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Foreword

Welcome to the December 2016 issue of the Journal of English as an International Language. This issue is yet another avowal of EILJ's unflagging commitment to engendering a plurality of research themes and interests that are in keeping with our pedagogies and practices in the teaching of EIL. The ensuing line-up of papers in this issue testifies to our authors' bold attempts to propose and disseminate conceptualizations that are in sync with EILJ's declared mission of promoting locally appropriate, culturally sensitive and socially aligned methodologies and materials in EIL. It is our fervent belief that such on-going endeavours and exercises could add significant momentum to EILJ's democratization and dehegemonization of the use of English across the cultures of Asia and farther afield.

The paper entitled "Differences between Native and Non-Native English Speaking Teachers in China from the Perspectives of Chinese EFL Students" by Koyin Sung and Fredrick J Poole investigates the perceptions underlying the problematic as well as politically sensitive issue of Native English Speaking Teachers (NESTs) and Non-Native English Speaking Teachers (NNESTs). The study reported in the paper featured 120 English as a Foreign Language (EFL) students in China, who were the mainstay of the three research questions that were posed by the study: (1) What are Chinese EFL students' perceptions towards NESTs and NNESTs?, (2) Are NESTs' and NNESTs' teaching behaviors different according to Chinese EFL students' perceptions?, and (3) What are Chinese EFL students' opinions about the pros and cons of being taught by NESTs and NNESTs? This study reported discernibly significant differences between NESTs' and NNESTs' student-perceived teaching behaviours. However, the authors quite unabashedly point out that the participants did not believe that NESTs were inherently better teachers than NNESTs, which upholds the belief that the selection of English teachers should be predicated on professional knowledge and skills with which to teach language learners rather than on their status as NESTs or NNESTs. Such a realization underlying the epistemic stance of the authors leads us to believe that the study did not support or uphold the native speaker fallacy. In light of this, the paper should offer tremendous stimuli and synergies to our readership who are very often confronted with the issue of native speaker fallacy in their respective ecospheres of teaching English. More importantly our readership could also investigate how cultural differences mediate in the delivery of EIL programmes in various Asian cultures and if there could be significant differences between /among them based on Confucian and non-Confucian ethos as posed by the paper.

Jane Chinelo Obasi's paper, "Communicative Features of the Nigerian University Undergraduates' English Expressions", signpost the sociolinguistic uniqueness and creativity in the use of language by a selection of Nigerian

university undergraduates. In doing this, it articulates a background of problems linked with meaning interpretation and effective communication among the selected students. It points to the appropriateness and inappropriateness of students' communication in English with an expansive focus on their distinctive communicative codes in relation to their use of pidgin, slang and Nigerian English expressions. This, the author believes can render their communication unintelligible for anyone who is not acculturated in the use of such codes and in turn hampers effective communication in English. Given this, the paper demonstrates the need for language teachers to sensitize such students into those forms of acceptable English language use because "to speak and write correctly in English language without affected precision and without self-consciousness are not only forms of good manners but are also considered a wonderful asset to any Nigerian who acquires the skills" (Eyisi, 2004, p. xi). The author has painstakingly discussed an array of engaging issues and insights underlying word stress, the use of pidgin/slang and Nigerian English expressions during communication by Nigerian university undergraduates. In sum and spirit, the paper embodies the author's robust spirit of inquiry and her sound grasp of the theoretical orientations that have informed her study. Given this, the paper should serve as an enticing pathway into the "powder-keg domain" of teaching spoken English within the EIL spectrum. Therefore, we entreat our readers to voice their reactions to it and do further research into this domain of inquiry.

The paper entiltled "How well is English with Mora-timed Rhythm Understood by a Multilingual Community?" by Nakayama Tomokazu, Seoh Koon Tan and Hoo Chun Pek investigates the intelligibility of English with mora-timed rhythm or Japanese Katakana Hatsuon Eigo among NNSs living in a multilingual community, utilizing shadowing to measure the concept of intelligibility. The issues and insights underlying the intelligibity of English assumes particular substance and prominence in EILJ outputs given EILJ's declared mission of promoting a heterogeneous global English speech community with different modes of competence and intelligibility. In light of this, the paper is viewed as strategic in this issue. The diverse array of participants featured in the study (10 Malay NSs, 28 Mandarin NSs, and 30 Tamil NSs) were asked to shadow a recording of a 300-word English speech read aloud by a Japanese speaker, and to check their understanding by comparing the written transcript of the speech to their shadowed voices. The analysis pointed that the overall average of shadowing performance was 46.84% (the Mandarin NSs had a performance score of 33%, the Tamil NSs oriented of 49.54%, and the Malay NSs of 57.67%). Further statistical analysis indicated that the Tamil NSs and Malay NSs significantly outperformed the Mandarin NSs ($p<.01$, $p<.01$). These findings of the paper suggest that: 1) teachers and policy makers should be aware that even heavily Japanese-accented speech preserves intelligibility to some extent and that the listeners' mother tongue might affect such intelligibility, and 2) teachers and policy makers should find a way to promote

both intelligibility and Japanese identity in students' pronunciation. Given this, the authors are of the view and belief that that although heavily Japanese-accented English speech may be/can be understood by NNSs to the same extent as NSs, the intelligibility range is still below 50%. This is to suggest that more research needs to be carried out on how Japanese English speech could be made more intelligible for not only NSs but also NNSs. This could be an empowering conduit for improving Japanese EFL methodology for pronunciation, as well as providing opportunities for Japanese to scale up their confidence in their English pronunciation and reconsider what their goals should be for learning English.

The paper by Jerry F Smith "World Englishes in Cross- Cultural Settings and Babel" serves to illustrate of how World Englishes (WE) within an international setting could be synonymous with the confusion chronicled in the Bible record of the Tower of Babel. Focusing on WE within EIL paradigm the author attempts to address how individual World Englishes within international settings will/can limit rather than enhance efficient communication by bringing in examples of potential misunderstandings in the areas of grammar, phonetics, and lexis, between world English speakers. Then, the point that accrues from it is that without a standard international form of English the biblical account in Genesis of the Tower of Babel will be replicated. Needless to say that this paper voices a rather incongruous stance to what EILJ believes is its quintessential stance: prevalence and promotion of a heterogeneous global English speech community with heterogeneous modes of competence, acceptable tolerances and acceptable ambivalences are unavoidable in any given situation of communication via the EIL. Disambiguation of meaning is a glacial process and not one that happens at the pace of instant coffee or trained/paraded automaticity. Given this, we earnestly entreat the author and our speculative readers to see the unseen and hear the unheard in EIL communication rather than attempt to catalogue or itemize communication simplistically. While we welcome the author's right to express his intellectual honesty with candour, we believe that there is more to the power and promise of EIL than what one can encapsulate through the metaphor of the "Tower Babel". By the same token, any standardization of EIL is both dichotomously opposed to and diametrically incommensurate with EILJ's mission given the fluidity, variety, beauty and plurality with which EIL is used around the world in the cultures where people enjoy using it with relish and who by virtue of using it claim their ownership of it.

The paper entitled "Wh-In-Situ in Cameroonian English (CamE): A Study of its Features and Some Pedagogic Implications" by Leonel Tadjo Fongang explores "wh-in-situ in CamE" within the confines of Chomsky's (1998) Theory of Attraction. The data, both written and spoken, have been drawn from different sources. Given that the language spoken has considerable following in Cameroon, a big segment of the data is drawn from the Cameroonian intuitive

knowledge and everyday conversations with friends, students and colleagues. The paper makes a concerted attempt to scrutinize the mainstays of previous and recent works on CamE. The key elements of the study reported in the paper argue that the English language in postcolonial multilingual Cameroon has undergone significant indigenization and, consequently, nativisation. Though linguists have worked tenaciously on describing its features, Standard BrE syntactic rules continue to dominate in the teaching model within the Cameroonian teaching industry/educational enterprise. In light of this, the findings of this paper unequivocally recommend the standardization and promotion of CamE in Cameroonian classroom, given that Cameroonians intuitively make use of in-situ constructions as an antidote/remedy. This, as the author argues is commensurate and consistent with the view that has already been voiced by Ngefac (2011) in the domain of phonology. In such a context, the accomplishment of teaching objectives might prove to be difficult and quasi impossible, as students' outcome very often reflects CamE syntactic features. Therefore, the author entreats us in earnest to take on board Ngefac's (2011:43) position, according to which "The educated aspects of CamE can be conveniently promoted on the Cameroonian landscape". In sum and spirit, this paper has made a brisk attempt to untangle the sociolinguistic complexities and sensitivities of Cameroonian English and in this regard, it should have a special appeal to our readership around the globe.

Maria Cabral, Neuza C Cosat and Anabela M Nobre's joint paper, " The English Language Conquest of Portuguese Academic Writing: A Study of the Language Choices of Portuguese Humanities and Social Sciences Faculty Members", portrays the prevalent phenomenon of humanities and social science scholars in Portugal publishing their scholarly work in English instead of Portuguese. Needless to mention that the choice of language employed by the scholars favours English over Portuguese, the authors point out quite candidly that such a choice becomes unavoidable in that publications written in Portuguese may not confer the scholars the desired international visibility and attention compared to their publications written in English. In light of this, the authors while acknowledging the default hegemonic status of English in the academic writing domains of Portugal, use their well-designed study to interrogate the ins and outs of attaining scientific visibility available via the discourse of English. In light of this, they describe the rigours that the Portuguese scholars go through as a result of their compelling linguistic choice. This provides a vibrant contrastive backdrop to the study as well as creates enormous scope and space for authors' epistemic exploits into the nature of the phenomenon under investigation. The authors are convinced that the declining status of Portuguese in Portugal is largely reflective of its diminished international political standing and its resultant weakening of the power of Portuguese in the domains of scholarly publishing. While the authors believe that the scholarly publications written in English by Portuguese nationals might give them the

advantage of international visibility, their English publications fail to show a level of proficiency that would have been compatible with their proficiency in Portuguese (in the event they chose to write in Portuguese). Thus the authors pose the question if scholars desirous of international attention should forswear their national language in favour of English and write in spite of their inadequate proficiency in it.

The paper entitled "The Discourse of Voluntourism: American Exceptionalism in Application Essays Submitted to a Summer Overseas Volunteer Teaching Program" by Cori Jabubiak and Peter Smagorinsky. This paper probes into application essays submitted to a non-governmental organization (NGO) for short-term, volunteer teaching appointments in one Global South country. Referring to this as the discourse of voluntourism, the authors examine it via the notions of ideology, dialogism, and intertextuality in order to situate the discourse of the applications in Alexis de Tocqueville's vision of American Exceptionalism. The authors direct attention to their analysis on both applicants' representation of themselves and their representation of "others" in North America and abroad. The dominant view as garnered from the essays chimes with the belief that young North Americans with little or no teaching experience would and could use their good intentions and agency in uplifting and transforming entire communities through a summer voluntary service program. Consistent with Gee's (1990) view of discourse analysis as inevitably moral, the authors use their moral compass in their analysis to unearth ideologies that are not readily apparent in the speech and related communication of those espousing the exceptional characteristics of Americans. Given this, the authors strongly feel that by interrogating the discourse of American Exceptionalism, and its ensuing discourse of international voluntourism can help illuminate the problematic issues and help lay the groundwork for a more critical way of thinking about the consequences of personal actions in a complex and interconnected world. The discourse of voluntourism evident in the essays analysed in this study provides one avenue for understanding the ideological underpinnings and practical consequences of viewing the U.S. only in terms of its stated intentions but not in terms of its unintended effects. Given this, the paper should serve as a wakeup call to all those who casually avoid seeing the unseen and hearing the unheard. As the paper makes a strong case for espousing centrifugal meanings rather than centripetal meanings in our use of discourse, it is well placed to dynamize our dialogic imagination through the agency and voice of EILJ.

Farid Ghaemi and Amir Nikmehr's joint paper "Tiptoe of Indirect Intervention: An Exegesis" makes a bold case in favour of indirect intervention, by uncovering some profound issues with the help of thoughtfully selected theoretical orientations and then moving towards more practical forms of indirect intervention that are emboldened through the via duct of task-based language teaching (TBLT). In light of this, the authors unequivocally challenge the as-

sumed superior status of explicit direct intervention over its implicit indirect counterpart by illustrating the simplistic explanations that often accrue in favour of explicit direct intervention. Arguing that language learning is always a longitudinal process and one that requires time and space rather than pace, the authors signal the need for factoring in those procedures and strategies that are well attuned to sustaining indirect intervention. The authors are doubly aware that implementing novel perspectives such as the ones they have touted in the paper requires enormous risk taking. In addition, it might require the teachers to submit themselves to a defamiliarization process as a means of break away from the past. However, the ensuing flexibility from this type of intervention may result in an interactive decision-making, breathing new life and synergies into the otherwise stultifying and boring classroom environment. Treating learners as equal partners, letting their voices emerge, and hearing out their ideas may well result in better tailored instruction and feedback. Such an outcome can lead to a more realistic reflection and acceptance of students' performance as well as their failings. Such an epistemic stance while upholding the dynamics and fallouts of the reported inquiry, is well placed to promote and strengthen the inevitably unavoidable human dimension in the educational practice of EIL. EILJ fondly hopes that its readership would find the issues and insights presented in the paper valuable and viable as well.

In closing, I wish to applaud the resolve and resilience with which the contributing authors of this issue have showcased their alternate discourses of current reckoning. Such endeavours are central 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). In light of this, I am certain that the issues and insights discussed in this issue would serve as a lamp to all of us, who could otherwise be stranded in a "methodological wasteland of EIL". Read on!

Dr Sivakumar Sivasubramaniam
Chief Editor

Differences between Native and Non-Native English Speaking Teachers in China from the Perspectives of Chinese EFL Students

Koyin Sung
Utah State University

Fredrick J Poole
Utah State University

Abstract

This study investigated students' perceptions towards Native English Speaking Teachers (NESTs) and Non-Native English Speaking Teachers (NNESTs). Three research questions were asked: (1) What are Chinese EFL students' perceptions towards NESTs and NNESTs?, (2) Are NESTs' and NNESTs' teaching behaviors different according to Chinese EFL students' perceptions?, and (3) What are Chinese EFL students' opinions about the pros and cons of being taught by NESTs and NNESTs? A survey of 120 English as a Foreign Language (EFL) students in China was conducted. This study found significant differences between NESTs' and NNESTs' student-perceived teaching behaviors. Moreover, the findings of this study imply that some of these differences were possibly the result of the participants' cultural expectations towards the teachers, especially toward the local teachers (NNESTs). For example, the NNESTs were perceived to carry good teacher qualities in the traditional Confucian sense. On the other hand, although NESTs were not perceived as possessing the same traditional teaching traits, the participants seemed to still admire their teaching methods. In summary, the participants reported having different perceptions of NESTs and NNESTs, but they did not appear to favor one group over the other. One implication for these findings is that the belief of the native speaker fallacy was not found in this study. In other words, the participants did not believe that NESTs were inherently better teachers than NNESTs.

Keywords: Native English Speaking Teachers, Non-Native English Speaking Teachers, EFL, China, Students' perceptions

Introduction

In China, there are approximately 350 million English language learners, which is about a quarter of China's population (Liu, Zhou, & Fu, 2015). It is estimated that within few years, the population of all English-speaking countries combined will be outnumbered by the number of Chinese people who speak English as a foreign language (Whiteley & Xiangyi, 2011). Indeed, the English language represents the mediating tool of globalization, and govern-

ments in many Asian Pacific countries have placed English language learning as a top priority in education (Tsui & Tollefson, 2007). According to a news article reported by Ward and Francis (2010) at ABC News, the Chinese government extended English teaching programs to the kindergarten level and funded more programs for English teacher training and textbook development. It is estimated that China has the highest number of English language teachers compared to any one of the English-speaking countries (Liu, Zhou, & Fu, 2015). In response to the government's promotion of English language education, and in addition to hiring NNESTs, it is a common practice for teaching institutions in China to also hire NESTs from English-speaking countries. In fact, it is frequent to see that one of the requirements of language institutions for English language teachers is being a NEST. Moussu (2006) mentioned that after her observation of the international job board on a popular English language teaching and learning website, Dave's ESL Café, she concluded that the majority of the job offers required the applicants to be a native speaker of English. This is also true for English teaching jobs in China posted on this site. While this may not be surprising since postings on international job boards, such as Dave's ESL café, specifically target teachers outside of the local country, one can still see a strong preference for NESTs by simply visiting websites for two of the largest English training schools in China: *Disney English* and *English First*. In October of 2015, *Disney English* posted eight new English teaching positions on their website, all of which required applicants to be a NEST. On the Beijing *English First* website, the page presenting their teaching team has 13 NESTs and no NNESTs. Although Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) International Organization, the largest organization for teachers of English as a second or foreign language, made a statement two decades ago that it is discriminatory to use the native speaker status as a condition for employment (Llurda & Huguet, 2003); however, institutions seem to maintain their practice of hiring only NESTs. This discrimination toward NNESTs often occurs because they are seen as inferior to NESTs (Yoo, 2014). Often employers' explanation for choosing NESTs over NNESTs is that students prefer to be taught by NESTs (Clark & Paran, 2007; Holliday, 2008; Ma, 2012). However, it is not apparent that students prefer NESTs over NNESTs. In fact, many empirical studies showed that students believed both groups of teachers have their own strengths and weaknesses. The belief of the native speaker fallacy, meaning a native speaker is an ideal teacher (Diniz de Figueiredo, 2011), has no support from research (Walkinshaw & Duong, 2012). In light of this and the fact that China has the largest English teaching market involving the highest number of English language teachers in the world, it becomes necessary to understand the differences between the NESTs and the NNESTs in the specific learning context in China. Therefore, this study investigated the differences of NESTs and NNESTs by examining Chinese students' perceptions of each group.

Theoretical background

The term, native speaker, often implies being perfect in using the language. Defined by Chomsky (1965), a native speaker "knows its (the speech community's) language perfectly and is unaffected by such grammatically irrelevant conditions ... in applying his knowledge of the language in actual performance" (p. 3). This prevalent notion in the 1960s of the native speaker as the ideal speaker has been brought into question (Llurda & Huguet, 2003) as the notion is considered problematic by researchers (Amin, 1997; Butcher, 2005; Ferguson, 1983; Kramsch, 1998; Leung, Harris, & Rampton, 1997; Paikeday, 1985). For example, Kramsch (1998) argued that native speakers cannot be ideal speakers as their language is influenced by their origins (e.g., geography or society). In fact, Paikeday (1985) questioned the true existence of a native speaker and believed that the term is a form of linguistic discrimination towards race. Butcher (2005) stated that the term implied the creation of a national identity and the divisions between groups. However, despite of these criticisms, it seems that the English language teaching (ELT) field still broadly holds what Holliday (2006) called the "native-speakerism" ideology, which is "characterized by the belief that "native-speaker" teachers represent the "Western culture" from which springs the ideals both of the English language and of English language teaching methodology" (p. 385). This ideology has impacted many aspects of the ELT profession, such as employment policy and training (Holliday, 2006), though it is not supported by any scientific evidence. As Diniz de Figueiredo (2011) stated, "the native/nonnative binary is still strongly present in ELT practice, despite the growing awareness that scholars have of how problematic this dichotomy is" (p. 420). Given the fact that China has the largest ELT market in the world and that Chinese employers hold the broadly believed native-speakerism ideology, it is important to understand the characteristics of NESTs and NNESTs working in China with hope that such understanding may help demystify the native speaker fallacy. Therefore, the purpose of the dichotomous identification of the NESTs and NNESTs in this study is not to make any generalization about them but to examine how they are actually perceived by the students. When identifying the two groups, this study took Medgyes' (1994) definition of the NEST, who

> was born in an English-speaking country and/or acquired English during childhood in an English-speaking family or environment; speaks English as his/her first language; has a native-like command of English; has the capacity to produce fluent, spontaneous discourse in English; uses the English language creatively; and has reliable intuitions to distinguish right and wrong forms in English. (p. 10)

Literature review

Since the pioneering work done by Medgyes (1994) on the differences between NESTs and NNESTs, researchers have applied different methodologies to investigate this issue in both English as a Second Language (ESL) and English as a Foreign Language (EFL) contexts. Many studies have taken the approach of learning the view of the students in understanding the differences between the two groups of teachers. Numerous studies (Benke & Medgyes, 2005; Cheung, 2002; Chun, 2014; Ma, 2012; Mahboob, 2004) found that students thought positively of NESTs' oral skills including pronunciation, vocabulary, and speaking. Another positive attribute of NESTs often identified by the students was their expert knowledge in western culture that they brought with them into the classroom (Cheung, 2002; Chun, 2014). However, NESTs were often seen as lacking understanding of their students' first language and culture (Grubbs, Jantarach, & Kettem, 2010) and as inadequate at explaining grammar (Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2005). In contrary, as former English language learners, NNESTs were viewed as successful role models for their students (Medgyes, 1994) who had more sensitivity, when compared to NESTs, to students' needs and learning difficulties (Ma, 2012). Nevertheless, NNESTs were perceived by their students as having inaccurate pronunciation (Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2005; Mahboob, 2004; Ma, 2012).

The recent studies of the differences between NESTs and NNESTs were mostly conducted in EFL learning contexts in western countries (e.g., Spain and Hungary,) or in ESL learning contexts (e.g., United States and Canada). Studies investigating students' views in an Asian EFL learning environment, such as Chun's (2014) and Han's (2005) are rare. Chun examined 125 Korean EFL university students' beliefs about the strengths, weaknesses, and preferences of NESTs and NNESTs and found that, contrary to previous studies in which NESTs were preferred for teaching writing and listening, the Korean participants in the study preferred Korean teachers. Chun suspected that this preference could be the result of a growing number of Korean teachers receiving their degrees in English-speaking countries before going back to teach English in Korea. The study-abroad experience increased their oral skills in English. Another possible explanation for the finding was that the Korean education has made more efforts in training Korean teachers' linguistic competence. Chun's explanations for the distinct finding from other studies seem to suggest that the finding is context-specific as it only occurred in the Korean EFL environment. In the study of 12 Korean adult learners' views about NESTs working in Korea, Han (2005) also found distinctive results contrary to other studies. The participants in Han's study favored NNESTs and expressed negative impressions of NESTs who, to their opinion, did not possess the qualities of a good teacher. Chun explained that the negative opinions of NESTs could be attributed to the Korean teaching and learning perspective held by the participants, which was deeply rooted in Confucianism. In the Confucian sense, teaching is not a job, but a mission. The participants believed

that teachers should be sincere, enthusiastic, and responsible; qualities they believed NESTs were lacking. The participants used a cultural concept, "iue-ri", meaning "a feeling of friendship, trust, warmth and faithfulness" (p. 207) to describe their relationship with the Korean teachers. On the other hand, they used the word "cold" to describe their NESTs. As Chun stated, the distinctive findings seemed to be culturally specific. The participants judged the teachers based on their own beliefs and expectations rooted in Confucianism. The results in both Chun's and Han's studies suggested that the specific social and cultural context of the learning environment could affect participants' opinions about NESTs and NNESTs. Considering that only few studies on NESTs and NNESTs were conducted in specific contexts in Asian countries, many of which were influenced by the Confucian thinking, which is distinct from 'western' thinking, the current study with a focus on China is needed to add to the current literature.

Research questions

This study included the following research questions:
1. What are Chinese EFL students' perceptions towards NESTs and NNESTs?
2. Are NESTs' and NNESTs' teaching behaviors different according to Chinese EFL students' perceptions?
3. What are Chinese EFL students' opinions about the pros and cons of being taught by NESTs and NNESTs?

Methodology

Participants

Survey questionnaires for this study were completed by 120 mainland Chinese EFL learners in four different learning environments in a province in northern China. The four learning environments included a university, a public high school, an after-school language program, and an English corner group that met once a week. There were 80 female and 40 male participants ranging in age from 14 to 43 with an average age of 19 (SD = 3.95). Among the 120 participants, 77 of them had previous experience of being taught by a NEST, while the remaining 43 participants had never been taught by a NEST. The majority, 65 of the 77 participants had been taught by one to three NESTs while the rest of the 12 participants had been taught by four to seven NESTs. Although 43 participants reported of having no learning experiences with NESTs, this study still included them because they may have had certain opinions about NESTs based on information received from others. For example, their friends might have been taught by NESTs and might have shared/discussed their experiences with NESTs. It is worthwhile to investigate students' perceptions towards NESTs and NNESTs regardless of whether the

students were actually taught by them or not as students' opinions may affect teacher-hiring decisions by schools, which subsequently, could affect the teaching quality. All the participants were from and in China and almost all of them (116 out of 120) had been taught by an NNEST with most of them (n = 81) taught by more than three NNESTs. With respect to the participants' majors, 35 participants were Science majors (e.g. physics, mathematics, statistics, and chemistry), 27 were Business majors (e.g. management, finance, marketing, public administration), and 26 were majoring in other disciplines. The rest of the 32 participants were high school students who did not have a major.

Instrument

The survey was adapted from Benke and Medgyes (2005), which had three sections. The first section contained questions, which asked for the participants' background information (e.g., age, gender, and whether or not they had been taught by a NEST or NNEST, etc.). The second section comprised of survey items, which were statements that described teaching behaviors. There were 23 items designed for NESTs and an identical set of 23 items for NNESTs. The survey was originally in English only; however, a Chinese translation was included in this study because the participants' native language was Chinese. The survey items were on a five-point Likert scale that assessed the participants' opinions about NESTs' and NNESTs' teaching behaviors. The scores range from 1, being "strongly agree", to 5, being "strongly disagree". The third section of the survey consisted of open-ended questions, which elicited information about the pros and cons of being taught by NESTs and NNESTs. The survey items were reliable and suitable for use in the current study as the development of the items were facilitated by the findings of Medgyes' (1994) and Arva and Medgyes's (2000) studies on similar target participants (EFL students) and also had been tested in pilot studies by Benke and Medgyes (2005). The open-ended questions in the last section allowed for more insights into the students' perceptions.

Data Analysis

For research question *(1) What are Chinese EFL students' perceptions towards NESTs and NNESTs?*, the participants' answers were tallied and the means, standard deviations, and percentages were ranked in descending order in Table 1 according to the degree of agreement. For research question (2) *Are NESTs' and NNESTs' teaching behaviors different according to Chinese EFL students' perceptions?*, a paired t-test was run to examine whether there were significant differences between NESTs and NNESTs based on students' views. For research question *(3) What are Chinese EFL students' opinions about the pros and cons of being taught by NESTs and NNESTs?*, the researchers read the participants' answers for the open-ended questions and highlighted the schemes which emerged from the answers separately. Next, the researchers

reviewed each other's work and discussed the schemes that were not in agreements. Finally, the inter-rater reliability was calculated, which was found to be at 96%.

Results

Participants' perceptions toward NESTs

Table 1 below presents the simple statistics of the participants' perceptions toward NESTs. The survey items are ranked in descending order based on the degree of agreement. More than half of the participants agreed or strongly agreed with 12 survey statements and disagreed or strongly disagreed with only two items (see italicized text in Table 1).

Table 1
Participants' perceptions towards NESTs

Statement	Mean	SD	Strongly agree ----- disagree %				Strongly
			1	2	3	4	5
run interesting classes	1.85	0.86	42	34	21	3	0
are interested in learners' opinions	1.98	0.90	34	39	23	2	2
provide extensive information about the culture of English speaking countries	2.04	0.83	28	44	24	4	0
apply group work regularly in class	1.97	0.84	35	34	29	2	0
prepare conscientiously for the lessons	2.02	0.85	33	35	30	2	0
apply pair work regularly in class	2.06	0.93	33	33	27	7	0
direct me towards autonomous learning	2.10	0.76	24	42	34	0	0
correct errors consistently	2.09	0.88	30	36	29	5	0
focus primarily on speaking skills	2.10	0.86	27	38	31	3	1
prefer teaching "differently"	2.16	0.89	25	40	29	5	1
assess my language knowledge realistically	2.16	0.85	27	32	38	3	0
prepare learners well for the exam	2.39	0.96	18	39	29	13	1
stick more rigidly to lesson	2.70	0.97	13	25	42	18	2

plans							
are too harsh in grading	2.78	1.01	15	18	39	25	1
are happy to improvise	2.89	0.95	12	14	49	23	2
speak most of the time during the lesson	3.05	0.95	10	11	45	32	2
prefer traditional forms of teaching	3.09	0.90	9	7	50	32	2
set a great number of tests	3.34	1.01	10	4	33	47	6
use ample supplementary material	2.34	0.78	1	13	44	38	3
are impatient	3.63	1.12	8	4	26	39	23
put more emphasis on grammar rules	3.30	0.70	1	9	51	37	2
assign a lot of homework	3.53	0.75	1	7	37	48	7
rely heavily on the textbook	3.68	0.72	1	3	32	55	9

Among the 12 teaching behaviors that the majority of the participants agreed that NESTs possessed, some confirmed the findings of previous studies, while others did not. Statements such as NESTs run interesting classes, are interested in learners' opinions, provide information about English culture, apply pair and group work, support autonomous learning, focus on speaking skills, and prefer teaching differently, comply with typical NESTs' teaching behaviors found in other studies (Benke & Medgyes, 2005; Medgyes, 1994). However, this study found that more than half of the participants thought that NESTs corrected errors consistently, assessed learners' language knowledge realistically, and prepared learners well for the exam, which were atypical findings for NEST teaching behaviors. This could be due to the NESTs in China having more understanding of, and responding to, the Chinese educational and cultural expectation, which emphasizes exams and test scores. With regard to teaching behaviors, which NESTs did not possess, the majority of the participants disagreed that NESTs rely heavily on the textbook and that they are impatient. This finding is consistent with Benke and Medgyes' (2005) study in which both NESTs and NNESTs were found to be patient teachers.

Table 2 showed the simple statistics of the participants' perceptions towards NNESTs. The majority of the participants agreed or strongly agreed with 14 items while disagreed or strongly disagreed with only one item (See italicized text in Table 2).

