools serve a more basic function, which is socializing children, for good or for ill. Since Dewey, theorists and educationists have attempted to theorize this hidden, covert aspect of curriculum and have come to regard it as the locus of the greatest potential as well as the greatest risk within the child educational system. Its influence ranges from attitudes, trends and fashions current in society to the formation of basic understanding about life, values, norms and views of the world. A school can foster attitudes, prejudices and value judgments in learners which can reinforce social inequalities as well as inculcate a sense of their worth or worthlessness. It may cultivate respect, reverence and value judgment for certain subjects and languages, while devaluing others. Meighan and Siraj-Blatchford (2003) opine that the hidden curriculum is present not only in the academic part of schooling, in the subjects that are taught according to the official curriculum, but also in such seemingly neutral areas, like the timetable, the school building, teacher expectation and talk, assessment and most importantly in the language of education. Dickerson (2007) agrees that the hidden curriculum may be present in

"messages and lessons derived from the mere organization of the school, the emphasis on sequential room arrangements, the cellular, timed segments of formal instruction, the books that are chosen, teacher assignments, and even the architectural style of the school" (p. 14).

Most of recent research has conceptualized hidden curricula as necessary socializing mechanisms that shape desired behavioral outcomes. Kentli's (2009) research into the existing research in hidden curriculum theories shows that predominantly it is socializing through education which has received the attention of many critical theorists who see the hidden curriculum as reinforcing the social divisions of class, describing how hidden curricular practices provided qualitatively differential forms of schooling to students from different social classes (Apple 1982; Anyon 1980; Bowles et al., 1976; Dreeban 1967; Giroux 2001; Margolis et al., 2001). The works of Apple and others displayed the covert mechanisms through which education reproduces and legitimates unequal class, race, and gender divisions. Dreeben (1967) argues that the hidden curriculum makes the child form transient social relationships, submerging their own identities. Giroux (2009) points out that the hidden curriculum perpetuates the power dialects in society, while Bowles et al. (1976) see it as reinforcing the existing social class structure. Rahman (2002) has linked the hidden aspect of curriculum to formation of social classes, and points out the way in which class supremacy is maintained by denying people an educational system which gives them access to the elite language used in the domains of power. School norms and conventions are not recognized by people because of the supposed neutrality of the school. Another approach towards the hidden curriculum, which has not yet received much attention focuses on language of school.

Although much has been written about language teaching and language in education, it has largely been about methods and approaches in ESL, ELT and TEFL pedagogy. The recent concern of linguists such as Canagarajah (1999) and Pennycook (1994) is the social context of language teaching, and they have advanced the notion of the learner as a socially constructed being. Teaching, like any other human activity, cannot take place in a vacuum. In the microcosm, it is constantly formed and informed by the personality and background of the teacher and the learner, and by the classroom milieu. In the macrocosm, it is influenced by the socio-cultural environment of the teaching situation and the overall global context.

Hidden curriculum of language teaching

Many post-colonies, Pakistan included, have retained English as the official language after independence. This policy has implicated it in the power dialectics of society, in the distribution of resources and opportunities. This domination of

English has been facilitated by colonialism and it is not, as generally believed, a recent outcome of globalization. However, globalization and the internationalization of education have impacted curriculum designing, policies of language, research and education, at the national level, in which the domination of English plays a significant role. Coulby (2005) argues that globalization does affect "the conceptualization of valuable knowledge in each society and help in construction of social subjects at the local level and inscribe perceptions of what is worthy knowledge or culture, what should be learned at schools and what should be dropped" (pp. 76-77).

The hidden curriculum of English language teaching in non-native societies has been explored by a number of linguists (Ashcroft, 1995; Canagarajah, 1999; Phillipson, 1992), who see ELT as the English speaking powers' project to make English the international lingua franca as a design to establish their linguistic hegemony over the world. Ashcroft et al. (1995, p.425) explain how former colonies are influenced through provision of "established curricula, syllabuses and set texts, but more importantly, through formation of basic attitudes to education itself to both its role within particular nations and cultures." Canagarajah (1999) points out how the school shapes the consciousness of the learners by distributing the cultural practices of the dominant groups as the norm. Students who are educated to acquire this cultural capital would grow up to justify and serve the interests of the dominant groups. Because of the perceived neutrality of the school, the subordinate groups imbibe the school culture without recognizing its biased and partisan nature, and thus, participate in their own domination. Phillipson's (1992) links ELT to neocolonialism, contending that the British and American government policy since the mid-1950s has been to establish English as the universal second language. He relates the teaching of English to British and American policies of establishing their hegemony, mostly over those countries which were former colonies, and argues that these policies are made at the highest level. Policy making related to education and the business of ELT, are viewed in conjunction with trade, business and foreign policies (p. 152).

Language assumes a great significance in schooling because everything which is learnt is through language, is, linguistically realized. In the school situation two-third of the activity is language based. The class is a language-saturated environment. Walker and Meighan (2003) cite Flanders (1970) and Stubbs (1976) as saying: "For us teaching and learning typically comprise linguistic activities such as lecturing, explaining, discussing, telling, questioning, answering, listening, repeating, paraphrasing, and summarizing" (p. 148). They demonstrate the working of the hidden curriculum of language teaching from the perspective of the content of the language text, the style, the unequal distribution of class time between teacher and student. With reference to continued exposure to these hidden messages, Meighan and Siraj-Blatchford (2003) note:

In accepting allegiance to a particular form of speech and expression, children are made vulnerable to fairly persistent social attitudes to different modes of language usage as they come into contact with other speech communities. These arise from the fact that, in learning language, we also learn ideas about what constitutes appropriate usage in different contexts, and on the basis of this... we learn how to use our understanding of language and appropriateness as a basis for ordering our impression of others. (p. 152)

In the Pakistani context, a lot of emphasis is put on speaking English in school. In some institutions the use of the national language Urdu or the local languages is strongly prohibited (Rahman, 1999). In elitist education the immersion method of using English is based on this perception. The overall trend in society is to hold English as the symbol of power, prestige and opportunities. This attitudinal aspect is reflected in teachers' class practices, attitudes and the language they use, conveying the notion that the use of English language is more important than the individual student's intelligence or intellect, as reflected in the content of his/her work. Basil Bernstein's (1971) concept of elaborated and restricted code is helpful in understanding how learners of the less prestigious languages can become excluded from benefiting from educational opportunities. He drew attention to the fact that children are acutely conscious about the lack of prestige of their own language, and situations in which this is reinforced affects them negatively. Minority language learners, feel marginalized because of not sharing the more prestigious language with their teachers and peers. "Because elaborated code is used predominantly at school, and because the ability to use it is necessary for the formation of certain concepts which are important in the educational setting, a child with no access to elaborated code will be unable to succeed academically at school" (Malmkjoer, 1992, p. 252). Malmkjoer establishes the link between assimilation and the language in education, as academic achievement hinges upon competency in that language and sometimes becomes instrumental in creating inferiority and marginalization of the minority linguistic groups. The notion of "proper" usage compels learners to make value judgments about others, because of the hidden messages underlying the school language. Margolis et al. (2001) look at the functional, Marxist perspective of the hidden curriculum and conclude that schools privilege students who speak English: "They endorse and normalize particular types of knowledge, ways of speaking, styles, meanings, dispositions and world views" (p. 8).

Hussain (personal communication, April 5, 2005) sees the hidden curriculum of English language teaching in Pakistan as based on and manifested

in the differentiated system of education. English is taught as a subject in the primary state schools where the medium of instruction is Urdu or one of the regional languages. These cash strapped, under resourced schools teach English in a way that learners cannot use English for any instrumental or functional purpose. The elites send their children to the expensive, English medium, private schools for the primary education. When it comes to getting admissions in higher education in state and private institutions, English is made the criteria for selection. The English medium competitors have an advantage over their Urdu-medium counterparts because of their superior language skills in written exams and interviews. Thus, the state policies of language collude with institutional practices to spew imbalance in distribution of society's resources, using English as the divider.

Identity constructions and subjectivity

Language is an important component in identity formation, as it provides the means by which the individual knows the "self" as contrasted with the "other", giving a sense of security and belongingness through the shared group language. Besides imparting views of the self and construction of identity, languages are used for establishing dominant ideologies. The teaching discourse can thus become an important vehicle for assimilation and acculturalization into dominant ideologies when employed for language pedagogical purposes. Althusser (1970) has pointed out this process through his theory of *interpellation* for subject construction. For him ideological state apparatuses such as church, education, and police interpellate subjects i.e. these apparatuses "call people forth" as subjects to perpetuate ideology (in Easthope & McGowan, 1992). The concept of interpellation as used by Althusser is useful in describing how the subject is located and constructed by specific ideological and discursive operations, particularly through formations such as literary discourse.

Lacan (1992) calls language a pre-existing means of signification which provides the means of naming oneself and the world at large. If the individual's own reservoir of words does not concur with the reality, it is inevitable that you subscribe to the view offered by the dominant or influential language. Cobley and Jansz (1997) comment:

> For Jacques Lacan, this is a crucial factor in demonstrating how the human subject is at once divorced from his/her means of representation, but at the same time is constituted as a subject by that means of representation... In order to become a subject and be able to refer to him/herself in the social world, the human being must enter into and acquire the pre-existing means

of signification. In this way, Lacan sees the human subject as dominated by, the signifier, or more accurately, the differences in "language". (p. 82)

In the context of foreign language learning, the denial of the mother tongue and immersion into the target language, forces the learners to use and enter to some degree into the signification system of that language.

Baker and Jones (1998) have examined the issue of identity and subject construction in bilingual situations. They see all related issues of language domination and shift, language death, and identity and world view formations as leading to assimilation into the dominant culture. Identity is essentially subjective, a self-perception of the individual and depends on "people attributing to themselves an identity with a group that collectively expresses historical rootedness and continuity of culture" (p. 121). An opposing position is seen in Wright's (2004) view about people wanting to assume another identity in order to transcend group identity and for self-actualization. This is relevant in the Pakistani context, where the educated identity offered by the use of the prestigious English language is assumed by speakers of lower social statuses and less prestigious languages. Mansoor (1993) points out that female students, whose mother tongue is Punjabi, a language which is regarded as a low prestige language, aspire to assume an English speaking identity in their efforts for empowerment in a society which generally denies equal rights to females.

In the area of critical applied linguistics, Pennycook (2001) examines the way language works in the class and how majority TESOL teachers view the non-native learner in culturally fixed terms. Drawing on the work of Susser (1998), he says that these learners are viewed in terms of S*tereotyping, Essentializing* and *Othering* (terms borrowed from Edward Said) and not as bringing their own culture to the classroom. He says that, "Engagement with particular languages and cultures must also be about identity formation. Identity and subject construction are constantly being produced in the position people take upon discourse" (p. 145)

Assimilation

Baker and Jones (1998) show how language is a crucial factor in literacy because everything which is learnt is linguistically realized, pointing out that literacy in the dominant language sometimes means that cultural groups have to give up their own heritage culture and language, and adopt the culture of the dominant language. This assimilation can be explicit, implied or concealed language. When learners are required to operate only in the majority language, explicit assimilation can be seen, whereas in implied assimilation, special needs of learners are addressed through that language. In concealed assimilation, minority

languages learners may be instructed in the majority language and it would be the criteria to judge success.

In the Pakistani context, the elite schools use the methodology of immersion for English teaching based on what we have called "concealed" assimilation. As English is the language of instruction and interaction, it acts hegemonically to establish assimilation of learners. Those learners who have a low ethno-linguistic vitality as will be assimilated more rapidly in the dominant language. It has been pointed out that "immersion programs are likely to yield positive results for vernacular speakers in Pakistan who do not strongly value their own language" (Swain, as cited in Mansoor, 2005). State policies in Pakistan which have installed English as the official language are seen as following what Mansoor calls an "assimilationist policy" especially in the elite schools, in which the students do not use Urdu or the other regional languages, and as a result are rapidly becoming subtractive bilinguals. Phillipson (1992) sees the connection between education and the language-in-education policies and explains that the five ELT tenets of ELT— immersion, more the better, native teachers, exclusion of mother tongues etc, to achieve the best results in English acquisition—play a crucial role in assimilation of non-native learners into English.

The Elite Schools of Pakistan

The elite schools are a product for the demand for English medium education by the more affluent section of Pakistani society. They differ from the majority, state – run schools in the amount of English which is taught and used in communication within the class and in social interaction; in the medium of instruction, and in terms of human and material resources. The curriculum, administration, assessment, pedagogical practices and the physical environment work to put value on English by installing it as the coveted language. Local languages are banned from use.

Administration of schools

The administration of the elite schools of Pakistan presents an interesting picture in terms of its working and the way it is indicative of the socio-psychological trends of Pakistani society. In order to be successful, a typical Pakistani elite school has to be associated with a famous personality, a political, feudal or important government functionary, either as a patron, owner, or as a member of the governing body, even if this is limited only to the name of the institution. The association of these institutions with privilege and power is therefore established. This ensures the good reputation of the institution and also its smooth functioning in future, with powerful people at the back to take care of

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any potential problems. Then the school must have a foreign head, usually a Native English speaker, a US, UK or Australian national. One such individual professed candidly, in an informal discussion that it was her "white skin", which got her the job of principal, in an up-coming elite junior school in Karachi, and not her educational credentials or work experience. Having a native speaker's linguistic competency in English is the criterion for measuring professional competency in local academia rather than any academic qualification or experience. For the local component of the faculty which also belongs to the elite strata of society, the foreign principal becomes the role model and mentor. Rahman (2002, p. 39) says: "Formal training of teachers seems to me to be far less important than their command of the (English) language". These schools guard the academia from infiltration from the lesser elite. The school staff of these schools forms a close, esoteric group, which excludes others on such grounds as not having the same accent or not hailing from similar backgrounds, either educational or social. It is an "exclusive club" from which the "others" are excluded. Docker (1995, p. 445) calls this guarding the values of the anglocentric faculty. His observation about Australian teachers can be applied to Pakistani teachers of the elite schools:

> The strength of neocolonialism works through Australians who have internalized anglocentric assumptions, and who propagate them in their teaching.... striving to be what they cannot be, …. revealing a delusive yearning for a metropolitan possession of a thousand-year history of literary culture. (p. 445)

He says that this is especially true of ex-colonies. The colonial pattern of administration has been maintained in elite institutions and there is a continued reliance on expatriate teachers. The policy of "guarding" the anglocentric faculty is also reflected in the admission policy of these schools. Because of the wide demand for elitist education the schools can have their pick from the huge number of applicants, through the admission interviews. One school in Karachi refused admission on the grounds that the children were to come to school in a hired transport. In another, children who come from joint family system were denied admission. This obviously implies that clientele of a certain economic class is preferred. Individuals who fall outside that socio-economic bracket are refused admission. As such these institutions act as "elite closures" (Wright, 2004, p. 80) for those who fall outside a certain economic and social parameter.

Content of the textbook

The curriculum prepares students for entering the British O' and A' levels

examination system with textbooks that are predominantly meant for a western readership. English textbooks are compiled for a Western school-child readership and present a western worldview. An average English textbook would contain 90% of its material based on western societies, drawn from the literary classics, and contemporary fiction. The 10% smattering of themes based on African or Asian societies are seen from a western perspective (See for example, 'Stepping Forward' Textbook). Although some books have been reprinted with Pakistani names for the characters, yet, says Rahman, the content is based on themes, characters, conflicts and solutions situated in the western context. Students are rarely invited to interact with the text and find parallels with their own lived reality:

> The text socializes a child into English-speaking Western culture. Children read such classics as "Lorna Doone", "Little Women", "Wuthering Heights", "Tom Browns School days", and so on. The world portrayed here is Western, middle class, and successful… The overwhelming message of the text is liberal and secular. (Rahman, 2004, pp. 38-39)

The curriculum of English language teaching, which is followed in the elite schools, is predominantly based on literary material. Parallels can be seen between this practice and the courses of literature used in pre-partition period, with its emphasis on classical works of English literature (Viswanathan, 1995). Teaching of all the language skills are conducted around the text. Listening entails listening to the foreign voice and accent. Speaking activities involve role plays, recitations, speeches etc. English is the medium of classroom and peer interaction in all aspects of school time. Though English language teaching is of a much better standard here, but this is achieved by exclusion of the students' mother tongue.

Teaching methodologies

The English literary texts are reinforced through the teaching methodology. In Pakistan it is mostly the lecture method which inhibits learner participation and class discussion. Individual and independent responses are not invited. If at all invoked, students' responses are based on their observations from television viewing and from the Internet which only serves to reinforce the prescribed text's message, due to Western domination of world media, rather than allowing fresh perspectives and insights. Texts are reinforced and internalized by teaching methodologies of role plays and 'learning by heart' (Ashcroft, 1995, p. 426), especially in the private schools where the school environment encourages this. All this entails that learners who study literary texts, will be exposed exclusively

to views and perspectives based on the Western world views and philosophies.

In the Pakistani elite school system the English class is one in which the students are already proficient speakers in the target language. By the time a student reaches grade eight he has gained competency in all language skills. In the English class, however, the actual teaching of the literary text poses problems for both the teacher and the learners. This is because of the disturbing gap which exists in the unfamiliar context of the teaching item and the real-life context of the learning situation. For the teacher, the only option is to teach the text on the surface level of meaning and not to probe too deeply the underlying messages. Because of their own perceptions about the superiority of the English text, the teachers ignore what are essentially the logocentric assumptions implicit in it. Reading of the text is followed by giving the critics' views about it, which are mostly based on viewing literary works within a universalist paradigm which is held to be applicable for all times and ages. The students' response, if at all evoked, is adjusted to suit this normative view. This positivist orientation allows only the stereotyped themes of universality of human suffering, the plight of modern man, of peace, to be critiqued. Real-life issues, such as conflicts of race, gender, and class are often overlooked. These issues are present in every language class, as pointed out by Kramsch (1993). Besides the educational discourse, the political and ideological discourses are always present in any language teaching situation. The teachers themselves have been trained to deal with literary texts without being judgmental. Kramsch says that to teach a literary text effectively, teachers have to get in touch with themselves as readers first. Only then they will be able to teach their students how to respond individually to a text. Most language teachers refrain from making their own response explicit is because of the fear of indoctrinating their students and there is "a resistance to exploring social and physical differences for fear of generating stereotypes" (1993, p. 93). Mukherjee (1995) stresses the need for the teacher to encourage and involve the learners to interpret the texts and find the realities of "power, class, culture and social order and disorder" (p. 450), so that they will not use the universalist appeal of the text as an excuse to eliminate the conflict. Canagarajah (1999) adds to this argument by distinguishing pedagogical practice under two broad labels: Critical Pedagogy (CP) and Mainstream Pedagogy (MP). He draws out inherent differences between the two approaches, particularly in the way MP treats knowledge as "preconstructed" and "value-free", and CP treats it as "negotiated" and "ideological". Thus, from the CP perspective learning is closely related to the power structure of society and shapes the learners' world view and ideology. He states:

> Since mainstream pedagogues assume that learning is value free, pragmatic
> and autonomous, they can practice teaching as an innocent and practical

activity of passing on correct facts, truths, and skills to students. Even if the teacher does not sympathize with the 'facts', he or she could function as the uninvolved intermediary, and transmit them to the students. For CP, however, teachers have the ethical responsibility of negotiating the hidden values and interests behind knowledge, and are expected to help students to adopt a critical orientation to learning. (Canagarajah, 1999, pp.15-17)

Assessment also places value on English proficiency. Question papers are compiled and checked by these universities. "The assurance of quality is provided by the fact that students must measure up to the yardstick that the overseas boards provide" (Hoodbhoy 1998, p. 20). Rahman (2004) argues that products of the elite schools are more westernized than other Pakistani children and are alienated from indigenous cultural realities. They believe "in liberal-humanism and democratic values" but are generally unaware and unsympathetic of the aspirations of their compatriots and indeed "look down upon most things indigenous." His research establishes the fact that this system is affecting their worldview. A. Hussain (personal communication, April 5, 2005) says that basically it is the literary content, that is, stories, novels and poetry, which although contributes in making the English syllabus better, when added to other variables, contributes in alienating learners from local issues and realities. The English teacher of the elite school, conscious of the ranking and reputation of the school gives the students a picture of the foreign culture with no attempt to present the foreign culture depicted in the text, in juxtaposition to the native culture or the learners' social reality. The underlying dominant cultural message of the text is internalized in its entirety, and the role of the teacher becomes that of the transmitter of the dominant cultural and social world view impounded in the text.