Table 2
Participants' perceptions towards NNESTs

Statement	Mean	SD	Strongly agree ----- Strong-ly disa-gree %				
			1	2	3	4	5
prepare conscientiously for the lessons	1.81	0.78	34	55	8	0	3
prepare learners well for the exam	1.88	0.79	32	52	11	5	0
correct errors consistently	1.93	0.86	31	52	13	2	2
stick more rigidly to lesson plans	2.20	0.83	18	51	24	6	1
provide extensive information about the culture of English speaking countries	2.30	0.94	18	48	21	12	1
are interested in learners' opinions	2.21	1.05	28	37	24	8	3
assess my language knowledge realistically	2.25	0.94	22	41	26	10	1
apply pair work regularly in class	2.38	0.99	18	43	21	17	1
run interesting classes	2.29	1.08	29	28	32	7	4
use ample supplementary material	2.52	0.98	12	43	31	9	5
are too harsh in grading	2.50	0.90	12	42	33	12	1
apply group work regularly in class	2.39	0.95	20	34	33	13	0
speak most of the time during the lesson	2.55	0.95	12	41	29	17	1
direct me towards autonomous learning	2.40	0.94	20	32	37	10	1
prefer teaching "differently"	2.69	1.09	16	31	22	30	1
put more emphasis on grammar rules	2.60	0.93	12	34	39	13	2
prefer traditional forms of teaching	2.61	0.89	10	35	40	13	2
set a great number of tests	2.81	1.14	14	27	27	26	6
focus primarily on speaking skills	2.80	1.11	16	23	30	28	3

rely heavily on the textbook	2.95	1.04	10	23	30	34	3
assign a lot of homework	3.08	1.06	8	23	29	33	7
are happy to improvise	3.33	0.82	2	11	42	41	4
are impatient	3.76	0.89	2	7	24	48	19

The results for NNESTs in this study revealed that some of the NNESTs' teaching behaviors were similar to the findings in other studies (Benke & Medgyes, 2005; Medgyes, 1994) such as: preparing conscientiously for the lessons, preparing learners well for the exam, correcting errors consistently, sticking rigidly to lesson plans, assessing learners' language knowledge realistically, speaking most of the time during the lesson, and being too harsh in grading. However, similar to the findings for NESTs, this study also found atypical teaching behaviors for NNESTs. The majority of the participants felt that NNESTs provided information about the culture of English-speaking countries, applied pair and group work in class, were interested in learners' opinions, ran interesting classes, and directed learners towards autonomous learning. These atypical NNESTs' teaching behaviors could mean that the teaching style of the NNESTs in China might be changing and their knowledge of western culture might be improving. However, given the small scale of this study, no definite and generalized conclusions could be drawn and suggested until future research confirms it. With regard to the teaching behaviors that NNESTs did not possess, the participants disagreed that NNESTs were impatient. This finding is identical to Benke and Medgyes' (2005) finding that both NESTs and NNESTs were patient teachers.

Comparing NESTs with NNESTs

A paired t-test was run to examine any significant differences between NESTs and NNESTs from the participants' perceptions. The t-test results showed that two survey items ("are impatient" $t = -1.398$, $p = .165$ and "assess my language knowledge realistically" $t = -1.291$, $p = .199$) were insignificant. In other words, the participants felt that NESTs and NNESTs were equally patient and equally able to assess learners' language knowledge realistically. This finding was in contrary to other studies which found that NESTs were perceived to be less able to assess learners' language knowledge and needs (Benke & Medgyes, 2005; Medgyes, 1994), and were less enthusiastic and patient (Chun, 2014). On the other hand, this study found significance in all of the other items. The participants felt that compared to NESTs, NNESTs stuck more rigidly to lesson plans, were harsher in grading, were better at preparing learners for the exam, liked traditional ways of teaching more, lectured more, gave more tests, put more emphasis on grammar, relied more on the textbook, were more prepared for the lessons, corrected errors more frequently, and assigned more homework. In addition, the participants reported that compared to NNESTs, NESTs applied more pair and group work in class, gave more direction to students towards autonomous learning, were more willing to improvise,

were more focused on speaking, preferred teaching "differently", ran more interesting classes, used more supplementary material, provided more information about culture, and were more interested in learners' opinions.

It seems that when examining one group of teachers alone using simple statistics, some of the atypical teaching behaviors of the group were found; however, when comparing the two groups for distinguishing differences in teaching behaviors, most of the typical teaching behaviors of the groups found by other studies were confirmed in this study. This could be due to the typical teaching behaviors being the strongest teaching traits of the two groups, though the atypical teaching behaviors also gained the participants' attention. For example, although the participants agreed that NNESTs lectured more than NESTs, NNESTs were also recognized for doing pair and group work by more than half of the participants.

The pros to being taught by an NEST

The participants expressed that NESTs possessed good pronunciation and oral skills, and focused on improving students' oral skills in the classroom. The participants used the keywords such as "fluent", "wonderful", "pure", "standard", and "authentic" to describe NESTs' spoken English. Due to NESTs' expertise in spoken English, the participants believed that NESTs could help them better improve their oral skills. The participants mentioned that their pronunciation could become more standard, their spoken English could improve, and they could learn pragmatic uses of English from NESTs better. In addition, many of the participants believed that their improvement in oral English would be quicker if they talked with NESTs. The participants also believed that NESTs focusing on the teaching of oral skills, which represent authentic communication in English, would lead students to studying better Spoken English. Along with good oral English, the participants thought that NESTs brought them "foreign culture", which refers to the culture of English-speaking or western countries. Many participants expressed that NESTs had a deeper understanding of the foreign culture, which was interesting and fun to learn. As one participant described, NESTs' cultural knowledge could help them "better adapt to a foreign culture, understand their ways of thinking, open up to a world view, and understand western society better." Besides the expert knowledge in English and its culture, the participants liked that NESTs offered an active and interesting teaching style, which created a positive classroom environment. The keywords appearing in the data coding regarding NESTs teaching style were "active", "creative", "flexible", "fresh", "fun", "interesting", "lively", and "humorous". One participant felt that with NESTs, "the students have more freedom. They express their opinions when they want and there are many small games. It makes the classroom very active. There are benefits that help students develop their ability to express ideas and improve their creativity."

The cons to being taught by an NEST

The cons of this study, due to being taught by NESTs, were mainly related to communication difficulties between NESTs and their students. One reason, which resulted in communication problems between the two parties, was the participants' weak English listening skills and their NESTs fast speaking pace in English. As many NESTs did not speak the students' L1, explanations in English were sometimes not adequate and effective. One participant explained, "in the classroom there is a lot that I don't understand, and the teacher has no way of explaining." A second reason often showed in the participants' answers about the communication barrier was a result of cultural differences between NESTs and their students. Some participants felt that there was a gap between NESTs' and students' ways of thinking. One participant expressed that he was "not able to follow the teacher's way of thinking at times." Another participant guessed that his NEST and he "probably have some cultural collision." Another participant believed that "there are some definite gaps in culture, ideology and values." A third reason that explains the communication problems is the type of English accents NESTs have. Most of the Chinese EFL students studied American English; therefore, if the NESTs were not from America, or had heavy local accents, students would have a hard time comprehending them. One participant said, "Some have very strong local accents making them hard to understand." As a result of the communication problems, the participants felt that it decreased their interest in learning English.

The pros to being taught by an NNEST

The positive traits the participants in this study often used to describe NNESTs include "serious", "disciplined", "meticulous", "strict", "responsible", and "patient". Although according to the statistical finding aforementioned in this study, both NESTs and NNESTs were equally patient, the participants emphasized the NNESTs' patience more often than that of the NESTs' in the open-ended answers. They also stressed how responsible NNESTs were. As one participant said, "Every non-native English teacher is responsible." The participants also highlighted the barrier-free communication they had with NNESTs. They thought that it was because the NNESTs shared the same L1 and culture with them. As one participant said, NNESTs "understand students' actual abilities because they understand Chinese people." In the participants' opinion, NNESTs not only knew how their students felt, but also knew more about the education system and the students' needs.

The participants identified NNESTs' teaching style as "traditional", which as one participant described, "is logical and it concentrates on accumulating knowledge and teaching to the test", and was considered a positive teaching trait of NNESTs. To the participants, the traditional way of teaching English also focused on the teaching of grammar. The participants felt that NNESTs were able to teach grammar in more depth as their explanations of

grammar were logical and clear, which was helpful in improving their test scores and reading skills. Many participants mentioned that it was easier to accept and adapt to the traditional Chinese way of teaching as the teachers and students sharing the "same culture makes it easier to learn." Besides understanding more about the students due to the shared culture, NNESTs were seen as knowing each student's strengths and weaknesses, and teaching students in accordance of their aptitudes. Both of these traits were advocated by Confucius as great teacher traits. This finding suggests that the participants might be influenced by Confucian thinking taught throughout their schooling in China.

The cons to being taught by an NNEST

Many of the participants agreed that one weakness of NNESTs is their English accents. The participants used the following words to describe the accents: "bad", "incorrect", "terrible", "not standard", "not pure", and "not authentic". The negative opinion of the participants of NNESTs' accents made them believe that NNESTs lacked proficiencies in speaking and listening; therefore, they were not qualified to teach oral skills. Some participants even thought that spending too much time with an NNEST will negatively affect their learning of oral skills as one of them said, "Too much time with a Chinese teacher can make it difficult to adjust to foreign teachers [NESTs]." The other negative trait of NNESTs that the participants strongly felt was that their teaching style could be boring. As the participants described, NNESTs used a single method of teaching, which was mostly lecturing and the teacher did not have frequent interactions with students. Some participants explained that this kind of teaching method had the objective of teaching to the test in order to prepare students for high scores; however, many of them thought it was "rigid", "boring", and "not interesting". One participant expressed, "Most of us don't need to understand English too well, just need to communicate without hindrance, can write and speak. The rigid teaching styles make us very annoyed. I think it's a very dry and boring style." Despite feeling bored, the participants also felt more pressured to perform in NNESTs' classrooms. One participant described her experience with an NNEST and said that the NNEST "makes us recite the texts we learned in the last class. If we can't give the right answer, we will have to stand still. That's the most terrible thing."

Conclusion

This study intended to answer three research questions. For research question *(1) What are Chinese EFL students' perceptions towards NESTs and NNESTs?*, in addition to identifying typical teaching patterns of NESTs and NNESTs found by previous studies, this study also found atypical teaching features of NESTs and NNESTs that more than half of the 120 participants agreed with. For example, other studies (Barratt & Kontra, 2000; Medgyes, 1994) found that NESTs tolerated errors, but in this study, the participants

thought NESTs corrected errors consistently. Another example is that in other studies, NNESTs were found to be less knowledgeable about teaching the cultures of English-speaking countries (Mahboob, 2003); however, the participants in this study believed that NNESTs provided extensive information about the culture. Even though the simple tally of the survey answers showed that both NESTs and NNESTs were perceived by the majority to conduct atypical teaching behaviors, when the results were compared against each other in order to answer research question *(2) Are NESTs' and NNESTs' teaching behaviors different according to Chinese EFL students' perceptions?* using a paired t-test, the typical teaching behaviors were still the strongest teaching traits of the two teacher groups. The findings from research questions one and two imply that there is a possibility that the teaching behaviors of both the teacher groups are slightly changing. For example, NESTs understand more about the Chinese students' needs for testing well; hence, correcting their errors more frequently, and NNESTs in China gaining more knowledge of western culture; hence, able to teach it extensively to students, though the change was not large enough to make a significant difference when comparing the two groups. For research question *(3)What are Chinese EFL students' opinions about the pros and cons of being taught by NESTs and NNESTs?*; the findings in this study regarding NESTs' teaching behaviors that the participants liked such as good oral skills, expert knowledge in culture, and active teaching style were consistent with the findings in other studies (Benke & Medgyes, 2005; Cheung, 2002; Chun, 2014; Ma, 2012; Mahboob, 2004). The NESTs' teaching behaviors that the participants disliked in this study, such as communication barriers resulting from cultural and language differences also confirmed the results found in the other studies. However, when asking about the pros and cons of NNESTs' teaching, most keywords that emerged from the participants' answers are related to Confucian thinking. Keywords such as "responsible", "patient", "knowing each students' strengths and weaknesses", and "teaching students in accordance with their aptitudes" were all teacher characteristics identified and promoted by Confucius in his book, *Analects of Confucius*. Ironically, while the participants stressed the good teaching characteristics of NNESTs and how suitable and easy-to-adapt their traditional teaching style was, when asking them to identify the cons of being taught by NNESTs, the same teaching behaviors become negative. The participants felt the teaching style could be boring and stressful, though earlier they mentioned it as a pro for their learning style and for preparing them for the test. This could be attributed to the participants being caught between their learning preferences and the importance of doing well on tests in their culture. In other words, it is possible that the participants believed that the traditional way of teaching was easy to adapt to, as it had been the way for them to learn in the Chinese education system and would help them prepare for tests. However, the traditional way of learning might be boring, especially if the participants had experienced more interactive teaching approaches in the past. The fact that they were constantly learning to prepare for tests could also be stressful. It is also interesting

to note that unlike Chun's (2014) Korean study, in which the participants with Confucian thinking spoke negatively about NESTs, the participants in this study spoke positively about NESTs' teaching style. These findings are new to the field and did not confirm the findings in Benke and Medgyes' (2005) study, which used the same survey questions to elicit students' answers. In Benke and Medgyes' study, the participants' answers for the open-ended questions regarding the pros and cons of NESTs' and NNESTs' teaching reiterated the answers in the earlier parts of the questionnaire. Conversely, in this study, Chinese cultural elements, specifically the Confucian thinking and the testing system, had influenced the participants' perceptions of the NNESTs' teaching.

Discussion and implications

Similar to other studies, this study found significant differences between NESTs' and NNESTs' student-perceived teaching behaviors. Moreover, the findings of this study imply that some of these differences were possibly the result of the participants' cultural expectations towards the teachers, especially toward the local teachers (NNESTs). It seems that the NNESTs were perceived to possess good teacher qualities in the traditional Confucian sense. However, although NESTs were not perceived to carry the same traditional teaching traits, in fact, most of the teaching was the opposite of the traditional traits, the participants seemed to also admire their teaching.

In summary, the participants reported having different perceptions of NESTs and NNESTs, but they did not appear to favor one group over the other. One implication for these findings is that the belief of the native speaker fallacy was not found in this study. In other words, the participants did not believe that NESTs were inherently better teachers than NNESTs. These findings confirm other studies; the native speaker fallacy is not supported by research and the English-teaching communities need to discontinue the belief of the native speaker fallacy when making hiring decisions. Rather, they should select teachers, regardless of their status as NESTs or NNESTs, based on professional knowledge and skills to teach language learners. Another implication of these findings is that NESTs who plan to teach English overseas should acquire knowledge of the local culture to diminish the communication and cultural conflicts when they are in contact with their students. On the other hand, NNESTs who already understand and comply with local ways of teaching, can explore new pedagogical methods to try to achieve better teaching practices.

Finally, these findings showed that different contexts and variables could have influenced the participants' perceptions towards NESTs and NNESTs and more studies will be needed to confirm the findings in this and previous studies in different contexts. For example, as the literature review section of this paper shows, there is a lack of studies such as this, investigating students' views in an Asian EFL learning environment. It would be beneficial to study the different Asian EFL communities in both Confucian and non-Confucian cultures.

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Notes on Contributors

Ko-Yin Sung is Associate Professor of Chinese in the Department of Languages, Philosophy, and Communication Studies in the College of Humanities, Arts and Social Sciences at Utah State University. Her research interests include Chinese language teaching and learning, language learning strategies, language learning motivation, and technology-assisted language learning. Email: koyin.sung@usu.edu

Frederick Poole is currently a PhD candidate in the Instructional Technology and Learning Sciences program at Utah State University. His areas of research include gaming for language learning, collaborative reading environments for L2 learners, and learning in dual language immersion programs. Email: Frederick.poole@usu.edu

Communicative Features of the Nigerian University Undergraduates' English Expressions

Jane Chinelo Obasi
University of Nigeria

Abstract

Effective speaking exists in a group when the speakers' messages are so clear that the listeners respond as desired (Klopf, 1981, p. 76). In other words, the speakers' messages turn out to be exactly what they want and the listeners hear and understand exactly what the speakers said, and then act accordingly. This is in line with one of Confucius' popular quotes that "if the language is not correct, then what is said is not what is meant; if what is said is not what is meant, then what ought to be done remains undone…" . The onus of this paper is therefore to examine the uniqueness and creativity in the use of language among selected Nigerian university undergraduates assuming a background of problems associated with meaning interpretation and effective communication among students. It brings to bear the appropriateness and inappropriateness of students' communication in English with broad focus on their distinctive communicative codes in relation to their use of pidgin, slang and Nigerian English expressions. This renders their communication unintelligible for any-one who is not acculturated in the use of such codes and in turn hampers effective communication in English. This paper demonstrates the need for language teachers to bring such students into consciousness of acceptable English language usages because "to speak and write correctly in English language without affected precision and without self-consciousness are not only forms of good manners but are also considered a wonderful asset to any Nigerian who acquires the skills" (Eyisi, 2004, p. xi).

Keywords: Communication; Communicative codes; Pidgin/slang expressions; Nigerian English; Nigerian university undergraduates.

Introduction

Language may be defined as a system of communication, a medium for emotional expression, a channel of thought, an indispensable foundation of socio-economic/political development and indeed a way of life. Several other authors like Emenanjo (2007), Fromkin, Rodman, and Hyams (2007) and Finegan (2008) have documented definitions of language. Language plays an all important role in the life of a people. It serves not only as a medium of communication, but also as a symbol of group identity and solidarity. Language enables different groups of people to know who they are and to what ethnic and linguistic entities they belong (Dozie & Madu, 2012, p. 99). Overall, it is a

great asset to the society as every single need of man in and outside his society depends on language, and man's needs and aspirations find their expression in language (Sleigh, 2003, p. 13).

Communication represents very fundamental means of forging human interaction, thus performing an interpersonal role. According to Klopf (1981), "effective speaking exists in a group when the speakers' messages are so clear that the listeners will respond as desired" (p. 76). In other words, the speakers' messages turn out to be exactly what they want and the listeners hear and understand exactly what the speakers said, and then act accordingly. One of Confucius' popular quotes as cited by Eyisi (2004), that "if the language is not correct, then what is said is not what is meant; if what is said is not what is meant, then what ought to be done remains undone…" (p. xi) emphasizes the importance of effective communication and correctness in the use of English. More so, an individual with good pragmatic skills will be able to communicate an appropriate message in an effective manner within a reasonable time frame in a real life situation. However, rarely does one achieve the degree of effectiveness just described.

Ordinarily, communication failures are common occurrences when several people meet to learn or solve problems together. The causes are numerous. Klopf (1981) has the opinion that "as speakers, we do not always communicate what we mean and since our intentions are private and known directly only to us, our listeners must make inferences about them" (p. 76). We know our intentions but the listeners must guess them.

Besides the fact that university students constitute a homogeneous group in terms of their obvious rationale in desiring to be members of the University – to learn, thus, assuming peripheral participation in academia, they are likely to be involved in a "joint negotiated enterprise and a shared repertoire of negotiable resources accumulated overtime" (Wenger, 1998, p. 76). That is, the students are likely to develop linguistic resources (here, a particular communication method) which will distinguish them from other members of the University community - academic and non academic staff. Eckert and Mc Connel-Ginet (1998), see this peculiar form of communication among individuals or group of persons as "community of practice". In their work, they contend that a community of practice is "an aggregate of people who come together around mutual engagement in some common endeavor. Ways of doings, ways of talking, beliefs, values, power relations- in short, practices – emerge in the course of their joint activity around that endeavor" (p. 490).

However, the above notions allow one to see how university students in a communal setting like the university environment vary in their choice of language items in social interaction and the effect of their choices on communication in the different interactions they encounter. This paper examines how effective the communication among Nigerian university undergraduates is, which takes into cognizance the problems associated with meaning interpretation and effective communication among these undergraduates. It also pro-

vides information on the appropriateness or inappropriateness of students' distinctive communicative features.

According to Dozie and Madu (2012, p. 100), the use of slangs among university students world over has been studied by some authors. For instance, Finegan (2004, p. 336) reported slang expressions used by students of the University of North Carolina between 1972 and 1993 as inventoried by Eble, C. In Nigeria, the use of slang is common and differs from school to school as they focus particularly on their social life as it concerns eating, drinking, dressing, love habits and environment (Elezianya 2005; Jowitt 2005; Mbata & Ajileye 2009; Terna-Abah 2010). According to Mbata and Ajileye (2009, p. 6), some of the important factors that motivate the use of slang by students include: the establishment and maintenance of group identity, formation of a united whole and distinctiveness of members from members of other groups.

This high rate of failure has been generally traced to various factors, including poor teaching method, nonavailability of qualified teachers, inappropriate course books and examination-oriented curriculum (Afolayan, 1995; Amuseghan, 2007; Adegbite, 2009; Okunrinmeta, 2008, 2013a; Orji, 1987). However, one very important factor that has often been neglected is the sole use of foreign models, especially British English, for teaching and evaluation purposes in the Nigerian ESL classroom thereby neglecting the local Nigerian variations which, as it should be expected, reflect the linguistic and cultural contexts that English must, as a necessary condition, accommodate if it must function effectively in Nigeria's multilingual socio-cultural setting (Okunrinmeta, 2014, p. 318). As a former colony of Britain, Nigeria, just like many other countries in the Commonwealth, has adopted British English for all official purposes, including educational instruction and evaluation. This implies that all local Nigerian influences reflected in the English of Nigerians have to be treated as errors since they differ from what obtains in British English, which is widely considered as the "standard" that must be followed even in the Nigerian multilingual socio-cultural context where English is used as a second language (Okunrinmeta, 2013b, p. 31).

The problem of meaning interpretation among students

The problem of meaning explication has been the concern of linguists and scholars since the days of Plato. The elusive and controversial nature of meaning stimulated the interest for the search for meaning. This is because of the importance of communication in human relations. Even though the early and modern theorists have attempted to interpret meaning, they have also failed to provide satisfactory explanation to the problem of meaning interpretation. Klopf (1981) opines that "the communication breakdowns arising from the gap between what the speakers meant and what the listeners thought the speakers meant partially arise from improper word usage, awkward grammatical form, and lack of verbal skill" (p. 76).

The above source confirms that it therefore means that often, one is so preoccupied with what he/she wants to say that he/she fails to listen to what the others are saying. Sometimes, individuals are so sure they know what the others are going to say that they distort their statements to match their expectations. Too frequently, we listen in order to evaluate and make judgments about what was said and who is saying it. When this happens, the speakers in turn become defensive and guarded in what they say next.

Evidently, in the Nigerian situation, the undergraduates are no exception. This problem of meaning interpretation and effective communication among Nigerian undergraduates has led to:

- misunderstanding/conflict among the English language users;
- lack of communicative competence/ability;
- decline in the use of Standard English; and
- Code-mixing of Nigerian English, pidgin and slang.

It is for instance common among undergraduates to use such improper/impolite expressions in communication as "I want you to …" instead of "could you please…".

Effective communication according to Ogili (2005) "is usually the result of a careful selection of the appropriate medium or combination of media available" (p. 7). This is to ensure the transmission of message from the source to another by the use of form or illustration that seems desirable. It is referred to as the interaction of an individual or group with the environment through all the senses. Ogili (2005) also demonstrates that the practical justification is that effective communication is an instrument for accelerating the place of human transformation, to shake off inertia in a people, achieve mobilization and direct their productive forces in improving their living condition. The above source quoting Ezeanya (2001) concludes that effective communication is essentially messages sent and received and confirmation of their receipt and interpretation is (sic) returned from a sender, to ensure a two-way process. This process involved in effective communication in English as described by Ezeanya (2001) is the focus of this study. Moreover, successful communication for language learners requires that they check in with one another routinely about their shared knowledge by frequently utilizing comprehension checks and clarification requests. It is however not always practical or feasible to do that during every conversational interaction (FinnMiller, 2008).

Anderson (1987) observes that "a good understanding of communication, a dynamic process in which people strive to convey meaning to one another is fundamental in gaining understanding of events, objects, and other people" (Wikipedia.org). Similarly, Habermas (1979) suggests that "human competition, conflict, and strategic action are attempts to achieve understanding that have failed due to modal confusions" (p. 3). The implication is that coming to terms with how people understand or misunderstand one another could lead to a reduction of social conflict. For Habermas (1979), the goal of coming to an understanding is "intersubjective mutuality…, shared

knowledge, mutual trust and accord with one another" (p. 3). In other words, the underlying goal of coming to an understanding would help to foster enlightenment, consensus, and good will.

Communication therefore constitutes a vital aspect of university culture. It permeates all the activities in an institution and is "a thread that holds the various interdependent parts of the institution together" (Roger & Agarwala-Rogers, 1976, pp. 7-14). Effective communication among students is crucial because it enables them to produce the cooperation needed to reach institutional goals. As an important aspect of culture, communication among the students affects them in all they do whether positively or negatively as they organize and establish their goals for their study; interact with other members of university community – academic and non-academic staff, balance their diverse responsibilities, participate in institutional affairs and proceed through their careers. It therefore, seems to be the most fundamental factor in smoothing relationships among all component units within the university. Nonetheless, successful communication requires that both the sender and the receiver of the message be aware of the implicatures of the message.

The c situation of Nigerian university undergraduates

Many scholars have reviewed that Nigerian university undergraduates are found to be greatly involved in the use of pidgin/slang expressions. Non Standard Nigerian English are also commonly observable among the students' expressions in English. Their patterning of stress while communicating greatly deviates from that of the native speakers. This is a prevalent situation which hampers effective communication and understanding.

Pidgin, as it is used by Nigerians (including Nigerian university undergraduate), is according to Ihemere (2006) "estimated to be spoken by over 75 million people who use it as a second language, and the number of first language speakers is put roughly at between 3 and 5 million" (p. 297). These numbers are increasing all the time because the Nigerian pidgin is very popular with younger members of the polity, who constitute a greater number of the population of Nigeria, which is estimated to be about 140 million people as at the census in 2003. It is also further distinguished from Standard Nigerian English (SNE) due to the fact that it is spoken by members of every socio-economic group.

On the other hand, Burke (2000) in a study observed that American teens, in their never-ending mission to keep their teachers and parents guessing and confused, routinely use certain codes, "taking common definitions of everyday words and spinning them around 180 degrees. Therefore 'bad' is really good and 'the bomb' means 'great' and 'dope' is no longer a noun meaning 'fool' rather an adjective meaning 'wonderful'" (p. 68). Also, Ademola-Adeoye (2004, p. 340) quoting Matthews (1997) refers to slang as "a collection of vocabulary specific to e.g. a particular generation of younger speakers as well as in ordinary usage, specific to a group of professions (e.g. army

slang)". It is a colloquial departure from standard usage; it is often imaginative, vivid, and ingenious in its construction. It therefore attracts those who for reasons of personality or social identity, wish to be linguistically different – to be one of the gangs, whether the "gang" in question be soldiers, nurses, gays, pop singers, actors or students. In relation to Nigerian English, many scholars do not believe in its existence. For instance Vincent (1974) saw it as "bad English" while Salami (1968) contends that what has been identified as Nigerian English is in reality "errors of usage". However, the truth remains that Nigerian English is real as the succeeding tables demonstrate.

This investigative paper also takes cognizance of the fact that Nigerian university undergraduates' patterning of word stress is different from that of the native speakers. Eka (1993) in a study sees the stress pattern of spoken English of Nigerians as "inelastic timed" because of the tendency to have more prominent syllables than the native speakers while Udofot (2003) traces this pattern of stress in the spoken English of Nigerians to the influence of "syllable-timing rhythm of the speakers' mother tongues". Udofot (1997) also notes "the proliferation of prominent syllables in the speech of Nigerians of varied socio-economic and educational backgrounds and puts this situation down to a tendency to speak both long and short vowel with equal duration" (Udofot, 1997, cited in Udofot, 2003, pp. 201-220). However, this pattern of stress characterises the Nigerian accent of English. The tables below further demonstrate the students' communicative features.

The codes in Table 1 are distinctive of students' expressions in English. These codes include pidgin expressions, slang expressions and Nigerian English codes.

Table 1
Common pidgin/slangs/Nigerian English codes used by students

S/N	Students' codes/ expressions	Explanation	Examples	Source
1	As in	Expression used to ask for clarification. It can also be used as thought filler.	I have improved academically as in I discovered my mistakes.	SL
2	Uselessed	To waste someone or a thing.	He has uselessed himself.	NE
3	Yawah	To be in big trouble.	I don enter yawah.	SL
4	Spiro	To be too religious	That boy na real Spiro.	SL
5	Microchips/ Ekpo	Examination malpractice materials.	That girl came into the exam hall with Ekpo/microchips.	SL
6	Kezaiah	A girl that sleeps with	Eno na kezaiah.	SL

		any man that comes her way.		
7	Cripple	Someone that behaves foolishly.	Oh boy u be Cripple.	SL
8	Aristo/Runs man/Night walker/ Customer	An elderly man that goes after young girls.	That Aristo is a regular visitor.	SL
9	Chop beans	To become pregnant.	Eka don chop beans	PDG
10	Dash	To give someone something (gift) without collecting money.	I dash you that bucket.	NE
11	To chance somebody	To cheat someone	Please don't chance me, I came before you.	SL
12	Sha	Any way	I don't know Sha.	NE
13	Shey/Abi	Isn't it?	Tomorrow is your birthday shey/abi?	NE
14	Whether or Whethant	Whether you like it or not.	I must be there whether or wethant	SL
15	Kolo	To lose one's mind or to become crazy.	That man don kolo	SL
16	Arrangee	To be involved and also arrange young girls for prostitution.	Glory don become arrangee babe	SL
17	Chyke	To woo someone of the opposite sex	Make I go chyke that girl.	SL
18	Chikala	Term used to describe a young or pretty girl.	Paul, meet my Chikala.	SL
19	Effizie	Showing off	Udeme too dey do Effizie.	SL
20	Fashie	Forget or ignore somebody or something.	Please fashie that girl.	SL
21	Jack	Study seriously	Andrew too dey jack.	SL
22	Jambite	Freshman in the Universities.	U dey behave like a Jambite	SL
23	Janded babe	A girl who has just come back from overseas or a girl who behaves like someone who travels abroad.	Sifon na real Janded babe.	SL
24	Lekpa shandi	Thin/slender person	Nse don become Lekpa shandi over-	SL

			night.	
25	To do Ma-gomago	To unnecessarily exhibit power or wealth	That boy too dey do magomago.	NE
26	Talkative	Someone who talks too much.	Joy is a talkative	NE
27	Long throat	Someone who is glut-tonous.	Mary! Your long throat too much.	NE
28	Fast fast	Immediately	Give me the food fast fast.	NE
29	TDB	Till Day Break	I go read TDB to-night.	SL
30	Quanta	Trouble, problem	Me and you go soon get quanta	SL
31	Rake	Empty boasting, venting	So why u dey rake when you no fit do anything.	SL
32	Browse	To look for a girl to woo.	John! I still dey browse, I never see.	SL
33	Tanda	Stand	How you see people dey run, u still tanda?	SL
34	Arsenal & Manchester	Big Buttocks and big Bust	Sylvia na Arsenal and Manchester	SL
35	Sidy	Any female who is oc-cupying a bunk next to another female student in the female hostel.	Ruth na my sidy	SL
36	Bunky	Female students in a double bunk call them-selves bunky.	My bunky is a very good girl.	SL
37	Asu Rock	The male students' hall of residence where the SUG president resides.	In Asu Rock we lack nothing.	SL
38	Mgbonchi/ Mgbonday	Used by Uniport stu-dents to describe any female student who sleeps outside the hostel and usually in a man's house.	Uche has gone for Mgbonchi/ Mgbon-day.	SL
39	Customer	As in; "Aristo". 'Cus-tomer' is also used to describe a female stu-dent in Unical with bulky body	Jullie na Customer, so she no fit carry her body.	SL

40	Buka	Canteen where students go to eat.	The food they cook for Buka today no sweet.	SL
41	Tutumkpo	A word used to describe the act of a female student sleeping over outside the hostel especially in a man's house.	Eno has gone for Tutumkpo.	SL
42	Bedy	Female students who share the same bed/bunk call themselves-'bedy'.	Kate is my bedy.	SL
43	Orobo	Used to describe a very fat student.	Oh girl! You don become Orobo.	SL
44	Parker	Used to describe the dustpan.	Please I need your parker.	NE
45	Pregnanted	To impregnate	John just pregnanted that small girl	NE

Table 1 shows that in Nigerian university community, students are commonly involved in the use of pidgin/slang/Nigerian English expressions. They are more at home with the use of the above linguistic items than the use of Standard British English while communicating in English. This stems from the fact that they absolutely lack what it takes to communicate effectively in English. They therefore resort to the use of pidgin/slang expressions to compensate for their inadequacies in the use of Standard English language.