Language of the classroom

The language of classroom interaction is English. While most of the students bring their own repertoire of English skills to the class, it is assumed that all should be able to use English. Those hailing from families where regional languages are used are under pressure from peers and teachers to conform to the language of schools. The language and content of the textbook removes the content away from application to real-life. Even if the meanings of the terms are explained, for the students it is apart from its real-life utility. The use of an unfamiliar language, which is removed from everyday life and its concerns, creates hurdles for the learner to formulate knowledge.

In the language class as well as in other classes, communication is restricted to speaking English, with the teacher doing most of the talking to explain the purpose of activities, eliciting responses from the student and then giving

feedback to them. The teacher might be tempted to give preference to those pupils who use English to communicate, as they conform to that of the teacher's practice, ignoring those who cannot. This can influence the development of pupil identities. For Walker and Meighan (2003), the school language contains hidden messages in its form and content, which impact learners' ideologies, identity, world views and understanding of reality. Yet, they feel that the teacher does have "considerable power under their direct control" (p. 166) to avoid these negative aspects of learning. Furthermore, the language used gives ready-made explanations of reality and the world. So the learner, in acquiring the language as a means of communication, cannot simply learn it as neutral sign system. In the process of learning, he/she has to take on the values and subscribe to the world views, judgments and attitudes of a particular society, which have become encoded in the language, through centuries of transmission of its cultural heritage. Walker and Meighan (2003) say that learning a language means that we are exposed not only to predetermined definitions of the world, but also to predetermined explanations of it. This aspect of learning a language serves the purpose of conformity to a standard, which prepares learners to assume roles for immediate and future stages in life. These positivist explanations and views, embedded in language, invite the learner to subscribe to its philosophy, instead of encouraging him to explore his own understanding or experience using language.

A more positive approach for teachers is to help students to ask questions about the content of the text and to enable linguistically less-advantaged groups to find the hidden assumptions of superiority impounded in literary texts. Fairclough (2001) advocates the use of Critical Language Study (hereafter CLS) in language education in schools, as a "significant objective" (p. 193).This effort to understand curriculum as symbolic representation defines the hidden curriculum because educators must look deeper into the hidden agendas that control many educational policies and social parameter.

It is interesting to note that in Pakistan, the method of dispensing English is based on a different philosophy. Elite education is made so expensive that it is economically beyond the reach of the common man, and by emphasizing the cultural aspect of the language, a further differentiation is created between the two streams of education. This hidden agenda ensures the maintenance of the social and economic status quo, and English is therefore taught in a way which excludes the majority. Incorporating English in all areas of school-life cannot be achieved in the state-run schools and this is the basic difference of these two systems of education.

Extra-curricular activities

Some of the aspects of the hidden curriculum might be conscious, being a part of the whole infrastructure of the school, while others could be unconsciously imparted, through attitudes and practices prevalent in the school environment. For example, the physical environment created in the schools can be seen as reinforcing the hidden curriculum. As you enter the school, you find on the information board, news, quote of the day, and important announcements, all in English. The history charts display the start of civilization showing the essentially western depiction of historical epochs, the stone-age, the bronze age, the iron age etc. implicitly suggesting that only the western countries represent the history of mankind. Similarly, the practice of observing a few minutes silence to pay respect to a departed important figure is again borrowed from western norms. Extra-curricular activities reinforce and establish the teaching methodology used in the class. Learners participate in role plays, dramas and recitals. The learner remembers the English text by heart and practices it repeatedly to get it right. Frequently, recorded versions of plays and stories are viewed to achieve correct pronunciation, gestures, tones, etc. Costumes are made to fit the requirements of the character. In short, the learner depicts as close a replica of the character as possible. Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin's (1995) interesting comment on this type of activity is enlightening:

> Technologies of teaching strongly reinforce (such) textual representation. The reciting of poetry, dramatic set-pieces or prose passages from the works of English writers was not just a practice of literary teaching throughout the empire — it was also an effective mode of moral, spiritual and political inculcation. The English 'tongue' (and thus English literary culture and its values) was learned "by heart": a phrase that captures the technology's particular significance. …. Texts as a number of cultures recognize, actually enter the body, and imperial education systems interpellate a colonialist subjectivity not just through syllabus content... but through internalizing the English text, and reproducing it before audience of fellow colonials. Recitation of literary text thus becomes a ritual act of obedience, often performed by a child before an audience of admiring adults. (p. 426)

Eminent Pakistani educationist, A. Hussain (personal communication, April 5, 2005) draws attention to the fact that the hidden curriculum is manifested in the implicit norms of behavior and speech, which children pick up and assimilate without being told explicitly to do so. He says that in the elite schools, if the children are organizing a concert, it is more likely to be an adaptation of a Shakespeare or Oscar Wilde play whereas in the state-run schools, it would be a

nationalistic theme. In an elite school of Islamabad, nineteen out of twenty events organized during a cultural programme were based on western classics and fairy tales. Only one depicted a local theme, *Mughal* Emperor Akbar's *darbar* (court) showing dancing girls and music. Dramatizing extracts from the current best-seller, the *Harry Potter* series and from the film, "Sound of Music" are popular activities. Cartoon characters are acted and presented in charades, recitals, parades and musicals. Such dramatization and recitations provide students with opportunities to assume a role in the semblance of a real-life situation. Ashcroft's (1995) views can be seen to be in agreement with what Plato in his *Republic* had said centuries ago about the dangers of drama in submerging of identities and in transforming individuals, through emulating characters.

Besides these uses of literary texts, the cultural activities carried out in these schools too have a western emphasis as celebrations like Christmas, New Year, Halloween, and Valentine's Day are highlighted. The emphasis on these cultural activities is in contrast to the low priority accorded to national days, historic and religious occasions. Even if the school does not officially organize an event, the students are encouraged by the media hype to participate by the overall atmosphere. Wright (2004) says that, "written and audio-visual media provide the English language learner with the cultural connotations associated with certain lexical terms…, with the social norms of communication of US society"(p. 154). Keeping this proviso in mind, it is possible to argue that language borne cultural activities in which language plays a significant part are more effective in carrying the culture of the language which is being used and have implications on learner's subjectivity. Wright (2004) argues that "language borne" cultural products are more effective in influencing identities and ideologies, "Where one learns enough of another language to consume another society's cultural product, there may not be easy coexistence with the home-grown culture, if language development in the mother tongue suffers as a consequence. There may be a zero sum effect where one is developing literacy in another language and not developing literacy in the mother tongue" (p. 154). The elite schools' policy of banning the mother tongue from the school environment, and total immersion in English can account for the western orientation of these students.

Conclusion

The private English elite schools operating in Pakistan are the result of the state's language policy and societal perception about the value of English. The curriculum, teachers, administration and working of these institutions work to establish English as the valued language. This is open for anyone to see. What is not understood or perhaps ignored is how this massive immersion into English moulds identities, world views and values. The social spaces of the classroom,

communication and interaction in English, teaching technologies and discourse reinforce the implicit ideological content and superiority of the western knowledge system. In the haste to equip our students with the language of wider communication and prestige, we overlook the downside of ELT.

As language is implicated in identity and ideology formulations, the dominant language works to inculcate a single identity and culture, philosophy and ways of apprehending reality and truth. The teaching texts present the western lived reality and help in establishing a Eurocentric orientation in the class which is absorbed by the non-native learners along with its underlying assumptions of superiority and power. Due to the massive prestige of English and the normative, universalist aspect of Western discourse and accompanying pedagogies result in submerging local identities in the second language class.

Encompassed within the global and local context, English is a coveted language for students. Private, elitist education has been successful in achieving its objective of producing speakers of English who are accurate, fluent and confident in the L2. But how this emphasis on English affects their subjectivity and identity is still an under researched area. We need to think more critically about what we really want to achieve through the English education at schools and whether teaching of a prestigious foreign language erases local languages and identities.

The study brings awareness about a very crucial aspect of language teaching that goes beyond pedagogical issues and includes socio-political dimensions of teaching English as a foreign language, which has largely been ignored in the ELT field. I believe that the study is relevant for all those learning situations where English is taught at the expense of local languages, particularly in the post-colonial societies. It points directions for pedagogical practices to incorporate diverse perspectives and critical approaches into teaching English for evoking students' responses and inviting alternate terms of references. Inclusion of the national and regional languages in the curriculum will be instrumental in broadening the vision of learners, instead of a narrow concept of knowledge and reality. Combined with a critical pedagogy, this will help in bringing awareness about the power dialectics of language, will reduce the negative effects of teaching English by excluding the mother tongue, add to learners' linguistic repertoire, and will help in retaining local identities and subject positions.

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The Role of Neutral Projecting Frames in the Quest for Media Objectivity

Warren Hancock

Abstract

This article explores the textual properties of arguably one of the most influential textual domains in contemporary society; that of mass-media discourse. Within this genre, it examines English-language hard news media reports from the United States, Great Britain and Australia focussing on the concepts of objectivity within this domain. Drawing inspiration from White's (2001, 2002a) and Martin's (2000, 2004) heteroglossic engagement perspective, and Halliday's (1978, 1994) semiotic theory and model of transitivity, this paper examines a range of linguistic mechanisms employed within the genre of hard news. In particular it focuses on the linguistic resources of the so called neutral projecting clauses of attributed messages and the ways that reporters can indirectly convey attitudinal positions and engagement using these neutral mechanisms. The analysis shows that even with these so called neutral attribution framers it is still possible through semantic and linguistic means for reporters to adopt stances, to construct textual personas and to manage interpersonal positioning and relations within the genre of objective hard news.

Introduction

It is commonplace for newspapers to contain more or less distinct register categories like news, leading editorials, sports, feature stories among many others. These are normally divided into categories of *hard news* and *soft news*[1]. Among these, hard news reporting has been studied intensively by academics especially those from within the field of mass communication (for a review of this literature, see Cottle, 2003; Schudson, 1989; Tuchman, 2002). The hard news category has also attracted the attention of linguists and social discourse analysts within the fields of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) with research ranging from *global* organization of news, such as thematic and schematic structure (Van Dijk, 1980); orbital structure, (Iedema, Feez, & White, 1994,1997); syntactic and local semantic level of discourse (Fowler, Hodge, Kress, & Trew, 1979; Fairclough,1989; Fowler, 1991); rhetorical features of sentences and sentential connections (Chen, 2005; Chilton,1994).

There is some consensus among researchers as to the general social, semantic and functional load of hard news stories. They are generally seen as the prototypical news event: stories of considerable public events which have

significance for large numbers of people and tend to be very timely and immediate and are time-bound to immediacy (Rodríguez, 2006, p. 150). Patterson (2000) explains that hard news is the "coverage of breaking events involving top leaders, major issues, or significant disruptions in the routines of daily life, such as an earthquake or airline disaster" (p. 3). Ochi (2006) considers this form of discourse field-oriented because of its social purpose, describing and chronicling events. White (2009, p. 30) goes into more detail on this point and describes it as events which are typically associated with material (disaster, riot, terrorist attack) and communicative (speech, interview, report, press release) happenings.

Media institutions generally identify objectivity as one of the main characteristics of hard news reports (Jacobs, 1999; Sleurs & Jacobs, 2005; White, 2009). Mindich (1998) terms the "ethic of objectivity" as the defining feature of modern journalism and that neutrality is key components of this notion of *objectivity*"(p. 22). White (2009) explains that it is this type of text that "... journalistic institutions assert the objectivity of their discourse" and claim that these "... are free of any of the journalistic author's own opinions and perspectives" (p. 30). Consequently, hard news can thus be seen as embodying the concepts of seriousness, timeliness and objectivity.

However, these observations only attend to the easily observable features of text and function. Boukes and Boomgaarden (2012) criticise the general perception that hard news is "the serious, enlightening kind of journalism that enhances democracy" arguing that this view tends to neglect "...the magnitude and complexity of (hard) news" (p. 23). Van Dijk (2001) and Gamson (2002) both observe that the basic communicative purpose of hard news stories is not only to inform but more specifically, to convince the reader of the true value of the information supplied. This tension between informative and persuasive objectives results in the   interdiscursivity of news and promotional discourse (Catenaccio, 2008*).* White (1997) agrees with the notion of interdiscursivity explaining that far from being objective, hard news discourse is actually riddled with "... lexis which encodes a sense of intensity or heightened involvement by the author" (p. 108) He goes on to say that this lexis "... positions the reader to view the events or statements described as significant, momentous or emotionally charged" (pp. 108-109).

White is not alone in his observations. While the notion of "objectivity" is construed in discussions of media reporting (e.g., Bell, 1991), most media discourse research has identified ideological biases in the language of news in various ways (e.g., Bell, 1991; Bell & van Leeuwen, 1994; Butt, Lukin, & Matthiessen, 2004; Fairclough,1995; Fowler, 1987; White, 2009). Fowler (1987) makes the point that there is no neutral representation of reality: "It is not simply a question of objectivity on one hand, and bias on the other" (p. 67). White (2009)

explains that the ways that hard news texts are slanted is a reflection of their "... author's own social identity, ideological position and communicative objectives" (p. 31). This tension between news reporting and its "objectivity" is explained by Fairclough (1995a, pp. 103-104) as a rhetorical effect, for example, what is foregrounded and what is backgrounded, and what is made explicit or implicit. Iedema et al. (1994) note that this "rhetorical effect" neutralises the ideological biases in hard news where, traditionally, using overtly evaluative meanings is to some degree constrained. That is, it functions to background the selective role of the author's voice in the text and to give a perception of neutrality. Iedema et. al (1994) further explain

> the "impartiality" or the "factuality" of a text are not measures of the degree to which it accurately reflects reality - as human subjects we use language to construct rather than reflect reality - but measures, rather, of the success of the text in presenting its underlying set of value Judgements and ideologically informed responses as "natural" and "normal", as fact rather than opinion, as knowledge rather than belief. (p. 4)

Literature Review

One of the most pervasive features of hard news texts is the reporting of what was said. As most news is "what people say more than what people do" (Bell, 1991, p. 53), reporters make frequent use of reported speech to recontextualise into the media text all manner of accusations, criticisms, demands and claims from all manner of people. After all, as Cappon (1982) observed, "News, to a remarkable degree, is what people say and how they say it" (p. 79). As such reported speech is a pervasive feature of news text and has fascinated discourse analysts from a wide range of linguistic approaches, who have attempted to discern its specific characteristic and general functions.

One of the major themes in the study of reported speech in news discourse is the relationship between source selecting and power relations in society. White (2006, p. 58) summerizing up the available research in this area notes that "Many analysts, as a counter to such a characterisation, have noted that the very act of selecting a source and a particular sub-selection of their words for inclusion in the report carries with it evaluative and ultimately ideological consequences." Van Dijk's (1991) study of racism in Europe certainly supports this hypothesis. His research showed that media tendency to marginalize ethnic minorities, and media bias in the coverage of ethnic affairs is reflected in its selection of sources and quotation patterns. Another study by Teo (2000) of two Sydney-based newspapers' reports of a Vietnamese gang in Australia also found that quotation patterns can function ideologically to further disempowers the powerless — the poor, the young,

the uneducated, etc. — by backgrounding their opinions and perspectives. But access to the Press is not only socio-economically determined. Research by Caldas-Coulthard (1993) into gender bias media coverage found that news texts are basically oriented to a male audience and exclude women from the speaking position.

The relationship between reported speech and discourse manipulation is found not only in who gets quoted but also in how attributed material is framed and projected. The Glasgow University Media Group (1980, p. 163), focussing on British TV news, argue that media's presentation of the speech correlates with the status of the speaker; that is, the more elite the speaker, the more verbatim the presentation is likely to be. Fairclough (1988, p.1) looking at the issue from a critical perspective argues that the reporting of what was said is "representation of speech" instead of a "transparent report of what was said or written [because] there is always a decision to interpret and represent" what was supposedly said. There is general consensus among researchers towards Fairclough's words. Bakhtin (1981, p. 330) notes, prior words are "transmitted with varying degrees of precision and impartiality (or more precisely, partiality)." Caldas-Coulthard (1994) also believes that "No speech representation is objective or simply neutral. … Sayings are transformed through the perspective of a teller, who is an agent in a discursive practice" (p. 307). Kress (1985) explains that this is because a reporter is a social agent "located in a network of a social relation" (p. 5) and has a specific place in a social structure, reflecting its values. As such her/his texts will also reflect these values and work to align or disalign his/her readership towards certain worldviews and ideological stances. Indeed, at the most basic level it can be said the use of attributed material is a way of relieving the reporter from responsibility: "[P]resenting opinions in the form of quotations from important people is more effective and seemingly objective than presenting the writers own opinion" (Jukanen 1995, p. 44).