The present study shows that Nigerian university students use slangy and pidgin expressions and terms as means of communication among themselves and within groups of students. Therefore, slang/pidgin usage is very widespread and fashionable amongst students in higher institutions in Nigeria. This investigative paper supports the views earlier reported by Mbata and Ajilieye (2009, p. 13) that these slang expressions could emanate from an individual student or a small group of students, and often spread in use and scope with time.

The result of this study also shows that many of the communicative codes and terms used by students differ in each of the Nigerian universities. This is not surprising since the slang/pidgin terms used by students focus mainly on their social life as reflected by eating and drinking habits, dressing habits, love life and sex habits as well as their environment which is a major determinant of socio-cultural values, attitudes and behaviours of people. According to Mbata and Ajilieye (2009, p. 14), the effectiveness of slang depends entirely on the situation or circumstances of its use, thus giving rise to different slang expressions used in the hostels, refectory and other eating places, examination halls, lecture halls etc. Furthermore, the need for establishment and maintenance of group identity, formation of a united whole and distinctiveness of members

from members of other groups underscore the uniqueness of these distinctive communicative codes used by Nigerian students.

In addition, considering the morphology of some of the slangy/ pidgin expressions, this study discovered that that not all these expressions fit into the standard variety of sentences as some of them blended with an infusion of the pidgin variety while just a few are vernacular-oriented statements. Even though some of these communicative codes are popular among teenagers and college/university students, Finegan (2008, p. 320) noted that slang is also used by "specialized groups of all sorts, from physicians and computer hackers to police officers and stockbrokers". More so, these distinctive communicative codes encourage creativity among students. According to Dozie and Madu (2012, p. 101), in certain situations, it afforded the students among other things the opportunity to express themselves openly and be opinionated; the ability to communicate effectively; the right to full integration into an existing social system; freedom to see themselves as creative and enterprising; and chance to see themselves as creators or originators of the language in time and space.

Nigerian English has come to stay. Its usage is not only common among university undergraduates, but also, widely used among Nigerians both educated and uneducated ones. But where the use of Non-Standard Nigerian English like : "parker" (noun), "uselessed" (verb), "pregnanted" (verb), "talkative" (noun), "long throat" (noun), among others as listed in Table 1, remains the bane of the students, ineffective communication in English becomes inevitable. The table also reminds one of the rampant uses of pidgin/slang expressions among students. Even in very formal situations like during lectures, while talking with a lecturer and other very strictly formal occasion, these improper usages while communicating still remain prominent in the students' expressions. However, anyone who is not acculturated in the use of these codes will be at sea in the midst of these students when they communicate in English.

One of the reasons for the above communication problem is that students may have gaps in their knowledge of English language and because of various linguistic backgrounds of students, successful communication cannot be achieved. This is also because students study the target language against the background of their mother tongue in which they have attained a reasonable degree of competence. In Table 2, the grammatical features of students are illustrated.

Table 2
Grammatical features of students' English usage

Words	Students' English usage/Nigerian English	British Standard English
Furniture	The furnitures in my house are beautiful.	The pieces of furniture in my house are beautiful.
Good news	I have a good news for you.	I have good news for you.
Information	The lecturer gave us all the in-formations we need.	The lecturer gave us all the information we need.
Bedding	I will look for beautiful beddings in the market.	I will look for beautiful bedding in the market.
Quickly	I need my book fast fast.	I need my book quickly.
Sizeable	Give me big big aples	Give me sizeable aples
My father	My father, he is very tall.	My father is very tall.
Don't you?	You like that, isn't it?	You like that, don't you?
Water	Give me water.	Give me some water.
Have	You are having my book.	You have my book.
For some time	The electricians have been here since.	The electricians have been here for some time.
See	I'm seeing you.	I see you.
Understand	I'm not understanding you.	I don't understand you.
Hear	I'm not hearing you well.	I don't hear you well.
Put on/put off	She oned the light when she came in and offed it when she was going out.	She put on the light when she came in and put it off when she was going out.

Table 2 demonstrates the communicative/grammatical features of Nigerian university undergraduates. Interestingly, the table also demonstrates that these features are also peculiar to Nigerian English. The spoken English of these students and other Nigerian English users share common features. This can be observed in the use of nouns for instance. It is well known that some nouns in English are countable while others are uncountable. Any attempt to use one as the other leads to sentence error. Regrettably, students in particular and most Nigerian English users in general are found to be using uncountable nouns as countable nouns. For instance the items 1, 2, 3 and 4 which are "furniture", "good news", "information" and "bedding" respectively are uncountable nouns which are often used as countable nouns by these language users.

Also, Examples 5 and 6 in Table 2 where students and other Nigerian English users use "fast fast" which means "quickly" (BE) and "big big" which means "sizeable" (BE) respectively in their expressions show that they have the tendency to reduplicate for emphasis and rhetorical purposes. Item 7, is a typical example of 'subject copying' (Jowitt, 1991, p. 121). Example 8

demonstrates that while the negative question tag is often represented in Nigerian English by "isn't it", in British English, it is always determined by the verb. Example 9 shows that in English, the article "some" is used in both plural countable nouns (some bags) and uncountable nouns (some water), but the Nigerian English users generally omit the article "some", in their expressions. More so, Example 10 illustrates a case where the stative verb, "have", is used in the progressive form "… having …" while the verb refers to the state of affairs rather than action or event. The major problem is that most learners use these verbs in the progressive forms thereby making erroneous constructions. In Example 11, the use of "since" by these language users shows that Nigerian English structures have adverbial adjuncts while British English structures have prepositions followed by adjuncts. Moreover, the last example in Table 2, "oned/offed", illustrates the case of functional deviation or prepositional/collocational abuse.

The above illustrations prove that these common deviations that occur in the use of English language by Nigerian university undergraduates cannot be discussed without reference to their backgrounds and origins which are all tied to the Nigerian linguistic background. Curiously, the examples identified above are often heard by students even in very formal settings like, the classroom situation. Table 3 relates to the patterning of word stress in spoken English of students.

Table 3
Word stress in spoken English of Nigerian university undergraduates

S/No	English words	Parts of speech	Pattern of word stress by students
1	Adˌminiˈstration	Noun	ˈAdministration
2	ˌMagaˈzine	Noun	Magaˈzine
3	ˈMadam	Noun	Maˈdam
4	ˈBackˌground	Noun	Backˈground
5	ˈGraduate	Verb	Graˈduate
6	Aˈssociˌate	Verb	Associˈate
7	Deˈvelop	Verb	Deveˈlop
8	Coˈmmunicate	Verb	Communiˈcate
9	ˈChallenge	Noun	Chaˈllenge
10	ˌEpiˈleptic	Adjective	ˈEpileptic
11	Oˈriginate	Verb	ˈOriginate
12	Aˈppreciˌate	Verb	ˈAppreciate
13	Conˈgratulate	Verb	ˈCongratulate
14	ˈSupervise	Verb	Superˈvise

It is evident from Table 3 that the students tend to have more prominent syllables than the native speakers. This, Eka (1993, p. 1) terms "inelastic timed"

while Udofot (2003, p. 201) in a report traces this pattern of stress by the Nigerian English users to the influence of the "syllable-timing rhythm" of the speakers' mother tongues. It is also observed that since a syllable is said to be stressed when it is uttered with more energy and results in loudness for the hearer, stressing of unstressed syllables and not stressing the stressed syllables in English words which characterizes the Nigerian accent of English is also characteristics of students' spoken English. More so, this can also be attributed to the tonal nature of Nigerian languages.

In all, the spoken English of Nigerian university undergraduates and Nigerian English users in general recall the observation by Stevenson (1969) that:

> English spoken by Nigerians is often difficult for others to understand because each syllable is of nearly the same length and given the same stress. There is a tendency to stress the final syllable in a sentence, even if it is not a personal pronoun. The effect of this is not just that a Nigerian accent is different from any other, but that what the speaker wishes to convey is not carried efficiently by the medium. (p. 231)

The above observations by Stevenson as early as 1969 are all visible features of Nigerian English usage today. Worthy of note is that this study proves that the spoken English of Nigerian students today are not very different from the English used by Nigerians long ago. Nevertheless, these students should be pardoned and corrected when found to be involved in unacceptable usages because, their expressions in English are greatly influenced by their various linguistic backgrounds which do not frown at the use of such expressions. Their unintentional transfer of sense or meaning from their native languages into English during communication shows that they are ignorant of the effective use of English language.

Conclusion

This paper has revealed that communication among Nigerian university undergraduates is ineffective. Sometimes, conflicts and quarrels ensue because people disagree with others when they do not really listen to them, and distort what they hear because they assume they know what they are going to say. Listening is an art that must be actively pursued. A lot of quarrels and misunderstandings can be avoided if only one learns to listen (Klopf, 1981, p. 76). However, given the emergence of the distinctive communicative features of Nigerian university undergraduates which have contributed to the ineffectiveness of their communication in English, it may be pertinent to point out that this problem of effective communication in English is not only the bane of Nigerian students or Nigerian English users in general, but also that of other L2 users of English the world over. Therefore, communicative incompetence, pe-

culiar patterning of word stress and the use of pidgin/slang and Nigerian English expressions during communication by Nigerian university undergraduates are all peculiar features which validate Achebe's (1965) assertion that "the price a world language must be prepared to pay is submission to many different kinds of use" (p. 27).

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Note on Contributor

Jane Chinelo Obasi (Mrs) holds a B. A. degree in English language and a Master of Arts degree equally in English language from the Department of English, Faculty of Arts, University of Uyo, Uyo, Akwa Ibom State, Nigeria. She is currently a Ph.D student of the University of Nigeria, Nsukka, Enugu State, Nigeria. E-mail: write2janeyc@yahoo.com

How well is English with mora-timed rhythm understood by a multilingual community?

Tomokazu Nakayama
Jissen Women's University

Seoh Koon Tan
Josai University

Hoo Chun Pek
Universiti Tunku Abudul Rahman

Abstract

This study investigates the intelligibility of English with mora-timed rhythm or Japanese Katakana Hatsuon Eigo among NNSs living in a multilingual community, utilizing shadowing to measure the concept of intelligibility. Eighty-six participants (10 Malay NSs, 28 Mandarin NSs, and 30 Tamil NSs) were asked to shadow a recording of a 300-word English speech read aloud by a Japanese speaker, and to check their understanding by comparing the written transcript of the speech to their shadowed voices. The analysis revealed that the overall average of shadowing performance was 46.84% (the Mandarin NSs had a performance score of 33%, the Tamil NSs oriented of 49.54%, and the Malay NSs of 57.67%). Further statistical analysis indicates that the Tamil NSs and Malay NSs significantly outperformed the Mandarin NSs ($p<.01$, $p<.01$). These findings suggest that: 1) teachers and policy makers should be aware that even heavily Japanese-accented speech preserves intelligibility to some extent and that the listeners' mother tongue might affect such intelligibility, and 2) teachers and policy makers should find a way to promote both intelligibility and Japanese identity in students' pronunciation.

Keywords: spoken communication, EIL, intelligibility, accent, shadowing, pronunciation

Introduction

Issues in teaching pronunciation in Japan and the purpose of this study

The significance of spoken communication has drawn the interest of researchers for decades. Researchers such as Jenkins (2005), McKay (2002), and Derwing and Munro (2005) have pointed out the critical importance of spoken communication in their studies. However, very few empirical studies have been conducted on the norms of pronunciation that should be achieved by EFL learners to facilitate spoken communication among both native speakers (NSs), as well as non-native speakers (NNSs) in the global community. So, even though several researchers have pointed out that it is very rare for adult NNSs to achieve a native-like accent (Ioup, Boustagi, El Tigi, & Moselle, 1994; Moyer, 2004), the majority of EFL or ESL learners consider achieving a native-like accent to be one of the goals of learning the target language (Derwing, 2003).

As Jordan (2011) and Matsuda (2003) have highlighted, much research calls for a new framework of pronunciation in the global community; yet, the Japanese Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology (MEXT) still promotes an inner circle model in schools. As a result, the standardized tests administered in high schools or universities in Japan, such as The Test of English for International Communication (TOEIC), The Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL), or even the Eiken Test in Practical English Proficiency are all based on the inner circle model. Some of the residents in Japan from a multilingual community such as Malaysia, whom we directly contacted, mentioned that giving such tests to students in Japan is not only burdening, but leads to other negative impacts, such as human segregation, since mimicking a NS model of English does not allow Japanese to portray their identity in their own spoken English.

Matsuda (2003) argues that even though Japanese acknowledge the status of English as an international language, a majority of the English textbooks used in Japan are from the inner circle models. Jordan (2011) further mentions that the lack of confidence among Japanese English teachers has demotivated them from using English as the medium of instruction in class. In the English language classroom in Japan, English with mora-timed rhythm or Japanese Katakana Hatsuon Eigo has not been encouraged because there is an intuitive belief among the Japanese that such an accent cannot be understood by the global community. However, very few empirical studies have been conducted to verify if Japanese Katakana Hatsuon Eigo is not understood by NSs or other NNSs. In view of this oversight, this study was conducted to investigate to what degree Katakana Hatsuon Eigo can be understood by English NNSs living in a multilingual community.

One of the few approaches to establishing a standard of pronunciation under the framework of EIL is Lingua Franca Core by Jenkins (2002). Based on observation of her classes, she proposed that several critical elements be learned by EFL learners to facilitate spoken communication among NNSs. However, some researchers argue that this model is only applicable to a minority (Jorden, 2011).

What kind of EIL standard for pronunciation should, then, be implemented? To answer this question, McKay (2002) suggests that the standard should be one that preserves international intelligibility and respects the desire of some bilingual users of English to preserve their own identity as expressed in their pronunciation (McKay, 2002). Furthermore, Jordon (2011) suggests that a Japanese English pronunciation model, which is easily achievable by Japanese, as well as highly intelligible in the global community, should be created to teach English pronunciation to Japanese learners.

What is intelligibility?

According to McKay (2002), the word intelligibility comprises intelligibility (identifying an expression), comprehensibility (understanding the meaning of an expression), and interpretability (knowing what an expression implies in its sociocultural context). On the other hand, several researchers (Derwing & Munro, 1997; Jordan, 2011; Munro & Derwing, 1995; Smith, 1992) draw distinctions between these three concepts, with the word "intelligibility" referring to the first of these three markers, i.e., identifying an expression, which represents "a vital building block for further understanding" (Jordan, 2011, p. 83). Transcription studies by Derwing and Munro (1997) and Munro and Derwing

(1995) to investigate the intelligibility of foreign-accented speech confirmed that some of it was entirely intelligible for NS listeners. Furthermore, another transcription study by Suenobu, Kanzaki and Yamane (1992) reported that the intelligibility scores increased from 42% to 67% when words were presented in context, as opposed to being presented in isolation. Referring to these findings, Derwing and Munro (2005) concluded that listeners' prior knowledge, such as lexical or syntactic knowledge, has a positive impact on intelligibility.

The influence of listener tasks

A transcription task is a task in which listeners listen to a speech and write what they hear. Obviously, since listeners cannot listen and write simultaneously, the speech will be paused while they are writing down what they have heard. This type of task is called an off-line task, since listeners can control the speed of the speech so that they can take time to process the input (Kadota, 2007). This therefore gives listeners time to refer to their prior knowledge in order to fill in the gap between what they hear and what the speech actually contains. However, in reality, listening requires instant processing of incoming input, since auditory input will disappear as soon as it is heard. Therefore, listening itself is called an "online task," which differs from a transcription task. Thus, "intelligibility is extremely important but somewhat difficult to assess" (Derwing & Munro, 2009, p. 479). The differences in processing types are shown in Table 1.

Table 1
Differences in processing types

Type	Definitions	Tasks
Offline	possible to control time to process input (Ex. Reading)	Transcription
Online	impossible to control time to process input (Ex. Listening)	Shadowing

An alternative way to measure intelligibility online is shadowing. Shadowing is a task in which one repeats what one hears vocally as soon as it has been heard. Shadowing has been used in the field of psycholinguistics to measure speech perception. For example, Newman and Evers (2007) used the shadowing technique to examine the influence of speaker familiarity on speech perception. They asked participants to shadow speeches and record their voices. Then, the researchers listened to the recording and counted the number of words successfully shadowed by matching the voice to the written transcript of the speech. Nakayama and Suzuki (2012) applied this method to EFL listening training to improve speech perception. In this study, shadowing is used as a task to measure intelligibility of speech.

The language-specificity of speakers: Katakana Hatsuon Eigo

The speaker's native language has been said to affect the spoken production of a second language (Selinker, 1972). For example, Katakana Hatsuon Eigo, or

Japanese-accented English, is English pronounced on the basis of Japanese phonetic rhythm structure, a mora-timed rhythm. Japanese is a mora-timed language, in which each mora takes equal time to pronounce, and all words end in vowels, with the exception of n (Otake, Hatano, Cutler, & Mehler, 1993). English is a stress-timed-rhythm language, in which stressed syllables occur at about the same intervals; the time taken to produce an utterance scales with the number of stressed syllables it contains (Classe, 1939; Pike, 1946; Abercrombie, 1967). For example, the verb "take" is pronounced "teɪk" by the American standard, while it tends to be pronounced "teikɯ" by Japanese. Katakana Hatsuon Eigo is English pronounced with a mora-timed rhythm.

The language-specificity of listening

The past two decades of psycholinguistic research have shown evidence that listeners process spoken input in the same ways that they process their native languages (Cutler, 1997; Cutler, Mehler, Norris, & Segui, 1983; Cutler, Mehler, Norris, & Segui, 1986; Cutler & Otake, 1994; Otake et al., 1993;). As in the case of spoken output, L2 learners tend to apply the same strategy they use for native languages to segment the non-native language in listening. For example, French listeners when presented with spoken Japanese did not show mora-based segmentation (Otake et al., 1993), nor did English listeners (Cutler & Otake, 1994).

The participants' native languages in the current study are Malay, Tamil, and Mandarin. Tamil is a syllable-timed language (Corder, 1973; Asher, 1985). However, Malay and Mandarin are unclassified (Grabe & Low, 2002). Japanese used to be classified as a syllable-timed language until recently (e.g., Catford, 1977). This implies that there is a similarity between Japanese mora-timed and other syllable-timed languages. If so, the participants who are Tamil language users might have an advantage over Mandarin or Malay speakers in segmentation of Katakana Hatsuon Eigo.

Objective of this study

This study aims to investigate whether differences in linguistic background yield differences in the performance of shadowing Katakana Hatsuon Eigo.

Method

This study was conducted in Malaysia between 4th and 6th February, 2014. There were 68 students (30 Mandarin NSs , 10 Malay NSs, and 20 Tamil NSs). Each participant was paid 800 yen (about 25 RM) for participating in this study.

An article titled "Learning from Nature" from a junior high school English textbook (Takahashi et al., 2012), approved by MEXT was chosen as the listening material. Six Japanese university students were asked to read it aloud and their voices were recorded into an IC recorder. Then, one native English teaching expert and one Japanese English teaching expert were asked to choose the most heavily Japanese-accented English speech (most mora-based rhythm speech) out of the six recordings, and both of them chose the same recording of a male student. In this way, the recording was chosen as the listening material for the shadowing task.

Participants were asked to shadow the speech and to check their understanding by comparing the written transcript of the speech to their shadowed voices.

First, participants were seated at a distance from each other that allowed them not to be disturbed by other participants' voices. Then, each participant was given two IC recorders (one for recording, and the other one for listening to the recorded speech). The first author of this paper explained how to use those two IC recorders and had each student record their names and student ID numbers to make sure the device was working properly. He then asked each participant to shadow the voice recorded on the IC recorder and record their shadowed voices into the other IC recorder. After they finished shadowing, he gave each student a written transcript of the speech. He also asked the students to write their names and the number of the IC recorders, as labeled, at the top of the paper. He then had each participant listen to the recorded voice and check it against the written transcript, asking them to underline with pencils the words that were not properly shadowed or the words that were different from their understanding. The authors of this paper collected the two IC recorders and written transcripts, and distributed two different documents, asking the participants to fill out the information necessary to claim participation fees.

Results

The authors recounted the number of shadowed words of each participant and input the data into a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet. Table 2 shows the descriptive analysis. This revealed that the Mandarin group had a performance of 33%, the Tamil group of 49.54%, and the Malay group of 57.67%. Overall, the average score of shadowing performance was 46.84. Since there was a gap in the performance among the three groups, a one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted to see if these differences in performance among the groups were significant. The main effect was significant (F [2, 68]) = 10.84, $p<.01$). A post-hoc analysis using paired-sample t-tests with Bonferroni adjustments revealed statistically significant differences among two of three combinations of groups. The Tamil group outperformed the Mandarin group ($p<.01$), and the Malay oriented group also outperformed the Mandarin group ($p<.01$). However, there were no significant differences between the Malay and Tamil group ($p>.05$).

Table 2
Descriptive analysis

Linguistic Groups	*n*	*M(%)*	*SD*
Mandarin	30	33.32	15.96
Tamil	28	49.54	17.87
Malay	10	57.67	16.31
Total	68	46.84	16.71

Discussion

This study aims to investigate how well English with mora-timed rhythm is understood by a multilingual community in the framework of English as an International Language. Informed by past research findings, this study used shadowing tasks to replace the transcription tasks that had previously been used in research. The findings of this study match the findings of the transcription study involving English NSs conducted by Suenobu et al. (1992). This implies three possibilities. The first is that shadowing could be used as an alternative task for investigating intelligibility. The second is that English with mora-timed rhythm might be understood by NNSs to the same extent as by NSs. The third is that, as the Malay and Tamil listeners' performances were better than the Chinese listeners, listeners' L1 might influence the intelligibility of speech. This has raised another important finding of this study. First, although this study suggests that heavily Japanese-accented English speech may be understood by NNSs to the same extent as NSs, intelligibility is still below 50%. More research is therefore needed on how Japanese English speech could be made more intelligible for not only NSs but also NNSs. This could be a pathway for improving Japanese EFL methodology for pronunciation, as well as providing opportunities for Japanese to be more confident in their English pronunciation and reconsider what their goals for learning English should be.

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Notes on Contributors

Tomokazu Nakayama is an Associate Professor at Jissen Women's University in Tokyo. Nakayama obtained bachelor degree in English Literature and Linguistics from Obirin University in 1991, and MA in TESOL at Teachers' College Columbia University in 2001 and Ph.D. at Hiroshima University in 2013. His main research interests are VA shadowing and English as an International Language. Email: nakayama-tomokazu@jissen.ac.jp

Seoh Koon Tan is an Assistant Professor at Josai University in Saitama, Japan since April 2014. She obtained her Bachelor Degree in Teaching English as Second Language from Sultan Idris University of Education, Malaysia in 2008. Then, she worked as an English instructor at Shen Jai High School for a year before serving Tunku Abdul Rahman University (UTAR), Malaysia as an assistant lecturer for 4 years. Email: tansk@josai.ac.jp

Hoo Chun Pek is Assistant Professor for Centre for Foundation Studies, Perak Campus of University Tunku Abdul Rahman. He obtained his Bachelor degree in Computer Science from Malaysia National University (UKM) in 1983. He later worked as a Systems Analyst with a bank in Malaysia before joining a Japanese company in Singapore as a Software Divisional Manager cum consultant. He obtained his Master of Business in IT offered by Royal Melbourne Institute of technology, Australia from Singapore Institute of Management in 1993. He later joined the education line in 1999 as a lecturer. Email: pekhc@utar.edu.my

World Englishes in Cross-cultural settings and Babel

Jerry F. Smith
 Midwest Education Group, Chicago, USA
De La Salle University-Dasmarinas, Philippines

Abstract

This paper is meant to illuminate the possibility of how world Englishes within an international setting could become similar to the confusion encountered in the Bible record of the Tower of Babel. Presented here is the trend of world Englishes as a part of an English as an international language paradigm. The discussion then proceeds to address how individual world Englishes within international settings will limit rather than enhance efficient communication by showing examples of potential misunderstandings in the areas of grammar, phonetics, and lexis, between world English speakers. The point is raised that without a standard international form of English the biblical account in Genesis of the Tower of Babel will be replicated.

Introduction

The Tower of Babel

Babel in the title of this paper is a reference to the events detailed in the Christian Bible from Genesis chapters six through nine. To summarize, not long after a great worldwide flood, God commanded mankind to spread out and replenish the earth. However, mankind, unified by one language, sought to build a tower reaching up into heaven instead. It was mankind's rebelliousness to a command by God to replenish the earth and spread out. However, God did not allow this endeavor to come to pass by confounding their unified language which interrupted the building process and they finally left off of building the tower separating instead into groups and eventually nations. These languages have continued on until modern times when English began to be the language of international communication on a global scale: another unifying language which is being used for international business, a common language of education, entertainment, international politics, and the like.

The relevance is that whether you believe the biblical account or not languages were confounded through a change in syntax, phonetics, and lexis as evidenced by these differences in languages around the world. Therefore, people could not understand each other and they left off their unified plan to build a tower that would reach heaven. Conversely, in order to function and

have communication today, a global community would need to have one language. That being the case, the stage has been set for English and it has spread throughout the world. Therefore, grammar, phonetics, and lexis, must also follow suit or we could return to the confounded languages after the Tower of Babel, and the accompanying inability to communicate effectively with one another to accomplish the very purposes for having a unified language.

The politics of English

Certain authors seem to apply a political theme to the subject of English language by using such terms as "imperialism" (Sharifian, 2009, p. 190), "Inner-Circle countries" and "Outer-Circle countries" (Sharifian, 2009, p. 3), and "power" (Sharifian & Jamarami, 2013, pp. 24, 163, 196). However, words such as these can be understood as expressing resentment, and lend support to Van Dijk's (2013) term "discursive rhetoric," aimed at opposition against a particular entity's influence in the global English community. Those who imply such ideas may be missing a fundamental point: That people of the world are learning English in order to function in an increasingly global environment, and that, more effectively. People just want to use the language to do what they need to do whether work, live, survive, or grow. English language learning is not about the right of certain cultures to own the language. It is about communication in today's global community where English is the accepted language of academics, industry, travel, and commerce. Why else does one whose mother tongue is not English seek to use the language of English if not to use it for one purpose or another beyond their own non-English-speaking culture?

This paper was not written to address the politics of English or anything relative to inner- or outer-circle countries. By quoting sources about this topic, I am attempting to point out that the subject of English as an international language is fuel for heated political dialogue where people see English as a political tool to maneuver into one circle or to possibly display hostility toward inner circle countries. Furthermore, I will not discuss the delimitations between *native-* and *non-native* English speakers in this paper. I simply want people to be aware of the potential for confusion amidst today's backdrop of World Englishes. And, having become aware of it, perhaps take steps toward more effective communication in such an environment. Finally, I have no intention here to discuss the details such as who has rights to the language of English for example. Every World English culture has their own English version, but outside of the culture, it will likely lead to confusion. I only want people to understand each other because if they can, if they are all on the same page of music so to speak through a Standard English (in international settings) we will be better able to communicate and avoid misinterpretations and or misunderstandings that might lead to failed communications and misunderstandings that can lead to heated debates or aggressive attitudes.

Whorf's ideas and World English paradigms

Much like Whorf's (1939, p. 12) ideas on behavior based on the linguistics of the Hopi Language as contrasted with SAE (Standard Average European) language: People may assume that because it is termed *World Englishes,* everyone is able to understand each other in cross-cultural communication. However, just because we say it is a World English does not mean it is always intelligible. Those who may think this way are forgetting the peculiar English of each culture that may not translate well into cross-cultural communication. My concept is that World Englishes do not necessarily tend toward a unifying language but rather the opposite: that World Englishes (WE) will lead toward confusion in international / intercultural settings.

Background for this Paper

This paper is limited to my thirteen-year experience as an English language teacher of people from countries such as the Philippines, South Korea, Vietnam, China, Brazil, Russia, Saudi Arabia, and some European cultures as well. I will use examples from observations and interactions with English language learners from various socio-economic backgrounds to lend support to the thrust of this paper while maintaining anonymity for the sake of preventing offense (as much as can be in a paper of this nature). This paper will broach on perceived comprehension and consider primarily a Filipino-English setting but also includes examples from my extended exposure to other cultures' languages such as Brazilian and Korean. The point is not so much *proving* anything but *presenting* an observation. Furthermore, this paper is directed toward creating a case for more questions and or dialogue to the end that an awareness might be facilitated regarding the potential for an environment of misunderstandings and perceived comprehension which has or will reduce intercultural communication in a WE environment. My question: Do World Englishes promote greater communication between cultures or do they engender confusion? It is my desire that this paper will be a step toward answering that question.

World Englishes

It has been suggested that ESL teachers consider the English culture of the learner when teaching ESL (Tarone, 2005) and to accept lapses in grammar, phonetics, or lexis as being part of the English language culture of that particular non-native speaker (Sharifian, 2009, Sharifian & Jamarami, 2013) without seeking to *fix* them. Indeed, what would they be *fixed* to? Yes, it is likely that in a multicultural English-speaking gathering, if the interlocutors' levels were advanced enough, surely they could work out meaning. But, is it something one is willing and or able to do in business settings or perhaps urgent care situations? In an effort to elaborate more on this part of the discussion, I must cite Sharifian (2009, p. 2) once again, a seemingly recognized proponent of English as an International Language (EIL) and WE:

> In general, we can say that English as an International Language refers to a paradigm for thinking, research and practice... EIL does not refer to

a particular variety of English... One of the central themes of EIL as a paradigm is its recognition of World Englishes, regardless of which circles they belong to … This means revising the notion of "proficiency" even for the English of native speakers. Canagarajah (2006, p. 233) maintains that, "in a context where we have to constantly shuttle between different varieties [of English] and communities, proficiency becomes complex ... one needs the capacity to negotiate diverse varieties to facilitate communication."