But there are of course significant differences in how reporters can manipulate the features of reported speech events. In appraisal terms, reported speech events acts to insert external voices into the text and as such belongs to the system of intertextuality (White, 2001). At one extreme of the cline, such attributive material is inserted directly into the text. At the other end, the attributive material is reworked into the text and the distinction between external and internal voices becomes somewhat blurred (White 2002a). Halliday and Matthiessen (2004, p. 454) explains that within the system of transitivity, the former is identified as representing the wording of what was said and as such is considered the projection of a locution. In S.F.L terms this is known as quoted but is more commonly described as direct speech. The latter, however, is identified as reporting of "the gist of what was said" and as such is considered the projection of an idea. This is termed by SFL practitioners as 'reported thought' but in more

traditional grammars is described as indirect speech. With direct speech the "projected clause retains all the interactive features of the clause as exchange" (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 446) whereas with indirect speech that which is projected only needs to contains the sense of what was originally said. In SFL terms this means that the projected clause of indirect speech represents the ideational content but not necessary the exact lexical form of the reported discourse (Halliday 1985, p. 232). Between these two contrasting forms exists "free indirect" which is best described as "not so much intermediate as a blend" (Halliday et al., 2004, p. 465).

Indirect discourse is the statistically leading form of recontextualisation of news sources' discourse (Bell, 1991, p. 209). From a reporters perspective there are significant advantages to employing this form of projection. Principally, indirect discourse is much further away from the original than is direct discourse "… in that it purports to provide only a paraphrase of the original utterance through rewording, condensing and inferencing" (Kuo, 2007, p. 282). This integration of the reporter's own discourse into what is projected provides significantly more control over how something is reported (Caldas-Coulthard, 1993) permitting the reporter to draw on the primary speech event in order to assert the factuality of a news item, without, as pointed out by Politis and Kakavoulia (2005), needing to adhere faithfully to the primary wording. As such, reporters can interfere in the secondary discourse in order either to position the reader to favour a particular value position. As Sacks (1992, p. 49) points out, the reported speech frame works to convey to listeners "how to read what they're being told." This point is also taken up by Fairclough (1988) who maintains that indirect discourse is ambivalent to what it represents and it is never neutral in relation to the secondary discourse.

This, as argued by Short (1988), is in contrast to direct speech where a straightforward faithful relationship exists between the ideational form of speech and what it is supposed to represent. Hence what is directly quoted as a source of information can always be challenged in terms of veracity (Caldas-Coulthard, 1993). From this perspective, direct speech provides a sense of what Parmentier (1993) calls "a reverential obeisance" (p. 263). However, as argued by Kuo (2007) "it is precisely this presumed distancing of the quoted utterance that allows the news reporter to harness the authority attached to the quotation, without calling attention to the creative purpose of doing so" (p. 286). But it is not only who is quoted but what is quoted that can function as a powerful ideological tool to manipulate readers' perceptions of media reality. As Van Dijk, (1991) notes quotations also "…allow the insertion of subjective interpretations, explanations, or opinions about current news events, without breaking the ideological rule that requires the separation of facts from opinions" (p. 192). Davis (1985) agrees with

these views by noting that a quoting pattern in news discourse is not a neutral system but a mediated system loaded with ideological bias.

However, regardless of indirect or direct speech, how the original message is really perceived may depend more on how the speech is framed by the projecting clause. As Caldas-Coulthard (1993, 1994) points out there is considerable scope for subjectivity in the choice of verbs used in the projecting clause that not only marks the power/status of the speaker but also covertly conveys the journalist's attitude toward and evaluation of the projected utterance or the speaker. That is, in choosing a reporting verb, the reporter is inevitably intervening between the reader and the words of the person being reported.

Available linguistic research into this area certainly indicates that the degree of mediation will vary with the choice of projecting verb. One of the earliest researchers working in this area, Caldas-Coulthard (1987, p. 157), developed a typology of speech report verbs based on notions of reporter mediation. She categorised them as either "canonical neutral speech verbs" (Bell, 1991, p. 206) – involving very little mediation on the part of the reporter – or as "illocutionary reporting verbs" - typically involving a high degree of meditation. She also identified another neutral category which she termed "structuring verbs." These include processes such as ask, question, reply and answer; and function mainly indicate that the speaker was engaged in an exchange. Drawing on the transitivity resources of SFL, Chen (2005) also developed a typology of verbal processes based on news articles. She identified the existence of three sub-categories of verbal process – positive, negative and neutral – within media texts. She showed how the occurrence of positive and negative verbal processes in media texts could indicate bias on the part of a reporter towards the speaker. Working within what is known as appraisal theory, White (2006 p. 59) examined resources of evaluation by which broadsheet readers can be interpersonally aligned or disaligned towards attributed material. Similar to Chen, he categorised projecting causes as those which overtly indicate reporter endorsement or distancing from attributed material. But White (2006) also identified another sub-category in which the social standing or authority of the original source is such that it can effectively frame the attributed material as "Well-founded, reasonable or otherwise credible."

Of principal concern for this articles is the sub-category of projecting formulations defined here as giving the reporter a "neutral" and "objective" voice. Although notions of a "neutral" and "objective" projecting frames is a problematic one requiring more extended treatment at a later stage in this section, the verbal process said along with that of tell and describe has been widely cited from a range of researchers from a variety of linguistic backgrounds as the most neutral and unmarked that gives no indication of the reporter's attitude towards the reported

message, (Caldas-Coulthard, 1994).   They are the "canonical neutral speech verbs." (Bell, 1991, p. 206). The advice to journalists on this point is clear:

> Among attributive verbs, said usually says it best. It's short, clear, neutral and unfailingly accurate, a verb for all seasons. (Associated Press Guide to News Writing, 1991, p. 73)

> The verb to say is usually the best, neutral choice in reporting a speech or statement. (Reuters Handbook for Journalists, 1992, p. 98)

> "Said" ... pegs a statement to a source unmistakably and unobtrusively. That is, readers are so used to seeing it they know it signals attribution, but it does not stand out and stop them. Their attention remains on what was said, not how it was said. To skilled news writers, it is the best attributive (Lorenz & Vivian, News Reporting and Writing, 1996, p. 122).

So from the reporter's perspective, the verb said is factual, objective and impersonal.   However, this apparent objectivity itself can be used for persuasive ends in more subtle and effective ways than by more explicit semiotic resources. This study looks at how these projecting clauses which are commonly considered "neutral", can be subtly manipulated for framing attributive material whilst still remaining in the sphere of objectivity. It shows that reporters have the potential through the mechanisms of subtle prosodic realisation to position the reader to favour a particular value position on the "basis of what they [compliant readers] may take to be factual evidence (White, 2009, p. 48).

Aim

The subtle mechanisms of evaluation, which operate to position the reader to favour particular attitudes and viewpoints, are of particular importance for the analysis of hard news text and is of general interest to this paper. However, the main purpose of this paper is the deep exploration of the linguistic resources through which hard news reporters from three English-speaking countries construct a perception of objectively whilst employing subtle language items to align themselves with or against what has been quoted and recontextualised. That is to say, the communicative and rhetorical functionality by which reporters committed themselves towards the truthfulness or, to use Halliday's (1994) preferred term, "validity" of what others have to say. Attention is also paid to how language resources typically used to signal absence of commitment can be

covertly used for the creation of interpersonal relationships with potential recipients.

This paper is particularly interested in the mechanical functions of projecting clauses and their potential to invoke attitudinal alignment in readers and reveal the ideological stances of reporters. These attribution framers form the central components to Halliday's Transitivity System (1985) and described by Halliday as the crucial elements of the structure of text because, they function to introduce the representation of the "goings on" of reality. Chen (2005) explains that the system of projecting processes is particularly powerful for media analysis, because it is through choosing certain processes rather than others that the reporter is able to foreground certain meanings in discourse whilst backgrounding others, thus aligning the reader towards one sense of social reality rather than another. Although there are six categories of processes within the Transitivity System, this paper focuses on the ones which are used for the processes of projecting attributions. These are the elements of the clause which introduce speech and can reveal much about the recontextualisation mechanisms by which reporters go to work on readers' perceptions of reality. As Fowler points out (1991):

> In the papers, a large amount of report is based on speeches, statements, replies to questions and interviews. Critical analysis should pay particular attention to how what people say is transformed: there are clearly conventions for rendering speech newsworthy, for bestowing significance on it. (p. 231)

Others have extensively covered the linguistic mechanisms by which reporters encode attributed material (Chen, 2005; Floyd, 2000; Hyland, 1998; Thompson, 1996). However, this study posits to going beyond much of the current literature on projecting processes by focusing on what has traditionally been described as neutral attributional framers. Of particular concern is the ways in which these so called neutral mechanisms provide reporters with the linguistic resources to subtly indicate alignment or disalignments with the views contained within attributed material.

Theoretical background

The theoretical framework is influenced by the work of (Caldas-Couthard, 1994; Declerck, 1991; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004; Hornstein, 1991; Lundquist, 2004; Martin, 2000; McGregor, 1997; Thompson, 1996; Vandelanotte, 2004; White, 2002a). In particular this research framework draws inspiration from Halliday's (1978, 1994) semiotic theory and model of transitivity. It also borrows

extensively from White's (2001, 2002a) and Martin's (2004, 2000) model of appraisal and the sub-systems of engagement and attitude. As such, a multidisciplinary perspective is taken and combines an analysis of the linguistic, cognitive, social and cultural aspects of the news articles in context. There is a strong focus on describing and explaining the subtle ways that language is used to evaluate, to adopt stances, to construct textual personas and to manage interpersonal positioning and relations within the genre of objective hard news.

Before turning to an examination of the corpus and the various forms of neutral processes, it is important to briefly outline some of the key aspects of the account of evaluative meanings and engagement provided by the Appraisal framework and the Transitivity System, and how these accounts can be applied to analyses of attribution neutral framers operating in hard news reports.

The genre or register of hard news involves the reporter weaving projecting and projected clauses into the discourse as they quote and report from various sources and align and disalign themselves from what was said. From a Hallidayian perspective, the projecting clause can be seen as a semiotic object that represents non-linguistic experiences while projected clauses are representations of representations, and therefore function as semiotic abstractions. Here the Transitivity System is construing experiential meaning - "...transmission of ideas representing 'processes' or 'experiences': actions, events, processes of consciousness and relations" (Halliday, 1985, p. 53). Transitivity enables the linguist to analyse how, by choosing certain verb processes over others, the reporter is able to "foreground" certain meanings in discourse while others are "backgrounded", thus aligning the reader's perception of the meaning of attributive material in one direction rather than another. The system is particularly powerful for media analysis of attributive material because it takes into account not only how the "goings on" of reported speech themselves are ideologically represented in a text, but also the way in which the participants involved in those goings on are represented ideologically.

Halliday identified six categories of process within his System of Transitivity: These are material (i.e., processes of doing), mental (i.e., processes of sensing), verbal (i.e., processes of saying), behavioral (i.e., a mixture of material and mental), existential (i.e., being/existing), and relational (i.e., assigning attributes or identities). This paper focuses on just two, principally verbal processes or "processes of saying" such as "he said …" and to a lesser degree mental processes such as "he believes that …". In particularly, it focuses on a sub-category of verbal process identified by Chen (2004) and labelled as 'the neutral verbal processes. Chen (2007) points out that:

> Verbal processes are a particularly useful tool for the linguistic analysis of media texts because they are what Halliday calls predicates of

communication. That is, they are the element of the clause by means of which the authors of a text introduce the speech of those they are reporting on. The verbal processes can thus reveal much about what a journalist feels about those whose words are deemed reportable; and also much about the way in which a journalist pushes the reader towards a certain view of that person. (p. 30)

The participants associated with this exchange of meaning are the Reporter (appraiser simultaneously of both the content of exchange and the voice projecting the content), the Sayer (the addresser), the Receiver (the reader), the Target (the entity that is targeted by the process of saying), and the Verbiage (the content of what is said or indicated). Verbal processes include all modes of expressing and indicating, even if they need not be verbal, such as "showing". The content of what is said or indicated can be realised paratactically or hypotactically.

The System of Appraisal is located within the traditions of SFL but extends the framework by including the semantics of evaluation. Briefly, this means the categorisation of three broad sub-types of meaning by which attitudinal assessment may be conveyed: Judgement (semantic resources for evaluating human behaviour); Appreciation (evaluating things aesthetically) and Affect (evaluating emotions). It is also concerned with the engagement resources of intersubjective positioning. Each of these semantic resources can evaluate attitudinal and dialogical positioning in positive or negative terms and together "constitute an interconnected and interactive system of evaluation" (White, 1998, p. 107). Appraisal theory attends closely to the possibility that these attitudinal evaluations and engagement resources may be explicit (inscribed attitude) or implicit (invoked attitude) depending on the linguistic mechanisms that are used to frame the formations.

The Appraisal framework also provides a distinction between attribution formulations that are inscribed and those that are invoked. Under the Appraisal framework these distinctions determine the classification of verbal processes as either non-neutral or neutral framers. The former employ mechanisms which imply Reporter support for, or distancing from attributed material. In contrast, with the latter, formulations are seen as "neutral" in the sense that the Reporter leaves it open to the Receiver as to whether s/he are favourably or unfavourably disposed towards the Verbiage (White, 1998). Instances include "X told Y that...."; "X says that...", and "X describes Y as..." (pp. 38-42). These processes have been widely cited from a range of researchers from a variety of linguistic backgrounds as the most neutral and unmarked that give no indication of the reporter's attitude towards the reported message, (Caldas-Coulthard, 1994; Chen, 2005).

However, the apparent objectivity of neutral verbal clauses can be used for persuasive ends in more subtle and effective ways than by explicit semiotic and linguistic resources. Strictly speaking, even the most interpersonally neutral utterance is interpersonally charged in that a degree of tension exists between utterances made and alternative and contradictory views. This paper now examines the ways in which these canonical neutral attribution framers can subtly function to dialogically position Receivers.

Corpus and Methodology

Six media publications from The United States, Great Britain and Australia were analysed. The newspapers were: *Australian*, *Melbourne Age*, *Times*, *Guardian*, *Wall Street Journal* and *New York Times*. These are some of the longest-established broadsheets published and arguably some of the most influential papers within English speaking countries. These were analysed quantitatively using Simple Concordance and Weft QDA Programs. Individual instances of attribution framers were then qualitatively analysed in some detail in the context of the article in which they occurred to tease out the subjective elements of hard news texts; what they might reveal about the attitude of reporters towards the validity of those whose words were being recontexualised and the way in which the reporter might be trying to dialogically align the reader's perception of a text and of the textual participants in a certain direction. The analysis also sheds light on the ways that reporters can covertly encode a particular world view of attributed wordings and thus subtly push the reader's perception of social reality in a particular direction.

The 480 article corpus was assembled from the register of traditional hard news-news about the government, military, domestic policy, and foreign policy in the three months leading up to the second Iraq war. The texts shared the same Field, Tenor and Mode. That is, all the texts are from the register of 'hard news', the news items that make use of linguistic devices which signal factuality excluding any overt commitment to extra-vocalised utterances, and which allows the authorial voice to remain absent from the surface of the text (Iedema et al., 1994). Iedema et al. (1994) observe that with objective hard news articles there are no authorial values or explicit judgements. Hence when compared, therefore, "with journalistic commentary and many other types of texts, it [they] appear[s] to put significantly fewer interpersonal values at risk and hence is not felt to position the reader emotionally or attitudinally." (White, 1997, p. 25). Any explicit judgements that are included are located in the quoted statements of external voices.

Textual Integration: Reporting versus Quoting

One of the main mechanisms in which embedded attributions may be interpersonally manipulated is, of course, through reporting verbs. But, there are other ways for Reporters to indicate alignment or disalignment with the views contained in attributed material. One of the most subtle is through utilising the semantic distinctions that exist between the parataxis form of reporting speech and hypotaxis form of quoting speech. In Extract 1, the utterance is projected through a paratactical verbal clause, whilst a hypotactic arrangement was chosen in Extract 2. It is important to ask what, if any, degree of difference do these degrees of assimilation have on the neutrality of a clause giving that they have both been projected by the same neutral verbal process:

> Extract 1:
> He said Iraq had deployed rocket-launchers and warheads containing biological agents, which had been hidden in palm groves, to sites in western Iraq and had created biological weapons factories in lorries and railway carriages
> (James Bone, "US makes the case for war", *The Times*, 2 February 2003)

> Extract 2:
>
> Ari Fleischer, the White House spokesman, said yesterday that the tubes "far exceed any specifications required for non-nuclear capabilities".
> (Roland Watson and Elaine Monaghan, "Us says aluminium tubes are evidence of Iraq's nuclear goal", *Times,* 31 January 2003)

Looking at it from a functional perspective, it is possible to see with Extract 2, "…one clause is set up as the linguistic content of another" (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 443). In other words, this kind of projecting consists of "…a phenomenon – the projecting clause – and a metaphenomenon – the "content of the projecting clause…" - the content of the projected clause represents a close proximity of the attributed source (Halliday, 1994, p. 453). With Extract 1, on the other hand, the hypotactic representation of the verbal event is a reflection of the "gist of the meaning" – the distinction between the original utterance and Reporter's voice has been blurred[2] (Halliday, 1994, p. 454).

So, from a functional perspective, patterns of direct speech discourse introduce voices and wordings, whilst patterns of indirect speech interpolate meanings[3]. It then has to be asked what effect this has on the intertextual positioning of the two extracts. It is true that the two sets of complex clauses belong to the neutral category. Yet, looking at the issue more closely, it does seem that whilst quoted wording indicates a higher degree of faithfulness to the content of the projecting clause, it also distances the Reporter from the language, highlighted by the quotation marks, by making clear that the words are sourced. This detachment may be sought for a number of reasons including dissociation from the validity of the original utterance or from the Sayer (source) of the projecting clause[4] (Thompson, 1996).

> Extract 3:
> President Bush said today that even if Iraq agreed to destroy all of its prohibited missiles, they are '"just the tip of the iceberg" in its illegal arsenal and that Saddam Hussein had no intention of disarming. (Elisabeth Bumiller, "Threats and responses: The President; prohibited missile is 'tip of iceberg' in Iraq", Bush says, *New York Times*, 23 February 2003)

This technique of distancing is also evident in Extract 3. Here, there is also a neutral verbal process of "said", acting as the projecting clause. But instead of being a straightforward paratactical or hypotactic structure, it combines features of quoting and reporting. The projected clause is set up as a reported clause introduced by the binder "that". But quoting is introduced part way through the projected clause. This use of quotation marks does make the language, in this case a metaphorical catchphrase "more immediate and lifelike" but it also gives it an independent status and functions to distance the Reporter from the source (Thompson, 1996, p. 513).

> Extract 4:
> Security Council, Secretary of State Colin L. Powell said Iraq: Had engaged in a systematic and sustained effort to deceive United Nations weapons inspectors and to hide prohibited weapons and equipment. '"Harbors a deadly terrorist network, headed by Abu Musaab al-Zarqawi, an associate and collaborator of Osama bin Laden and his Al Qaeda lieutenants." Had moved and evacuated materials from nearly 30 chemical weapons and other munitions sites using cranes and truck convoys before inspectors arrived
> (Steven R. Weisman, Power in U.N. speech, presents case to show Iraq has not disarmed, *New York Times*, 6 February 2003)

Conversely this grounding in the words of external sources rather than those of the reporter themselves, may be to give an air of general interpersonal neutrality to a hard news report. For instance, with, Extract 4, the projecting is carried through by the neutral verb *said* and is once again a combination of quoting and reporting. But here the quoted utterance contains explicit lexical items *Harbors a deadly terrorist network* which evokes negative moral judgement. This type of "scare quote" is obviously capable of engaging the reader emotionally in the text, but because the description is an attributed one it can function without "... damaging the author's mask of interpersonal neutrality"[5] (White, 2005, p. 10).