It is Sharifian's last statement that draws my attention: "in a context where we have to constantly shuttle between different varieties [of English] and communities, proficiency becomes complex… one needs the capacity to negotiate diverse varieties to facilitate communication."

This is the premise behind this paper: that using these *world Englishes* in a *one-language* environment of EIL will create a *Babel-like* phenomena where these Englishes will eventually become confusing to those outside of a particular English culture within the EIL paradigm. The result being as Canagarajah (2006, p. 233, cited in Sharifian, 2009, p. 2) points out, is that we have to constantly "shuttle" between varieties of Englishes. What Sharifian's comments do not point out, is that this *shuttling* lends itself to miscommunications and creates a necessity for a single, standardized English where all are more apt to understand and communicate more readily. Sharifian (2009, p. 4) provides an example from Australia, what he calls an "Inner-Circle" country where: English has its own "standard" dialect, and also Aboriginal people of Australia have their own English: A reference to "multidialectal competence," in order to understand new varieties of English. This is not only true in Australia but also increasingly throughout the world where intercultural competence needs to be viewed as a core element of proficiency in English when it is used for international communication.

Sharifian's comments here though aimed in the opposite direction support the conception in this paper of an approaching Babel-like phenomena and the need for a standardized English for global communications. Intercultural competence, a reference to accommodating cultural schema in the classroom is a noble idea certainly. More cultural awareness and sensitivity are needed among *native-speaking* English language teachers and people in general around the world. However, the question can be raised: How far do we take intercultural competence in English language teaching? Are English language teachers to incorporate *all* cultures into their teaching of a common, unifying language? Are *all* WEs to be accommodated in the classroom? Are English language students seeking to acquire English for use within their *own* culture or to interact with *other* cultures? If the former, then why learn English when they can pick it up from their own culture? If the latter, would there not be a benefit in a single, standardized English for people to communicate with others *outside* of their culture?

English proficiency tests and EIL

In fact, one of the *implied* arguments for standardized English proficiency tests such as IELTS, OPI, TOEIC, TOEFL and the like is to determine if a *non-native* speaker is capable of functioning or surviving in the English-speaking culture they desire to function in. The fact that millions of people both young and old are preparing for and taking these English proficiency tests (British Council 2016) is an indication that there indeed a perceived standard or acceptable form of English for each proficiency test maker. One writer even referred to it as "gold plating" (Graddol, 2006, p. 114, cited in Sharifian, 2009, p. 192) perhaps to suggest that these tests are big business which they may very well be.

Nevertheless, it is a standard form of English that is accepted, used, practiced, and readily comprehended by the residents of particular English-speaking locales and it is to these locales that many language learners want to be integrated into whether for business, travel, emigration, education, or other purposes. A simple Google search using the search words, "why do we have English proficiency tests" will reveal that top universities require certain levels of English language proficiency. According to the British Council, the joint owners of the IELTS, there were two million IELTS tests recorded in the year 2013 (International English Language Testing System [IELTS] n.d.).

In the text, "Imperialism of international tests: an EIL perspective," Khan (2009) discusses the belief that "high-stakes" (p. 193) tests such as the TOEFL are biased against individuals who may be proficient in using English for international communication but have not been exposed to certain nuances of an inner-circle variety of English. In the case of TOEFL, it is the Standard American English. But, the question is raised, what is this standard American English? Later in the same text, the term "hegemony" is used in reference to "inner-circle" countries (p. 191). Khan then goes on to discuss lexical and usage differences between AE (American English), BE (British English), and AusE (Australian English) found in the TOEFL (p. 193). The question is then asked: whose norms are to be imposed?

Standardized proficiency guidelines and EIL

In fact, proficiency guidelines determine English language levels based on a *norm:* the level of effort given to understand what the speaker is expressing in English to someone outside of their world English. An examination of an excerpt from the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL, 2012). Advanced Speaking Level Criteria, for example, shows: "Advanced-level speakers have sufficient control of basic structures and generic vocabulary to be understood by native speakers of the language, including those unaccustomed to non-native speech." An excerpt from the Intermediate level further reflects this thinking: "Intermediate-level speakers are understood by interlocutors who are accustomed to dealing with non-native

learners of the language." And an excerpt from the Novice level further indicates: "Novice-level speakers may be difficult to understand even by the most sympathetic interlocutors accustomed to non-native speech." Therefore, from the contrast between levels, these guidelines are obviously considering that there must be a *standard* English to be attained as the ACTFL Proficiency Guidelines are "a description of what individuals can do with language in terms of speaking, writing, listening, and reading in real-world situations in a spontaneous and non-rehearsed context" (ACTFL, 2012 p. 1). We could also do the same examination with the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (Gostudylink, n.d.).

And now omes confusion

Perceived comprehension. Among English language speakers, there is what is also termed as "perceived comprehension" (Brewer, 2008). I have taken this a step further to integrate English in international settings where one believes he has understood what was communicated according to their own version of World English in an extra-cultural communication but where misunderstandings do take place. I have encountered this repeatedly over a period of thirteen years of English language teaching of various cultures where the ELL *thinks* he understood the term, expression, or instructions, goes on his way (e.g., to complete an assignment, follow instructions, or directions) but discover from the results or lack thereof that he did not in fact understand. If we translate this to a high stakes business meeting, urgent-care medical situation, or other high risk setting, the least amount of play of this nature can be allowed when communicating.

*Self-standardization.*Since this is the present situation that we find ourselves concerning WE, it would be unlikely that the English language will standardize itself within English cultures. People will stick with what they know. For example, Americans may commonly say the word *math* (Math, 2016) while in the United Kingdom the word *maths* is used (Maths, 2016). Syntactically speaking, it can be argued, how many maths are there normally: 1, 2, 3? The term maths is an English language culture variant of what Americans consider to be a non-count noun math. However, in the British English form, it is maths. Is the BE version wrong? The AE? No, we cannot say either is wrong because that is what has been accepted in each respective English language culture. However, could it lead to confusion between two people in an international setting? Alone, probably not. But, when compounded with other differences, confusion could arise. The solution would not be to change the English of one's culture but to provide a standardized English for all to use between cultures.

Confusion. Would the case referred to above create confusion between English speakers from different cultures? Not necessarily, but the confusion between

interlocutors may *compound* through a prolonged dialogue of this nature. We could also add to that the overall impression one might get when speaking with someone who does not use what one culture perceives as *acceptable grammar, i.e.* the way the receiver knows it to be (after significant time *studying* it). We can suggest numerous variables which could ultimately lead theoretically into the need for teachers to teach *another* common form of language apart from what we have found in English today. Where would it end? Fundamental differences in grammar, phonetics, and lexis left unattended will lead us to the need to learn *another* language in order to communicate between world English cultures. Minor points can compound into major points as will be briefly illustrated in the following paragraphs.

Grammar issues. This is not necessarily a reference to subtle issues such as using the word *more* with monosyllabic comparatives (e.g., more fresh as opposed to fresher). This of course is understandable in a conversation and would not necessarily detract comprehension of an utterance. But, what about the use of a *verb* instead of a *noun*? For example, in my interactions and observations with some Filipino English (FE) speakers I have heard the word *overpass* used as a *verb* to indicate that one has gone past a particular location such as in the statement, "He overpassed the house," whereas among other English language cultures (World Englishes) the word overpass is conventionally used as a noun (Overpass, 2016). Can we invent new words in an English culture? Certainly, yes, of course. History shows us that (National Council of Teachers of English [NCTE], 1974). Nevertheless, beyond the particular English culture could they/would they be clearly understood when speaking to someone outside of their own English culture? Would they *believe* themselves understood when a person who is not from that particular English culture *believes* that *they* have understood the message? So, at what point do we say that a standard is needed? Where does English comprehension end and a different language begin?

Another example from the perspective of adjective use, would be from the employer/applicant perspective. I have encountered in my role as a personnel manager continual references from Filipino applicants to being *undergraduates*. This was often understood by me as meaning that the applicants had completed a four-year undergraduate degree, in-line with a conventional definition of the word (Undergraduate, 2016). However, to my surprise, the overwhelming majority of the applicants meant that they had *not yet* finished college. The applicants were using the term *undergraduate* to mean *not yet graduated*. This in itself shows an interesting connection between linguistics and thought (Whorf, 1939) and where confusion could (and did) take place.

Other examples from my interactions and observations with Filipino teachers are the use of the causative verbs *let* versus *had* and the use of the verbs *lift* versus *carry*. Dictionary definitions of the words *let* and *had* give distinction as to their use in a sentence: *let* meaning to *allow or permit* (Let, 2016) while *had* infers *cause to* or *to direct someone* (Have, 2016, p. 16). For

example, a teacher, when speaking about her students, says something like "I let them read their textbook," with the meaning that she *directed* them to read their textbooks (e.g., as part of doing seatwork). However, someone from a different English language culture upon hearing this might (a) assume they understood the utterance perfectly as English words were used grammatically and in the right order, and (b) the nuance of the word *let* as expressing the *giving of permission* by the teacher which has further meaning as perhaps the students were asking for permission to read which point of fact, was not the case. So, already there is an element of misunderstanding. This confusion is further compounded when (c) the speaker believes that her message was perfectly understood, since after all, she was speaking English. But, the recipient of the utterance might believe that she was expressing that she *had* them read their textbook which was more or less a directive.

The possibilities for confusion are numerous. In an urgent care or other similarly crucial setting, a difference between *let* and *have* among people from different English language cultures could result in disastrous consequences. For example, a man who has an illness is told to rest. The doctor tells the wife *let him rest* which the wife understands as a *choice* rather than a *directive*. However, as was pointed out, what the doctor may have meant was he *must* rest or perhaps *have him rest,* a crucial part of the patient's recovery.

Another observation from FE is the use of the verb *carry* and the verb *lift* among English speakers. Use of the verbs *carry* and the use of *lift* are different than my own use (as well as that of texts and popular grammar that I have encountered in my English language teaching experience). I have heard on several occasions FE speakers use the term *carry* the couch for example meaning to *lift* the couch. From my own English culture, I understand *carry the couch* to mean *bear the couch*. Within the FE language culture, communication of this nature may be absolutely fine but what happens when this same English is carried to an international setting? Should I *lift* the box or *carry* the box for you?

Another example from a different World English includes the use of *in a few minutes* or *after a few minutes*. One well-known European linguistics speaker whose first language is not English mentioned in his lecture "I will tell you more about myself in a few minutes" and proceeded to talk about his background for a few minutes. However, the intended meaning as I understood him from my own understanding of his English statement was "I will tell you more about myself for a few minutes" but his actual meaning (for me) as I discovered later was "after a few minutes, I'll tell you more about myself." Clearly, this was an instance of confusion.

A final example: An ESL job ad written by a Korean employer stated that the applicant "must stay in Korea now for face to face interview." With a little effort we can decode this to mean that the applicant must be currently residing ("staying") in Korea. However, do we want to give such effort to understand intended meaning over longer discourse when it is an urgent need or in a business setting?

There are similar examples that can be found all around us but the evidence from these examples does help illustrate the confusion that could arise grammatically from everyone speaking their own version of English in an international or multicultural setting. Could *accurate* communication take place with multiple discrepancies between world Englishes? There could theoretically be a continual element of uncertainty in this kind of interaction between members of two different WE groups that may even lead to mistrust.

Phonetic issues. Certainly any ESL teacher who has had exposure for even relatively short periods of time to English language students will pick up on their pronunciation issues. However, accent alone is acceptable between English speakers as long as they can fairly well understand each other's *accents*. But, on a deeper level, from the area of phonetics, most teachers would likely be able to give examples of their students' issues such as: /p/ vs. /f/, /ɵ/ vs. /t/, /ð/ vs. /d/, /i:/ vs. /I/ and so on. We could point out the Asian English /r/ vs. /l/ conflicts or the FE /th/ vs. /t/ conflicts or the Brazilian English /r/ vs. /h/ conflicts. Did the man in the hospital *leave* or did he *live?* Should I call *Dan* or *Dawn?* Do I take *these* or *this*? It is likely without great debate that any ESL teacher reading this paper would have their own additions to this list. The idea however, is that phonetic issues with consonant sounds go beyond simple accent but involve the comprehensibility of certain words and can very well lead to miscommunication or confusion in an oral setting. Should we strive for a standard sound between cultures or simply rely on repetition of a polite *pardon*?

Lexical issues. Another step toward confusion among WEs could come in the form of the word *salvage*. In the Philippines, the word means to *kill* someone and dump their body in a canal ("13 English Words" n.d., p. 4), e.g., "He was salvaged last night." This must certainly seem strange to a foreign visitor who has an almost opposite understanding of this word which is to *recover* something (Salvage, 2016). Imagine two people using English in a friendly conversation and one says sadly "my friend was salvaged the other day." The other might think that the guy's friend was recovered from something and move on in confusion as to why the speaker was sad. Of course, the conversation might not end there but an illustration is made. Put this in a business setting where one says to another "we'll need to salvage this plan" meaning that we need to make some adjustments and recover it. However, the other person thinks "okay, he wants to scrap the plan" the direct opposite of the speaker's intended meaning so he goes on to give up or destroy the plan to the speaker's frustration. The receiver had *perceived understanding* while the speaker *believed* the receiver to have understood the word in the way he meant it. The potential for misunderstanding and or confusion is high with simply one word alone. When this is compounded in longer discourse, the potential is multiplied

The question comes to mind: is that what we want when we sit down to political negotiations, have medical concerns, prepare business plans, pursue

academic endeavors, conduct research, or have plain old conversations? More examples from FE include the use of the word *bottomless* as a reference to *re-fillable*, such as a refillable pitcher of Coke at a local fast food restaurant is termed *bottomless* or *CR* (Comfort Room) as a reference to a *restroom* (Rivera, 2012, Using Filipinisms, 2013), use of the word *overeat* to refer to vomiting (Chang-sup, 2014). These are only a few examples but the idea can be gleaned that unless there is an awareness between English cultures there will certainly be confusion in cross-cultural WE settings.

Ebonics. Another example of English as a *different* language is that of *Ebonics,* the speech of black Americans (Baron, 2000). Would other English speakers who have had the chance to converse or listen to it have difficulty understanding it? Would Ebonics be considered a separate language? Some might say that it is simply a dialect or creole (Baron, 2000, pp. 8-9) but can this dialect be used to converse with everyone in an international setting? Let us imagine that Ebonics were the recognized language of commerce and travel. Would the English speakers of the world need to take a course on Ebonics to function within the global community that uses Ebonics or would they be able to speak their own *version* of English and all would be well? A 1996 resolution by the Oakland School Board brought public attention to the term "Ebonics" and ruled that Ebonics is not English (Baron, 2000, p. 9). If we turn this to today's EIL paradigm and World Englishes we can see a similar stage being set.

Conclusion

Of course it makes sense for any culture to bend English to suit its needs within the context of their own culture. However, once we go outside of the English subcultures into an international setting, there appears to be potential for confusion. A need to facilitate ready comprehension as well as dispel any misunderstandings or confusion as it relates to grammar, phonetics, and or lexis. This has been a simplified presentation of an immediate but foreseeable concern. The linguist reader or the ESL teacher in the field should be familiar with supporting theories, research, and or experiences which correlate the information presented in this paper and as such be able to make an informed judgment of the problem presented.

Simple and limited illustrations have been given in this paper regarding English communication internationally via World Englishes. It can be argues that there is a need to have a base language. If each English community were to use their own language it could be interpreted differently than what the speaker intended as was demonstrated. When dealing with something that is an exact science, various interpretations may not be good enough. Imagine how difficult it might be to travel the world and need to know the *English* of each culture you visit. Would that not be the same as it was/has been when you had to learn the language of the country you were visiting? So, in today's climate of World Englishes, would one not also have to learn the English of

the culture they were visiting? It is clear that the answer is quickly becoming, yes. Therefore, although English is thought of as a unifying language a common language is still missing and the confusion at the Tower of Babel is still left to proliferate.

Somehow, we may be forgetting a fundamental point: that English is being learned by people in order to function and communicate in a growing global community where one language is more efficient. Proponents of World Englishes who are against an *imperialist* language owner are viewing English as a medium of or extension of political power. However, emotions and pride aside, English is a language and language is a tool for communication in order to accomplish basic individual and collective goals of survival. Perhaps I am somewhat naive and idealistic in my perceptions but nonetheless optimistic that this paper can at least initiate thinking and further questions regarding the confusion that could arise between World Englishes and the need for a standardized English in international/intercultural settings. I am in no way suggesting any particular World English for such a standardized English – that would be a different discussion. However, without a standard form of English, we may very well be continuing the confusion begun at the Tower of Babel.

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Note on Contributor

Jerry Smith is the manager and instructor of the 150-hour Professional TESOL Certificate Program (online – international / offline – Philippines) for Midwest Education Group LLC, Chicago, USA. Jerry holds a PhD Christian Education, an MA Teaching-English, an MBA Human Resources Mgt., a BS Occupational Education, and has also taken up studies in a PhD Language Education program at De La Salle University-Dasmariñas, Philippines. His research interests include world Englishes and perceived comprehension, teacher-student interaction, and education methods in churches. Email: jfrsmth@outlook.com

Wh-In-Situ in Cameroonian English (CamE): A study from a minimalist perspective and some pedagogic implications

Leonel Tadjo Fongang
University of Yaounde I, Cameroon

Abstract

This study explores wh-in-situ in CamE within Chomsky's (1998) Theory of Attraction. The data, both written and spoken, come from different sources. Given that we are a speaker of the language, part of the data come from our intuitive knowledge and everyday conversations with friends, students and colleagues. The other part is from a scrutiny of previous and recent works on CamE. The analysis shows that the LF movement analysis applies to CamE, with the wh-element moving at LF to check the Q-features carried by COMP. We also argue that both the optional intonational particle *naah,* which can be inserted in ex-situ and in-situ constructions, and the Q-features in COMP mark the interrogative nature of sentences in CamE, with the sole difference that *naah*-insertion is associated with the ideas of insistence or supplication. In cases of optional *naah*-insertion (Epoge, 2015), *naah* is assumed to have no grammatical impact on the sentence as it doesn't, in any way, influence attraction. In this vein, even in cases of *naah*-insertion, attract takes place and the wh-element is moved to the left periphery of the clause at LF. The overall conclusion is that CamE syntactic features have to be standardized and promoted within the Cameroonian context, so as to avoid teaching structures that can rarely be intuitively followed.

Keywords: Cameroonian English (CamE), in-situ, ex-situ, LF movement, feature movement, question particle (Q-particle)

Introduction

Some previous works on CamE syntax (Epoge, 2015; Fongang, 2015; Ndzomo, 2013, Sala, 2003) have shown that wh-elements may remain in-situ in root wh-questions or undergo movement in overt syntax. The in-situness of the wh-element, as argued in the above-mentioned works, results from the influence of indigenous languages and French on the variety of English that is spoken in Cameroon; henceforth Cameroonian English (CamE), and the simplification process. It is by now a familiar fact that CamE wh-questions may contain a wh-in situ element. The questions one is tempted to ask, at this point in time, are: what licenses wh-in-situ in CamE? What are the pedagogic implications of such a syntactic organisation in a context where British English is still the model advocated by government policy? As said above, previous works on CamE syntax have linked the in-situness of the wh-element to the

influence of other languages[1] (French and local languages) and the so-called simplification process[2]. This study goes beyond that to try to account for the in-situness of the wh-element from a pure grammatical perspective. It attempts to answer the following research questions: do wh-elements undergo covert movement as in some pure in-situ languages? What are the pedagogical implications of such a syntactic distribution? The study, therefore, revisits some aspects of the syntax of CamE with special focus on the in-situ nature of the wh-element. Such a study will be significant in many respects. First, it will help boost the study of CamE syntax from a transformational perspective, and open up many more research areas. Second, it will further showcase the uniqueness of CamE, and facilitate its comparison to other New Englishes, which will contribute to the move towards a Global English. Lastly, it will help draw some pedagogic implications and contribute to the desire for CamE to be considered the teaching model in the Cameroonian teaching industry. It is divided into five different sections. In section one, introductory statements are made, and background information on CamE is presented to the reader. In section two, we look at theoretical considerations, followed by the state of research on in-situ languages in general and on in-situ CamE in particular. Section three presents the method of data collection. In section four, we try to license wh-in situ in CamE. In the last section, conclusive statements are made.

Background to the study

In this section, background information on Cameroonian English (CamE) is presented. The importance of such a section stems from the fact that the reader needs to know exactly what the linguistic situation in Cameroon looks like, before any attempt to look at in-situ CamE is made. It will, therefore, situate the reader within the linguistic context of Cameroon.

Linguistic situation in Cameroon

With an area of 475,000 square kilometres and a population of about 21.14 million inhabitants (Ethnologue, 2013), Cameroon was partitioned in 1919 between Britain and France after the defeat of Germany (which had been there since the Versailles Treaty in 1884) in the First World War. After passing through independence (1960), Reunification (1961) and Unification (1972), it has, since 1984, been referred to as the Republic of Cameroon, with ten regions. Out of the ten regions, as SimoBobda (2010) remarks, there are eight Francophone regions which cover about 90 per cent of the territory and which contain 80 per cent of the population, and two Anglophone regions which cover about 80 per cent of the territory and about 20 per cent of the population. With two official languages, Cameroon has a uniquely complex sociolinguistic situation. Its multilingual setting has, for many years now, sparked some important research on the influence of those languages on one another. When two or more languages are used in the same cultural and social milieu,

they tend to influence one another in one way or the other, to the extent that even the language(s) that is (are) official in that particular area, change(s) as time passes by and gain(s) new features at all linguistic levels. Cameroon is a very good example of such areas where, because of the influence of local languages, two main lingua francas (Cameroon Pidgin English and Fulfulde) and a hybrid idiom (Camfranglais[3]), English and French that are official languages are changing and adapting, more and more, to the social, cultural and pragmatic realities of the country. These changes have led to what scholars call today Cameroon English (SimoBobda, 2002, Sala, 2003, 2014) or Cameroonian English (Omoniyi, 2006), which, according to Mbangwana (1992), is English in form, but Cameroonian in mood and content. Sala (2003) defines it as English with a Cameroonian touch. Since then, a lot has been written on CamE at different levels of linguistic analysis. Linguists have been trying to tell what is meant by CamE, who speaks it and why. The next sub-section of this work is meant for presenting what has so far been said about the variety of English that is spoken in Cameroon.

What is Cameroonian English, who speaks it, and why?

Defining the English spoken in Cameroon has been part of the concerns of linguists inside and outside the country. Many of them have tried to not only say what they think should be referred to as Cameroonian English, but also have given an account of who speaks it and why. The problem here is at four different levels: how Cameroonian English should be referred to, what it can be considered to be, those who can be considered its speakers, what has been said on standardisation and intelligibility issues, and what people's attitude towards it are.

At the level of terminology, the term "Cameroon English" (CamE), used by many Cameroonian linguists (Ekembe, 2011; Fongang, 2015; Ndzomo, 2013; SimoBobda, 2002, Sala, 2003, 2014, for instance), itself triggers a lot of questions. It has become a custom for scholars and researchers to term the English spoken by Cameroonians as "Cameroon English", rather than "Cameroonian English", which can better suit their intended purpose. By terming it "Cameroon English", it seems like reference is being made to the English spoken in Cameroon; Cameroon here being taken from a geographical perspective, i.e. within the Cameroonian landscape. But, "Cameroon English" cannot be the English spoken in Cameroon per say, since, in Cameroon, there are Americans, Chinese and British, who speak English. Thus, saying "Cameroon English" may encompass the English of Americans who live in Cameroon. This is the main reason why the expression "Cameroonian English" should be used, rather than "Cameroon English". The expression "Cameroonian English" immediately entails, not only that it is the English used by Cameroonians, but also that it is the English used in a Cameroonian way, that reflects Cameroonian cultural realities at all levels. This view itself, though better, is not preoccupations-free, as another question arises, which is: where will

we range Cameroonians who grew up out of Cameroon and who, of course, have English as second language? An obvious answer will be to say that they cannot be representative of CamE because what they speak will definitely not reflect the Cameroonian ways of life and culture, given the fact that they have not (really) been exposed to them.

At the level of what is Cameroon English and who speaks it, opinions abound. In the early 1990's, researchers referred to the English spoken in Cameroon as "Standard Cameroon English". According to Mbangwana (1992), as quoted in Sala (2003, p. 42), Cameroon English is "English in form, but Cameroonian in content and mood". This simply means that the English spoken in Cameroon looks like Standard British English, but is shaped by cultural, social and pragmatic realities of the country. Sala (2003) is of the opinion that Cameroonian English should be what is spontaneously and naturally spoken by Anglophone Cameroonians. Ubanako (2008, p. 56) argues that there are varieties of Cameroonian English, and that Cameroonian English is a "macrocosm of microcosms". From this, when referring to Cameroonian English, we should bear in mind that, just like native Englishes, there are regional varieties of Cameroonian English, and of course idiolects. Cameroonian English becomes an umbrella term under which different variations can be listed. According to SimoBobda and Mbangwana (2008, p. 199),

> The term Cameroon English (or Cameroon Standard English used by previous authors) is meant to contrast with four main kinds of speech. First, it stands in contrast to Pidgin English widely used in Cameroon. Second, it contrasts with the speech of the uneducated speakers of English. … CamE further contrasts with the speech of Francophone Cameroonians; some of these speakers may have a high command of English, but they are regarded as users of a performance variety and can hardly serve as a reference. Finally, the term Cameroon English excludes the speech of a handful of Cameroonians who have been so influenced by other varieties (RP, American English, etc.) that they can no longer be considered representative of the English spoken in Cameroon.

From this explanation, it is clear that in defining Cameroonian English, many Cameroonians are excluded. These include Francophone Cameroonians, uneducated Cameroonians and Cameroonians who live or have lived abroad and have been really influenced by native varieties or other foreign languages. Cameroonian English therefore becomes a matter of others. Why should a Francophone Cameroonian who speaks good English not be included in the determination of Cameroonian English? Does it mean that they are not Cameroonians? From the preceding explanation, Cameroonian English, therefore, is not the English of Cameroonians, but the English of a handful of them, let us say the English of some educated speakers in Cameroon, who are, first from an Anglophone background, and second, live in Cameroon. The question to be asked is whether we can define the standard for the country just by taking into

consideration a handful of citizens. What then can be considered CamE? Still on the issue of who speaks CamE, other researchers are of the opinion that "Francophone Cameroonians" speak a variety of English that is different from the Anglophone-Cameroonian variety. These include Kouega (2008), and Safotso (2012). Kouega (2008), in describing the English of Francophone Cameroonians, terms it "FrancoE", an appellation which, according to Safotso (2012, p. 2471), is inappropriate, as it may refer to "any non-native variety of English spoken by Francophones anywhere in the world". He proposes the label "CamFE" (Cameroon Francophone English), which to him is appropriate, as it is "closely related to the parent CamE". The word "parent" in the preceding quotation clearly entails that CamE is the father of CamFE, and that CamFE should be taken into consideration when defining Cameroonian English. A solution to this problem, may be to consider CamE as a broad variety, that has regional and linguistic variations. By linguistic variation here is meant the changes that arise as a result of the influence of mother tongues, lingua francas (pidgin, Fulfulde), and second official language (which in this case is French). Cameroonian English would therefore be Ubanako's (2008, p. 56) "macrocosm of microcosms". In other words, CamE, just like BrE, for example, will have regional dialects.

As far as intelligibility and standardisation issues are concerned, they are worth mentioning, as there is no standard without national and international intelligibility, on the one hand, and as non-native Englishes should be standardized in order to be taught to their speakers, on the other hand. The intelligibility debate on CamE has been the topic of concern for many researchers amongst whom Atechi (2004) argues that it is obvious that CamE may be intelligible amongst Cameroonians, but what about its intelligibility at the international level at a time when calls are being made for linguists to facilitate the move towards a Global English and a lingua franca? Atechi (2004) is of the opinion that apart from some differences in pronunciation that seem to create intelligibility failure between CamE speakers and BrE and AmE speakers, these Englishes are mutually intelligible. Besides, the intelligibility problem should not be, as has often been the case, seen only from the point of view of the non-native English speaker, as even the native speaker can learn non-native Englishes to be able to easily communicate with non-native speakers. The standardisation problem has also been tackled by many researchers. The central question that is often asked at this level is why are we still relying on BrE norms, when we know that it is an impossible task to achieve. Besides, we still ask ourselves that if CamE was to be standardized, what should be the standard for the whole country? The second question, we believe, has somehow been answered, as it is closely related to what CamE is. Opinions on the first question are found in works such as Ngefac (2010, 2011). According to Ngefac (2010, 2011), Cameroonian English should be standardized and taught, because it seems like, in Cameroon, "the blind are leading the blind", that is, those who are said to teach BrE themselves do not speak it. How,

therefore, can they teach something that they don't speak? He thus advocates the teaching of CamE to Cameroonians.

On attitudinal concerns, it can be said that no matter what is done, some people will always have a negative attitude towards non-native Englishes. This may be attributed to the fact that they are native English speakers, and they wish to "preserve" their language. But, if a non-native speaker has a negative attitude towards non-native Englishes, it would sound incomprehensible, since you cannot condemn what you naturally and unconsciously speak and write every day.

The next section of this work is concerned with the description of the theoretical framework that will guide the study, followed by the state of research on in-situ languages in general and on CamE in particular.

Theoretical considerations and literature review

Theoretical considerations

The framework under which this work is carried out is Chomsky's (1998) "Attract". This section is meant to account for its positing and present what it is all about. Initiated and developed within the so-called Minimalist Program (MP), Chomsky's Attract was meant to account for the reason why elements move within sentences in the course of a derivation. Gambarage and Keudjio (2014), in explaining the notion of attract quoted Chomsky (1998), who argues that category β gets displaced from its base position because another category α has matching features with β and, therefore, attracts β to check its uninterpretable features. In other words, a syntactic category moves from its base position because of the desire to check corresponding features carried by another syntactic category. Hence, movement is not required if category A, for instance, is featureless, or has no matching features with another category of A. This notion of Attract can be linked to Chomsky's (1995) principle of Greed, according to which Constituents move only in order to satisfy their own morphological requirements (Radford, 1998). In the analysis of the data, we will, therefore, consider the notion of "Attract" to be the prime objective of movement.

Review of related literature

This section revisits what has been said on in-situ languages in general and on in-situ CamE in particular. The importance of such a section stems from the need to know exactly what has been said on the analysis of in-situ languages in general, and the state of research on in-situ CamE in particular. Let us first look at what has been said on in-situ languages in general, before moving to in-situ CamE.

On in-situ languages

Though the term wh-in situ was not coined until the 1980's, properties of wh-in situ have been investigated since the 1960's (Cheng, 2003). Grammarians, in this vein, have differentiated between three types of wh-in situ: wh-in situ in multiple wh-questions like the one in (1) below, pure wh-in-situ in languages like Mandarin Chinese, as shown in (2) and optional wh-in-situ as in French and CamE, as illustrated in the question in (3).

(1)   Who gave what to the children?
(2)   Hufeimai-leshenme (Cheng, 2003, p. 3)
        Hufei buy-PERF what
        'What did Hufei buy?'
(3)   a. Jean estoù?
        b. He is eating what?

In (1) above, *what* does not move because the question feature (Q-feature) carried by COMP has already been checked by the wh-element *who*. So, feature attraction is no more possible with *what* because the features in COMP have already attracted *who*. Thus, attract has already taken place. (2) Illustrates pure wh-in-situ in languages such as Chinese where the ex-situ strategy does not exist. In such languages, grammarians argue that the wh-element (*shenme* in the (2) above) undergoes covert movement. In (3) the in-situ-ness of the wh-element is optional. By optional here is meant that the wh-elements in (3) could undergo movement in overt syntax and yield the constructions as in (4) below.

(4)   a. Où$_i$ est Jean t$_i$?
        b. What$_i$is$_j$ he t$_j$eatingt$_i$?

In this work, focus is on the type of in-situ as illustrated in (3b). In the study of in-situ languages, the central question that often triggers grammarians' interest is what makes the wh-element not to overtly move. This has made them posit ideas that will be presented to the reader in the following paragraphs.

        Previous works on in-situ languages (Bassong, 2010; Bošković, 1997; Cheng, 1991, Cheng & Rooryck, 2000, Fuiki, 1986, Horstein & Sportiche, 1981; Huang, 1982; Keudjio, 2013; Watanabe, 2001 and among others) have, in one way or the other, explored the in-situ nature of the wh-element in different languages (Mandarin Chinese, French, Japanese, Basa'a, Medumba and Nata). This has, progressively, made them to distinguish between languages in which the Complementizer system does not have Q-features that trigger overt wh-movement, languages in which there is covert wh-feature movement, languages in which the wh-element moves covertly or at LF and languages in which intonation has a role in checking the interrogative features carried by

both the complemitizer system and the wh-element. From what precedes, it is obvious that there are different types of pure in-situ wh-elements, which warrant properties and different interpretations. This section is intended to present to the reader what has been said on the above-mentioned issues.

As mentioned above, some grammarians have explained the in-situ-ness of the wh-element by positing that unlike in ex-situ constructions, COMP in in-situ constructions does not exist or does not carry Q-features that attract the wh-element. The idea of COMP carrying Q-features derives from Katz and Postal (1964). According to them, an interrogative sentence has a Q-morpheme attached to it. But, they limit themselves to what Cheng (2003) calls matrix or direct question. Baker (1970) extends the Q-morpheme analysis to indirect questions as well. The main difference between the two, from Baker's (1970) point of view, is that the Q-morpheme in indirect questions is realised through the lexical complementizer "if" or "whether". We then moved from Q-morpheme to Q-feature, which in Bresnan (1970) is interpreted as [+wh]. Since Chomsky (1981), [+wh] has been assumed to be in COMP and trigger movement (whether overt or covert). But Fuiki (1986), for instance, posits that the CP layer does not exist at all in Japanese, and that is why the wh-element remains in-situ. Following this, it will be obvious that attract will not take place as there will be no Q to attract the wh-element. Others like Cheng (1991) argue that not all languages have Q-features in their Complementizer system, and that is why no overt movement is triggered in some cases. This is so because, as explained above, COMP is featureless, and attract cannot take place in such situations. But not all of them share the same point of view.

Chomsky (1995), for example, challenges Cheng's (1991) point of view by positing that all languages have Q-particles at C. It now depends on whether it is strong or weak. The strong and weak feature differentiation accounts for why, in some cases, movement takes place and not in others. According to him, overt movement is triggered by a COMP with strong Q-features and covert movement by a COMP with weak features. But since 2000, focus is no more on whether a COMP carries strong features that trigger overt movement or not, but rather on when movement takes place in relation to spell-out. This has made grammarians assume movement at LF for in-situ constructions.

The LF movement hypothesis was put forth in works such as Horstein and Sportiche (1981) and Huang (1982). According to them, in in-situ constructions, there is movement, but which takes place with relation to spell-out. The distinction between PF and LF in the grammar made it possible to posit movement at the level where there is semantic interpretation of the sentence, i.e. at LF. Movement of the wh-element cannot, therefore, be felt, as it doesn't take place at PF, so it is not pronounced. From this now, the idea of covert movement emanated. This has since been the most plausible analysis of the in-situ constructions.

Some works (Cheng, 2001; Hagstrong, 1998; Watanabe, 2001, amongst others), though with varying explanations on the origin of the wh-particle, link

the in-situ-ness of the wh-element to the existence of a wh-particle that covertly moves to check the Q-features carried by the complementizer system. This has been referred to as wh-feature movement. According to them, in situ wh-elements are associated with wh-particles or wh-features. Following Chomsky's Checking theory, those wh-particles covertly move to check the Q-features carried by the COMP system, and making the wh-element itself to remain in-situ like in multiple wh-questions. In such cases, attract is no more possible with the wh-element, as feature checking has already taken place with the wh-particle.

Moreover, in the study of the in-situ nature of the wh-element in French, Cheng and Rooryck (2000) argue that intonation has a vital role to play in checking the Q-features in COMP. Following the ideas developed by Chomsky according to which movement is triggered by the need for a specific "Probe" within the derivation of a sentence to make its uninterpretable features checked by the corresponding "Goal", they propose that in in-situ French, those features are checked by intonation. In such constructions, intonation functions exactly as the wh-particle and the second wh-element in multiple wh-questions. In a nutshell, what most of the proposals presented above have in common is that Attract takes place in in-situ constructions, and that there is indeed movement in in-situ constructions, effects of which are not overtly felt. But, as mentioned in the introductory section of this work, not many of previous works on in-situ CamE have looked into this issue. The next section is intended to present what has been said so far on in-situ CamE.

The state of research on in-situ CamE

The description of the features of Cameroonian English dates back to when scholars actually pointed out that there could be a variety of English called Cameroonian English. But, it was not long ago that scholars started to get interested in the syntactic properties of non-native Englishes in general and of Cameroonian English in particular. The reasons for this are that grammatical variations in NNEs as a whole seem to be less common, as compared to other levels of linguistic analysis. This situation started changing, as researchers observed that these features were becoming more and more common, and there was a need to actually describe them, in order to create awareness of their existence. As far as the study of transformations in CamE is concerned, works are scarce, and the ones that exist (Epoge, 2015; Fongang, 2015; Ndzomo, 2013;Sala, 2003) only posit the in-situ nature of the wh-element, without carefully looking at what licenses it from a grammatical standpoint. This section looks into ideas postulated in the above-mentioned works, which all argue about the existence of the in-situ strategy in CamE.

Sala (2003), in examining transformations in CamE, argues that there is a tendency for transformations to be avoided, as they have proven complex, especially when it comes to applying the constraints on transformations. According to him, given the fact that move-alpha is constrained, Cameroonian

English speakers tend to intuitively avoid it, and it leads to in-situ construc-
tions. He comes up with the conclusion that in-situ CamE derives from the
simplification process, as explained in the introductory section of this work.
This can be said to be in line with some of Chomsky's Minimalist require-
ments (least effort, for example), as he advocates for the least resort to trans-
formations, so as to make syntactic rules more minimal and as easily acquira-
ble as possible. Moreover, Sala (2003 links in-situ-ness in CamE to the influ-
ence of indigenous languages. He uses *Lamnso* to account for his standpoint.
This idea as well has proven plausible, as most works on Bantu languages
(Bassong, 2010; Keupdjio, 2013 for example) posit in-situ constructions for
wh-questions in Basa'a and Medumba, respectively. It is clear, following
works on the departure from BrE norms in NNEs, that local language influ-
ence is a plausible account for variations in NEs. But Sala (2003) limits him-
self to sociolinguistic explanations of in-situ CamE. What if this could be ac-
counted for from a purely grammatical or syntactic perspective as seen in oth-
er in-situ languages such as Mandarin Chinese, Japanese and French?

   Ndzomo (2013) also argues about the possibility of ex-situ and in-situ
wh-elements in CamE. For in-situ, which is the topic of discussion in the
study, he shares Sala's (2003) opinion and relates in-situ in CamE to the influ-
ence of local languages and the process of simplification as well. Still at this
level, there is no attempt to provide a syntactic account of in-situ CamE,
though at this, properties of in-situ languages have already been well estab-
lished and made known to the public through research publications.

   Epoge (2015), in his study of syntax of non-focalized wh-questions in
CamE, puts forth the opinion that in non-focalized wh-questions, the tendency
is for the wh-element to remain in-situ and to take a final *naah.* To him as
well, these variations from BrE result from the multilingual and multicultural
situation of Cameroon. The innovation at this point is the idea of insertion of a
final *naah* which, of course, could be given a grammatical account.

   Fongang (2015) also examines in-situ CamE and links it with the simpli-
fication process and the influence of local languages and French[4]. He attempts
a grammatical account of it and proposes that just like in other in-situ lan-
guages, CamE exhibits the so-called movement at LF. Explanations for
movement at LF are not provided by the researcher in his paper. So far, the
only attempt to license in-situ wh-elements in CamE from a purely grammati-
cal perspective is presented in Fongang (2015). The others only focused on
positing the in-situ strategy and linking it to either the simplification process
or the influence of other languages. This study re-examines the assumption of
LF movement in CamE in order to shed more light on the issue, and why not
reject the assumption in favour of a more plausible one. The next section of
this work is devoted to that.

Method

The data come from a variety of sources, and are both written and spoken. The spoken data, on the one hand, come from the researcher's everyday conversations with friends, students and colleagues. The written data, on the other hand, come from previous works[5] on CamE syntax. The choice of these sources was motivated by the desire to include Anglophone Cameroonians from different backgrounds and with different cultural experiences.

Licensing wh-in-situ in CamE

In CamE, the wh-element in root wh-questions can remain in-situ, as the sentences in (5) below show.

(5)   a. He is eating what?
        b. You are where?
        c. You are going where?

In (5a), the wh-element *what* remains at base-generated position and does not undergo overt wh-movement. The same process applies to (5b) and (5c). This could be taken as echo-questions, given their syntactic distribution. But we are not concerned with echo-questions in this article. Besides, previous works on CamE syntax have shown that echo-questions are formed following a completely different syntactic organisation[6]. The sentences in (5) are therefore pure wh-questions in CamE. They can be compared to the French sentences in (6) below.

(6)   a. Tu manges quoi?
        b. Tu étais où?
        c. Tu vas où?

What then happens to the [+wh] features in COMP? How are they checked? Following the literature on in-situ languages, various possibilities can be explored, namely the CP-inexistence analysis, the covert feature-movement analysis and the LF movement analysis. These shall be explored in turn below.

CP Inexistence analysis of in-situ CamE

Early works on in-situ languages have assumed that feature checking is not necessary in in-situ languages because the CP layer does not exist in those languages. From their point of view, a sentence like (7) below will have the tree diagram representation as in (8).

(7)   He is reading which books?

(8)

```
                   IP
        DP _____|_____
        He          |        I'
              I _____
              is        |               VP
                    V _____
                    reading      |                DP
                                                   |
                                                   |
                                                   |
                                              which books?
```
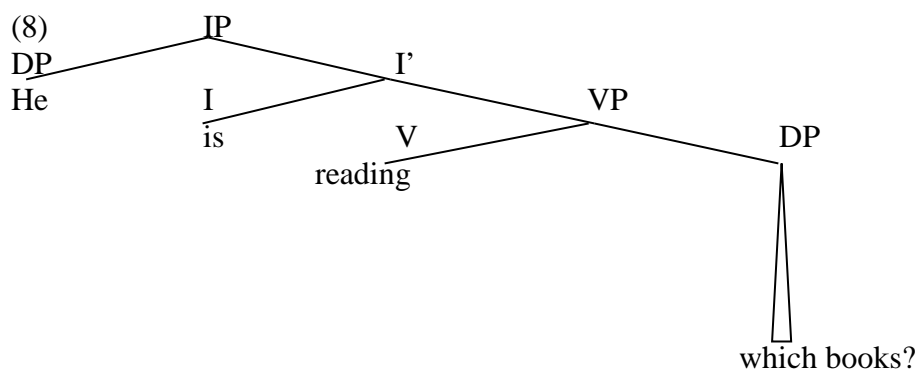
One could be tempted to share the same point of view, as a first look at the representation of the sentence shows that all the elements contained appear in their syntactic positions. If the CP domain, which is the host for the moved elements, does not exist, then movement will be impossible, as there will be no landing site for the moved element. This is in line with grammarians who argue that even if the CP domain exists in in-situ languages, then it is feature-less. Following this, attract will not be possible, and the wh-element will remain at the base. In other words, feature checking will not take place as there will be no matching features in the derivation. This idea, though plausible, has a lot of weaknesses and has seriously been criticized by many grammarians. The point here is, if COMP in wh-questions in CamE does not have [+wh] features (question features) that has to be checked, then what marks their interrogative force? According to Katz and Postal (1964), interrogative sentences are said to be peculiar in that they all carry a Q-morpheme in the CP domain. Given this, even CamE has that property, and allows Q-morphemes in CP. Besides, if there was no Q-features in COMP in CamE, what could have accounted for ex-situ constructions? This is so because, as previous works on CamE syntax argue, CamE makes use of both the ex-situ and in-situ constructions. The sentences in (5) could well be realized in CamE as the ones in (9) below, where the wh-elements have effectively moved in overt syntax, as shown through co-indexation.

(9)   a. What$_i$ is he is eatingt_i?
        b. Where$_i$are$_j$ you$t_j$$t_i$?
        c. Where$_i$are$_j$ you $t_j$goingt_i?

Following this, the CP inexistence and the CP-featureless analysis can rightly be said not to apply to CamE. The only possible accounts we have left are the covert-feature movement analysis and the LF-movement hypothesis.

Covert-feature movement analysis in CamE in-situ constructions

In the preceding section of this work, we have concluded that CamE, just like other in-situ languages, has Q-features in COMP. But what voids overt

movement like in other languages? Following the works of Hagstrong (1998) Watanabe (2001) and Cheng (2001) respectively, one can posit the existence of a wh-particle attached to the wh-element that moves covertly to check the [+wh] features in COMP. Chomsky (1995) even argues that covert movement is in fact feature movement, since at LF, there is no reason to pied-pipe the category (Cheng 2003). We won't look into that, since the concern of this article is not to show the link between LF movement and feature movement. If this is so, then attract takes place between the wh-particle and the [+wh] features in COMP, therefore prohibiting movement of the wh-element to Spec-CP. The sentence in (5a), repeated here under (10) will therefore have the tree diagram representation as in (11).

(10) He is eating what?

(11)
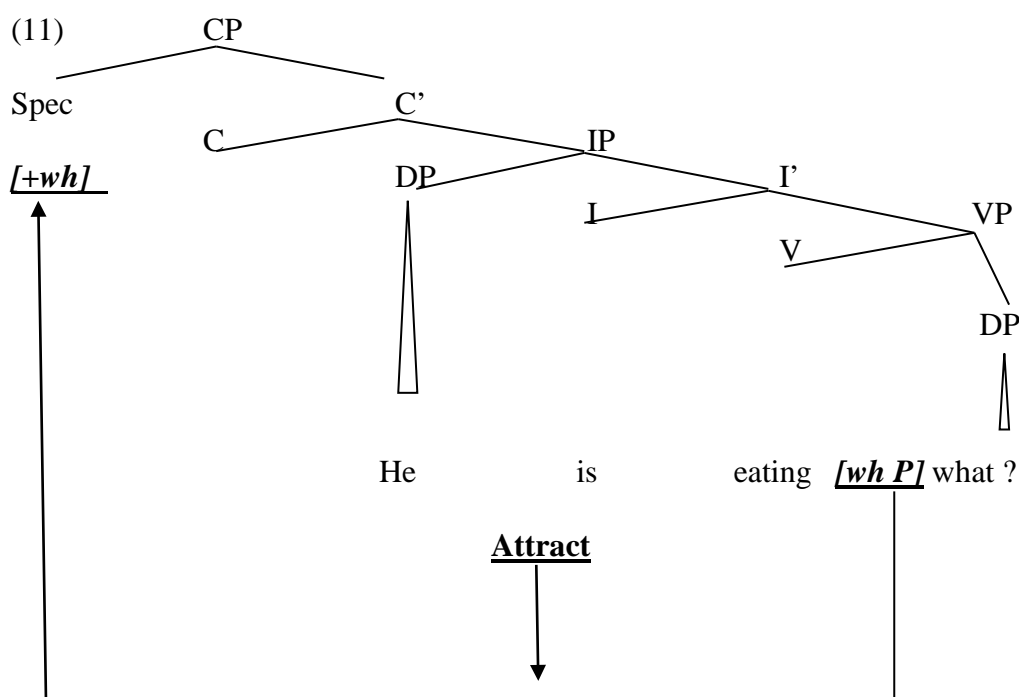
As the tree diagram above shows, the wh-particle attached to the wh-element *what* has been attracted by the [+wh] features in Spec-CP to check its uninterpretable features. Once this has been done, movement of the wh-element itself is no more required, as there is no other matching feature(s) that could attach, or which could trigger attract. But, it is good to mention here that the presence of the wh-particle is not haphazard and must be accounted for as others have, so as to make such an analysis plausible. Watanabe's (1992) feature movement in Japanese, for example, has morphological support (see Cheng, 2003); this in the sense that, as Cheng (2003, p. 130) puts it, "Japanese wh-words can be considered to be made up of an indefinite and a (non-overt) quantifier". In other words, Japanese *dare* (who), for example, has an invisible wh-operator

(*dare-op)* which moves to check the features in COMP. This operator derives from the analysis of (12) below (Cheng, 2003).

| (12) *Dare* | 'who' | *dare-mo* | 'everyone' |
Nani	'what'	*nani-mo*	'everything'
Doko	'where'	*doko-mo*	'everywhere'
Itsu	'when'	*itsu-mo*	'whenever'

As can be seen in (12) above, wh-elements can be said to be linked with a wh-particle. The Japanese examples in the third column; all carry the particle *mo*. By extension, the wh-elements in the first column as well carry the same particle, with the sole difference that they are not overtly realized. But, a close look at their English or CamE counterparts shows that those particles are absent. This makes us be skeptical about the feature-movement analysis of in-situ CamE. Hagstrom (1998) does the same and shows that the particle *ka* is what covertly moves to check the [+wh] features in COMP. This proves that feature-movement may be plausible in Japanese, but not in CamE, given the fact that these features seem to be absent, as (12) above shows. The feature-movement analysis may, therefore, be said to apply to Japanese, but not to CamE. This strengthens the point of view according to which there are different types of in-situ, with warrant properties. If feature movement does not apply to in-situ CamE given the facts presented above, how can they be treated? The option we have left is the LF movement analysis, which will be examined in the next section of this work.

LF movement analysis of in-situ CamE

The facts presented so far have made it possible to reject both the CP feature-less analysis of in-situ CamE and the feature-movement analysis. It therefore means that wh-elements are likely to move at LF, just like in many in-situ languages such as Basa'a (Bassong, 2010), Mandarin Chinese (Cheng, 2001), Nata (Gambarage & Keupdjio, 2014) and Medumba (Keupdjio, 2013). To make it plausible, let's attempt an account of such a point of view. If we claim, following Katz and Postal (1964) and Baker (1970) that interrogative sentences are peculiar in the sense that they all carry a Q-morpheme, then that question morpheme has to be checked. Given that the most plausible way through which such features can be checked is through movement (though Cheng and Rooryck (2000) argue about intonation as a feature checker in French), we can conclude that whether in in-situ or ex-situ constructions, movement takes place. In other words, attract takes place, and uninterpretable features are checked. Given the fact that the movement we refer to here cannot be feature-movement, as shown above, we will assume that it is LF movement. Most of the works that have linked in-situ constructions to movement at LF have accounted for this by presenting the similitude between movement in overt syntax and movement at LF. According to them, just like overt wh-

element, covert or LF movement as well is constrained. The difference is that the constraints that apply to the two are not the same. Bošcović (1997), for example, argues that unlike subjacency constraints overt wh-movement, C constraints covert movement. For more insight on this issue, we refer the reader back to Bošcović (1997). This was stated here just to show that there is indeed movement at LF, and that as normally expected, it is constrained. If this is so, then given that the two other analyses were rejected, then, there is LF movement in CamE, which licenses the in-situ nature of the wh-element. We will simply look into what LF movement is all about, as it is obvious that it applies to in-situ CamE. Within the so-called Government and Binding Theory (GBT), two levels of syntactic analysis have been added to the ones that existed (D-structure and S-structure), these include Phonetic Form (PF) and Logical Form (LF). At the SS, the derivation splits and sends a copy for phonetic interpretation (PF) and another one for semantic interpretation (LF). This can be schematized below.

Syntax

↓

D-Structure

↓

S-structure

↙ ↘

PF   LF
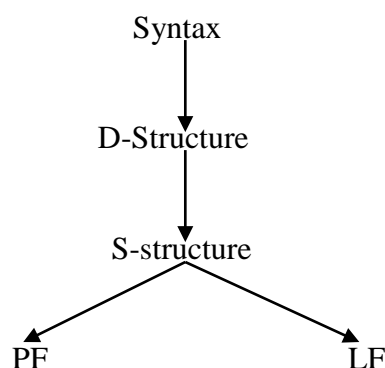
From what precedes, elements are pronounced at PF, but interpreted and understood at LF. So, it is possible for elements not to be pronounced at LF, but interpreted as part of the sentence. It is within this scope that the idea of the wh-element moving at LF was put forth. This may be said to be possible because it is not overtly felt. Rather, it is interpreted at LF as part of the sentence, since it covertly moves to check the [+wh] features in COMP. In this vein, as Chomsky (1995) argues, feature movement and covert movement are the same, since there is no reason to pied-pipe the category at LF. But, as Cheng (2003) puts it, some grammarians have posited that the two are different in many respects. As said above, if in CamE the COMP position carries Q-features, then they must be checked and erased. We can assume that this is done through movement of the wh-element at LF as the last resort, since the CP-featureless analysis and the covert feature movement analysis have proven not to apply to CamE. But, as said earlier in this work, the optional *naah,* which is, at times, inserted in in-situ CamE (see Epoge, 2015) may also serve as a feature checker. The next section of this paper examines the status of in-situ wh-elements in cases of optional final *naah* insertion.

Naah in in-situ CamE

Epoge (2015) argues that in addition to the wh-element being in-situ in wh-questions, there is insertion of a final *naah*, which is optional. The sentences in (13) below, which are from Epoge (ibid.), illustrate that.

(13)   a. This document is from where *naah?*
        b. These children are going to eat what *naah?*

From (13) above, one clearly sees that the wh-element has not undergone overt movement, and *naah* has been inserted in the derivation of the sentence. This situation begs the question of how that *naah* can be interpreted from a pure grammatical perspective. According to Epoge (ibid.), the optional final *naah* results from the influence of Cameroon local languages, and portrays the cultural and linguistic diversity of the country. This point of view is plausible, for some works on Bantu languages (Bassong, 2010; Kegne, 2015) have shown that some Bantu languages have intonational question markers/particles that appear at the right periphery of the clause. *Naah* can therefore be compared to an intonational question particle, since it is mostly used in spoken Cameroonian English. On the nature of that particle, we can conclude that it is an intonational question marker, because it provokes tone rising. Interestingly, the question particle *naah* occupies the same position even in constructions where the wh-element has overtly moved to the left periphery of the clause as shown under (14) below, which has also been heard amongst speakers of CamE.

(14)   a. Where is this document from *naah*?
        b. What are these children going to eat *naah?*

It also appears that *naah* can only take a final position, as the ungrammaticality of (15) below shows.

(15)   a- **naah* where is this document from?
        b- **naah* what are these children going to eat?

In this section, focus is on the grammatical interpretation and relevance of the final intonational question particle *naah,* with regard to feature of attraction. So far, we have argued that in wh-in-situ CamE, the wh-element is attracted at LF by the [+wh] features in the Complementizer system. But, what happens in cases of optional *naah* insertion? As far as the nature of *naah* is concerned, it has already been established that it is an intonational question particle that results from the influence of Cameroon local languages, which are Bantu languages. In addition to that, we can say that it expresses doubt on a pre-stated utterance. In other words, *naah* is not inserted haphazardly, and has a great

importance in the semantic interpretation of the sentence. A sentence such as (16a) below is, therefore, semantically different from (16b).

(16)   a- You have eaten what?
        b- You have eaten what *naah?*

(16a) is clearly understood as a wh-question. In addition to being understood as a wh-question, (16b), on the contrary, carries an idea of insistence or supplication. One can even say that, in the context of the conversation, it is not the first time it is uttered, and that the person to whom that statement is intended didn't give an answer the first time the question was asked. So, that sentence is uttered again with *naah* being inserted to signal supplication and/or insistence. It can thus be concluded that *naah*-insertion is associated with the idea of insistence or supplication, depending on the context of the conversation and the speakers' intentions. It is interesting to also note that *naah* appears only in interrogative sentences, and not in declaratives. Following this, it has the same role as the Q-features in COMP, as it marks the interrogative nature of the sentence. The problem with such an analysis is that it may appear both in in-situ and ex-situ constructions. This is so because it may also be inserted in sentences where there is overt wh-element attraction by the Q-features in COMP. What then happens to the Q-features in the COMP position after *naah*-insertion? Does it mean that interrogative sentences could be marked by both the Q-features in the complementizer system and the overt intonational question particle *naah?* The answer to the preceding question is "yes". It thus means that in cases of ex-situ, attract takes place, and the wh-element is overtly moved to Spec-CP. In cases of in-situ, attract takes place as well, and the wh-element is moved at LF. If this is so, then *naah* is not that important in the derivation of the sentence. Its importance is limited to signalling insistence and supplication, which are all related to semantics. We can therefore conclude that even in cases of *naah*-insertion, feature attraction takes place, and the wh-element is moved at LF to check the question features in the COMP system.

One could also assume *naah* to be a feature checker in in-situ CamE, following Cheng and Rooryck's (2000) paper on in-situ in French. If *naah* is considered an intonational question particle, then it is likely to function exactly as intonation in French (see Cheng & Rooryck, 2000). If this is so, then it has the peculiarity of checking the Q-features in the complementizer system, and therefore allowing the wh-element to stay in-situ. The problem with such an analysis is that it does not account for the fact that *naah* can also be inserted in ex-situ constructions as the examples in (14) above show. A close look at (14) shows that movement in overt syntax has taken place, even with the insertion of the final *naah.* This makes the analysis of *naah* as feature checker not to be plausible. *Naah* cannot, therefore, be a feature checker, since it does not void movement of the wh-elements in (14a) and (14b). In a nutshell, we can conclude that movement at LF is the most plausible way on analyzing wh-

in-situ in CamE. This is so because even with *naah*-insertion LF movement takes place in case of in-situ constructions, as shown in this section.

Conclusion and pedagogic implications

In this paper, we looked into in-situ CamE following Chomsky's (1998) Attract. After presenting evidence against the CP-featureless analysis and the feature-movement analysis of in-situ CamE, we argued that the wh-element moves at LF to check the Q-features in the complementizer system. As far as optional final *naah*-insertion is concerned, we posited, in line with Epoge (2015), that *naah* results from the influence of Cameroon local languages and thus is an intonational question particle, which is associated with the ideas of insistence and supplication. This clearly demonstrates that the English language in postcolonial multilingual Cameroon has undergone significant indigenisation and, consequently, nativisation. Though linguists have strongly worked on describing its features, Standard BrE syntactic rules continue to be the preferred teaching model within the Cameroonian teaching industry. The findings of this paper clearly advocate the standardization and promotion of CamE in Cameroonian classroom, given that Cameroonians intuitively make use of in-situ constructions. This view has already been made by Ngefac (2011) in the domain of phonology. In such a context, the attainment of teaching objectives is difficult and quasi impossible, as students' outcome reflects CamE syntactic features. We can, therefore, share Ngefac's (2011, p.43) view according to which "The educated aspects of CamE can be conveniently promoted on the Cameroonian landscape".

Notes
[1] Sala (2003), Ndzomo (2013) and Fongang (2015) relate the in-situ nature of the wh-element to the influence of local languages and French. Sala (2003) for example, uses data from Lamnso, a Bantu language spoken in North West Cameroon, to show that just like in that language, the wh-element is likely to remain in situ in CamE. Fongang (2015) relates it to the influence of French, where the wh-element can be in-situ or ex-situ. (See Bošković, 1997 and Cheng and Rooryck, 2000 for in-situ in French).

[2] In the study of NNEs, the desire to simplify complex rules have also accounted for the departure from BrE norms. Ekembe (2011), for example, relates the departure from BrE norms in CamE syntax to the notion of "Markedness" (complexity). According to him, new syntactic rules emanate in CamE because they are complex to follow. Given the fact that movement transformations must follow syntactic constraints, avoiding overt movement makes it possible not to care about those. This idea is re-echoed in works such as Sala (2003), Ndzomo (2013) and Fongang (2015).

[3] Camfranglais is a slang or colloquial language used by the youth in Cameroon. Just like the label entails, it is a mixture of many languages, dominated by English and French

[4] With Reference to Bošković (1997) and Cheng and Rooryck (2000) who argue about the ex-situ and the in-situ nature of the wh-element in French, Fongang (2015) assumes that, given the influence of French on CamE, the in-situ strategy may find its origin there.

[5] In these works, the data come from literary works of arts written by Cameroonian authors. In Sala (2003), for example, the data is from Linus Asong's *No Way to Die.* Fongang (2015) draws his data from John Nkemngong's (2004) *Across the Mongolo.*

[6] Sala (2014) argues that echo-questions are formed in CamE by applying a rule that deletes the super-ordinate clause as shown in (2) below, which derives from the declarative sentence in (1).
    (1) I met Peter the other day on my way back to Bamenda.
    (2) That what?
From Sala (2003) and Fongang (2015) perspective, the echo-question in (2) above derives from the application of the rule in (3) below to the possible BrE echo-question in (4).
    (3) Superordinate-clause deletion: Delete the super-ordinate-clause to have an echo-question. (Sala 2014. p. 31)
    (4) (You say) that what?
The bracketed element in (4) is what Sala (ibid.) refers to as super-ordinate clause.