Verb Tense

Following from what Declerk (1991), Halliday and Matthieson (2004) and Van Leeuwen (1993) have observed, tense also plays a critical role in epistemic meaning and thus intertextual positioning of text. Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) explain:

> The finite element, as its name implies, has the function of making the proposition finite. That is to say, it circumscribes it; it brings the proposition down to earth, so that it is something that can be argued about. A good way to make something arguable is to give it a point of reference in the here and now; and this is what the finite does. It relates the proposition to its context in the speech event. (p. 115)

This can be done two ways. One is by reference to the time of speaking; the other by reference to the judgement of the speaker (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 115).

It is this selection of tense that relates directly to the deictic centres of the external textual voice and Reporter and this in turn reflects the reporter's commitment to the recontextualised utterance. That is to say, with any form of discourse reporting, temporal recontextualisation renders different interpretations of the speech or thought act.

What is of critical importance, and with this, the researcher's views converge with those of Vandelanotte (2004, p. 1), is that the original Sayer textual voice deictic centre needs to be given high importance when analysing the connection between tense choice and the intertextual positioning of propositions. This is particularly true when considering direct speech when the projected utterance relates directly to the external textual voice's, not

Reporter's deictic centre. But even with indirect speech, the secondary deictic centre is tied up to that of the external textual voice.

The distinction between the present and recontextualised speech situation (McGregor 1997, p. 252) is fundamental and needs to be kept in mind when dealing with any form of speech attribution. Logically, any utterance that a Reporter recontextualises is something that has already been said. The temporal domains of an utterance being made and an utterance being recontextualised are distinct from one another. However, the simple present tense in English is atemporal, in that in addition to present events, it can also express future and past events, habits or generalisation, (an extended now) as well as occur in "a more 'relational' sense of 'expresses the opinion that'" (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 254).

> Extract 5:
> Dr Labib Kamhawi, a leading Palestinian-born political commentator in Jordan, says the situation is entirely different from 1991, when five Arab regimes and many Arab people saw the justice of actively joining the war to free Kuwait.
>
> "Now people think if the US invades Iraq the whole region will be held to ransom and its future dictated by an outside power," he says.
> (Ed O'Loughlin, "Caught in the middle of war", *Age,* 4 March 2003)

Extract 5 is a case in point of an utterance being projected by an atemporal present tense with universal reference even though the original speech act was obviously committed in the past. The employment of the present tense in the projection of both the leading and subsequent paragraphs gives a sense of "here and now" or "recency" to the attributed messages; thus bridging the gap between the temporal domains of the external textual voice (Sayer) and Reporter and by association the audience (Receiver).

This temporal positioning of the text in the "here and now" is further enhanced by the projected clauses. In the case of the leading paragraph there is a mixing of past and present tenses within the projected clauses which function to contrast the temporal domains of what is happening now to what happened in the past. With the second sentence, the projecting clause is in the simple present tense; but here it is also the lexico-grammatical realization of a time adjunct working in conjunction with the primary present tense "mirror concord" (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 343). "Now people think" which firmly positions the recontextualised statement in the here and now deictic centre of the Reporter/Receiver - even though the projected clause is in the

hypothetical future. As a result, the deictic centres of the former and latter are blended into the same temporal domains.

> Extract 6:
> President Bush said that Iraq's weapons declaration showed Saddam Hussein was not serious about disarmament and marked "a disappointing day for those who long for peace".
>
> "We expected him to show that he would disarm and ... it's a long way from there," the President said. "We're serious about keeping the peace. We are serious about working with our friends in the UN." (Sandra Sobieraj, "Iraq filing 'a long way' from truth", *Times*, 20 December, 2002)

In contrast, the use of *said* as the reporting verb in Extract 6 firmly situates the temporal domain in the external textual voice's and Reporter's past. Looking at the first direct speech clause, it is clear that the external textual voices time of interference coincides with the temporal location of *said* on the reporter's temporal domain. This is in keeping with the observation of Vandelanotte (2004, p. 9) that direct speech or thought is characterised by the"... absolute tense across both component clauses, with the reported tense being related directly to the external textual voice original t (time)." What is notable is the movement to the progressive aspect in the final clausal group. Unlike traditional modality that focuses on speaker or writer authority (Fairclough, 1989, p. 1126), the progressive aspect focuses on time. However, by looking at the two sentences more closely, it is possible to see that the use of the progressive aspect is also covering the quoted material with a coat of ambiguity by not providing exact reference to the start or completion of the activity, even though we know that logically speaking direct speech is located in the external textual voice's deictic centre. This sense of temporal ambiguity is further heightened by the omission of a projecting clause and associated reporting verb that normally would provide temporal location. The text is comprehensible, because the readers make the logical connection with the temporal domains and external textual voice of the preceding clauses that ensures that the processes are correctly decoded, in spite of the manipulation and shift of deictic centres.

> Extract 7:
> Jack Allinson kicks off proceedings by saying that terrorist attacks will continue regardless of whether or not we go to war.
> (John Crace, "Question of war", *Guardian*, 4 February 2003)

Extract 8:
John Reid, the Labour party chairman, took the marchers head on, saying they recommended doing nothing, and that such a moral choice meant sustaining a status quo "under which there are people being murdered, tortured and dying and starving".
(Ewen MacAskill and Michael White, "Blair to defy anti-war protests", *Guardian,* 17 Feb. 2003)

Extract 9:
 In his annual state of the union address, the president set out the case against Iraq, saying there was no evidence Saddam Hussein had destroyed his weapons of mass destruction and emphasising the threat he could pass them on to terrorists.
(Julian Borger and Ewen MacAskill, "Bush: new al-Qaida link to Iraq", *Guardian,* 29 February 2003)

A sense of ambiguity continues when the three Extracts 7, 8 and 9, that also have progressive aspects, are considered. Here the progressive aspects are functioning as a circumstance of manner within projecting clauses. This process consists of two activities, one of projecting the recontextualised utterances and the other of describing how (the means) the Actor accomplished certain material processes (*kicks off, proceedings etc.*) Here the dual functions of expansion and projection have come to meet and overlap.

What this means in a temporal sense is that by making the verbal process part of a propositional phrase there is an avoidance of tense. Although the temporal deictic centre of the external textual voices is in fact tied up with the tense of the phrasal verb, the employment of a non-finite verbal process within a prepositional phrase allows the juxtaposition of tenses and shifting of deictic centre from the external textual voices already established domain to the establishment of new ones without being considered marked for tense.

Extract 10:
 But Mr Straw, coming at the issue from a different direction, will say that terrorist groups could in future secure biological, chemical or nuclear weapons from rogue states.
(Staff and agencies "Weapons inspectors denounce spying claims", *Guardian,* 6 January 2003)

In Extract 10 the neutral verbal process of *say* is reformatted as a primary future tense and positioned after a contrastive *but*. However, the finiteness is realised by the positive verbal operator *will*. According to Halliday (1994) this finite element can act either as a modal or temporal operator. Hornstein (1991) continues this observation by claiming that *will* as future tense acts quite differently from modal *will* " (p. 38). However, it is obvious, in this example, that although the finite element is projecting the proposition into the future, it is also construing a region of uncertainty of this speech act occurring; the Reporter is making a prediction/assumption that the external textual voice would say this. As Lyons (1977) points out, "Futurity is never a purely temporal concept; it necessarily includes an element of prediction or some related notions" (p.677) It is worth noting that *will* can be replaced by other modal operators, such as *may* or *might* which would result in a loss of certainty but not of futurity. Thus with Extract 10, the finite element is giving the clause a point of reference both in terms of locating the temporal domain and opening the semantic space of uncertainty.

It is somewhat difficult to analyse how the tense selection *to say* exactly affects the validity of recontextualised propositions. Wolfson (1982) experienced the same problem in determining the alternation between "says" and "said" in spoken language, going on to say that they seem to be an anomaly. This is essentially an admission that these lexical items have lost their distinctive meaning in tense through overuse. The issue becomes even cloudier when you consider the difference between direct and indirect projection and the juxtaposition of different tenses. Language is about semiotic choices, and especially with written language there is time for reflection on what tense options would best suit the Reporters aims to be neutral or to interpersonally align the reader to some degree.

According to Van Leeuwen, (1996, p. 400) this is most readily observable in the projecting clause; highly credible utterances are projected through the present tense, whilst less credible texts are projected through past or future tenses. Thus, by looking at the primary tenses it is possible to see "what was" may no longer be the case, and what will be may not happen, whilst "what is" is. This is a somewhat simplistic reading of the issue when taking into account the juxtaposition of tenses that can occur within a projecting and projected clause complex. Neither does this take into account that tense in recontextualised speech or thought utterances is fundamentally different from tense in non-reported clause complex (Vandelanotte, 2004, p.14).

There is some validity in what Van Leeuwen claims, and this can be observed by looking at the ideational and interpersonal function of present and past tenses. The domain "said" is situated in the reporter's past time and

functions ideationally by specifying the temporal context of the projected clause (cf. McCarthy 1998, p. 94). Interpersonally, as Vandelanotte (2004, p. 14) points out, the absolute past tense in the projecting clause tends to function to downplay the reporter's involvement or level of commitment in the projected proposition by clarifying that the external textual voice´s deictic centre is temporally and spatially distinct from the reporter's.

However, the selection of the atemporal present tense "says" in the projecting clause functions ideationally to remove the projected proposition from a time perspective. This lack of what is in essence a reference to a specific time also functions interpersonally to close down the arguability of the projected clause (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004) conceding them the status of facts and indisputable truths. This is not to say that the projected clause is awarded positive status, rather it is being communicated as an objective truth (Vandelanotte, 2004, p. 12). In other words, the aim is to persuade readers of the validity of propositions in an objective rather than a subjective manner.

The lack of a finite element in the progressive aspects (functioning as a circumstance of manner) can also be seen to be operating ideationally and interpersonally in a similar manner. By itself, the progressive aspect introduces strategic ambiguity by not providing exact reference to the start or completion of an activity, but the removal of finite tense and conversion into a gerund adds an extra layer of temporal ambiguity and thus removes the arguability potential of the projected clause. In contrast, the operator *will* is both temporal and modal. Ideationally it is giving it "a point of reference to the context of the speech event" which, in itself, is a manipulation of time in order to report on events that have yet to happen (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p.115). Interpersonally, this then opens up the dialogical space or arguability of the projected clause on two fronts, that of reference to occurrence and that of reference to semantic content. This finding is in alignment by a number of linguistic researchers (see, for example, Pomerantz, 1984, or Hutchby, 1996a, 1996b) who argue that in conversation said can also be used to convey some distance between the speaker and the claim being reported.

Neutral Cognitive Reporting Verbs

Extract 11:
The diplomats believe the Bush administration is further radicalising Arab and Muslim opinion with its emphasis on military might against the long-term interests of the west. Many also share the view of the security and intelligence agencies that the al-Qaida terrorist network

represents a more serious threat than Iraq and that there is no evidence of a link between the two.
(Richard Norton-Taylor, "Envoys called home for Iraq talks", Guardian, 3 January 2003)

Verbal processes were not the only forms of projection found in the corpora. The reporting verb in Extract 11 is also a neutral verb; but it is not projecting a locution, rather representation of expert's opinion is being projected. Halliday and Matthiessen (2004, p. 449) describe this as the projection of ideas. That is the projecting clause is a mental process clause functioning to project meaning. This type of mental process clause belongs to the field of cognitive verbs. These in turn can be finely graded for epistemic modality, from "know", via "think" to "believe" and "guess". As such Extract 11 is an example of low modality and comes under the classification of non-factitive. That is, the verb gives no clear signal as to the reporter's attitude towards the original textual voice's opinion. Another semiotic option for the reporter would have been to use the mental verbs such as guess or know but the former, whilst also a non-factive verb, would be too low in modality indicating a negative stance; and the latter comes within the category of factice verb – thus proclaiming the validity of the recontextualised utterance.

But no recontextualised utterance is completely free of subjective baggage: The hypotactic projection of the represented utterance in Extract 11 means that reference to the Sensor remains reporter-related (Vandelanotte, 2004, p. 2). Thus, it is the reporter's choice of which process and which tense to use for projection. The selection of unmarked present tense indicates that the reporter subscribes to the content of the represented clause as factual information - albeit in an objective neutral manner (Declerck & Tanaka, 1996).

Extract 12:
Angela Tsang, 21, a Barnard College student who was part of a contingent called the Columbia University Antiwar Coalition, said her group believed that an American attack on Iraq would achieve nothing but death and injustice. "'We see the war against Iraq as unjust," she said. "We don't believe Bush's rhetoric. I think he's not acting in the best interest of the American people. We're risking the lives of hundreds of American soldiers and an untold number of lives in the Middle East, and a war will not solve the problem of terrorism. It disgusts me. I can't accept that."
(Robert D McFadden, "From New York to Melbourne, protest against war on Iraq", *New York Times,* 16 February 2003)

It is necessary to then ask what happens when the thought projection clause is itself projected by a verbal process as the case in Extract 12. To see how this double projection is behaving on a deeper level, it is important to understand "When something is projected as meaning it has already been processed by the linguistic system" this is opposed to direct quotation where "... a phenomenon of experience is construed first as a meaning and then in turn as a wording" (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 451). Thus, Extract 12 has been reconstructed lexicogrammatically, even though there was the semiotic option of being presented semantically as meaning. To use the words of Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) "A wording is, as it were, twice cooked…" in that it has "…undergone two steps in the realization process" (pp. 451-452) – meaning deictic orientation of the projecting clause shifts to the external textual voice[6]Interpersonally, this spatial element, along with temporal coordinates of tense, is functioning to distance the reporter's deictic centre from that of the external textual voice. In this case projecting clause and tense selection are making clear that it is the original textual voice, not the reporter, who is grounding the projecting clause and proposition in his own individual, contingent subjecthood.

Other Neutral Reporting Verbs

A fairly limited range of non-factual reporting verbs can be pressed into service under this last heading. It is clear that *say* is by far the most frequent choice. The next most frequently used verb is the neutral projecting verbal process: tell. In neutral quoting "tell" is used less frequently than "say". This may be attributed to the latter requiring a Receiver, the one to whom the message is directed. This in turn dictates that the reporter needs to specify the target of the message. Additionally, with the projection of a giving proposition, stylist convention in the register of hard news demands that tense selection is limited to past tense or other tense selection requiring the placement of a modal element – the selection of simple present or present in present would be considered marked for tense.

> Extract 13:
> He told the Nine Network's Sunday program that he would tell the Labor caucus tomorrow that the party should oppose war unless it has outright approval from the Security Council. This approach would be more militant than Labor's previous position, which reserved the right to support a war even if one of the Security Council members exercised a veto.

(Annabel Crabb, Peter Fray & Marian Wilkinson, "Divisions on eve of war", *Age,* 17 March 2003)

In Extract 13, the Target is identified as an institution *Nine Network's Sunday program* and the projecting process is realised by the past tense *told.* Here, use of the verbal process "tells" is clearly functioning to inform the audience who made the speech act and to whom. It is, in this case, functioning ideationally to provide context of situation; the where and to whom the utterance was directed; but it could also be viewed, somewhat tentatively, as a spatial distancing device, the reporter is making clear that the original utterance was not directed to him/her.

Another significant way of projecting is when an external textual voice is identified by their name (or social role or any other label) followed by a colon, introducing what is seemingly the news actor's verbal comment instead of a reporting verb as can be seen in Extract 14.

Extract 14:
Senator ROD KEMP, Minister for the Arts and Sport (Vic, Liberal): " A monstrous evil exists in Iraq and it deserves every action to be taken by the international community to deal with it. The Labor Party must recognise that there are national interests beyond those of a bitter and divided party." (Gay Alcorn, "Labor MPs declare opposition to war", *Age*, 6 February 2003)

The colon has essentially the same function as the verbal process "says" but its use enables the focus to be on the semantic content of projected proposal itself, rather than meaning being shared by the reporting verb.

There are also other neutral verbs projecting more elaborate language functions.

Extract 15:
Yesterday, Mr Fleischer was asked about the President repeatedly citing Saddam Hussein's gassing of the Kurds as evidence of his place in the axis of evil. "He gassed his own people with our help," said one reporter. Mr Fleischer replied: "He gassed his own people as a result of his decisions to use the weapons to gas (them). (Marian Wilkinson, "White House refuses to rule out, but is unlikely to use, its ultimate weapon"*, Age*, 29 January 2003)

Extract 16:
But, like many Americans, they have reservations about the Bush administration's position on Iraq. "Is it right to go into Iraq?" Mr. Goodwin asked. "I really don't know yet." (Lynette Clemetson, "Threats and Responses: In uniform; to child of Vietnam dissenters, recent call to arms ring true", *New York Times*, 2 February 2003)

The study now looks at other neutral verbs projecting more elaborate language functions. In Extract 15, the verbal process "replied" is used to show how the external textual voice (a political voice) opposed/rejected the preceding assertive proposition. Extract 16 demonstrates how projecting verbs can set-up a proposal, in this case a rhetorical type question that is subsequently renounced by the same external voice. Here propositions and proposals are opposed, renounced and rejected. The contribution to the creation of discourse is further enhanced by the fact that such processes of projection contribute to the discourse by creating mini-dialogues of argumentation within the text. This rhetorical function clearly would not be achievable with the more general projecting verbs of "say" or "tell".

Discussion

This paper has looked at the use of "so called" neutral projecting processes in a corpus of 480 article corpus assembled from the register of traditional hard news-news about the government, military, domestic policy, and foreign policy in the three months leading up to the second Iraq war. Analysis of the corpus of texts made it possible to identify a number of subtle but often overlapping linguistic mechanisms for interpersonal and temporal positioning.

These were:
1. The parataxis form of reporting speech and hypotaxis form of quoting speech were used by Reporters to subtly align or disalign themselves with what was being recontextualised. The study shows that the paraphrasing of reporting speech makes it possible for the reporter to covertly distance themselves from attributed material. As Halliday et al (2004, p. 462) notes "the quoted material is closest to the reporter's news source whereas the reported material is already, at least potentially, at some distance from what was actually said." This hold true even when neutral projecting verbs are employed. It, however, must be remember that with news articles, "reporting often precedes quoting" as the reporter moves along a cline from their own voices to reported voices to quoted voices (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004, p. 462).