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Note on Contributor

Leonel Tadjo Fongang holds a Masters degree in English grammar and a B.A in Bilingual studies (English/French) from the University of Yaounde I, Cameroon. He is interested in the syntactic description of The New Englishes, with special focus on West African English(es). Email: leonelfongang@yahoo.fr

The English language conquest of Portuguese academic writing: A study of faculty members' language choices

Maria L. Cabral
Neuza C. Costa
Anabela M. Nobre
University of Algarve, Portugal

Abstract

In an attempt to survive in the highly competitive terrain of academic publications, Portuguese humanities and social science professors are increasingly giving up writing their papers in Portuguese, and, instead, they now opt to write in English, today's scientific default language. This paper aims to portray the current panorama of humanities and social sciences publications in Portugal, and focuses on the language choices and the process of academic writing of a group of Portuguese professors in the fields of humanities and social sciences with the aim of illustrating their language preferences, as well as the aspects they take into consideration while writing either in Portuguese or in English. Results of this study indicate that Portuguese humanities and social sciences professors prefer to write in Portuguese, their own language, but for reasons associated with the need to achieve scientific visibility they use the English language when they submit their manuscripts for publication. Results further illustrate participants' major concerns while composing and revising their papers in Portuguese as well as in English.

Keywords: Language dominance, EFL, academic writing, L1 writing, FL writing

Introduction

We live in a "geolinguistically changing world" (Swales, 1997, p. 376) where academic writing has become a synonym of writing in English language. Moreover, as a result of a growing globalization phenomenon, English has also assumed a privileged role as the international instrument of communication in most of the professional areas that require social interaction.

Johnson (2009) reflecting on positive and negative factors associated with the rise of English as a dominant world language sates that the widespread of English as a *lingua franca* makes it an instrument for success in all areas requiring social mediation, but since it is not equally and universally available to all it also functions as a factor of social inequality for those who do not speak it. The author addresses the issue of the "English language monopoly" in the academic world. She equates English with the "mode of communication for the international elite" (Johnson, 2009, p. 137), but she also

reminds us of Phillipson's (1996, p. 81) words when he says that "scholars working in English are unable to communicate their professional expertise in the mother tongue, and that the (mother) language itself is atrophying in particular areas rather than to continue to develop and adjust."

Academic writing plays a highly relevant role in the lives of scholars around the world. Actually, much of what a higher education professor does is done through written language (academic publishing, lectures and conference papers, networking, peer review, etc.). In Europe, until the beginning of the 20th century, this written discourse practices used to be performed mainly in the national languages of the authors. Particularly in the field of humanities, and except for the works published by British authors, other European languages were also common practice in academic publications.

In fact, not long ago, European scholars used to value other besides the English academic discourse conventions as well. According to Johns (2003, p. 314), academic writing in continental Europe used to be inspired by German Romanticism, and thus it was "interpretative, hermeneutical and epistemological in nature", and made heavier use of "metaphors and belletrism". This traditional European model is now considered "diametrically opposed" to the favourite Anglo-American academic writing model, which is seen as "problem-based, methodological, concise, and written in an (more) accessible register" (Johns, 2003, p. 314).

Today, because English became the language of science worldwide, every speaker of any other language is destined to renounce his/her own language and adopt English, if s/he wishes to communicate with a larger than her/his own language research community.

With the aim of contributing to a deeper comprehension of the choices taken by non-English authors when publishing their work, this paper portrays the panorama of the publications in the humanities and social sciences in Portugal, and examines the language choices and the process of academic writing of a group of Portuguese humanities and social sciences professors with the aim of illustrating their language preferences, as well as the aspects they take into consideration while composing either in Portuguese or in English.

Context of the study: The current panorama of Portuguese scientific publications

Our language is the mediator of our cultural experiences, social codes and values, and through our language we express our identity but also our views of the world (UNESCO, 2009).

For reasons associated with more than eight centuries of identity construction, the Portuguese language has always been used as the privileged medium of scientific communication at least until the second half of the 20th century. The prevailing choice of the Portuguese language in the case of Portuguese publications in the areas of arts, humanities and social sciences has been associated with the fact that these research fields have relied mainly on localized input. That is, research results traditionally aimed primarily at the Portuguese language research community and, as such, they were mainly intended to be shared among research peers. As it happened in other European research communities, which maintained their own language (e.g., Spanish, French and German), the Portuguese arts, humanities and social sciences research communities have been able to resist English language domination for quite a long time.

Today, the research panorama has changed completely in Portugal for reasons associated with the need to achieve visibility in a globalized world of science where English language rules. A visit to the Arts & Humanities Citation Index (AHCI) and to the Social Science Citation Index (SSCI) list of scientific journals shows that today there are only a few Portuguese language journals included in these indexes, whether in Portugal or Brazil. In fact, in a list of more than 1,700 arts and humanities journals only 15 accept Portuguese language manuscripts, and in a list of more than 2,400 social sciences journals only 20 accept manuscripts in the Portuguese language. Among the possible reasons for the existence of such a small number of Portuguese language scientific journals is certainly the growing dominance of English as the language of research publications in the whole world.

The growing dominance of English as a scientific lingua franca, particularly helped by the rise of the intellectual hegemony of the USA right after the fall of the Berlin wall, has contributed to diminishing the impact of scientific publications written in Portuguese in the areas of arts, humanities and social sciences in Portugal as well as in Brazil (Cabral, 2007).

An analysis of the scientific publications in the English language signed by Portuguese authors (designated as Portuguese publications from now on) included in the data bases of the web of science (PORDATA- 2015) — Science Citation Index-Expanded (SCI), Social Science Citation Index (SSCI), Arts & Humanities Citation Index (AHCI), Conference Proceedings Citation Index-Science (CPCI-S), Conference Proceedings Citation Index- Social Science & Humanities (CPCI-SSH) – reveals that the total number of Portuguese scientific productions has grown enormously since the last decades of the 20th century: from 307.0 in 1981 to 17.565 in 2013.

An examination of the available data (SCImago Journal & Country Rank [SJR], 2015) on Portuguese publications in the areas of arts, humanities and social sciences in the time period between 1996 and 2013 shows that the number of publications signed by Portuguese authors in these areas has grown ten times more since the last decade of the 21st century: from 217 in 1996 to 2225 in 2013 (Figure 1). An examination of the international rankings of scientific publications in the Western European countries indicates that Portugal is located at position 15 in the ranking of the 28 European countries considered by the SJR ranks.
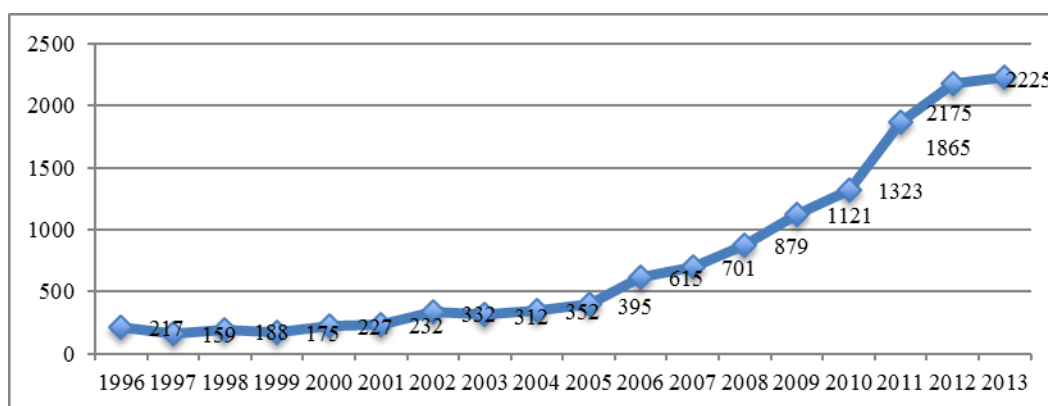
Figure 1. Portuguese Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences publications (1996 to 2013)

When we compare the volume of publications in the fields of arts, humanities and social sciences in Western European countries and in Portugal, data indicate that Portuguese publications in 2013 represent 3.4% of the global western European publications in these fields (PORDATA, 2015; European Union, 2015). This percentage represents a considerable increase when compared to the 1.7% of Portuguese publications in the same fields in 1996 (Figure 2).

Among other possible socio-cultural explanations (e.g., a rise of literacy levels and an increase of public awareness of the value of research), this growth can also mean that, as a means of fighting against the silencing of their own research voice, Portuguese researchers are increasingly adopting the English language in the writing of their scientific papers in order to be able to submit them to international journals.

The increase in Portuguese investment in research and development activities (R&D) during last decade may have also contributed to the rising of the Portuguese position in the rankings of Western European scientific publications. From a residual 0.3 % of the country's GDP in 1981, available data on gross domestic expenditure on R&D (Statistics Explained, 2015) show that Portugal has gradually increased investment in R&D to 1.5% in 2013 and, consequently, there has also been an increase in the amount of research pro-

jects financed and in the amount of international publications of the respective research products.

The latest Eurostat reports indicate that in 2013 the 28 EU Member States have spent almost €275 billion on research and development activities, which correspond to an average expenditure of 2.06% of GDP per country (Statistics Explained, 2015). When we compare the investment in R&D made by European countries that are similar to Portugal in terms of the total number of population (Belgium, Greece and Sweden) data show that Portugal has always spent more on R&D than Greece, but much less than Belgium or Sweden. This comparison is even more relevant if we take into consideration the corresponding amount of these countries' annual GDP per capita.
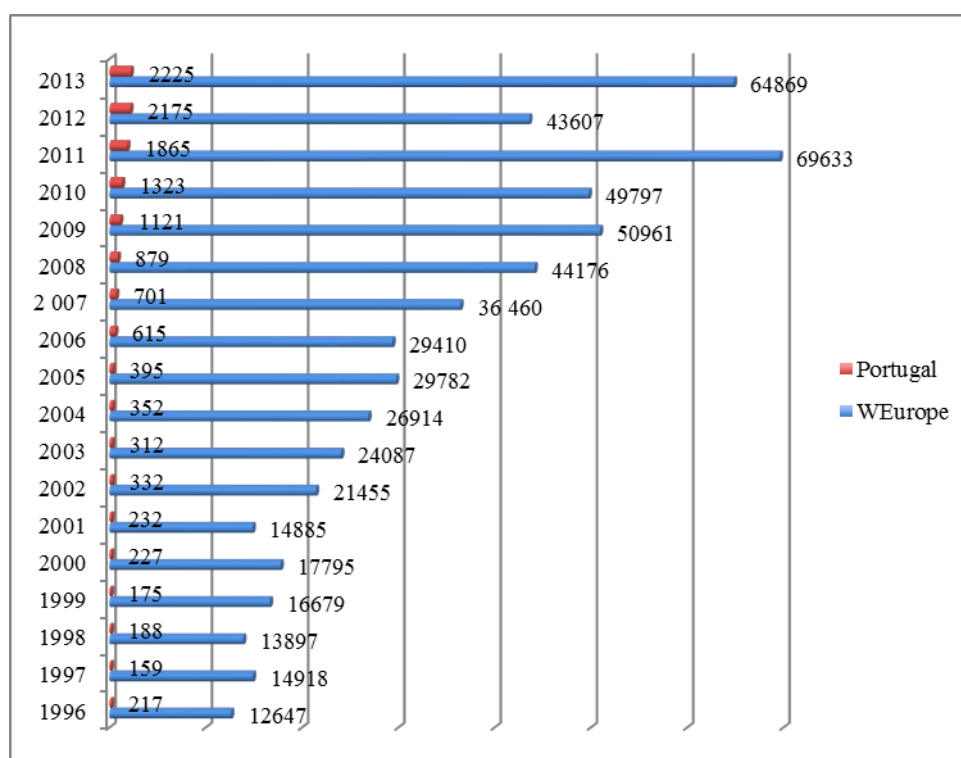

Figure 2. Publications in Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences, Portugal and Western Europe (1996-2013)

The greater national investment in English as a foreign language by richer European countries, as it is the case of Sweden, for example, also leads to the existence of a larger number of researchers with high English language proficiency, and that greater familiarity with the dominant language turns out to be an advantage when these researchers compete with Southern European researchers in their attempts to get their papers published by international journals.

A comparison of the number of scientific publications in Portugal and Greece, countries with similar population numbers and similar GDP per capita and R&D investment, reveals analogous results in terms of the prominence of these two countries' contribution to the different research fields (Figure 3).

Data on current Portuguese scientific publications in the fields of arts, humanities and social sciences demonstrate that the higher contributions for the global volume of Portuguese publications comes from the fields of Education (293), Sociology and Political Science (225), Geography, Planning and Development (206), Arts & Humanities miscellaneous (143), Social Sciences miscellaneous (163) and History (110). The scientific areas with less than 20 publications in 2013 were: Museology (2), Classics (5), Conservation (10), Music (12), Demography (13), Gender Studies (17), Religious Studies (17) and Safety Research (18).

The highest number of scientific publications in 2013 in Greece is also related to the fields of Education (272), followed by Geography and Planning and Development (124), Sociology and Political Sciences (98), and Arts & Humanities miscellaneous (93). As it happens in Portugal, the lowest number of publications is associated with the scientific areas of Classics (5), Conservation (7), Music (8), Demography (10), Gender Studies (15), Religious Studies, and Safety Research (16), Public Administration, and Human Factors and Ergonomic (17).

The same pattern is repeated when we compare data on Belgian and Swedish scientific publications, although the number of publications in these two countries is much higher than in Portugal and Greece (Figure 3).

The major contributions of Belgium and Sweden to the volume of publications in 2013 also come from the fields of Education (Belgium 327, Sweden 487), Arts and Humanities (Belgium 407, Sweden 308), Sociology and Political Science, (Belgium 384, Sweden 452), Geography, Planning and Development (Belgium 368, Sweden 459), and Linguistics and Language (Belgium 353, Sweden 194). Similarly to findings in Portugal and Greece, the fields of Classics, Conservation, Museology and Music are the ones that least contributed to the volume of scientific publications in Belgium and in Sweden.
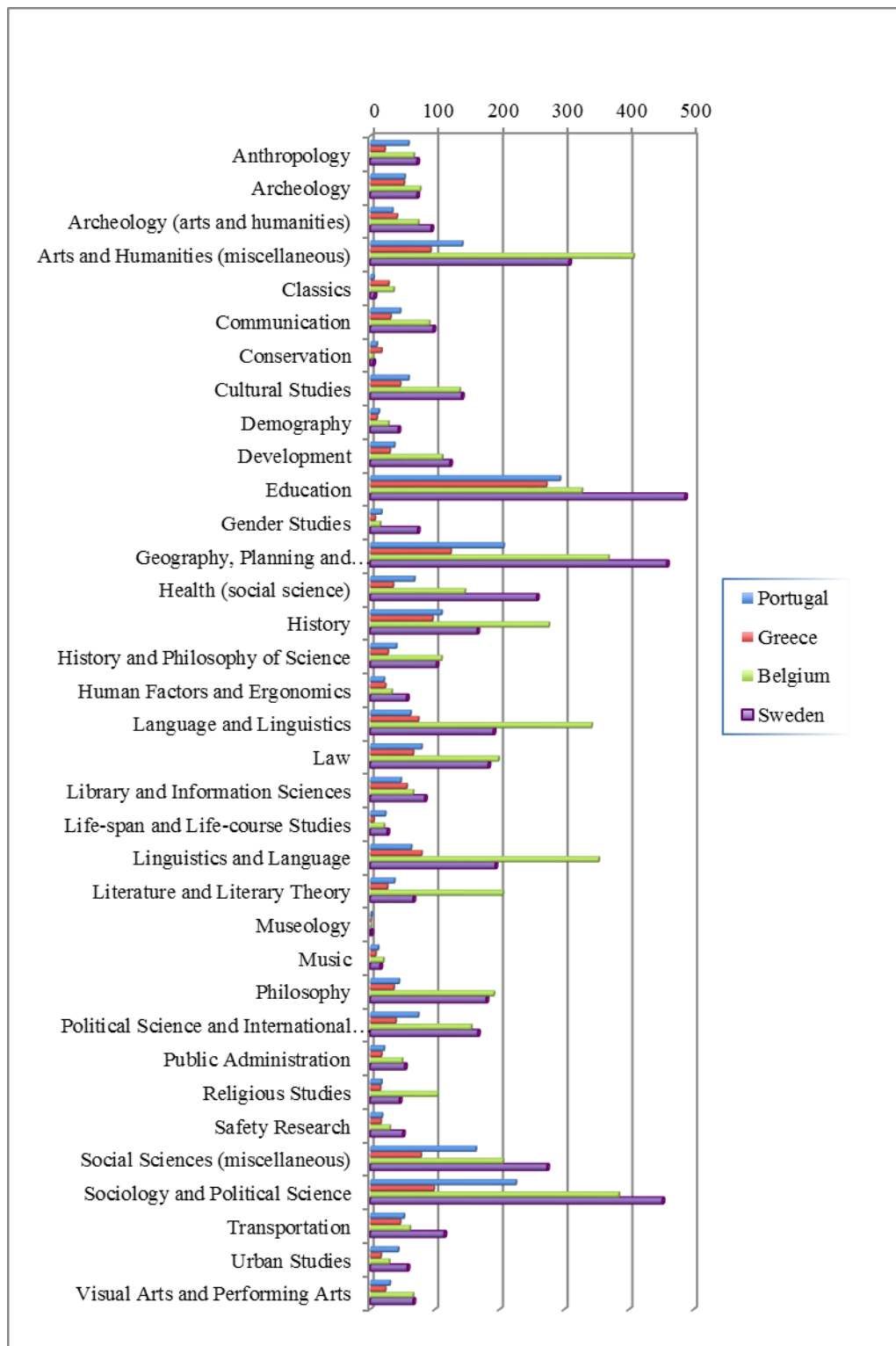
Figure 3. Humanities and Social Sciences publications in Portugal, Greece, Belgium and Sweden

Writing academic texts in a foreign language

Departing form a conception of literacy as situated social practice (Bronckart, 1996; Baynham, 1995; Johns, 1997; Swales, 2002), writing in this study is seen as a process of constructing meaning through a recreation of reality that implies a reorganization of what the writer thinks, knows or feels when expressing his/her own cultural identity within a particular genre. Furthermore, the act of writing is also seen as complex process of discourse building in which language mediates the individual as well as his/her own discourse community social and cultural background (Matsuda, 2001; Wertsch, 1991).

As Jubhari (2009, p. 68) says every academic community "is characterized by the discourse practices performed by members of that academic community". That being so, research communities all over the world have developed different discourse traditions manifested in the way they write with the aim of sharing theories or research findings with their own discourse communities. That is, besides the different methodological approaches commonly rooted in the specific research paradigms shared by different fields of study, there are also differences associated with the particular discourse strategies commonly used by speakers of a particular language community (Dudley-Evans, 2000).

Although academic writing, in abstract terms, can be defined as a process of composing a text using a formal voice and the appropriate style with the goal of sharing theories or research evidences with the research communities organized within particular fields of study, the truth is that the apparently simple act of composing a text having these goals in mind can become a difficult task for many scholars around the world, particularly when the text is to be written in a foreign language.

Like in other situations in life, choosing a language other than one's first language to communicate research content has contradictory consequences for the ones forced to make such decision. Being a non-native English speaker, either you submit to the English academic dominance and hope to get published in a journal listed on a citation index, and thus improve your chances in the academic tribe you think you belong to, or you write in your own language and remain a "local" member of a remote language research community, ignored by the majority. Being a non-native English speaker you may lose either way: if you choose to write in English your paper has great chances of being rejected, and even if it is eventually accepted for publication by an international journal, independently of the value of your ideas and research findings, there is only a remote chance that your paper will be considered a good example of the prevalent academic genre, because of your different rhetoric and language choices; if you choose to write in your default language you can only publish in a local research journal, and independently of the value of your ideas and research findings, your paper will never be considered as relevant as an international publication, even by your own local academic community. Underlying the Portuguese researchers' choice of the language in

which to write, there is the certainty that "Anglophone contexts are often more valued as objects and sites of research than research coming from periphery areas" (Curry & Lillis, 2007, p. 6).

As a matter of fact, writing a paper in English is a challenge that becomes even greater when English is not the language you normally use to communicate (e.g., Belcher, 2007; Flowerdew, 2001; Gosden, 2003; Siguan, 2001). Although many non-English speaking researchers do it everyday, out of choice or out of necessity, choosing to write in English instead of writing in one's first language may raise the awareness of language dominance issues. Since professional journals can only accept the best manuscripts, non-native speakers of English are aware that "the general increase in research production is leading to high journal rejection rates, currently reaching 80-95% in the arts and humanities, which in turn means increasing pressure on manuscripts that betray evidence of non-standard English" (Swales (2002, p. 103).

The act of composing "is seen as the result of a complex reviewing process, involving the detection and possible diagnosis of a problem in the text" (Kollberg & Eklundh, 2002, p. 89). Some researchers have claimed that there are similarities between the composing process in first language (L1) and in second or foreign language (L2/FL) in terms of writing strategies and composing decisions (e.g., Hirose, 2006; van Weijen et al., 2009; Zamel, 1983), and that transfer of writing knowledge takes place in both directions, from L1 to L2/FL and from L2/FL to L1 (e.g., Kang, 2005; Koboyashi & Rinnert, 2008). Other researchers have claimed that irrespective of the existence of similarities in the mental procedures used by L1 and L2/FL writers in the process of planning and composing texts, writing in a language that is not our own requires more attention to surface linguistic features and organizational aspects, and to the specificities of the social and cultural factors that shape the target language academic genres (e.g., Baynham, 1995, Grabe & Kaplan, 1996; Spack, 1988; Stevenson, Schoonen, & Glooper, 2006; Trible, 1996).

Indeed, writing academic papers in EL is a heavy burden (Swales, 2002) for non-native speakers of English, and this burden becomes even greater when the author is not highly proficient in English, the language s/he intends to use. Researchers have defended that there is a relationship between L2 proficiency and L2 text quality (e.g., Beare & Bourdages, 2007; López-Urdaneta, 2011; Manchon & de Larios, 2007; Sasaki & Hirose, 1996; Sasaki, 2002;) and that there are similarities in the L1 and L2 writing processes of proficient L2 speakers, since they adopt similar rhetorical patterns (e.g., Uysal, 2008), as well as similar strategies while planning, composing and revising their texts either in L1 or in L2 (e.g., Kliber, 2010; Matsumoto, 1995, Zainuddin & Moore, 2003). Other researchers have, however, pointed to differences between L1 and L2 composing activities, namely, in the process of goal setting and content generation (e.g., De Larios, Manchon, & Murphy, 2006; van Weijen, et al., 2009), in the amount of text planning (e.g., Manchon & de Larios, 2007); Silva, 1993and in revising procedures (e.g., Casey,

2006). More recently, Wang (2012) reviewed published literature focusing on the differences in L1 and L2 academic writing, and in her conclusions she argues that there are "differences between academic writing in L1 and L2 in various aspects …: in the level of lexicon, … in the level of sentence, and … in the level of passage" (Wang, 2012, p. 640).

A review of research studies, as well as of textbooks and recommendation booklets published on the topic of academic writing indicates that authors and institutions usually dedicate attention to aspects that advanced writers should take into consideration while composing and revising their texts in L1 or in L2/FL (e.g., Becker, 2007; Connor, 1988; Grabe & Kaplan, 1996; Peironcely, 2008; Raimes, 1985; Ritter, 2005; Swales, 2002; Swales & Feak, 2006; Tang, 2012; Trible, 1996; University of Essex, 2012; University of Bristol 2012, 2014; University of Wisconsin, 2014).

Method

This paper examines the academic publications signed by Portuguese university professors in the fields of humanities and social sciences. With the aim of comprehending underlying language choices and text writing procedures used by a particular research community, the design of this descriptive study is informed by ideographic research principles and adopts mainly qualitative methods and procedures in the collection and the treatment of data. However, whenever appropriate, quantitative procedures were also used in order to illustrate trends of the participants' views and opinions on inquired topics. The study was guided by the following research questions:

1. In what language do Portuguese professors in the humanities and social sciences prefer to publish their work?
2. What do they think are the obstacles to the growth of Portuguese language research publications?
3. What criteria do they take into account while in the process of writing their research papers?

Participants

An email invitation was sent to the professional email addresses of 100 humanities and social sciences faculty members at the state universities of the Algarve, Aveiro, Évora, Lisboa, Minho, and Trás-os-Montes e Alto Douro. Participants of this study are the 52 Portuguese university professors who voluntarily responded to at least 8 of the 10 questions of a questionnaire. The selected sample includes 23 male and 29 female university professors. The largest sub-group of respondents are male professors (43,47%) in the age range 'more than 50 years old' (Table I).

Table 1. *Participants' age and gender characterization*

–	less than 30 yrs old	30 - 40 yrs old	41 - 50 yrs old	more than 50 yrs old	N = 52
– Feminine	3.44% 1	17.24% 5	37.93% 11	41.37% 12	55.76% 29
Masculine	0% 0	13.04% 3	39.13% 9	43.47% 10	44.23% 23

The majority of respondents are professors of Education, Psychology and Social Sciences (55.76%). Languages, Literature and Culture professors constitute the second largest sub-group in the sample (34.61%), and History, Archaeology and Philosophy professors constitute the smallest sub-group of respondents (9.61%).

Research instruments

A survey was built with the purpose of collecting data from the participants. The questionnaire was built using Survey Monkey, an online survey provider (https://www.surveymonkey.com). The final version of the questionnaire included the revisions suggested by three university professors, who evaluated draft samples of the survey questions.

The survey questionnaire included 10 questions: three multiple choice and four rank order questions, which aimed at the characterization of the participants, their language preference when writing scientific papers, and the characterization of their own writing process. The questionnaire also included three open ended questions, which aimed at the identification of the criteria participants take into consideration while composing, revising and editing scientific papers in Portuguese and in English, and at their identification of the three most relevant obstacles to the growth of Portuguese language scientific publications.

Procedures

The Survey Monkey website was used to collect all data online. Quantitative data, collected and organized by the Survey Monkey website tools, were then retrieved and treated with the help of an Excel matrix. Analysis of data collected through the multiple choice questions consisted of the computation of the total choice frequencies for each item and the corresponding percentages. Data collected with rank order questions were examined in order to determine the respondents' preference for each item. The first item chosen by respondents (ranked as #1) was attributed three points, the second item chosen (ranked as #2) was attributed two points, and the last item chosen (ranked as #3) was attributed one point. After the computation of the mean of the total

points attributed to each item, the largest average obtained corresponds to the most preferred choice by the respondents.

Qualitative data were treated with a thematic analysis technique. Text coding procedures were developed as follows: the respondents' answers were transcribed and systematically read in search for the emergence of relevant common themes representing the communality of the participants' voice on the topics of inquiry.

Similar thematic units found were grouped under corresponding discourse indicators, which were then grouped under categories labelled accordingly to the topics of inquiry (Anderson, 2007). Themes emerging from the participants' answers on the topics of inquiry were organized using a category matrix (Table 2).

Table 2. *Obstacles to the growth of Portuguese language scientific Publications*

Categories	Discourse indicators
Public attitude & Local institutional policy	Low value of Portuguese Language
	Pressure for international publication
	Low research funding
Local journals publication policy	Time of editorial procedures
	Few Portuguese indexed journals
	Low impact of Pl journals
	Limited scientific impact of publications
External threats	Small size of research communities
	English language dominance
	Globalization trends

The coding of text units and the corresponding labelling process were subject to a process of intercoder agreement performed by three independent judges (average percent agreement 83.3%). Text units were then counted in order to identify the number of occurrences associated with each of the discourse indicators, within the different categories. The text units associated with the different discourse indicators were then displayed in graphic representations in order to better illustrate the frequency of their occurrence in the respondents' texts.

Results and discussion

Language choice is one of the first decisions Portuguese researchers make when they intend to publish their work. Language choice is a relevant factor when we think about the visibility of our findings, but it is also a factor when we think of our own institutional evaluation. Universities value publications in indexed journals, but in Portugal there are only a few indexed journals in a

narrow range of scientific areas. Consequently, Portuguese researchers tend to write in English in order to be able to submit their papers to foreign language journals. This decision is, however, somehow difficult: on one hand most of us feel that by writing in English we are submitting ourselves to the Anglo-American language dominance, on the other hand, the need of belonging to an international research community feeds our institutional survival and, to remain institutionally alive, we are forced to write in English.

In what language do Portuguese professors in the humanities and social sciences prefer to publish their work?

When asked in what language they prefer to write when they decide to submit their research papers to publication, 67.30% of the Portuguese humanities and social sciences university professors inquired stated that they almost always write in the Portuguese language (PL), while 15.4% of the respondents indicated that they always write in PL. Eight respondents (15.4%) rarely choose Portuguese when writing for publication, and one respondent (1.9 %) never writes in Portuguese (Figure 4).
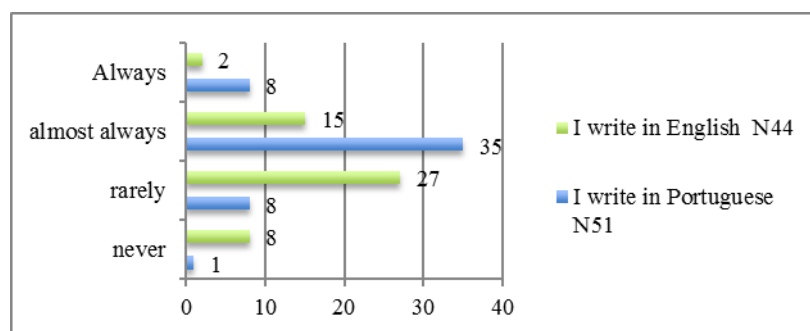
Figure 4. Participants' language preference when writing academic papers

Among the respondents, there are 34% who stated they almost always write in English, and 61.3% who said that they rarely choose English. Eight respondents (18.18%) said they never choose English, and two respondents (4.5%) indicated that they always choose English when writing their academic papers. These findings show that, for the respondents, Portuguese is still the language most frequently chosen when they decide to publish their work.

If we take into consideration that the age of the majority of the respondents is more than 50 years old, these findings might also tell us that senior Portuguese scholars, who were educated in a time when the language mostly valued in the higher education system was not the English language, naturally prefer to publish in Portuguese.

What do participants think are the obstacles to the growth of Portuguese language research publications?

Based on the insight that Portuguese scholars would value publishing in their language more than any other, and having in mind the relatively low number of Portuguese research publications in international indexed journals, one of the 3 open-ended questions of the questionnaire inquired about obstacles to the growth of PL publications. Respondents were required to indicate three main aspects that they considered to be obstacles to the increase of the number of PL publications worldwide.