2. Verb tense also plays a critical role in epistemic meaning and thus interpersonal positioning of readers. The selection of verb tense signals the "recency" of the attributed messages with past tenses signalling a distance in the 'here and now' whilst present tenses highlights the current relevance of what was quoted. Additionally, the selection of the atemporal present tense functions ideationally to remove the projected proposition from a time perspective. This lack of what is in essence a reference to a specific time also functions interpersonally to close down the arguability of the projected clause (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004).

3. The progressive aspect introduces strategic ambiguity by not providing exact reference to the start or completion of an activity. The removal of finite tense and conversion into a gerund adds an extra layer of temporal ambiguity and thus interpersonally removes the arguability potential of the projected clause (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004).

4. Mental projecting processes, which were used by the reporters to project ideas. This type of mental process clause belongs to the field of cognitive verbs and can function to distance the reporter's deictic centre from that of the external textual voice by presenting the attributed material as an idea rather than more concretely as a locution. This suggest that the reporter is presenting the proposition as a personal belief rather than as factual information. Interpersonally, this can be viewed as a disalignment mechanism in which the reporter is clarifying that the information is an opinion.

5. The verbal process "tells" functions to inform the audience who made the speech act and to whom it was made. It can function ideationally to provide context of situation; the where and to whom the utterance was directed; but it could also be viewed interpersonally, somewhat tentatively, as a spatial distancing device, the reporter is making clear that the original utterance was not directed to him/her but was in fact said to somebody else.

6. Structuring verbs: these processes of projection contribute to the discourse by opening discursive space for mini-dialogues of argumentation within the text. Opening up discursive space for heteroglossic diversity would not be so achievable with the more general projecting verbs of say or tell.

Conclusion

In broad terms the finding from this study further undermine the notion of "objectivity" as it is typically construed in everyday discussions of hard news media practice. While these forms of media practice serve as an effective source of information and powerful mode of mass communication, traditional notions of objectivity can be refuted even when the reporter's subjective voice and authorial attitude has been deliberately and strategically backgrounded and made less salient. Indeed, the findings suggest that all hard news texts as with other forms of media are in some way subjective; conditioned extrinsically by institutional practices and expectations and intrinsically by the reporter's own ideological position and communicative objectives.

Specifically, this study found that notions of objectivity and neutrality are indeed idealistic concepts that can never be fully realised on linguist or semantic grounds. This is true for attributed sources and, as has been shown by other studies, propositions and points of view (Nunn & Nunn, 2006; White, 2001). In fact, the findings identify the ways in which language items traditionally classified as neutral projections can be manipulated whilst still remaining in the sphere of objectivity. The reporter still has subtle means to imply how much responsibility he or she lends to truth value of the attributed message. This does not mean that it is not possible to distinguish between media attempts to be fair or deliberately biased or even determine the linguistic decisions that are taken purely on stylistic grounds, but it does explain the major challenge of identifying the way ideologies are embodied in media texts.

This study, of course, does not reach specific conclusions about the power of neutral frames which are covertly attitudinal to influence or change the beliefs, understandings and attitudes of readers. It is clear, however, that the potential effect of media power is, not of texts or covert linguistic devices operating in isolation, but rather of accumulation of media discourses, operating in conjunction with others. Indeed at the very least, linguistic manipulation of this type have the potential to reinforce the value systems views of readers who already support the ideological position being subtly favoured by the reporter.

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Language Corpora

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Notes

[1] The classification of media genres is in reality much more complex than this and often elements of subjective voice are blended into the discourse of hard news and soft news can contain elements of objectivity.

[2] Reported speech is in reality more complex than the examples given here and can be further categorised into free direct speech and free indirect speech which as the names imply are freer forms of direct and indirect speech.

[3] This seems to be an oversimplification of the case: it is only in certain registers such as court cases, that truly verbatim representation is likely to be achieved. Even with newspaper language, there exists some cleaning up of people's language in terms of grammar and register (see Clark & Gerrig, 1990, Fludernik, 1993, pp. 409-414).

[4] But care must be taken when analysing reported speech that the intertextual positioning is interpersonal not textual based. It tends to be common practice within the register of hard news reporting for the leading clause complex/paragraph projected as indirect speech/thought and for the following to comprise paratactic projections. "There is a cline from the reporter's own voice via reported voices to quoted ones. The quoted material is closest to the reporter's news source whereas the reported material is already, at least potentially, at some distance from what was actually said." (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 462). In this case, it can be argued, the relationship of the clause complex is textual not interpersonal.

[5] There is still disagreement among linguists as to who is responsible for loaded lexical items or modality within indirect speech projections. Vandelanotte (2004, p. 2) holds that certain expressive lexemes are to be interpreted as voicing the external textual voice's attitude. Banfield (1982, p. 56), however, believes that they "… must mean that the quoting speaker so assented to the quoted speaker's opinion that s/he expressed similar ones. In the researcher's understanding, when the positioning is textual Vandelanotte´s position holds merit, but when it is interpersonally positioned Banfield´s view dominates.

[6] Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) point out that this is symbolized in English punctuation by the use of single quotation marks for meaning and double quotation marks for wording (p. 452).

Notes on Contributor

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Anyone for Tennis?—A Case-Study on Gender Bias in a Japanese Junior High School English Language Textbook

Ian Clark

Abstract

The manner in which young learners are taught reinforces traditional cultural messages of many kinds, including those concerning gender. English language teaching (ELTs) textbooks have the potential to either reinforce or redress gender bias. Unfortunately the former is typically the case. There is a historical legacy of ELTs, which reinforce notions that boys are different from girls with different interests, abilities and career options; that boys are in control and have higher status; and that girls are silent, compliant and should assume a subordinate role. Without gender equity programs and deliberate teacher interventions these messages will continue to be sent through the "hidden curriculum". This paper employs a case-study research methodology in order to examine closely the first book in the New Crown series at a time when the economic role of women is under political review. It was found that while men and women are represented equally in terms of quantity, there exists a remarkable overt and covert (subliminal) gender bias which impacts the identities of Japanese females as economically productive citizens negatively.

Keywords: gender bias, hidden curriculum, Japan, textbooks

Introduction

This paper has been written as a timely reminder at a point when certain high-level elements of the Japanese government are promoting the role of women as powerful agents who can bolster a declining economy (Brookings Institution, 2013). Historically, the family rather than the individual has been the basic unit of Japanese society; however, this has been changing for some considerable time (Imamura, 1990). In response, provision should be made in public school textbooks for young learners to understand the potential impact that female participation has on the Japanese and global economy. In 2014, The Economist reported that raising female labour participation to the level of men's could add 8 million people to Japan's shrinking workforce, potentially increasing GDP by as much as 15%.

This paper builds on previous publications (e.g., Ansary & Babii, 2003; Otlowski, 2003;), which analysed the portrayal of gender in Japanese ELTs. A case-study research method (Yin, 2009) was applied to the first book of the New

Crown series (published by Sanseido), which was examined for gender bias – the depiction of women in unproductive and subordinate roles or engaged in stereotypical activities. Bias is communicated via the "hidden curriculum" – unspoken academic, social, and cultural messages that are communicated to students while they are in school. In one foundational study Otlowski (2003) emphasized that, "a number of textbooks, and especially textbooks published in Japan fail to represent accurately the substantial role women…play in the makeup and workforce of modern societies" (p. 7). The task of reform entails changing the cultural definition of masculinity to include equality with and respect for females (Paludi, 2004).

Orientation: A Brief Political History

Recent attempts at changing the politically driven momentum from women as child-bearers in the domestic setting and toward productive employees and employers is challenged by Japan's "retrospective modernism" (i.e. one eye on the past, one eye on the future). The emergence of the nuclear family in Japan meant that by the 1920s the modern gender division of labour, that assigned work to men and domestic duties to women, began to transform the Japanese family. It was in this climate of social change that the ideal of "Good Wife, Wise Mother" (Fukuya, 1988) that emerged during the Meijo period (1868-1912) gave positive meanings to the role of women as a wife managing the home and as a mother educating her child(ren) (National Institute of Educational Policy Research, [NIER], 2014). This ideal promoted the argument that education for women should focus on their role as domestic caretaker, which led to the inception and rapid growth of "practical" middle schools for girls. Practical meant home economics, (e.g., housekeeping and sewing), and by 1925 the number of students enrolled in girls' middle schools had exceeded the number in co-educational middle schools, and continued to rise.

After 1945, the US education mission forced a change in policy, stating that steps were necessary to provide girls in the earlier years of education with a sound and thorough education on a par with that of boys. This entailed a commitment to co-education (more recent research suggests that co-education operates to reinforce gender bias, see Clark, 2004) and equality of access to all aspects of education and employment (Hashimoto, 1992). This process continued, and by 1999 the Japanese government had implemented a system for child-care and family-care leave. Politically Japan had achieved gender equality in education, at least from the point of view of access (NIER, 2014). However, there is often a very great difference between central policy and social reality.

In 2014, the Switzerland based World Economic Forum reported that Japan ranked 104th for gender equality from 105 industrialised nations, and 142

nations in total. The overall rank is calculated by taking the average of four subscales: economic participation and opportunity (102nd); educational attainment (93rd); health and survival (37th); and political empowerment (129th). This low standing among industralised nations had been predicted by previous studies on the social asymmetry between males and females. For example, a 2008 Japanese Health Ministry study found that only 1.23% of fathers took parental leave as compared to 90.6% of mothers. Further, the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) (n.d) reported that women spend approximately 270 minutes per day on domestic work whereas men spent about 60 minutes (the OECD average being 131 minutes). Unsurprisingly, childcare is also the domain of the female with only 28% of Japanese children enrolled in daycare programs. This situation exists largely because Japan ranks 4th lowest in comparison to other OECD countries when it comes to public spending on childcare and pre-school services.

In 1996, the Japanese government drew up the Basic Plan for Gender Equality. Then, in a 1997 revision of the Program for Education Reform, the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology (MEXT) announced their intention for the "enrichment of education to enhance consciousness of gender equality". The Basic Law for a Gender-Equal Society followed in 1999, which, as already noted, saw the passing of child-care and family care legislation. Yet, these initiatives had little influence over depictions of social relationships and roles in public school textbooks. Certainly, as time passed themes of global relevance began to appear in Japanese public school textbooks - in the 1980s, race and culture and in the 1990s, environmental issues. Yet, topics on gender (e.g. women's movements and female protagonists) were (and still are) a rare inclusion, "and only three women--Marie Curie, Mother Teresa, and Helen Keller--appeared frequently (Kato, 2002).

Indeed, the clear depiction of females as protagonists or heroes is completely absent from the New Crown textbook. The closest that the book comes to featuring an adventurous female is a feature on Lewis Carroll's *Alice in Wonderland,* and for some she is perceived as a hero, representing "a reality where women author their own tales, work out their own problems, expect the extraordinary, and speak their minds … young women do well to ask themselves, what would Alice do?" (Lloyd, 2010, p. 29). Yet, in Japan the Alice character is an unrealistic representation who lives in a Victorian and foreign fantasy world, and not the reality of a highly industrialised nation that weaves together unique traditions dating back thousands of years. For others, Alice is a victim of circumstance, and rarely ever in control of her environment, and thus she is an ambiguous character for feminist critics, seen as a slave by some (Garland, 2008). In a very real Japan the question that Lloyd (2010) puts ("what would

Alice do?") may have little meaning for young Japanese girls, or lead to socially unacceptable, and therefore maladaptive behaviours.

What Does Equality Look Like?

Based on the United Nation's Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (adopted 1979), and the Beijing Platform for Action (adopted 1995), textbooks promote gender equality if they meet the following criteria: (1) females are protagonists; (2) females and males are not described according to a stereotypical sexual division of labor; (3) ways of living free of conventional ideas of femininity and masculinity are described positively; (4) topics encourage students to think about sexual discrimination and gender equality; (5) topics encourage students to reconsider various issues close to them from a gender perspectives; (6) topics encourage students to think about female's human rights as a global issue. In the case study of New Crown it will be seen that the textbook fails to deliver on any of the above criteria. A system of education is a product of collective thought and follows the changes of social values. It is then no surprise to find gender bias and stereotyping in Japanese public junior high school ELTs.

Foundational Studies

Some fifteen years ago Sano, Iida and Hardy (2001) gave a presentation on a range of Japanese junior high school ELTs (including New Crown) at which they presented various characteristics of bias. These characteristics included the empowerment of males as deciders and choosers; that remarks made by males had more substance; and chapter themes focused on male characters. Similarly, Otlowski (2003) found that women were portrayed as homemakers and mothers, a bias reinforced by a general lack of women in the workplace. Women were seen to participate in and oversee domestic duties such as laundry, shopping, and food preparation. In contrast, situations outside the home were the domain of male characters. Otlowski's (2003) study parallels that of Ansary and Babii (2003) who also found that women, where featured, were engaged in indoor activities and traditional roles. In a recent study of Japanese textbooks conducted by Lee (2014) it was found that "general disparities in the forms of female invisibility, male firstness and stereotypical images are still prevalent in the textbooks examined" (p. 1).

Two decades ago Pierce (1995) urged the English language teaching community to "alert students to the current terrain of struggle that characterize language and which the students enter as they learn the language (p. 106). The findings of Sano et al (2001) and Otlowski (2003)) were also published many

years ago. These background studies indicate that MEXT's mission to propagate gender equality through education has not been put into practice by textbook writers and publishers. Moving to the present day, New Crown is currently in its 4th edition, published only last year. It is now 2015, and the question that remains is: Has subliminal gender bias been eliminated from Japanese ELTs? In this case study the answer is a resounding "no".

Thematic Discussion

Many foundational studies, such as Hellinger's "For Men Must Work and Women Must Weep" (1980), employ a three-part framework to examine gender inequality. These are: (1) exclusion; (2) subordination and distortion; and (3) degradation. Exclusion refers to the disproportionate representation of males in textbooks. Subordination and distortion refers to an asymmetry in power relations, in occupations and careers, and in the type of activities in which males and females engage. Degradation refers to the depiction of women as weak or over-emotional, and as individuals who are often the butt of jokes or slurs.

While relatively recent studies on Japanese ELTs (e.g., Pihlaja, 2008) support the use of the "three points of bias" framework, it should be noted that it was devised in response to inequalities featured in textbooks in use across the 1970s and 1980s. Since the early 1990s ELTs in Japan no longer feature obvious gender inequality (e.g. words like 'chairman') which may suggest that the framework is now partially outmoded. Japanese ELTs have evolved so as to obsolete much of the framework's heuristic power, and therefore its capacity to reveal subliminal bias. It will be seen later that when New Crown's 4th edition (2014) was examined only the second dimension of bias (subordination and distortion) emerged as an issue (and a very significant one). However, the textbook contained numerous examples of bias that the framework does not capture. We therefore created a qualitative construct with which to analyse the text by looking at each textual vignette and picture related to females individually and also by looking for the presence or absence of corresponding words and pictures which apply to males and indicate bias. Specifically, themes of silence, compliance and the social status, social and employment roles and activities of women vis-à-vis those of males.

Silence and Compliance

It has been found that girls are often depicted exhibiting "healthy" behaviours typical for girls and not boys. They are, "silent, compliant, gentle, helpful, neat and polite" (Irby & Brown, 2011, p. 22). There is consensus among educators of various ideological perspectives that a great deal of that which children learn is

delivered through the so-called "hidden curriculum" (Barnes & Wane, 2000). Irby and Brown (2011) emphasise that "the lessons of the hidden curriculum teach girls to value silence and compliance, to view those qualities as a virtue" (p. 244). Young female learners are of course consciously aware of their roles. As one young student said, "teachers like us because we're nicer, quieter, and better behaved" (p. 244). Accordingly, teachers do often say that girls are "ideal" students. However, girls who remain academically engaged must negotiate between the compliance associated with being that "ideal" student and the active learning strategies required for success – a difficult if not impossible balancing act.

In practice many teachers reward, and therefore reinforce, assertive and aggressive behavior. The ironic consequence is that the attributes most valued in girls become obstacles to their success. The reinforcement of passive behaviours among females discourages them from experimenting with active, risk-taking learning strategies that serve them better in the long-run (American Association of University Women [AAUW], 1991). Put another way, by adolescence girls have learned to get along, while boys have learned to get ahead (Bower, 1993). In their study Irby and Brown (2011) found that girls are often reinforced as helpful members of the classroom community. Similarly, Barnes and Wane (2000) found, in qualitative interviews with teachers, that boys typically want to be leaders while girls take a supporting recorder role during group work.

As the AAUW (2001) state, education policy needs to move beyond the "gender wars" and find ways to reach all children in the school system. It is not only students who must face bias. Female teachers themselves are not immune to the inequitable social gradient. As one teacher recounted, "when I teach high school boys put their arm around me and pat my head as if I'm a pet or something because I'm a woman" (Irby & Brown, 2011, p. 244).

There is consensus among experts that girls' spirits are being broken by a "hidden curriculum" that teaches silence and compliance (Giannetti & Sagarese, 1997). Pipher (1994), in her best selling book *Reviving Ophelia*, notes that to conform with the cultural definitions of femininity is to abandon the self. This, contends Pipher, leaves them only four ways to react to their cultural imprisonment "to conform, withdraw, be depressed or get angry" (p. 43). Whether they become depressed or angry depends on the direction of blame. If girls blame themselves they become depressed, and if they blame others, angry. The psychology of bias and male dominance is a subject of overarching interesting for educators in the 21st century. However, the purpose of this article is not to deconstruct the psychological constructs, which manifest social inequality. The next section will therefore present the findings and discuss how they were interpreted as instances of gender bias.

Analysis and Findings

In contrast to the studies presented in the earlier section of this article, (entitled "Foundational Studies"), there is little evidence to support claims of exclusion. That is, males are only marginally over-represented. There are 315 illustrations of males and 303 of females. However, it is worth noting that some pages do feature males only, while this is never the case for females. For example, there are 11 male images on page 80 and 23 on page 105. The closest corresponding page is page 81 where only 2 of the 12 images are of males. In general, it is not the quantity of males and females that creates bias in this case. It is the qualitative aspects of their lives as they enact their respective social worlds in words and pictures, and seen to engage in differing activities, which present them in ways that suggest biased social categorizations.

The Front Cover

Bias, what Lee (2014) describes as "male firstness", begins on the front cover which shows a young male and a young female. The male is dynamic and active, riding his bicycle at high speed as indicated by his hair flying behind him. He is waving his arm in the air; we imagine he is waving because he holds a hat. When hats are held aloft they are waved; the arm is not held in the air stiffly. For example, Lankton (1991) recounted the reaction of a crowd to a long anticipated event, "they rushed shouting…waving hats and handkerchiefs, and indulging in a thousand extravagant antics" (p. 13). Could we then as readers imagine that the boy is shouting to his girlfriend who stands in the distance as a shadowy and silent figure. His female counterpart is standing still, and there is no suggestion of movement or speech. She is waiting for him in the shade, a distant, passive and obscure figure.