The major aspects identified by the respondents constitute internal (national) obstacles to the increase of the number of scientific PL publications, which were grouped under the categories of 'Public attitudes and Institutional policies' (54 text units), and 'Local journals publication policies' (51 text units). External obstacles identified by respondents were grouped under the category 'External threats', which includes 26 text units (Figure 5).
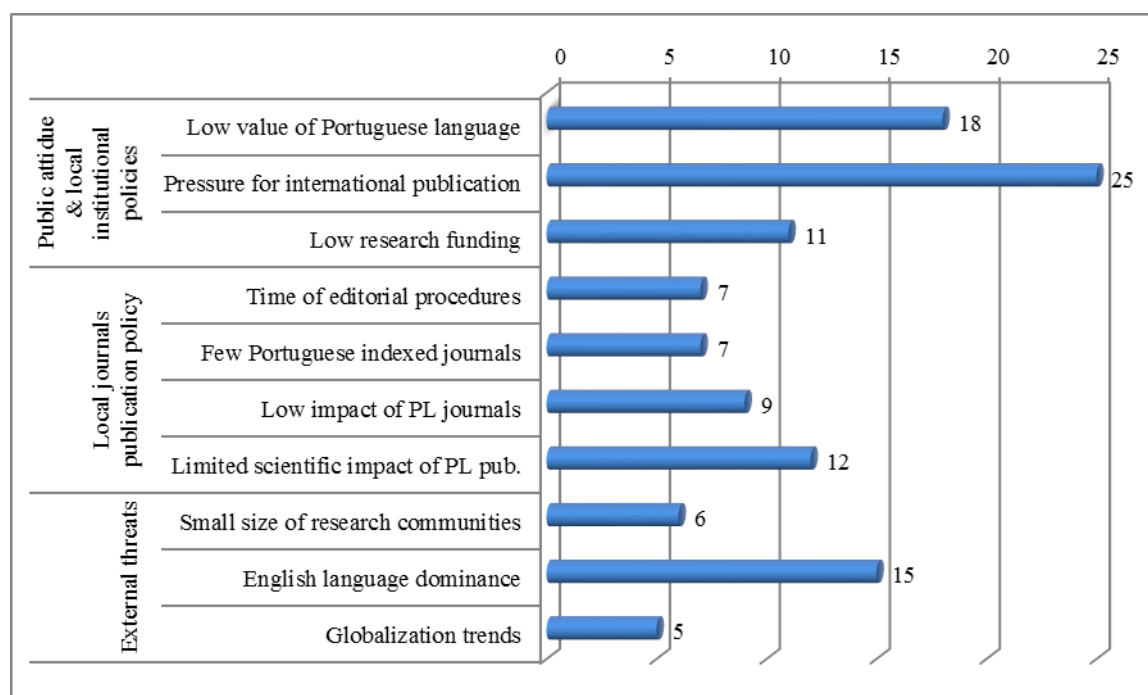
Figure 5. Obstacles to the growth of Portuguese language publication (N52)

The thematic analysis of the respondents' answers indicates that the majority of the respondents consider that they write in English due to institutional pressure (25 units), as a means of increasing the ranking position of their institution, or as a means of increasing their own classification in academic evaluation (Table 3). Other aspects mentioned as obstacles to the increase of PL publications, under the category of "Public attitudes and institutional poli-

cies", are the low valorisation of Portuguese by the PL research community, and by the PL academic institutions (18 text units). The low level of relevance attributed to research products written in the PL by research funding institutions (11 text units) was another aspect commonly mentioned by respondents.

Table 3. *Public attitudes and institutional policies as obstacles to the growth of PL publications*

Discourse indicators	Example of Text Units
Pressure for international publication (25 Units)	"*a obsessão nacional pela internacionalização (da investigação) associada exclusivamente ao uso do ingles*" (The national obsession for the internationalization of research associated with the exclusive use of the EL) "*Imposição de publicação em revistas com impacte internacional*" (Institutional pressure for publications in international indexed journals) "*(encorajamento institucional à) participação dos investigadores portugueses em redes internacionais* (Institutional encouragement for Portuguese researchers to join international networks)
Low value of Portuguese Language (18 Units)	"*A pouca importância que o "país" atribui à LP e à sua afirmação.*" (The low importance attributed to PL and to PL affirmation by the Portuguese) "*Fraca postura de defesa da escrita em português*" (Weak attitude towards the defence of PL papers) "*Desconhecimento (do português) por parte dos painéis de avaliação*" (The evaluation panels do not speak Portuguese)
Low research funding (11 Units)	"*Pouca valorização por parte das instâncias financiadoras*" (Low relevance attributed [to PL publications] by research funding institutions) "*Desvalorização pela FCT*" (PL publications are not valorised by FCT, the national Foundation for Research and Technology)

The second main obstacle to the growth of the number of PL publications considered by the respondents was grouped under the category "Local jour-

nals publication policies" (51 text units), which refers to the number, the quality and the impact of PL journals and of PL research papers (Table 4).

Respondents say that there are only a few indexed PL journals (7 text units), that their editorial procedures are very slow (23 text units), and that PL journals are not valorised by the PL research community, or have a low impact on national as well as on international research communities (9 text units). The awareness of the limited scientific impact of research published in PL (11 text units) was another salient aspect in the respondents' answers.

Table 4. *Local journals publication policies as obstacles to the growth of PL publications*

Discourse indicators	Example of Text Units
Time of editorial procedures (23 Units)	*"As revistas levam muito tempo a aceitar/rejeitar o artigo"* (PL journals take too long to accept/reject a manuscript)
Few Portuguese indexed journals (7 Units)	*"Escassez de revistas indexadas nas diferentes áreas científica"* (There are few indexed journals in the different scientific fields)
Low impact of Pl journals (9 Units)	*"Em alguns domínios, o menor reconhecimento pela própria comunidade científica portuguesa"* (In some scientific areas, PL journals are less recognized by the PL research community). "Revistas da área sem real impacte na comunidade científica" (PL journals do no have any impact in my scientific community)
Limited scientific impact of PL papers (11 Units)	*"Impacte científico reduzido das publicações em português (tanto PE, como PB)"* (The low scientific impact of PL publications) *"Limitação na divulgação e exposição da informação publicada"* (Limitations on the spread and on the exposition of published information)

The survey respondents also indicated a different set of reasons as obstacles to the growth of PL publications. Their answers were grouped under the category named 'External threats" (26 text units), for they mentioned the existence of international limitations to a greater visibility of PL scientific publications (Table 5).

Table 5. *External obstacles to the growth of PL publications*

Discourse indicators	Example of Text Units
Small size of research communities	*"Comunidades de investigação pequenas pela preferência dos investigadores por redes internacionais"* (Small research communities due to the Portuguese researchers' preference to integrate international research groups)
English language dominance	*"Hegemonia do mercado em língua inglesa"* (Hegemony of the EL market) *"Cultura de submissão"* (The existence of a national culture of submission
Globalization trends	*"Pressão para a internacionalização resultante da globalização"* (Pressure for the internationalisation due to the globalisation phenomenon)

What criteria do participants take into account while in the process of writing their research papers?

Participants were also asked to rank the relevance (1 more relevant /3 points-3 less relevant /1 point) of a set of criteria commonly taken into consideration when one has to choose in which language to write academic papers: membership of international scientific groups; impact of research findings, and authorial visibility in their scientific communities. The calculation of the global average value attributed to each item shows that the whole group of participants attributed the highest value (2.12 points) to "impact of research findings", an average of 2.08 points to authorial "visibility in the scientific community", and an average of 1.80 points to "membership of an international scientific group".

The item 'impact of research findings' was the first choice item for 34.61%, and the second choice to 44.23% of the respondents. The item "visibility in the scientific community" was the first choice for 38.46%, and the second choice for 30.76% of the respondents. The item "membership of an international scientific group" was the first, as well as the second choice for the smallest number of respondents (26.92%) (Figure 6).
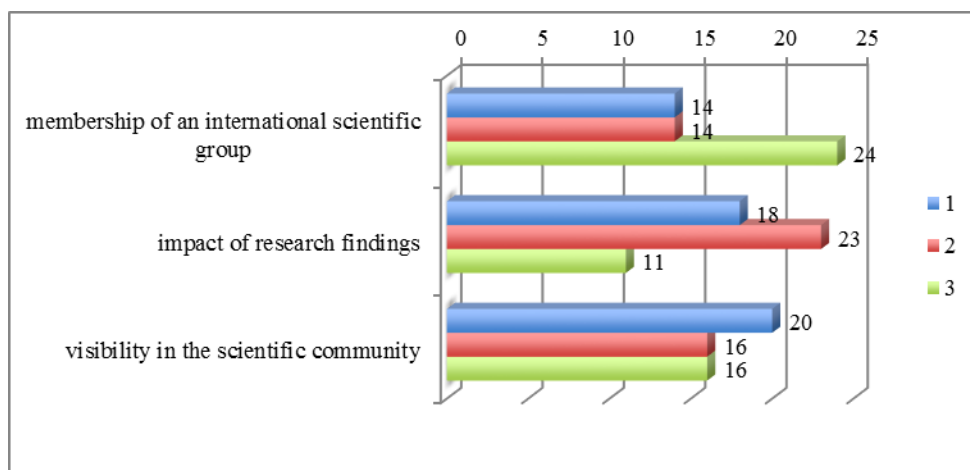
Figure 6. Rank order of criteria considered in the academic writing process

These findings indicate that the majority of the faculty professors interviewed value the impact of their research findings and authorial visibility in their scientific communities more than the membership of international scientific groups when they decide to submit their papers for publication. The importance attributed to visibility of published research explains why 80% of the respondents stated that they often write their academic papers in English, even though membership in international research groups is not their first concern when they choose a language to write in.

Results further indicate that Portuguese professors in the fields of humanities and social sciences are aware of the impact limitations of the PL journals when they have to decide to which journals they submit their academic papers. However, because they value their own language more than they value English, they also feel that Portuguese institutions could do more in terms of PL research funding.

In fact, a higher investment in PL research policies would encourage the constitution of larger Portuguese research networks, which would, in turn, increase the number of publications of PL research products. If Portuguese humanities and social sciences researcher communities had a stronger will, higher power and more financial resources to publish their own research products, PL journals would certainly increase their position in the international citation indexes. The visibility of PL publications would not be reduced if they were aimed at the global PL research audience, which is now much larger than it was a few decades ago.

Choices taken while composing academic texts

In order to identify the kind of choices participants take while writing their academic papers, this study focused on their writing process and inquired about the criteria taken into account while composing their own academic texts in EL and in PL.

The survey inquired participants about their own writing process while writing in PL and in EL, and asked them to rank (as #1, #2 or #3) the importance they attributed to: a) writing style, tone and voice, b) global text organization and sentence structure, and c) scientific content relevance, while composing in each of the languages considered. Results show that the participants attribute similar relevance to these aspects while writing in Portuguese, as well as in English (Figure 7).
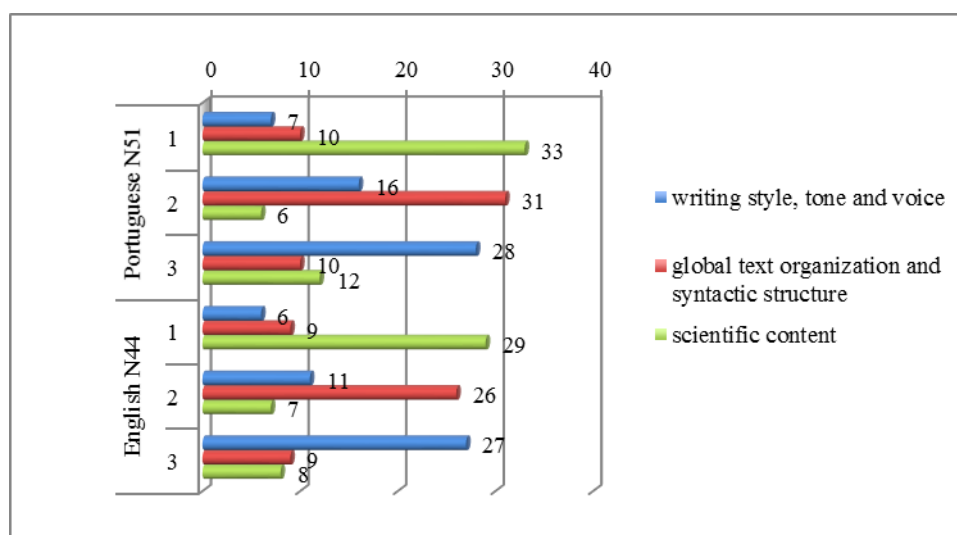

Figure 7. Ranking of aspects considered in the writing process in Portuguese and in English

Results on the importance attributed to these items in the PL writing process reveal that the item 'relevance of scientific content' was ranked as the most important aspect considered by 64.7% of the 51 respondents to the question (mean value 2.4). The item "global text organization and sentence structure" was considered the second most important aspect by 60.78% of the respondents (mean value 2.0), while the item 'writing style, tone and voice' was ranked as the least important aspect by 54.9% of the respondents, with a mean value of 1.6 points.

Results on the importance attributed to the same items in the EL writing process by the participants revealed that, like in the case of writing in PL, the item "relevance of scientific content" was ranked as the most important aspect considered by 65.9% of the 44 respondents to the question, with a mean

value of 2.5 points. Similarly to results related to the writing process in PL, in the case of EL writing, the item "global text organization and sentence structure" was also considered the second most important aspect (mean value 2.0) by 59.9% of the respondents, and the item "writing style, tone and voice" was ranked as the least important aspect by 61.3% of the respondents, with a mean value of 1.5 points.

These results are consistent with findings on writing procedures adopted by expert writers (Almargot & Chanquoy, 2001; Misak, Marusic, & Marusic, 2005). Participants in this study, say that, irrespectively of the language they choose to write in (Portuguese or English), their first concern is always with the scientific content of their paper. The second major concern of the participants is with the global planning, the organization and the syntactic structure of their texts. Only afterwards do they pay attention to other linguistic aspects, namely writing style, tone and voice.

Assuming that when writing on a computer, writers perform constant revisions while composing their texts, the survey asked participants to indicate which recommendations aiming at the improvement of the quality of their texts they usually take into consideration while in the process of composing and revising their papers. The recommendations presented to the participants' consideration were: avoid frills, rhetorical figures and qualifiers, avoid subjective discourse/expression of personal feelings, focus on your audience, use simple sentences and active voice, and respect the canonical structure of the scientific text. A total of 51 participants indicated the aspects considered in the course of their writing activity in Portuguese, and a total of 44 participants indicated the recommendations they take into consideration while writing in English.

When writing in Portuguese, the majority of the respondents say that they pay attention to the canonical structure of the scientific text (72.5%) and to focusing on their audience (64.7%) while revising their papers. The recommendation for the avoidance of frills, rhetorical figures and qualifiers, and the recommendation for the preference of simple sentences and active voice while writing in PL are the least frequently considered aspects by the respondents.

Results on the consideration of the same recommendations while revising their papers in English reveals that participants are more worried with the linguistic dimensions of their foreign language texts, and thus pay more attention to the use of simple sentences and active voice (66%) in EL rather than in PL writing (Figure 8). Recommendations for the avoidance of frills, rhetorical figures and qualifiers, of subjective discourse/expression of personal feelings, as well as for respect to the canonical structure of the scientific text are aspects equally considered by 64% of the respondents. Contrarily to results concerning the writing process in PL, focus on the audience was the recommendation less considered by respondents (54.5%) when revising their papers in EL.

Results of this study demonstrate that although respondents rank ab-

stract criteria similarly when they think of the EL and PL writing processes (Figure 7), when asked about specificities of their own EL and PL writing procedures, they say that they pay attention to different aspects while composing and revising their texts in PL and in EL (Figure 8).
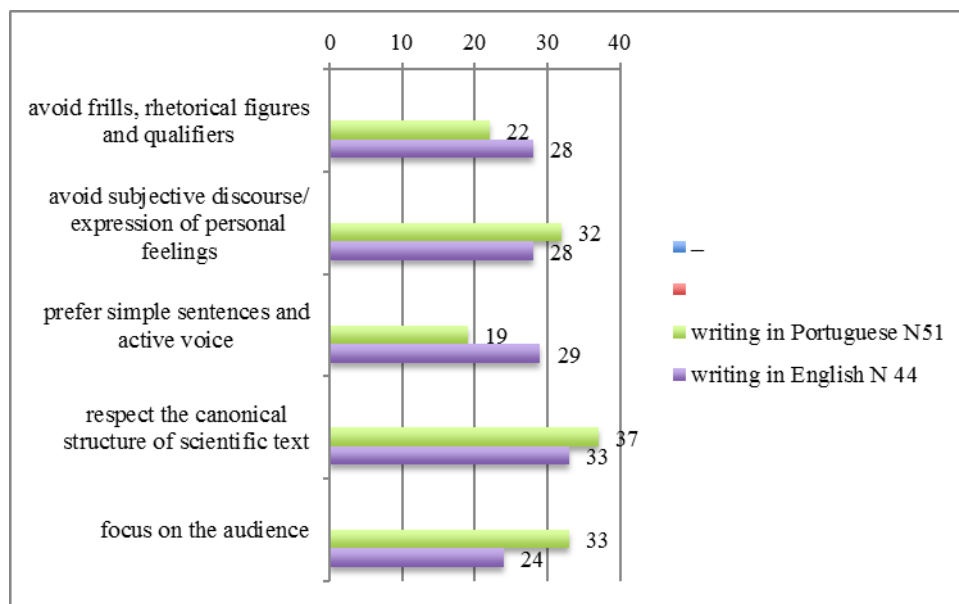

Figure 8. Recommendations considered while writing academic papers

The respondents indicate that they more frequently attend to specificities of academic genres – structural aspects and audience – when writing (composing and revising) in PL rather than in EL. Moreover, the majority of the participants say that while composing and revising their PL texts they do not usually attend to their use of rhetorical devices (frills, qualifiers and rhetorical figures), or to the need to avoid passive voice or complex sentences. Although results do not explicitly support any explanation for the reasons underlying their answers, the fact that the participants are all faculty professors of humanities and social sciences might be an indicator that this is considered to be basic knowledge for any expert research writer. Therefore, these aspects do not constitute their main concern simply because they are writing in a language in which they are highly proficient. The respondents' lesser concern with the use of rhetorical devices, as well as with the choice of more or less complex sentences in active or passive voice, may also be associated with their preference for a Portuguese writing style, which, contrarily to English, is not as strict in terms of the need to avoid a linguistically embellished and convoluted prose style (Holes, 2004).

Contrarily to what they reported in relation to their writing in PL, participants' answers reveal that when writing in EL they pay greater attention to textual aspects, like style and clarity (type of sentence, active voice, frills,

rhetorical figures, qualifiers and subjective language). These results indicate that, when they write in a foreign language, participants are aware of the need to be even more attentive to the linguistic characteristic of their texts.

The participants' lesser concern with the need to consider audience while composing and revising their EL texts is somehow more difficult to interpret. Research has demonstrated that expert writers consider "audience awareness, logical organization and paragraph structure, grammar and mechanics" (Zhu, 2004, p. 37), as key points in academic writing. Furthermore, within the genre theories perspective, "academic language requires readers and writers to be conscious of the expectations for language use that participants in a specific social context have" (Spycher, 2007, p. 241), since academic genres are marked by the particular social views and discourse practices shared by specific research communities. The fact that only 54% of the participants mentioned "focus on the audience" as one of their main concerns while composing and revising their papers in English can only be explained by their lower English writing fluency, which might lead them to pay greater attention to surface linguistic aspects. After all, it is common knowledge amongst the humanities academic community that writing fluency is associated with "cohesiveness and coherence of ideas in the writing, aided by syntactic structures that enable a reader to easily move thorough the text" (Lannin, 2007, p. 4).

One of the open ended questions of the survey required respondents to indicate three words or expressions illustrating the criteria they use while evaluating the final drafts of their manuscripts. Data analyzed included 153 text units (words or expressions) related to the evaluation of their final drafts in PL, and 132 text units related to the evaluation of their final drafts in EL. The text units were grouped under the discourse indicators displayed in Table 6.

The counting of the total text unit occurrences in each of the discourse indicators reveals that respondents pay more attention to audience expectations, to originality and to scientific rigor of the study when they evaluate their final PL drafts. Conversely, when evaluating their final EL drafts, they pay more attention to text clarity, to linguistic correction and to text quality (Figure 9).

Table 6. *Thematic analysis of the respondents concerns while reading their final drafts*

| Discourse Indicators	Definition	Example of text units
Audience	Respect for the readers' expectations	*"Público alvo"* (Target audience)
Clarity	Text conciseness, cohesion and coherence	*"Clareza na expressão das ideias"* (Clarity in the expression of the ideas)
Editors' norms	Respect for the editors' norms and journal conventions	*"Verificar se sigo as normas de publicação indicadas"* (Check editors' instructions for publication)
Ethics	Ethical principles in the research process; social relevance	*"Respeito pelos princípios éticos"* (Respect for ethical principles)
Linguistic correction	Spelling, sentence structure	*"Correcção grammatical"* (Grammar correction)
Methodological coherence	Coherence, consistency and validity of methodological procedures	*"Coerência e consistência metodológica"* (Methodological consistency and coherence)
Pertinence	Relevance and impact of findings	*"Interesse e impacto das conclusões"* (Interest and impact of the findings)
Originality of the study	The research approach, theory, method, data or findings	*"Originalidade científica"* (Originality of the study)
Scientific rigor of the study	The planning and the development of the study	*"Rigor científico dos conceitos"* (Conceptual rigor)
Text quality	Text readability and language adequacy	*"Qualidade da escrita (sintaxe e vocabulário)"* (Quality of the manuscript -syntax and vocabulary)
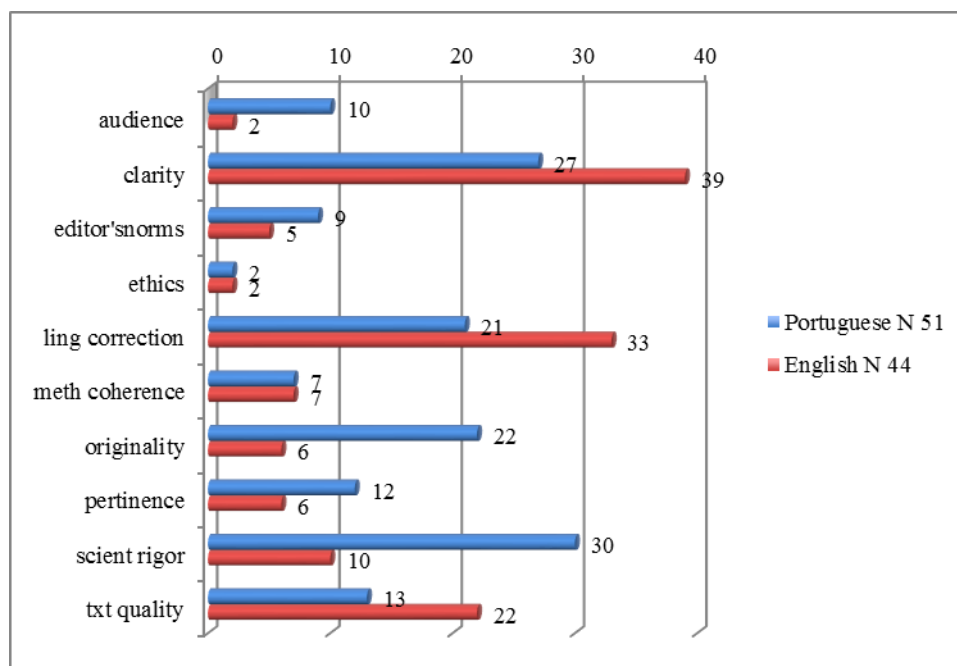
Figure 9. N. of occurrences of the criteria used for the evaluation of PL & EL final drafts

These findings reinforce the tendency evidenced by the results of the analyses of the criteria respondents usually consider while composing and revising their manuscripts in PL as well as in EL. The comparison of the revising procedures in EL and in PL reveals that respondents are much more attentive to surface linguistic features while writing in English than in Portuguese. Conversely, the revising procedures adopted by respondents, while writing in Portuguese, focus mainly in the scientific quality of their papers and in their readers' expectations.

When asked about the three issues they most frequently consider while reading the final drafts of their manuscripts, respondents consistently indicated that they pay greater attention to scientific issues (originality and pertinence of results) in their PL texts than they do in their EL texts. Contrarily, the final evaluation of their EL writings is more strongly guided by the consideration of language surface issues (clarity, linguistic correction and text quality).

Conclusions and Implications

Portuguese humanities and social sciences researchers, like most non-English speakers in the world of science, have been increasingly encouraged to publish in English if they wish their findings to achieve any scientific visibility. Although they prefer to write in Portuguese, participants of this study revealed that they are aware of the limitations of this choice and, therefore, tend

to write in English in order to try to be published by one of the international indexed journals.

This decision not only implies a certain degree of submission to English as the dominant language in the academic world, but it may also have negative implications for the quality of the published manuscripts. Indeed, since "academic writing is culturally bound" (Jubhari, 2009, p. 69), and since textual dimensions such as voice and style are social and culturally influenced (Stapleton, 2002), unless the authors have a high command of the "core" English language codes and academic prose conventions, their writings will be influenced by their previous writing experiences in their own language, and therefore will reflect different and currently less valued than the Anglo-American ways or organizing ideas, evidence and arguments (Jubhari, 2009).

The results of this study show that Portuguese professors in the humanities and social sciences are much more concerned with academic genre aspects and scientific issues when they write in Portuguese and, on the contrary, are much more concerned with surface language issues when writing in English. Furthermore, results also show that respondents use holistic procedures more frequently when revising their PL texts, and that they use atomistic procedures more frequently when revising their EL texts (Warner, 2006).

In the light of these results, we may conclude that the scholars inquired in this study are (naturally) proficient writers in Portuguese, and as such they make use of all the strategies that mature and experienced writers use when composing their L1 texts (De Larios, Murphy & Marin, 2002). Conversely, the composing and revision strategies they use while writing in English are similar to the ones used by less proficient writers (Wang, 2012). Since they are highly familiarized with academic genres in both languages, these findings seem to be associated with their lower proficiency in English, the foreign language they choose to write their academic texts.

In fact, being Portuguese native speakers with some level of command of the English as a foreign language, the respondents are naturally more proficient in Portuguese than they are in English. Consequently, their choice to write in English might be detrimental to the quality of their texts, since they are not able to express themselves as freely and fluently as they would if they wrote in their own language. That is, their lower fluency in English might cause them problems in retrieving appropriate and accurate information in the foreign language (Shoonen et al., 2002; Smith, 1994), and that might require them to be more focused in superficial text dimensions (word retrieval and sentence building).

Researchers have argued that only high proficiency in the foreign language gives the 'linguistic sophistication' that allows FL writers to "deal with issues about the readership and the discourse community in any depth" (Dudley-Evans, 2000, p. 10).

The findings of this study may also raise the question of whether Portuguese universities should include mandatory English for Academic Writing subjects in all graduate courses, with the aim of enhancing the students' abil-

ity to compose academic papers in conformity with the Anglo-American academic discourse conventions. Until now, only a few Portuguese universities have included such a subject in some graduate curricula, and although the issue has long been subject to debate among Portuguese scholars, the fact is that this curricular change has not been consensual. Indeed, many of us will argue that if you have to publish in English it is better to learn do try to do it respecting the English academic discourse rules. Yet, for another large group of Portuguese scholars, since Portuguese is among the top six languages in the world, and it is spoken by 3.08% of the world's population, we should struggle to publish in Portuguese and, while doing so, we are contributing to maintain language and cultural diversity in all areas of social interaction in Europe, including academic publications.

Ours is said to be a globalized world, and as such, ideally, one would expect "the enterprise of academic research (..) to capitalize on contributions from scholars all over the world" (Curry & Lillis, 2007, p. 6). Nevertheless, like the authors argue, we are aware that it is difficult to overcome the language barriers that obstruct the world circulation of academic research (Curry & Lillis, 2007). Since English is the language that now rules in the academic world, for the time being, we seem to have no other choice than to write in English. We are aware that the English dominance in the academic world is associated with political and economic issues. That is, we are conscious that the power of a language comes from the economic, the technological and the cultural power of the people who uses it, for like Crystal (2003) reminds us:

> Language has no independent existence, living in some sort of mythical space apart from the people who speak it. Language exists only in the brains and mouths and ears and hands and eyes of its users. When they succeed, on the international stage, their language succeeds. When they fail, their language fails. (Crystal, 2003, p. 7)

In Portugal, we are very much aware of the ups and downs of our country on the history of power. Five centuries ago, Portuguese was imposed by military and political power as the language of all the Portuguese colonies in different continents (Africa, Asia, South America). Although Portuguese is still the language spoken by millions of people, the gradual loss of the Portuguese political and economical power in the world scenario has gradually weakened its international status. Currently, Portuguese is not a language widely chosen for communication in politics, economy, technology or science, nevertheless, it still remains the communication medium used by a rather large community of nations across different continents who are proud to have it as its national or official language.

We are conscious of our limited influence due to our decreasing economy and our diminished political influence in today's Europe and in the world, but still, we are not yet ready to give up fighting for the international visibility of our language. An increase in the volume of academic publica-

tions in Portuguese would certainly be a contribution for this greater visibility, for as Adms, Matu, and Ongarira (2012), say "the moment one lets a language to diminish, one automatically loses a certain part of one's culture, prestige and integrity" (Adams, Matu, & Ongarira, 2012, p. 99).

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Notes on Contributors

Maria L. Cabral is Full Professor of Linguistics at the University of Algarve and she has taught EFL teaching at Portuguese universities for the last thirty years. She supervises national and foreign post-graduate students at the University of Algarve, Portugal. Her research focuses on the teaching of EFL reading and writing and she has published on these topics in national and international journals. Email: mcabral@ualg.pt

Neuza C. Costa holds a PhD in Communication, Culture from the University of Algarve and a Master's degree in Foreign Language Education and TESOL from New York University's Steinhardt School of Culture, Education, and Human Development in New York, NY (2001). She taught ESL at the Manhattan New School and since 2005 she has been teaching undergraduate EFL at the University of the Algarve, Portugal. Email: nccosta@ualg.pt

Anabela M. Nobre holds a Masters Degree in TEYL from the University of York in England (2009), and a Master of Science Degree in Education from Canisius College in Buffalo, New York (1997). She has taught EFL courses in undergraduate and graduate degree programmes of study. She is currently preparing research for her PhD thesis in Language Teaching Didactics at the University of the Algarve. Email: amnobre@ualg.pt

The Discourse of Voluntourism: American Exceptionalism in Application Essays Submitted to a Summer Overseas Volunteer Teaching Program

Cori Jakubiak
Grinnell College, USA

Peter Smagorinsky
The University of Georgia, USA

Abstract

Volunteer tourism is defined as short-term, alternative travel that combines unskilled, voluntary service with holidaying, generally in the Global South. Approximately one-third of all volunteer tourism programs involve teaching the English language or other subjects. This study analyzes application essays submitted to a non-governmental organization (NGO) for short-term, volunteer teaching appointments in one Global South country. The authors consider such voluntourism in light of the notions of ideology, dialogism, and intertextuality in order to situate the discourse of the applications in Alexis de Tocqueville's vision of *American Exceptionalism*. The authors focus their analysis on both applicants' representation of themselves and their representation of "others" in North America and abroad. The dominant view in the essays was that young North Americans with little or no teaching experience would and could, through good intentions and their possession of Western societal accoutrements, uplift entire communities through a summer voluntary service program. However, disconfirming data appeared in the form of a discourse of *reciprocal relationships* in which the applicants anticipated a dramatic learning experience. Such discourse tended to appear in the essays of those applicants who had earned teaching credentials and thus may have been exposed to a discourse of multiculturalism and its attendant values on respect for diversity. The discourse of *othering*, in contrast, most often came from people preparing for careers in diplomacy and related fields. This suggests that the perspective of American Exceptionalism dominates in policy arenas, which potentially influence the lives of far more people than individual teachers can affect.