"Ideal" Students, Silence and Compliance

Much of what happens in the textbook occurs at an imaginary school. Several pages into the textbook (pp. 6-7) the reader is presented with a plan view of the town in which the school is located as a double page feature. The main characters are depicted, as are other uncredited characters, all of which are engaged in various activities around the town. Boys are more active: running, riding bicycles, and walking dogs. The theme of female silence and reception is first encountered in this section of the textbook. A girl sits quietly at an ice-cream stall while her male companion speaks, his mouth wide. While there is only one instance of female silence on this page, it indicates why it is necessary to avoid a reductionist approach. Illustrations, which reinforce the theme of silent girls listening to

"chatty" boys recur throughout the textbook as a whole. For example, on page 70 a boy speaks as a girl listens and takes notes. Boys are seen to have ownership over the text rather than sharing it as they hold the books, and point to it while the girls stand at their side. When taken collectively (as a whole) they promote asymmetrical power relations in reality.

Further analysis of the double-page overview of the town illustrates two of the girls in the town demonstrating compliance as they walk obediently across the pedestrian crossings. The corresponding male image is of a handicapped boy in a wheelchair. These forms of subliminal bias are difficult to discern unless one takes a holistic approach. When taken together the corresponding individual images connect to create a whole image that reinforces girls for compliance, and suggests that less able boys are the same as girls.

Even though the conversations in the text are very short, there are clear examples of the female characters in the textbook taking a subordinate or caretaker role. On page 21 a girl compliments her male friend's prowess ("You're good Ken.") at basketball before going on to ask him "Are you thirsty?" This question is reinforced through repetition further down the page by a different girl. Another example of a girl in a caretaker role is to be found on page 62 as she organizes the school bags of her male friends. A further example of girls supporting boys occurs on page 102. The girl provides the boy with the information he requires to make a decision on what they will do ("I see. (he says) Then today let's take a bus"), and the conversation ends with no further contribution from the young girl.

A conversation on page 23 opens with the girl apologizing to the boy without any particular reason for doing so ("Oh, I'm sorry"). This is an example of those "healthy" behaviours that "ideal" (female) students in Japan should exhibit. That is, she is submissive and polite. Girls in the textbook are faced with an unfavourable discourse gradient in other ways:

Boy: "I have a cat."
Girl: "Really?"
Boy: "The cat is white."
Girl: "Oh." (p. 125)

The girl, while responsive, is mono-syllabic and mostly receptive. This is also one of two examples of male ownership ("I have ...") on this page without corresponding female examples.

There is a subliminal gender bias toward girls for linguistic competence (Emma: "I study Japanese before class." p. 74), and against girls for the traditional male dominated subject area of math. The same character (Emma) asks a male friend for help with her mathematics homework:

Emma: "Can you help me with tomorrow's math homework?" (p. 90).

Both aspects conform to the widely held belief that girls are expected to be less capable than boys at mathematics (AAUW, 2014; Clark, 2004), but more linguistically able than male students. However, there is no explicit suggestion that Emma is actually good at Japanese here, only that she gets up early to study it. On the other hand, we know that she cannot do math.

Domestic Service

As noted earlier, there remains the general expectation that Japanese women will leave employment in order to organize and manage the household. In the case of the textbook, this is reflected in both words and pictures. On page 44 a boy and a girl are at the supermarket:

Emma: "I have a shopping bag."
Ken: "Good."

Even in this brief exchange, we see the female has organized for one of her primary functions – shopping, and we see the male reinforce her positively for that strategy. In the background of the same picture, two adult females are shopping in their roles as "good wives", one of which is with a small child performing her role as the "wise mother". The "healthy" female roles of shopping and food preparation are reinforced in the textbook. For example:

"How much is the blouse?"
"It's 2000 yen." (p. 141)
"Where is Mom?" (capital M in the original text).
"She's in the kitchen." (p. 142)

The picture associated with the latter exchange attempts humour showing dad sitting on the en suite toilet reading the newspaper; an activity that surely nobody would attribute to a female. There are further vignettes that depict females as domestic managers who make cookies and go shopping (see p. 107).
In this world men do what men do, and women do what they do. The domestic and social roles and behaviours are clearly delineated. In a further obvious example, a picture of a man dressed as a chef is paired with one of a woman dressed as a housewife. She is portrayed so stereotypically that she actually appears to be wearing her kitchen-work apron as her uniform (p. 124). Such images promote males who prepare food as engaged in more important bread-

winning roles outside the home while at the same time subordinating females to that of domestic duties in the kitchen.
Even when males are shown to be actively involved in domestic work it is the female who assumes some level of control:

"Wait. Don't wash the dishes.
Please use this paper." (p. 48)

In a different illustration (p. 104) a boy assists his mother in the kitchen. His mother is in control at the stove, yet far from redressing gender inequity it serves to reinforce the stereotype that she has dominion over the kitchen and her child.

Vocations and Activities

The personal and vocational supremacy of males is clearly evident on page 14 and 15. Of the 19 illustrations, only 5 are girls. So, while the overall quantity of appearances in the textbook is quite balanced, there is a very clear qualitative imbalance on these pages, which sends a very meaningful message to the readers. The pages feature males engaged in adventurous, superior or "cool" roles: astronaut, doctor, administrator, vet, father and pop singer. Males are also depicted as engaged in various activities that reinforce positive aspects of maleness: (1) opening a box in a way that suggests curiosity and risk-taking; (2) playing with a yo-yo skillfully and dynamically; (3) eating lunch with a large confident grin; (4) a boy with his mouth wide open in an exaggerated manner suggestive of social confidence; (5) writing his name on the classroom board indicating teacher-like status. In contrast, the five girls are not shown to be any of the above. None are shown in any kind of vocation. Instead they are shown: (1) looking pretty while silently drinking juice; (2) holding up a plate of food that we must assume she has prepared; (3) asking a question, suggesting ignorance. We know she is asking a question and not answering one because of the large question mark in the picture. The corresponding image appears on page 121. Here a boy has his hand raised to answer a question. We understand he knows the answer because the (male) teacher is pointing at him in order to elicit it from him; and (4) taking direction, albeit from an older female. The fifth illustration is of a girl, simply standing there and doing nothing at all. There are two small illustrations of a woman in a laboratory coat (e.g. p. 54), but it does not suggest authority. Rather ironically it serves to remind the reader of the remarkable paucity of such images. Another female is shown as working at a museum. She is on reception, her sole purpose is to receive and support others. Also, on pages 6-7, in the midst of the bustle of the imaginary town, there is a picture of a woman

pushing a pram, and we see that the uniformed authority figure (a police officer) is male.

Sporting activities

As the title of this paper foregrounds, sports can be used to present males and females differently. For example, an illustration of an aggressive looking male baseball player with his bat raised is paired with one of a girl in her school uniform smiling benignly. In basketball there is a sense of non-stop action and the potential for bodily contact. Baseball uses a hard bat and requires the players to hit hard and slide aggressively. Tennis, on the other hand is perceived as a relatively gentle game more suitable for passive females. Consequently, basketball and baseball are represented in the textbook as almost exclusively male activities. There are 12 illustrations of males playing baseball and 12 for basketball, whereas there is only 1 female baseball player and 2 female basketball players. For tennis, there are 15 female images and only 3 male tennis players.

There is a chapter themed around wheelchair basketball. This is the only chapter with an overtly male theme. However, the writers/publishers do appear to have made some effort to redress the male v female inequality in terms of relative quantity. Page 82 features 12 illustrations of which 10 are of females. Yet, even in a chapter devoted to basketball none are basketball players. While girls are never illustrated as basketball players, there is a photograph of four female players on the final page of the chapter; however, this is counterbalanced by 4 illustrations of males on the same page, one of which is a game official.

Qualified Teacher Status

There are five clear instances where male teachers are included in the textbook, either in a photograph or as an illustration. They appear in control and knowledgeable. Female teachers are represented by Ms. Brown (but very weakly) and in a small sketch of a woman reading to 3 very young, presumably elementary school children – the domain of Japanese women. In 2013, 89% of Japanese elementary school teachers were women (World Bank, 2015), and so this conforms to another vocational stereotype (although in this case it could be offensive to under-represented male elementary school teachers). The profession of junior high school teacher (or coach) is without question the domain of men in the textbook. On pages 28-29 a table-tennis coach is the subject of a conversation: "Is that man a teacher?", it is then confirmed that in fact he is a coach. Further, the grammar drills on page 42 specify males as teachers:

"He is a teacher"

"Is he a teacher?"
"He is not a teacher"

One of the main characters in the textbook is a woman called Ms. Brown. She is a teacher, perhaps she is an assistant language teacher (ALT) who are often used in Japanese schools. She is never afforded any kind of official title. In conversations with her students she is consistently depicted as naïve and lacking contextual knowledge. For example:

Ms. Brown: "Is that a hawk?"
Ken: "No, it's an owl."

Ms. Brown (a young foreign woman), and her male counterpart Mr. Oka (an older Japanese male), appear rarely. However, when Mr. Oka is featured in a short conversation with a student he is involved in the conversation as the more knowledgeable interactant. In contrast, Ms. Brown is the object of a conversation between two students:
"Do you know that woman?"
"Yes, that's Ms. Brown".

Ms. Brown is never conferred any kind of status as teacher overtly, instead she is "that woman". However, males are specified as teachers, their status confirmed:
"He's Mr. Yoshida our science teacher." This not only recognizes his status as a teacher, but also reinforces the traditional dominance of males in the scientific disciplines.

Conclusion

The findings of this case study confirm those of earlier studies (Ansary & Babii, 2003; Lee, 2014; Otlawski, 2003) – that gender bias and asymmetry endures in Japanese ELTs, which reinforces the personal status and social dominance of males in Japanese society. However, it does not matter if men are depicted as adventurous, confident, knowledgeable and dynamic if textbooks included corresponding images and conversations that elevated females to an equal status, and promoted their learning identities beyond that of compliant caretaker. Unfortunately, the corresponding female vignettes are either absent or, where present, operate to exaggerate bias.
Despite the clear need for Japanese women as professionals, entrepreneurs and managers, ELT writers and publishers have not responded to this, and the situation remains largely unchanged from that of 30 years ago. As Otlowski

(2003) emphasized, "textbooks published in Japan fail to represent accurately the substantial role women…play in the make up and workforce of modern societies" (p. 7). Despite the important role for working women this case study revealed a "hidden curriculum" that communicates overt and subliminal gender bias, missing the opportunity to prepare young learners for a more economically viable future founded on gender equity. When analyzed holistically, bias accumulates to form a pervasive counterproductive theme of social and economic inequality between females and males. In this case study it is apparent that despite MEXT's stated intention, Japanese ELT writers and publishers neither meet the United Nations criteria for gender equity, nor those of the industrialized global community. Therefore, to use Paludi's (2004) remark, there is an urgent need for a reform agenda focused on the redesign of ELTs at school level in order to bring a fair and equal degree of gender equity in a Japan facing an increasingly urgent demographic crisis.

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Comparing Indonesian and Australian Undergraduates' Citation Practices in Thesis Background

Ria Jubhari

Abstract

Citations are the notations in the text that identify the source of writer's claims, other researches and theories mentioned in the paper. Although most studies on citations have so far been focused on the linguistic forms of citation and how they are realised in different disciplines, I argue that these forms are not necessarily used in the same way by undergraduates who write theses before they graduate. This study examines how Indonesian and Australian students cite in their undergraduate theses in, respectively, Bahasa Indonesia and English. Data were collected from ten undergraduate theses in Bahasa Indonesia, and ten in English. The background study sections of theses were analysed. After all sentences in the background of each thesis are listed and the citations are identified, the relation between these citations and the student writers' arguments are analysed. Indonesian students used citations to support their opinions; however, their ways of using references fell into three categories. In contrast, Australian students used references to support and or to criticize an argument in various ways. Evidently, Indonesian students need to be exposed to various ways of citing other sources into texts so as to show their critical arguments.

Keywords: academic writing, references, undergraduate theses, citation practices, Bahasa Indonesia and English, Indonesian and Australian students, critical arguments

Introduction

One important aspect of academic writing is the use of relevant quotations. The guide to write thesis, which is available for Indonesian students, prescribes clearly the structure of the introductory chapter of *skripsi,* states that the quotation, used to support one's argument, needs to be supplied with its source in order that readers can check the quoted words with the original. It looks as if the quotation is provided only if it agrees with the student's argument. Keraf (1980) explained that to quote other people's opinion means that the writer agrees with the quoted reference (p. 191). It means that the writer is responsible for the truth of the opinion and is able to show some proof for using the quoted reference.

This claim, thus, perspicuously supports the fact that Indonesian students are expected to only refer to sources which are consistent with the student's argument and copy the exact wording of the reference. We can argue that, presumably for this reason, there have been very few references, if any, to sources conveying contrary points of view in students' academic texts. Sweeney's (1987) study, which compares the orality and literacy in Malay world, points out that this tendency of using only references which support the writer's argument, or of agreeing uncritically to other people's opinion, is encouraged by the complexity of western analytical thought embedded in the lecturer's words. Showing uncritical acceptance of his/her lecturer's ideas, the orality-oriented student writer stores and reproduces the quotation as a whole, word for word.

Following Sweeney (1987), it can be assumed that there are different uses of referring to other sources practised by undergraduates in their research. This study, in the backdrop of Sweeney's findings and remarks, examines the use of Indonesian and Australian students' citation in their undergraduate theses in, respectively, Bahasa Indonesia and English.

Review of Previous Studies

There have been many studies on citation ranging from various fields of study such as Schryer et al. (2011), and Hanauer and Englander (2011) to linguistic features (e.g., Thompson & Ye, 2001), while from the reader's perspective, West and Stenius (2008) stated three functions of citation, namely, to verify statements, acknowledge sources and document the sources. Swales (1990) claims that, a citation, also called a reference, is integrated when the names of the researchers occur in the actual citing sentence as one element of the sentence (p. 148). Being integrated into the sentence, these citations play an important grammatical role within a sentence. While in a nonintegral citation, the researcher occurs either in parenthesis or is referred to elsewhere by a superscript number or via some other device. Swales (1990, p. 153) provided a classical example of nonintegral citations, which are bracketed outside the sentence and play no grammatical role in the sentence: The moon is probably made of cheese (Brie, 1988) (p. 148). Meanwhile Brie (1988) showed that the moon is made of cheese is the example of an integrated citation.

From the standpoint of the propositional responsibility of references, Groom (2000) argued that in the former example the writer is more dominant than the author of the reference, while in the latter example, it is the author of the reference who dominates. This seems doubtful because both the integral and nonintegral citations do not show significant communicative difference. While Swales (1990) employed the surface features of text, and Groom (2000) emphasised the propositional responsibility to indicate the integration of

references from other sources into the text, there is less recognition of the ways references are used to achieve textual coherence in thesis backgrounds. Clyne (1987) argued that the integration of references from other sources into a text, to some extent, contributes to the coherence of the text. This study assumes that all statements in a written text are attributable to the writer of the text, unless attributed by the writer to another source, and that many ways references from other sources are used in relation to the writer's argument to achieve textual coherence. The following example from Jacoby (1987, p. 37) shows how citation is integrated into the text.

> Although Swales has argued that a move claiming to extend previous findings is "relatively neutral and unevaluative" (Swales, 1981, p. 61) and that a "zero" category exists for the evaluation of previous research expressed in a citation reference (Swales 1981, p. 50), other models in discourse analysis mean that a point of view cannot be recovered from the context of the discourse.

This example of integrated citation shows that the two references to Swales (1981) are contrasted with "other models in discourse analysis" which are established by Jacoby (1987) as the writer. Thompson (2000) as cited in Thompson & Tribble (2001, pp. 94, 96), who studied the citation practices in a corpus of doctoral theses from different backgrounds, clarified Swales' (1990) argument and specified the integral citations into three types based on the grammatical roles conveyed by these citations. The first is the verb controlling citations which act as the agent that controls a verb in active or passive voice, as in "Davis and Olson (1985) who define a management information system more precisely as ....". The second type, called naming citations, is in a form of a noun phrase or a part of a noun phrase. The distinction here is primarily grammatical but the form also implies a reification, such as when the noun phrase signifies a text rather than a human agent, "Typical price elasticities of demand for poultry products in Canada, Germany and the UK are shown in Harling and Thompson (1983)." In this case the naming citation is similar to a verb-controlling because it reports works done by particular researchers. The third type of integral citation is noncitation where a reference to another writer is represented by a name without a year reference. It is most commonly used when the reference has been supplied earlier in the text and the writer does not want to repeat it. For example, "The 'classical' form of the disease, described by Marek, causes significant mortality."
Thompson and Tribble (2001, p. 95) further specified the nonintegral citations into four types based on their functions. The first type is source citation, which functions to attribute an idea to another author, and indicates where the idea comes from. For example, "Citation is central .... because it can provide

justification for arguments (Gilbert, 1976)." Here Gilbert (1976) provides evidence for an idea which can remain unchallenged if the writer is in agreement with it, or can be countered by the ensuing argument. The citation in the second type, called identification, identifies an agent within the sentence it refers to. For instance, "A simulation model has therefore been developed to incorporate all the important features in the population dynamics (Potts, 1980)." In this example, the writer has chosen to focus attention on the information rather than the author of the study, which is identified within the parentheses. So, the writer does not include the name of the author within the sentence. The third type is called reference because it is usually signalled by the inclusion of the directive "see" as in "DFID has changed its policy recently with regard to ELT (see DFID, 1998)." This citation is similar to a source citation because it provides support for the ideas made. Yet, it also functions as a shorthand device: instead of providing the information in the present text, the writer refers the reader to another text. The last type is called origin because it indicates the originator of a concept of a product, as can be seen from the following example: "The software package used was Wordsmith Tools (Scott, 1996)."

Employing references from other sources is an integral part of most academic writing; yet many studies such as Campbell (1990) who found that students' use of information from a background reading text are mostly in the form of quotations, exact copies, near copies, paraphrases and summaries showed that there are some reasons why students find it difficult to integrate other's ideas into one's writing. One of the reasons, as also claimed by Pennycook (2000), is that students are not yet at the appropriate stage of cognitive or intellectual development. Connor (1996) and Fox (1994) also indicated that the cultural factors influence the ways of referring to other sources. Groom (2000) reminded that failure to acknowledge the sources of ideas can result in plagiarism.

Despite the fact that there have been some comparative studies on citations with various emphasises such as disciplines (e.g., Hyland, 1999; Snyder & Bonzi, 1998), corpus (e.g.,; Thompson & Tribble, 2001; Yeh, 2010) and culture (e.g., Bloch & Chi, 1995); Carter-Thomas & Rowley-Jolivet, 2013; Yao, 1998these studies relied on published texts. Little attention has been given to comparative studies across cultures which look at the writing of novice student writers. It is clear that there is a need to look more closely on the specific functions of citations employed by students in writing from other sources. This study attempts to fill this gap by comparing the use of other sources in texts written by nonnative English undergraduate students, and how their citation practices differ from those of native English undergraduate students. This study examines the different ways references from other sources are used and at the same time show their integration in thesis backgrounds in English and in Indonesian language.

Method

Criteria for Selecting Data

Theses embody academic writing which is the "pinnacle" of other types of academic writing, such as report and research articles (Jordan, 1997, p. 166). Jubhari's (2000) study of Indonesian students' perceptions on academic writing found *skripsi* to be the most frequently chosen example of academic writing. Having represented authentic data of academic writing, thesis has both advantages and disadvantages. One advantage is that the process of thesis writing is not disturbed since the thesis introductions are selected after they have been finished. It means that the structuring of ideas is in its completed state.

For this study of citation practices in thesis introduction in Bahasa Indonesia and English there are three important criteria determining the selection of *skripsi* and theses introductions.

First, the focus of analysis of this study on the thesis introduction is on the ground that the introduction, with its communicative roles, basically reveals all aspects of the thesis such as reasons for writing, aims of the study, and anticipated findings (Swales, 1984). These aspects in the introduction can reveal a writer's motivation in opting for a certain topic. Thus, the introduction should demonstrate how ideas in the *skripsi* and theses are organised in the attempt to make the contents of the whole thesis accessible and understandable for readers.

Second, in order to conduct a text-based analysis, the selected disciplines should be within the competence of the researcher. Golebiowski's (1999), and Crookes' (1986) analysis of textual structure points out that it is necessary to limit the texts to the well-known topic of the text, otherwise the comprehension of the topic influences the analysis. In this study, the chosen discipline is linguistics which is then limited to discourse analysis.

Finally, the selected *skripsi* were written between 1995 and 1998. It is believed that during this time Indonesian students experienced strong government restriction on their academic freedom, despite the fact that academic freedom was supposedly granted in 1989. Ironically, academic freedom was explicitly put into in the government law at a time when such freedom was not being enjoyed by academic staff in universities. This might have been due to the fact that the real exertion of the freedom in the academic community made the government feel threatened, so that they started to curb it. As Buchori (1998) argued, the formal acceptance of academic freedom means nothing without its practice, which seems to be absent from Indonesian academic life. For comparative purposes, the selected undergraduate Honours theses from Australian universities in Melbourne were also written, similarly, in the 1990s as the Indonesian theses under examination.

Source of Data

The main data come from Indonesian students' *skripsi* and Australian students' Honours thesis introductions which were chosen from a similar discipline, discourse analysis-based linguistics, in Bahasa Indonesia and English. The data are divided into the two sets of *skripsi* and Honours theses introductions. The first set is the introductory section of 10 *skripsi* in Bahasa Indonesia written by Indonesian students from the Indonesian Department at one of the universities in the eastern part of Indonesia (coded ID). The second set is the introductory section of 10 Honours theses (from now on referred to as "theses") written in English from three universities in one of the cities in Australia (coded AE). These universities in Indonesia and Australia offer the subject Discourse Analysis as part of their curriculum. The purpose of using thesis introductions written in English by Australian university students is to explicitly contrast the citation practice in thesis introductions written in English in Indonesia with the ones written in English by Australian students.

Students and Their Thesis Introductions

Honours theses (from now on referred to as "theses") from three universities in Australia were written by students in their fourth year of study after achieving required credits or better grades in earlier years. Once a thesis topic is chosen, the student is appointed at least one supervisor. No guide book is available for consultation, but students are required to take one or two relevant subjects of the fourth year such as "Research Methodology" in order to help students conduct their study.

The procedure of *skripsi* as one of the undergraduate subjects in the curriculum is administered on a departmental basis. The process of writing the *skripsi* begins in the sixth semester during which students take a subject called *seminar praskripsi* and are given some guidance on how to write their *skripsi,* including how to write an appropriate proposal for a small-scale study. The explanation of what to include in their *skripsi* is found in a guide book issued by the faculty (Kadir et al., 1995). At the end of this subject, students have to write their research proposal on a certain topic based on the given guidelines, and present it to a panel of lecturers, who have an expertise in the chosen topic. The acceptance of the proposal is usually indicated by the agreement on a working title and by appointing two supervisors who are responsible for helping students carry out their small-scale study and writing up the *skripsi*.

The Issue of Validated Analysis of Data

In this study the analysis cannot be checked with the writer because all the information for the analysis is from the *skripsi* or thesis introductions themselves. Neither can the analysis be validated with raters. As has often been argued, for example by Taylor and Tingguang (1991) and Mauranen (1993) in their analyses of rhetorical structure, a validated analysis of text structure assumes that the raters have the same understanding of the topic as the researcher does. Crookes (1986), however, claims that in practice it is not easy to gather a group of raters who have the same expertise with the topic of the texts. Furthermore, the lack of full understanding of the topic hinders the process of analysis, and may adversely create different interpretations of the analysis. For such reasons, this study does not employ validation of data analysis, yet attempts to be as explicit as possible in its analysis.

The Approach of This Study

The references from other sources in this study do not only indicate a writer's acknowledgement of the quoted source but also reveal that the *skripsi* or thesis looks to authoritative confirmation for what is being discussed (Swales, 1990). The latter implies that the reference is evaluated and integrated in the discussion, which can especially be indicated when they show relation to other parts of the text. The relationship can be, for example, in the form of support for or criticisms of the writer's claim. This study does not consider whether sentences in these theses introductions are structurally correct to standard Indonesian or English language grammar. The meaning indicated in a sentence should reflect one state of affairs. Thus, a sentence is constituted of one state of affairs. The analysis is not focused on the individual propositions of the sentence but on these propositions as one state of affairs which, for the sake of clarity, is called "sentence".

Results

In this section the findings are presented in five subsections which draw attention to the shared characteristics of the integrating references used in AE and ID texts. Our analysis suggests that the following five functions emerge from these texts, and that they shed valuable light on the ways references are integrated into *skripsi* written by Indonesian students and theses written by Australian students.

1. Support the previously mentioned arguments

As can be seen from Table 1, majority of the citations in both AE and ID texts are integrated into the texts to support the previous argument. An example from the use of supporting citations in AE texts can be seen in S10 in text AE1 where the writer claims, "There is indeed a difference in the communicative competence of males and females." This argument is supported by a number of studies mentioned in the same sentence.

10.   That there is indeed a difference in the communicative competence of males and females has been demonstrated in many areas, including tag questions (Holmes, 1987), interruptions (West & Zimmerman, 1983; Zimmerman & West, 1975), minimal responses (Wood, 1988), linguistic hedging devices (Holmes, 1987), topic development (Coates, 1988b) and verbosity (Woods, 1988).

In other words, the different communicative competence between males and females, as argued in S10, occurs in the use of tag questions, interruptions, minimal responses, linguistic hedging devices, topic development, and verbosity. The fact that these seven references support the writer's argument in S10 implies their supporting function which shows the integration of the references into the text AE1.

The supporting references are also demonstrated in text AE8. Brown and Yule (1983) in S4, Levinson (1983) in S5, van Dijk (1977) in S6, Karmiloff (1980) in S7 and Halliday and Hasan (1976) in S9 are integrated into text AE8 because they specifically show the relevance of coherence and cohesion to discourse as argued in S3.

3.   In discussions of discourse, both coherence and cohesion are relevant.

4.   Brown and Yule (1983) argue that coherence and cohesion do not always go together; a text may be linguistically cohesive, and yet incoherent.

5.   As Levinson (1983) points out, topical coherence is something which is constructed across turns by the colloboration of the participants.

6.   van Dijk (1977) gives an intuitive definition of coherence, that it is a semantic property of discourses, which has to do with the interpretation of each sentence relative to the interpretation of the other sentences.

7.   Karmiloff-Smith (1980) defines coherence as the temporal/causal structure of the story content.

8.   Coherence is this linking of ideas; in contrast, cohesion relates to the structure of the text.

9.   Halliday and Hassan (1976) argue that it is the cohesive devices between and within sentences which constitute a text.

Reference to other sources is also used to support the writer's view of a study. For instance, S81 in AE9 states the writer's view of O'Barr and Atkins (1980) (see S80) which is then supported by Swann's (1989) implication in S82.

80.   They found that in the courtroom situation it was a combination of lack of courtroom experience and low social standing which produced "powerless" language, regardless of the speaker's gender, and they postulated that more women speak "powerless" language due to "the greater tendency of women to occupy relatively powerless social positions" (O'Barr & Atkins, 1980, p. 104)

81.   Although their results establish a correlation between the use of linguistic features as being the result of a certain social context rather than purely of a speaker's gender, it is important to remember that in the courtroom people are placed in a situation where, to a large degree, witnesses are treated in a similar manner regardless of their gender so this becomes less important than other factors.

82.   Swann (1989) implies this when she states "when gender is salient in an interaction … men would tend to dominate" (Swann, 1989, p. 127).

The supporting references in AE texts can be indicated by the use of markers such as *cf* (*confer* –'compare' [EL]) in S25 (AE3) which suggests that Wierzbicka (1991) has a slightly different concept, as compared with Tannen (1981) in S24, to describe the characteristic of Anglo culture valuing the autonomy of every individual.

24.   Tannen refers to Jewish culture as one which favours "community" as opposed to "independence" (1981, p.385).

25.   This latter term could be used to describe Anglo culture, as one which values the autonomy of every individual (cf Wierzbicka, 1991, p. 30).

In ID texts this supporting function of citation with its signalling phrase is also found where references are integrated into texts by supporting or being supported by *skripsi* writer's argument with the use of certain phrases. An instance of this function in ID texts is demonstrated in S42-43 (ID1) which is manifest in the phrase *Sebagaimana yang dikatakan oleh* (As said by) in S42 and *Sejalan dengan pendapat* (This view is in line with) in S43. They both indicate that Samsuri's and Hoerip's arguments are the same as the arguments in S40-41.

40. *Bahasa puisi berbeda dengan bahasa pergaulan sehari-hari, juga berbeda dengan ragam bahasa karya sastra seperti novel dan roman.[2]*
41. *Walaupun demikian, kata-kata yang dipergunakan merupakan kata-kata yang terdapat dalam bahasa sehari-hari.*
42. *Sebagaimana yang dikatakan oleh Samsuri, (1982,hlm. 24) bahwa 'penyimpangan' bahasa itu merupakan suatu kebiasaan penyair.*
43. *Sejalan dengan pendapat Hoerip (1986, hlm.111) yang menganggap bahwa masalah bahasa yang paling pelik terdapat di dalam puisi.*

40   The language of poems is different from the language of daily interaction, and it is also different from the style of literary works such as a novel or a romance.
41.   However, the words used are those words found in the daily usage of a language.
42.   As said by Samsuri (1982, p.24) 'deviation' in language is common to poets.
43.   This view is in line with Hoerip (1986, p.111) who considers that the most difficult problem of language is found in poems.

In this extract the writer argues about the characteristic language of poems as indicated by the use of every day words (S40-41), while Samsuri (1982) in S42 mentions the poet's "deviation" in language use and Hoerip (1986) in S43 argues that the most difficult problem of language is found in poems. Thus, although the writer explicitly said that his argument follows Samsuri (1982), the content of his argument does not necessarily mean the same as the quoted Samsuri's (1982). Further, this also shows that the use of signal words such as "as said" in S42 and "in line with" in S43 (ID1) cannot necessarily determine the connection of ideas. This misuse of transition signal also occurs in S3-4 (ID10).

3.   *Bahasa tersebut berkembang terus sesuai dengan perkembangan manusia sebagai pemakai bahasa.*
4.   *Dalam kaitan ini, Ginarto dalam Driarkara (1977, hlm. 5) menegaskan bahwa sejak dari tempat tidur sampai beradu kembali manusia tidak pernah lepas dari bahasa.*

3.   That kind of language [as a means of communication] always develops following the development of human beings as language users.
4.   In this case, Ginarto in Driarkara (1977, p. 5) affirms that from the time human beings get up until they get back to sleep they are never separated from [their use of] language.

The same supporting function in Austin's argument in S4 is integrated into text ID2 by supporting the argument in S3.

3. *Perlu disadari bahwa manusia menggunakan bahasa sebagai sarana komunikasi bukan hanya merupakan suatu peristiwa belaka atau suatu yang terjadi dengan sendirinya, melainkan komunikasi mempunyai fungsi, mengandung maksud dan tujuan tertentu serta dirancang untuk menghasilkan beberapa efek, pengaruh, atau akibat pada lingkungan para pendengar dan para pembaca*
4. *Hal ini sejalan dengan pendapat Austin (dalam Tarigan, 1986, hlm 146) yang mengatakan "komunikasi adalah serangkaian tindak ujar yang dipakai secara bersistem untuk menyelesaikan tujuan-tujuan tertentu."*

3. It is necessary to be aware that man uses language as a means of communication [the use of language] is not a mere event or a natural phenomenon, communication has functions, certain purposes and aims, [communication] is planned to give some effects and influences or results to listeners or readers.
4. This view follows Austin (in Tarigan, 1986, p. 146) who says that "communication is a series of speech acts systematically used to accomplish certain objectives."

The phrase *Hal ini sejalan dengan pendapat Austin* (This view follows Austin) is supposed to indicate the similarity between Austin's argument on communication and the preceding argument in S3, and further shows that the argument in S3 supports the argument in S4. Yet, the different content of argument in S3 from Austin's argument in S4 shows the misuse of the phrase.

Many other instances in ID texts show that the supporting citations, including their use of signaling phrase mentioned in sequential sentences, do not necessarily mean that these references are interrelated with one another. Each of the following sentences S56-S58 contains one reference which is supposed to support the student writer's opinion in S56. The support is indicated by the phrase *sebagaimana dikatakan oleh* (As X says) in S56 (ID1).

56. *Penggunaan bahasa dalam sastra dikenal dengan nama stilistika yang merupakan cabang linguistik, sebagaimana dikatakan oleh Yunus (1981:27) bahwa "Pengertian stilistika di sini dibatasi kepada penggunaan bahasa dalam sastra".*
57. *Stilistika juga dikaitkan dengan dengan retorika yaitu teknik pemakaian bahasa sebagai seni, bail lisan maupun tulisan yang didasarkan pada suatu pengetahuan yang tersusun baik (Keraf, 1985, hlm 1-3).*

58. Haris mengemukakan yang dikutip oleh Tallei (1988, hlm 5) yaitu "Bahasa bukanlah merupakan kumpulan kata-kata dan kalimat tanpa aturan tetapi merupakan suatu kesinambungan yang teratur disebut wacana."

56. The use of language in literature is known as stylistics which is a branch of linguistics, as Yunus (1981, p. 27) says "The meaning of stylistics here is limited to the uses of language in literary works."

57. Stylistics is also related to rhetoric i.e. the technique of using language as an art, either in oral or written works, which is based on well organised knowledge (Keraf, 1985, p. 5).

58. Harris said, as quoted in Talley (1988, p. 5), that "Language is not a collection of unarranged words and sentences but a recurrence of segments which is called discourse".

Keraf's argument on rhetoric cited in S57 with its signaling word *also* clearly elaborates the previous argument (S56) which looks at the use of language in literary works. The next reference in S58, however, does not seem to clearly refer to S57 and should be placed before S56 so that the idea of language in S56 seems to be the alternative to the one in S58. In other words, the relevance of the content in S58 to the content of S57 does not show how the two are related. Despite the use of the transition signal *oleh sebab itu* (that is the reason for) in the following S59 (ID1), which indicates the writer's conclusion of all the arguments from S56-58, S59 does not explicitly connect the argument in S59 to the previous arguments in S56-58.

59. Oleh sebab itu, penggunaan teori kohesi [sic] karena stilistika adalah cabang linguistik dengan objek sasarannya adalah karya sastra misalnya novel, roman, dan puisi.

59. That is the reason for using the theory of cohesion since stylistics is a branch of linguistics which has as its intended objectives literary works such as novels, romances, and poems.

2. Describe or sum up the contents of the references

The second most frequent use of integrating references from other sources is indicated when the contents of other references are simply described or summed up. As can be seen from Table 1 in appendix, although this function is only found in AE texts and amounts to half of the total references in AE texts, such integration of references does not occur in all AE texts and are only demonstrated in AE2. AE3, A7, A8, A9, and A10. The possible reason why this

describing/summing up function, which tends to elaborate the contents of the specific argument in that reference, is absent in ID texts is that almost all references in ID texts which include their argument are generally shorter if compared with the ones in AE texts. Being short, such a citation in ID texts is mentioned in one sentence while in AE texts, the similar citation can be indicated in more than two sequential sentences. For instance, S91-95 in AE8, which is a study of anaphora, sum up Marslen-Wilson and Tyler (1980) in terms of the comprehension of anaphora.

91. Marslen-Wilson and Tyler (1980) tested adult subjects for on-line speech understanding and tried to determine *what* happens *when* during speech understanding.
92. They tested subjects for word recognition in contexts of normal prose, anomalous prose and scrambled prose.
93. Other variables were position of target word in sentence, and the use of the target word in the previous sentence.
94. They established that word-recognition occurs very early in the word itself, and that several competing hypotheses can be processed simultaneously.
95. They found that the implication of this is that all words are analysed in context, the way that anaphora is.

Another example is Gumperz (1982), the only reference in text AE2, in S14-18 which illustrates the case of a migrant doctor in the United States who was charged with perjury. Because of the apparent lack of understanding of a certain grammatical distinction, he had not made the temporal distinctions expected of him. This illustrating function, which shows that Gumperz (1982) is integrated into the text, at the same time it also indicates its relation to the topic of the study, AE2 which highlights the importance of past referencing form in medical interview.

3. Link to various aspects of the study

This linking function of references is found in both AE and ID texts. In AE texts these references are integrated by being connected to various aspects of the study such as nature of data, the structure of the interview, and the object of the study. This linking function also indicates the support of references to the writer's argument. The following example shows the association of the three references in S132 and S133 with data in AE3.

131. It is impossible to know to what extent the data is naturalistic.
132. Although none of the consultants appeared to be disturbed by either my presence or that of the microphone, it is clear that the situation is not perfectly natural (cf. Labov's "observer's paradox" (1972)).
133. Béal (2000, p. 18) claims that it has been found that the presence of the researcher as observer and participant does not affect the authenticity of the data, whereas Schiffrin felt that although she shared a Jewish identity with the speakers, they were unlikely to use the same speech behaviour as they would if she were not there (1984, p. 314).

Since Labov (1972) in S132, Béal (2000, p. 8) in S133, and Schiffrin (1984, p. 34) in S133 have commented on data in AE3 (S131), they have shown their integration into text AE3.

Similarly, some cited references in AE texts support a term used in the study. For instance, S38 (AE1) says "This term was introduced by Sacks et al (1974) as part of their discussion on turn-taking in conversation." It means that Sacks et al (1974) is the source for the term "transition relevance place" mentioned in S44.

Many references from other sources in AE10 are integrated into the text when discussing the object of study AE10, i.e. promotional letters for a night club which are further associated with the strategies of using advertising language, as argued in the references. For instance,

31. Petty, Cacioppo and Goldman found that the use of rhetorical questions has completely opposite effects depending on whether the recipient of the message had a high or low level of personal involvement in the subject of the communication (1981, p. 854).
32. An example of a rhetorical question in the sample *Manhattan* promotional letter is *Now, I can't think of a better place to show off your Christmas presents, can you?*
47. The aim of overlexicalisation is to focus attention on topics that speaker or writer consider to be important (Schmidt & Kess, 1986, p. 28).
48. Overlexicalisation is not apparent in the *Manhattan* promotional letters.
54. Examples are given of the adjectivisation process such as "buttery, creamy, crispy." (Schmidt & Kess, 1986, p. 32).
55. Adjectives are also used in the *Manhattan* promotional letters.
62. Some of the methods discussed by Geis (1982) are changed slightly by the *Manhattan* to suit a promotional letter.
63. To attract the reader's attention events such as *Christmas Eve Beach Party* are underlined and information about the night is moved into the centre of the page.

All references in S31, S47, S54 and S62 refer to the object of study (AE10) – the Manhattan Hotel promotional letters – and support the previous argument.

The cited reference in S56 (AE1) which provides a definition of 'intonation unit'is also linked to the system used in transcribing data for the study of minimal responses. The three references stated in S57 (AE1), which states "Other studies using this method of transcription are Tao (1992), Chafe (1987) and Du Bois and Thompson (1990)," are linked to the writer's use of Du Bois et al's (1990) method of transcribing data mentioned in S54-55.

54. When transcribing my own data, I used the system devised by Du Bois, Schuetze-Coburn, Paolino and Cumming (1990) which indicates a completed intonation unit by the use of a full-stop (.).
55. This system has been devised for the transcription of colloquial data for the Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English and is being further developed by the Languages of the Pacific Rim Project at the University of California at Santa Barbara.
56. An intonation unit is 'a stretch of speech uttered under a single coherent intonation contour' (Du Bois et al., 1990, p. 2).

References from other sources into AE texts are also integrated by showing the same concern with the writer's claim, as can be seen in S70 in AE7, and at the same time support the writer's argument.

70. There is a plethora of literature that examines what effect traumatic brain injury (TBI) has on language skills in adults; however, it is surprising that there is very little research on the effects of TBI on young children, particularly in the domain of conversational discourse (Haritou et al., 1997 Willcocox & Mogford-Bevan, 1995)

The integration of references in S70 is indicated by the fact that Willcocox, Mogford-Bevan, 1995 and Haritou et al, 1997 share the same angle with the writer of AE7. In particular, they concern the little research carried out on young children's conversational discourse.

Although the occurrence of this function in ID texts is not as many as in AE texts it is the second most used functions of references in ID texts (see Table 1). Such an integration of supporting references in ID texts is commonly indicated when they are associated with various aspects of ID studies, as can be seen in S26 in ID5.

26. *Berdasarkan bentuk wacana, Tarigan (1987, hlm 52) membagi wacana menjadi tiga bagian yaitu wacana drama, wacana puisi, wacana prosa.*
27. *Yang dimaksud wacana drama adalah wacana yang diwujudkan dalam bentuk prosa.*
28. *Contohnya: novel, artikel, cerita pendek, skripsi, surat dan sebagainya.*
29. *Yang menjadi pusat perhatian dalam penelitian ini adalah wacana prosa, yang dalam hal ini wacana prosa yang diwujudkan dalam novel "Merahnya Merah" karya Iwan Simatupang yang akan dianalisis dengan menggunakan teori kohesi pada aspek leksikal.*

26. Based on the form of discourse, Tarigan (1987, p. 52) divides discourse into three parts namely, play, poems and prose.
27. A drama *[sic]* is a discourse realised in the form of prose.
28. For example, novels, articles, short stories, *skripsi*, letters etc.
29. The focus of discussion in this *skripsi* is the discourse of prose which in this case is realised in the novel *Merahnya Merah* [The Redness of Being Red] by Iwan Simatupang which is analysed using the lexical aspect of the theory of cohesion.

By linking Tarigan's (1987, p. 52) argument in S26 to the topic of text ID5 in S29, the integration of the reference into ID5 is established. In some cases, the citation is not specifically referred to distinctive names, but simply indicated by generic category, as found in S28 (ID3).

28. *Dengan membaca pernyataan diatas, penulis condong kepada para ahli yang memperkenalkan analisis wacana yang menawarkan pendekatan bukan hanya dari segi kebahasaan, akan tetapi juga segi-segi nonkebahasaan.*
28. On reading the above explanation, the writer agrees with the experts who introduce discourse analysis as an approach not only from linguistic point of view but also from non-linguistic points of view.

The term "the experts" is the generic term which can point to a number of specifc names of experts.

The supporting references are also cited to indicate their relation to the theoretical basis for the study (S20 in text ID2) and to works which have been read by the writer of text S 32 (ID2).

20. *Menurut Levinson, pragmatik adalah kajian dari hubungan antara bahasa dan konteks yang mendasari pejelasan pengertian bahasa.*
21. *Di sini, pengertian atau pemahaman bahasa menunjukkan kepada fakta bahwa untuk mengerti suatu pengungkapan atau ujaran bahasa diperlukan juga pengetahuan di luar makna kata dan hubungan tatabahasanya, yakni hubungan dengan konteks pemakainya.*

20. According to Levinson, pragmatics is a study of relationship between language and contexts which is the basis for the explanation of the meaning of language.
21. Here, the understanding and comprehension of language points to the fact that to understand an expression of language it is also necessary to have knowledge of the relationship to the context of the users, in addition to the word meaning and relationship expressed in grammar.

32. *Penulis membaca sejumlah buku yang dijadikan sebagai landasan teori, antara lain karya Nababan (1987) yang berjudul "Ilmu Pragmatik", Tarigan (1987, 1990) yang berjudul "Pengajaran Pragmatik", [sic] makalah Jalaluddin (1991) yang berjudul "Analisis Semantik dan Pragmatik dalam Implikatur Bahasa Melayu".*

32. The writer read a number of books which contain the theoretical basis for the study, those books include Nababan (1987) entitled "Pragmatics", Tarigan (1987, 1990) entitled "The teaching of Pragmatics", *[sic]* Jalaluddin's paper (1991) entitled "Analisis Semantik dan Pragmatik dalam Implikatur Bahasa Melayu".

Thus, indicated by the signalling word *Here*, the explanation in S21 implies that the *skripsi* writer seems to integrate Levinson's argument on pragmatics into ID2 by explaining the argument.

4. Support and criticize an argument

This function of citation which only occurs in AE is indicated when references from other sources both support and criticise an argument. Table 1 shows that like the describing function, this function is not found in all AE texts. An example of this use of integrating citations in AE texts is found in S20-22, S37-39 and S45-46 in text AE1.

20. In order to study the data I collected, I used the model of turn-taking outlined by Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson (1974).

21. This model was devised to analyse conversation.
22. However, some of the basic tenets of the system are, at best, questionable.
37. A basic notion relevant to the following discussion is the transition relevance place.
38. This term was introduced by Sacks et al. (1974) as part of their discussion on turn-taking in conversation but was never explicitly described by them.
39. It is simply mentioned in regards to the 'unit-types' used in the turn-taking system and is given the quality of 'projectability'.
45. Just how these points can be defined is still being debated.
46. For example, Murray (1985) argues that interpretation is always required to distinguish transition relevance places and that 'even the import of proximity to what is interpreted as a possible completion point varies, depending on prior speech' (1985, p. 38).

The use of Sacks et al.'s (1974) model of turn-taking in AE1 (S20) means that while the argument in the reference is accepted and used in the study AE1 (S21), at the same time it is criticised and this criticism integrates the reference into the text (S22). Similarly, the writer's criticism of Sacks et al (1974) for not explicitly describing the notion TRP, as stated in S38, indicates the integration of this reference into the text. S45 again evaluates the notion TRP as used in Sacks et al. (1974), and argues that "just how these points can be defined is still being debated." This writer's evaluation further finds support from Murray's (1985) argument as stated in S46 and S48. It is clear that while Murray (1985) in S46 is indicated to be different from Sacks et al (1974), Murray (1985) has three-fold function, i.e. to support the writer's evaluation of Sacks et al, to provide example of such support and at the same time to contrast with Sacks et al. (1974) in AE1.
The integration of references from other sources is also demonstrated when arguments in some references in AE texts are criticised by other references. For example, S71-72 in AE9 state:

71. Although Lakoff (1975) describes "weak" female features as being generally rather than absolutely part of women's speech compared to that of the male mainstream, the implication of this has resulted in a persistent depiction of certain features of speech as being associated with either male or female speakers.
72. Aries, in her (1987) review of language and gender studies, criticizes this division as being overly simplistic.

In this AE9, Lakoff (1975) is evaluated and criticised in Aries' (1987) review of language and gender; thus, integrating the references into the text of AE9.

Similarly, references in text S19 (AE3) show that they are compared, criticised and contrasted to show their integration into the text.

19. The universality of the principles of human communication proposed by Grice (1975), Brown and Levinson (1987), and Leech (1983) have been questioned and it has been claimed that they are in fact subject to substantial variation across cultures (cf. Matsumoto, 1988) and Strecker (1993) who looked at the concept of "face" in Japanese and Hamar societies respectively; Ochs Keenan (1976) with her work on the desirability of withholding information in Malagasy village society; Clyne (1994) with his work on inter-cultural communication in the Australian workplace and Wierzbicka's work in general concerning culture-and language-specific norms (1985, 1986, 1991, 1994, inter alia), to quote only a few).

As we can see, S19 questions the argument on the universality of the principles of human communication proposed by Grice (1975), Brown and Levinson (1987), and Leech (1983). The marker *cf* in "...(cf. Matsumoto (1988) and Strecker (1993) who looked at the concept of "face" in Japanese and Hamar societies respectively;…" indicates that these two references are to be compared with the argument "it has been claimed that they are in fact subject to substantial variation across cultures" in the same sentence. These two references are further compared with six additional references of similar views – Ochs & Keenan (1976), Clyne (1994) and Wierzbicka (1985, 1986, 1991, 1994).

5. Provide examples to the previous arguments

Table 1 shows that this function of citation which provides examples to its previous argument is found both in AE and ID texts. An example from AE texts can be seen in S10 in AE6.

10. While some studies of language and gender have been undertaken in an Australian English setting (e.g. Holmes 1986, Cook 1995, papers in Pauwels 1987a, Eisikovits 1989, Thwaite 1993, Winter 1993, Reid 1995), there is definitely room for further research in this area.

The seven references mentioned in S10 are the supporting examples of the argument that some studies of language and gender have been undertaken in an Australian English setting. Although this function can be clearly indicated by the use of signals such as *e.g.* and *For example,* a few nonsignal references also function as an example of the previous statement. The references cited in S63-65 (AE7) demonstrate their support to the writer's argument in S62 by providing three specific facts or examples that support the previous argument. This example

indicates that overlapping function of providing example and support the previous argument.

62. In Australia, the incidence of head injury is just as grim as its incidence in the US.
63. The Victorian Injury Surveillance System reported an incidence of head injury in children under 15 years of age at 1,494 during 1989 and 1990.
64. 52% of these were admitted to hospital or died because of their injury (Ozanne-Smith, 1991).
65. Based on Victorian hospital admissions during the period of 1987-8, the overall incidence of head injury in children aged between 0 and 14 years was estimated at 375 per 100,000 children per year, some 125 per 100,000 children more than in the USA (Stirling, 1995).

As can be seen from Table 1, this function rarely occurs in ID texts. The given example of a case in the following S45 in ID3 supports the previous argument that the link actually occurs in our mind but never exists in utterances and writing.

44. *Namun kemudian kita heran kembali, mengapa kita tidak berpikir untuk menemukan "penghubung" apa yang sesungguhnya ada dalam pikiran secara otomatis namun tidak pernah hadir dalam tuturan atau tulisan.*
45. *Contoh berikut ini akan memberikan gambaran yang jelas tentang maksud penulis.*

A. *Apa yang dilakukan polisi itu?*
B. *Saya baru saja datang. (Tallei, 1988, hlm 10)*
44. But, then we are puzzled again. Why do we never think to find "the link" that actually exists in our mind automatically but never exists in utterances and writing.
45. The following example will provide a clear description of the writer's intention:
A. 'What are the police doing'
B. 'I have just arrived'

Discussion

Table 1 shows that while Indonesian students' *skripsi* (ID) and Australian students' thesis introductions (AE) share the three functions of citation– to support the just mentioned arguments, to link to aspects of students' research and to provide examples– the functions of critizing counter arguments and of simply summing up the points in other sources can be found only in AE texts. Despite

the similarity between ID and AE texts, those three functions of citations are much fewer in ID than those in AE texts. The table also shows that nearly half of AE texts hardly show citations which both support and at the same time criticise the previous arguments.

What is noted from the findings in this research is that although the cited examples also indicate student writer's support to other sources, they can be distinctively categorised by the use of signalling words such as "this includes","for example", "for instance" and "such as". The describing function in AE texts may also support or contrast the previous argument; yet it is differently identified from its rather long illustration of a study, which are at least two sentences. These overlapping functions, for instance between support and example and between contrast and describe, are in line with Clyne (1987) and indicate that those functions are not exclusive to certain arguments to help establish the textual coherence in AE thesis introductions. These findings support Thompson and Tribble (2001) which also mentioned the possible two-fold function such as a reference citation can also be a support citation, or at the same time function as "a shorthand device" as demonstrated by the use of the directive "see".

What the current study has attempted is to compare the use of citations in Bahasa Indonesia by Indonesian students and in English by Australian students while acknowledging the underlying findings of previous studies (Jacoby, 1987; Swales, 1990) that citations basically indicate the student writer's support to the borrowed idea. The contribution of the current study lies in advancing the scholarship in the field under examination by specifying the supporting functions and, at a different level, heigntening our understanding of different ways students argue the ideas in other sources.

However, some issues are still unresolved. As discussed in the literature review, textual coherence is built when there is a connection between a citation and the writer's argument or the other sources' arguments. This points to the likelihood that the reference of those citations do not precisely precede or follow the citations but can refer to arguments in different chapters in the thesis, which is not the focus of this research. Another issue is that the ID texts are characterised by the fact that most arguments are not logically connected to one another as can be seen from some misuses of reminders which fail to refer to the precise argument mentioned previously. This lack of coherent argument is reinforced by the fact that all references from other sources are integrated into the text merely by showing support to the writer's argument in various ways or by being explained by the writer. Jubhari (2003) indicated that this problem is culturally influenced where Indonesian students normally follow what the elderly said– those references are respected like stated by the elderly – without any objection at all it seems.

An obvious limitation of the current study is its small number of data and its focus on those thesis backgrounds in Bahasa Indonesia written by undergraduates from one university in Indonesia and on those backgrounds in English by undergraduates from three universities in Australia. While data in this study do represent thesis backgrounds, the fact that they were written by a limited number of university students in Indonesia and Australia may have influenced the results. In this sense the findings are limited to the functions of citations in thesis background in Indonesian context written by undergraduates in eastern part of Indonesia and those in thesis backround in English written by undergraduates in one big city in Australia, and which perhaps may not be truly representative of all undergraduates in Indonesia and Australia. Accordingly, it would be especially useful if we had more data that addressed thesis backgrounds written in Indonesian and in English collected from much wider areas in Indonesia and Australia respectively. It would also be equally useful if the same framework was used, which would allow comparable data to emerge. Furthermore, the current two sets of thesis backgrounds only focus on linguistic discpline. Thus, future research should look directly at undergraduates' use of citations in thesis background from different disciplines and explore their cross references to those citations or arguments in other chapters in the thesis for comparatively more credible results.

Conclusions and Pedagogical Implications

We have shown that all the Indonesian students of the study used citations to support their opinions; however, their ways of using references fell into three categories. In contrast, when Australian students of the study cited, they used references to support or to criticize an argument in various ways. Evidently, Indonesian students need to be exposed to various ways of citing other sources into texts so as to show their critical arguments, which they are clearly lacking in.

This study suggests two pedagogical implications for intervention. First, while it is true that Indonesian students need to have more exercises in academic writing, such exercises should be focused on combining sentences within and across paragraphs while retaining their rhetorical relationship. In this case, students need to be trained in how to use appropriate transition signals showing interrelationships between arguments in their texts. The exercises should include deductive and inductive analyses, synthesising a number of arguments, and making valid inferences from an argument. This suggestion further demands the integration of reading and writing, where reading does not merely involve learning about facts but also involve thinking about the logical organisation of arguments.

Second, students need to make the most of their reading exercises. They need to understand that views from other sources can be used in different ways; thus a reference from other source is not only used to support the student's claim but can also offer a contrary point of view. The views from published scholars can, for example, be argued against in order to establish the student's own view of an issue. In other words, it is important to recognise that the same arguments from one single source can be both supported and criticised depending on one's standpoint. These skills can be developed by writing exercises in which students learn how to formulate both criticisms of and support for arguments from other sources.

Notes

[1] *Skripsi* is a piece of written work that Indonesian students submit as one of the requirements to obtain an undergraduate degree after four years of study.
[2] The sample sentence in ID texts which contains citation, followed by the author's translation in English

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Notes on Contributor

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Table 1. Functions of Citations in AE and ID thesis introductions

No.	Functions of Cited Works	AE1	AE2	AE3	AE4	AE5	AE6	AE7	AE8	AE9	AE10	Tot	ID1	ID2	ID3	ID4	ID5	ID6	ID7	ID8	ID9	ID10	Total
		2549[1]	740	6030	3836	1158	1182	4853	3667	3407	3345	Tot	2506	1040	1734	1839	1510	1516	1732	1285	1215	911	Total
		1261	33	85	134	49	54	175	182	124	183		128	32	76	88	75	70	82	67	53		
1	The references support the previously mentioned arguments	21	0	61	3	5	4	103	18	9	14	238	20	4	11	5	2	9		1	2	3	57
2	The contents of references are simply described or summed up	0	1	12	0	0	0	**7**	**21**	33	41	115											0
3	The other references are linked to various aspects of the study	10	0	4	1	19	3	2	0	0	13	52	1	7			4	3			1		16
4	The references both support and criticise an argument	**4**	0	**11**	0	0	0	6	2	13	4	40											0
5	The references provide	3	0	8	0	2	7	9	1	0	5	33			2	2							4

	examples																						
	T o t a l	38	1	96	4	26	14	127	42	55	77	480	21	11	13	7	6	12	0	1	3	3	77

1 Number of words in each text
2 Number of sentences in each text