Keywords: Volunteer tourism, English language teaching, American Exceptionalism, discourse analysis, hidden dialogicality

Introduction

Henry Luce wrote *The American Century* in 1941, asserting that the United States should serve as the world's cultural exemplar in order to elevate those abroad to the level of affluence, knowledge, and production that middle class Americans took for granted. His essay has served as a template for action for those who have shared his view of the U.S. as a benevolent superpower. As part of the effort to spread American democracy and its values abroad, many initiatives – from the Peace Corps to military interventions and their after-maths – have been undertaken to inculcate those beyond U.S. shores with the benefits of American society.

One current manifestation of this type of international intervention is the administration of summer volunteer programs through which the English lan-guage and related topics are taught to overseas populations, designed to help elevate foreigners to U.S. standards of prosperity. In this study, we analyze a set of applications to one non-governmental organization (NGO) that places North American native speakers of English in summer-long, overseas settings to teach host populations the English language and other topics. In relation to a set of essays submitted as the candidates' primary content in these applica-tions, we investigated the stances toward international volunteer teaching that were conveyed through the discursive choices of the candidates. A candidate's stance is available through inquiry into the following questions:

1. What sorts of personas are the candidates conveying through the appli-cation essays in terms of their motivations to conduct volunteer teaching and the achievements and aspirations they state that qualify them for such service?
2. How are "other" populations—both "domestic" (i.e., U.S.) and "exotic" (i.e., non-U.S. and Global South)—represented in the essays in terms of either (a) hopes for reciprocal relationships or (b) practices of "other-ing," i.e., the construction of deficit views that provide binaries between Global North and Global South societies and populations?

By answering these questions, we investigate applicants' understandings of the purposes of short-term international volunteer teaching programs that involve minimal training. This view of the U.S. as a nation of extraordinary possibilities is traceable to de Tocqueville's (1831) notion of American Ex-ceptionalism, which helped to motivate Sullivan's (1845) idea of Manifest Destiny, the belief developed in the 1840s that U.S. expansion was an inevita-ble and God-given national right and responsibility. This view of the U.S. as a nation of unique qualities and leadership abilities is evident in American inter-national volunteer teaching programs and their assumption that exposure to an intervention from enthusiastic Americans – regardless of their level of skill, age, or expertise – will elevate the quality of the lives of those chosen as recip-ients of such service.

Volunteer tourism

The phenomenon of international volunteer tourism, or *voluntourism*, is defined as the short-term – generally one week to three month (Callanan & Thomas, 2005) – practice of "volunteer[ing] in an organized way to undertake holidays that might involve aiding or alleviating the poverty of some groups in society" (Wearing, 2001, p. 1). Some assert that voluntourism represents a "best practice" in new tourism. These advocates (e.g., Wearing, 2004) suggest that voluntourism decommodifies travel, removing the guest from group outings such as tour buses from which they merely gaze (Urry, 2002) and placing them more spontaneously and reciprocally in relationships with hosts and their diurnal lives.

Groups outside the tourism sector have also been influential in contributing to the growth of international volunteer tourism, albeit for the purposes of development aid and public diplomacy, a.k.a. *soft power* (Nye, 2004) rather than to advance alternative tourism (see also Vrasti, 2013 on volunteer tourism's role in neoliberal governance). The 2003 U.S. federal initiative, Volunteers for Prosperity, echoes Luce (1941) in stating as its mission to "promote, expand, and enhance well-defined volunteer service opportunities for highly skilled U.S. professionals who wish to work with nongovernmental and voluntary service organizations around the world in support of major U.S. prosperity initiatives" (Office of the Press Secretary, The White House, 2003).

International volunteer tourism has also incurred criticism. Butcher (2003) refers to alternative tourism in general as New Moral Tourism and notes that despite the optimism surrounding alternative tourism, the flow of travel remains unidirectional, going from North to South, which leaves historically hierarchical relationships mostly intact. Simpson (2004) and others (e.g., Conran, 2011) argue that short-term, non-technical "aid" initiatives such as 6-week English language courses taught by inexperienced volunteers do little to alter the underlying structural causes of widespread global inequity. Other research indicates that only middle and upper-class people have both the time and material means to participate in volunteer tourism programs (Heath, 2007). Consequently, volunteer tourism may be a means by which already-privileged people accrue (more) distinctive cultural capital (Vrasti, 2013).

Participation in most international volunteer teaching programs does not require pedagogical training or experience as an educator. The NGO that provides our data requires neither formal teaching credentials nor prior teaching experience to volunteer. Instead, like most NGOs, it values good intentions, energy, and, in the case of English as a Foreign Language (EFL) teaching, native (prestige-dialect variety) English language speaking ability. A comparable NGO informs its applicants that "Any native English speaker can be a valuable resource in a classroom. . . . Even if you've never formally taught a classroom subject, you can teach conversational English skills. All you need is enthusiasm and a desire to help" (Global Volunteers, n.d.), evoking Luce's

(1941) call to use "sincerity and good will" as the foundation for the American Century and its mission to reshape the world in the image of the United States.

Theoretical Framework

The notion of discourse that frames our analysis relies on three constructs: Gee's (1990) outline of ideology, Bakhtin's (1981) notion of dialogism, and Kristeva's (1984) views on intertextuality. Gee (1990) has argued that language is inherently ideological, embodying a political stance through which a worldview is enacted through tacit or explicit means, imparts a stance that it is impervious to question or criticism, and suggests the marginality or dubiousness of values and perspectives central to other Discourses. The ideological nature of language is illustrated in Luce's (1941) argument that the 20th century was destined to position the U.S. as the world's leader and exemplar. His essay's embodiment of conservative values could be taken as the founding document for the Obama-era Tea Party movement, including as it does the following assertion:

> We start into [World War II] with huge Government debt, a vast bureaucracy and a whole generation of young people trained to look to the Government as the source of all life. The [Democratic] Party in power is the one which for long years has been the most sympathetic to all manner of socialist doctrines and collectivist trends. The President of the United States [Franklin D. Roosevelt] has continually reached for more and more power, and he owes his continuation in office today largely to the coming of the war. Thus, the fear that the United States will be driven to a national socialism, as a result of cataclysmic circumstances and contrary to the free will of the American people, is an entirely justifiable fear. (pp. 162-163)

The linkage between Luce's remarks and 21st Century Tea Party rhetoric illustrates Bakhtin's (1981) notion of dialogism, which Burke (1941) describes through the metaphor of a parlor conversation in which people enter an ongoing discussion that traces back indefinitely, first as a listener and then as a participant who adapts to the discussion's tone and content, before leaving and yielding the floor to new conversationalists. Discourse in this sense does not arise out of thin air but is always a conversational turn derived from and directed to others, even if they are only anticipated or imagined. Dialogism enables the discourse of a particular community to become ideologically normalized: Their historical, ongoing conversation ceases to question certain axioms that in turn marginalize other perspectives on the topic.

In such cases the dialogism is contained rather than engaged with other ways of viewing the world. Dialogism may be exhibited explicitly (e.g., as part of an actual conversation) or through what Bakhtin (1984) calls *hidden dialogicality,* in which texts take into account prior texts even if these conver-

sational antecedents are not present or acknowledged. While dialogism refers to the fact of this ongoing conversation, intertextuality refers to the forms and social practices from which new texts take shape. Intertextuality thus helps account for the enduring traits of discourse as well as the variations made in conventional forms by particular communities of practice.

Our analysis of admissions essays submitted to an NGO sponsoring a short-term international volunteer teaching program fits within the issues we have reviewed, both topically and theoretically. The essays work in dialogue with the essay prompts and web-based discourse provided by the NGO, which positions its international voluntourism program as a benevolent outreach effort through which the English language and its cultural accoutrements will elevate the lives of its recipients. Our analysis thus illustrates the manner in which an ideology is presented unproblematically and as a matter of common sense; taken up dialogically so that newcomers gravitate to its norms; relies on intertextual practices to produce new texts that reinforce the values that prompt them; and perpetuates the "parlor conversation" across generations, often uncritically and in service of a nationalistic Discourse. This Discourse embodies a particular national myth of the U.S. as a beneficent superpower doing good globally by spreading its values to "developing" nations whose own people are considered relatively primitive and in need of cultural, technological, and linguistic uplifting.

The application essays are of particular interest because they engage in what we regard as hidden dialogicality in that they are not explicitly or deliberately embedded in the discourse of American Exceptionalism or its corollaries outlined in *The American Century*. Yet, by taking up of the ideology embedded in the NGO's stated belief system and the pragmatic need to write in dialogue with its application essay prompts, the essay authors articulate these principles as a matter of course. The application essays thus illustrate the power of dialogism and its ideological, intertextual nature to recruit new adherents and contribute to the normalization of a Discourse's dominant assumptions.

Context of the investigation

The data consist of applications submitted to and accepted by a U.S.-based NGO that works with overseas ministries of education to develop programs in English as a Foreign Language teaching, technology, and related topics identified by the host nation for the stated purposes of international development. The NGO is responsible for placing the applicants, who pay their own way if their service is not otherwise funded. We focus on a complete batch of applications submitted to one program in a Global South country late in the first decade of the 21st Century. This program focused on the teaching of the English language to residents who lacked English fluency or other skills deemed essential by the host country's ministry of education.

Method

Data collection

The study's first author had access to these essays through her position as a volunteer summer intern in the headquarters of this NGO during her doctoral studies. She was granted permission by the NGO administrators to conduct a study of the application essays as part of her research on the volunteers' motivations for teaching overseas. We have masked the identity of each applicant by not identifying the specific NGO, obscuring the year from which the batch of essays was selected, masking the location of the summer program, and using pseudonyms throughout the article to protect the individual writers' identities.

The first author extracted application portfolios that included a cover sheet indicating the applicant's educational history, work experience, volunteer experiences, and prior overseas travel. She also collected responses to three essay prompts, totaling roughly three double-spaced typed pages. The authors selected those applications submitted to, and accepted for, one year's summer program—a total of 28 applications.

Data analysis

The authors read the applications collaboratively, creating a prototype of the coding scheme as they read each application. The process involved reading each essay and then discussing it to consider the discourses implicated in the applicant's positioning via the writing. Through this reading, we constructed a category system that we developed and refined over the course of the analysis. Our coding scheme included two broad categories: *Representation of the Self* and *Representation of Other Populations*. Within each broad category, we identified two superordinate categories. For *Representation of the Self,* we found that applicants constructed personas related to their *motivations* for volunteering and the *achievements and aspirations* they hoped would impress the NGO evaluators. Within the superordinate category, *motivations*, applicants expressed what we termed the subordinate categories of *self-fulfillment* and/or *lofty vision.* Within the superordinate category, *achievements and aspirations*, applicants expressed the subordinate categories of *self-advancement* and/or *self-aggrandizement*.

Within the broad category, *Representation of Other Populations,* we found that applicants described two ways of relating to people different from themselves: *reciprocal relationships* and *othering*. The superordinate category, *reciprocal relationships,* was applied to segments of text in which applicants anticipated personally changing through their interactions with host people. The superordinate category, *othering,* was applied to segments of text in which applicants positioned themselves as culturally superior to either *domestic* or *"exotic" others,* two subordinate categories that emerged from the data.

Finally, within each subordinate category, we developed specific codes that finely characterized the applicants' discursive choices. In the *subordinate* category of *"exotic" other*, for example, we identified the specific codes of *romanticizing*, *dehistoricizing*, *Westernizing*, and *pathologizing*. Appendices 1 and 2 tabulate and name each broad category, superordinate category, subordinate category, and specific code, indicating the frequency with which we identified each specific code in the essays (a single frequency refers to the appearance, however many times, of a code in a candidate's essays) and provides an illustration from the data corpus.

Findings

We next report what our analysis yielded about the essays in relation to discourses of American Exceptionalism and related ideologies.

Representation of the Self

Motivations of self. The first essay question provided by the NGO prompted the applicants to discuss their motivations to teach abroad. Responses fell in two areas: the applicants' desire for *self-fulfillment* through volunteering, and what we considered to be their *lofty vision* for what their service might achieve for not merely the host community, but also global peace and prosperity.

Self-fulfillment. In responding to the NGO's essay prompts, applicants were cued to talk about personal goals they hoped to achieve and the contributions they aspired to bring to the host community. Many of the applicants were at some transitional point in their lives such as graduating from college or seeking to fill breaks between college terms in productive and adventuresome ways. Their motivations for volunteering often reflected the ways in which the experience could enable them to explore the world as a way of understanding and fulfilling themselves, reflecting what Butcher and Smith (2015) call the contemporary "therapeutic" role of international volunteering. In illustration, Suzanne Towers, an elementary school learning assistant and special education tutor in her mid-twenties, wrote:

> I would like to go to [the host country], meet new people, and help make a difference. It would be valuable to learn more about the world through this opportunity. I have never been to [the host continent], stayed with a host family, or traveled outside the U.S. alone. I wish to gain more confidence and self-reliance. I believe that this life experience will challenge and strengthen me. … My desire is to teach in a community that is lacking and disadvantaged. … I would like to reach out to individuals, help them gain awareness, and make a positive change in their lives.

Suzanne's remarks illustrate well the sort of *self-fulfillment* sought by applicants through international volunteering. The NGO, with an on-site field

director and stateside support office, would provide a safe and structured adventure for a first-time overseas traveler and enable her to meet her personal interests in experiencing a new culture. This service would, Suzanne believed, draw on her readiness to change through acquisition of confidence and self-reliance, further position her to reach her goals of positively affecting people from disadvantaged backgrounds, and move her outside of her comfort zone, thus satisfying her curiosity about the host continent. Suzanne's remarks further suggest a link to the discourse of American Exceptionalism: despite her acknowledgement that she had never traveled abroad before and lacked self-confidence herself, her presence could help local community members "gain awareness and make a positive change in their lives," which we infer would follow from their exposure to a cosmopolitan American like herself.

Lofty vision. Given the callow age of many applicants and tendency for youth to undertake service with idealistic intentions (Simpson, 2004), it is no surprise that we identified 58 instances in the essays in which candidates expressed what we coded as a *lofty vision* for their service overseas. Charlene Hillsman, a Canadian in her early 20s who had managed a business since graduating from high school, said, "Strength will help me to carry on if ever I am feeling hopeless and love will give me the power to give hope to others." We considered the idea that love could overcome the presumed hopelessness of entire communities to be an instance of naïve optimism of the sort characteristic of this category. As Charlene's remarks suggest, moreover, a *lofty vision* was often coupled with the corollary presumption that Global South people are uniformly limited, hopeless, and in need of inspiration from a visiting North American volunteer (see also Simpson, 2004).

Even applicants who explicitly denied naïveté expressed a *lofty vision* of what their volunteer teaching for two months could achieve. Dallas Housman, a recent college graduate working as a theater workshop facilitator, wrote that

> My motivation for applying to [the NGO] is simple: to affect [sic] change. I use the word change, not with a fleeting whim of idealism, but with a pragmatic understanding of what is possible. Providing education is not a service of the gifted to the barren, it is an exchange of truths. My life is propelled forward in search of such exchanges. I am a man of words. They are what I know. If I can provide a child, an adult, an elder, with the unimaginable potential of language—I can empower another human being to affect [sic] change within their own lives.

We assume that the members of the host community to which volunteers travel already possessed language. Dallas's remarks suggest that he neglected potentials already available in the host community, which he appeared to consider stagnant and in need of change according to the trajectory he envisioned for them. His altruism was expressed through bromides such as education serving as "an exchange of truths."

Achievements and aspirations of self.

Self-advancement. The second essay question asked applicants to discuss the "personal goals that you aim to achieve" through short-term, voluntary service. Applicants appeared to interpret this question as soliciting the ways in which volunteering would help them to further their lives and careers following their return home. This interpretation was evident in the essay of Mary Carver, a college senior majoring in mathematics at a small, U.S. Jesuit university. With no specific plans following graduation, she looked to short-term, volunteer teaching as a way to occupy her time in a worthwhile manner while also positioning herself to meet her future goals. She wrote:

> As a senior in college, I have spent much of the past year contemplating my life after graduation. I have considered every option, from law school to traveling for a year, but nothing inspires me in the same way the opportunity to volunteer abroad does. It is an option I have had in my mind for quite some time, and now is the perfect time for me to go in terms of where I am personally in my life. … I am considering a career in international development, and this experience will help inform my decision in terms of the next steps I take.

Mary's interest in portfolio building to serve her anticipated career in international development was echoed explicitly in the essay of Steven Dudley, a first-year student at an Ivy League university. He wrote:

> I want to learn about [the host country's] culture firsthand and to understand the way that the educational system functions in a developing country. These goals are part of my larger interest in education and international development because in the future I hope to work for [an NGO] that focuses on international development. At that point, I think my familiarity with educational systems in [the host country] and programs such as [the NGO] will be extremely important because education is a vital component of improving developing nations.

Steven exhibited corporate confidence in his hopes to modernize developing nations through education, which presumably elevates host people from their ostensible low self-esteem and ignorance.

Portfolio-building and accompanying professional growth, achieved through interest bundling, was also apparent in the essays of Edie Chong, an Asian American in her late twenties who had worked as a web designer. She wrote that volunteering to teach English in the host country would accentuate her prospects for future achievements, saying:

> I am applying for graduate studies in Anthropology, in which my research is on cultural identity in [in the host country]. Naturally, then, to

teach for the summer before I begin my studies in that country would be of tremendous value. … I also hope to get a head start on learning [a language of the host country], and to do so in an organic immersion environment would be far more effective for me than a classroom.

Living abroad for the summer in a nation-state where non-Western cultures were available would advance Edie's interests as a budding anthropologist and provide her with a value-added advantage by learning a language in an "immersion environment."

Self-aggrandizement. The third essay question prompted applicants to talk about their personal qualities, asking, "Living and working in a developing country for an extended period of time is quite challenging. What qualities do you possess that will be valuable as you face these challenges?" This question involves the assumption that "developing" countries present immediate "challenges" to North Americans – presumably through their deficits related to their lack of indications of prosperity. The question further prompts applicants to discuss the "qualities" they possess, which appeared to encourage them to engage in self-aggrandizing statements.

Mike Dennison, a sophomore at an elite liberal arts college who was majoring in international relations, wrote,

I have realized how important it is to lend a hand, but also how oblivious most Americans are to this need. … I've been privileged with a wonderful life, and I desire to utilize this to its full potential, helping others who aren't so fortunate.

In this brief comment we identified two discourses: a sense of noblesse oblige in using his privileged position to help the presumably downtrodden and his sense of singularity in being more sensitive and aware than other Americans. Such beliefs were at times coupled with a belief in divine intervention that led the candidates to the volunteering opportunity. Christie Vasquez, for instance, a first-year student at the university with which our focal NGO has a loose affiliation, said, "When I came to [the university] I was excited to learn of its joint history with [the NGO]—it was as if it was a sign. Everything was coming together!"

Another illustration of *self-aggrandizement* appeared in the essay of Kaitlin Rochester, a senior at a private liberal arts college majoring in international affairs. Her prior teaching experiences came from helping Honduran children for two weeks as they painted a water tank and tutoring children in a U.S. city after school. She wrote:

I hope to bring a different style of teaching and my enthusiastic personality to the [host] classroom and community. I have always been creative and think that I would be able to engage students easily. I am eager to

immerse myself in a culture so different from my own, and I hope to gain new perspectives while also bringing new ones to the people I interact with … Realizing that I was giving these [Honduran] children new skills was a great feeling and I felt proud that they were able to create such a beautiful design through my instruction. … New places and experiences are about being able to change as an individual and develop rather than just "adjusting to change." It is necessary to be active as change occurs and not just a bystander watching something happening in one's own life without any action.

In this excerpt, Kaitlin exhibited *self-aggrandizement* in a variety of ways. She revealed her big heart in her disposition to help others, her accomplishments in her creative teaching of painting skills, her adaptability in making the most of any situation, and her positive thinking in seeing possibilities where others might not. We close this section with Kaitlin's essay excerpts because her remarks further reveal her *Representation of other populations*, the area we take up next.

Representation of other populations

Reciprocal relationships. In the category, *reciprocal relationships,* the applicants situated themselves as receptive to the host culture and hesitant to view their roles as beneficent benefactors (cf. Huberman, 2012). Codes within this category suggest good intentions offered with humility and curiosity. Typical of such responses was that of Carly Booker, a senior at a large Midwestern university graduating with teaching credentials. She wrote:

During my time in [the host country], I hope to create a classroom that appreciates and respects diversity and intellectual growth. Through my increased understanding of the culture, I hope to be able to better teach English and witness my students' progression with the language without jeopardizing the integrity of their culture. … I want to be an active member of the community rather than just a visitor.

Carly was coded for her equanimity regarding the need to situate students culturally, her humility in recognizing and deferring to the integrity of the host culture, and her embracing difference in respecting the diversity of students and their backgrounds and trajectories.

One of the specific codes that comprised the subordinate category, *reciprocal relations*, we termed *historicizing/contextualizing the other*. This code is well revealed in the essay of Janice Weinstein, a first-year student at an elite private college majoring in political science. Rather than viewing host community residents as ahistorical people living outside the context of colonial influence, she made an effort to understand a current crisis, the AIDS pan-

demic, as a consequence of cultural and historical factors. Having previously volunteered in the host country, she wrote:

> It became so clear to me when I worked with AIDS patients in [the host country], heard their devastating personal stories, and experienced the pandemic through their eyes, that any meaningful solution needs to also focus on the issues of poverty, access to health care, stigma, and the need to empower women. A failure to examine this crisis more broadly will be a failure to those who suffer most. So how can I plan an active role in the search for answers to pressing issues like the AIDS pandemic? I can embrace learning and question the world around me, constantly pushing the boundaries of my thinking. I can step outside of my comfort zone and learn experientially, analyzing issues through a variety of critical lenses. I can challenge conventional wisdom when other ideas, including my own, steer me in a different direction, and consider different points of view without abandoning my idealism or sacrificing my principles. I can view problems in their larger cultural context and show empathy towards others, seeking common values as opposed to precise truths.

By attending to the structural conditions that contributed to the spread of AIDS, Janice distinguished herself from many other applicants who took a more superficial view of the host country, particularly with regard to the deep and multifaceted origins of its social and economic problems. We take up such perspectives in the final section of our analysis, in which we review the *othering* discourse of the NGO application essays, which outnumbered applicants' aspirations for *reciprocal relations* roughly 3:1 in our coding. We discuss each of the two subordinate codes, *domestic other* and *"exotic" other*, in turn. Further, because of its salience to American Exceptionalism discourse, we tease apart the *"exotic other"* subordinate category in terms of the specific categories that comprised it—categories we named *romanticizing*, *dehistoricizing*, *Westernizing*, and *pathologizing* discourses.

Othering

Domestic other. In their essays, applicants often described a North American instructional episode in which they described students from backgrounds variously characterized as urban, inner-city, and related code words for underprivileged, impoverished, and otherwise deficient. Maxwell Upton, a first-year student at a private university majoring in neurobiology, made the following remarks in discussing his greatest experience as a Catechism teacher aid. He sought to establish a bond with his students that

> made me care even more deeply about inculcating in them the Christian principles I hold valuable. I know that with these tools and an education,

these kids, who came from difficult, underprivileged homes, would be able to grow up to live a better life.

Maxwell's efforts toward instilling values are evident in his hope to impress his own Christian beliefs in his students. This, to him, was a way to elevate students' self-esteem in the presumed absence of a value system in their homes and communities.

The essay of Loren Drake, a college senior at a private college majoring in human development, also illustrated this tendency to view other populations as uniformly needy. In her essay, she wrote:

> I have worked with many children from impoverished areas of [a large U.S. city]. . . . I am confronted with their violent world that these kids not only endure but are also influenced by. . . . While structural inequalities that cause poverty and violence are complex, the students [I worked with] felt empowered [by my teaching] and realized change is possible when many voices speak together. The most important thing you can do through teaching is empowerment—showing students they can succeed. I will remember this when working in a developing nation. My goals are high. I am not underestimating the harsh environment; I just don't believe our goals should be any lower.

Loren saw her teaching as an act of providing students with a role model. She also saw herself as helping students develop a capacity for bootstrapping themselves out of their impoverished lives. Her aspiration to maintain high standards when teaching in a "developing nation" suggests that she also viewed the host country population as fundamentally stricken by poverty and violence, similar to what she had found in urban America.

"Exotic" othe

Romanticizing. Applicants romanticized foreign populations through a variety of means. These romantic portrayals elided cultural complexity and celebrated other people to the point of homogenizing them into a happy whole. Maxwell Upton, initially fearful while navigating street life during a previous international volunteer experience, ultimately concluded that "my fears were unfounded; that Ghanaians are genuinely humble people, that their soul is pure, and that with their smiles, Ghanaians light up Western Africa." Maxwell's remarks were coded for their view of happy natives with pure souls and timeless, embraceable traditions.

Loren Drake expressed her view of difference as adventure through a process of Orientalizing. She described her anticipation of teaching in the host country, saying,

> Since I was ten years old, I have wanted to live in [the host country]. I anxiously checked the mail every week for the next National Geographic Magazine, flipping through the pages, infatuated by the pictures of people and cultures that were so different than [sic] the white picket fence, suburban America I lived in. I stared into the eyes of those on the pages, wanting to say hello. … Different cultures and people are my passion.

Loren then provided a trope common to multiple applicants' essays: taking cold showers and riding rickety bicycles (see Doerr & Suarez, 2013, for more on the "allegory of cold showers" as an index of immersion abroad). Both taking cold showers and riding old bicycles indicated the candidates' feeling of going native in a foreign land. Loren wrote:

> While studying abroad in [a large city], Spain, there were many cultural differences I was forced to adjust to. The apartment I lived in had no hot water and heat was scarce. . . . I quickly knew that for this place to feel like home, I had to try to become one of the natives. I bought an old bike to venture through the city and gain my independence from the typical American "hangouts." … I bought an orange a day at the same local *fruteria*. Whether an orange was desirable or not, the elder man's smile and kind words were always welcomed. … I embraced the culture and its people. The long conversations I had with old women on the street or local students in a café were worth every cold shower and night without heat.

We infer that Loren chose the old bike from among better options as a way of going native in Spain, a nation in which upscale bicycle tours serve as a major tourism attraction.

Dehistoricizing. Applicants engaged in *dehistoricizing the other* by disengaging Global South peoples' current living conditions from the historical impacts of such factors as colonization, natural resource extraction, environmental degradation, failed development initiatives, and structural adjustment programs imposed by the International Monetary Fund. Rather, Global South people were viewed as disadvantaged as a consequence of their own inferior cultures and in need of interventions from abroad. Maxwell Upton, for instance, hoped to make a second visit to the host country because of what he called his

> personal desire to help others who are less fortunate than me [sic]. As a child, my family's frequent visits to Mexico allowed me to discover that I was indeed privileged; that simply by living in the United States, I had so much more than others. Years later, my volunteering experiences to China and Ghana reaffirmed this revelation. I am applying to [the NGO] because I feel that as a [private university] student, as an American, but

most importantly, as a human being, it is my duty to contribute in whichever way in helping disadvantaged citizens of the world.

Maxwell first indicated what we coded as lotto logic: i.e., the belief that his worldly advantages followed from simple good fortune rather than benefitting from structural elements that produced the inequities he so lamented. Such thinking produced what we coded as a surface understanding of Global South problems. For example, he omitted the consequences of colonialism in the Global South when identifying problematic conditions there. This patronizing view was evident in the noblesse oblige he showed in essay: considering it his "duty to contribute in whichever way in helping disadvantaged citizens of the world."

Westernizing. *Westernizing* discourses assume that cultures are destined, through technological progress, to uniformly advance toward U.S.-like affluence (cf. Escobar, 1995). Helen Chen, a junior psychology major at a private liberal arts college, this discourse when she wrote:

> I would like to become aware of the country's needs in order to be informed as well as inform others about the different opportunities to deliver global social change. While in [the NGO's] program, I hope to show the students that finding success as an individual, community, or country is not impossible. I truly believe that [host country] individuals can use their growing knowledge as a means to stir up opportunities for positive changes in the future. As a [NGO] volunteer, I intend to fully contribute my time, knowledge, and efforts to engage students in making the most of their education and striving upward in all aspects of their lives.

We interpreted Helen's goal to "deliver global social change" as an instance of Westocentrism. She elaborated on this goal by hoping to introduce the idea of "finding success" to the presumably downtrodden host population, which she would help by "stir[ring] up opportunities for positive change."

Helen's remarks also suggest that bootstrapping can help Global South people lift themselves out of their current conditions. Steven Dudley similarly wrote:

> I consider education to be one of the most important parts of modernizing a developing country because an education allows a student to understand the world in which he lives and the ways in which his community may be improved. As a [NGO] volunteer, I will have the opportunity to contribute to my students' self-confidence and ability to understand the world around them.

Steven's hopes suggest the belief that host country residents lack the self-confidence to elevate themselves, which their presumably limited experi-

ences and vision prevent them from doing. Steven's observations also indicate Westocentrism in that he believed that someone such as he could provide the window to global understanding that locals' own leaders and elders could not.

Pathologizing. The tendency to pathologize foreign populations was a common practice in the application essays. Gillian Reinhart, for instance, wrote that her "special education background in the classroom" would enable her "to design methods of instruction that will be most beneficial to the students I work with" in the host nation, suggesting a belief that the children there had inborn deficits, a sort of infantilizing we also saw across the essays.

Such infantile populations would also benefit from someone who could speak for them in light of their voicelessness. Charlene Hillsman, for instance, characterized the entire host continent as forgotten:

> I want to remember "the forgotten continent." Many people choose to volunteer for disaster relief foundations, local hospitals, even at schools or around the community; all being noble causes. Personally however, I want to volunteer and fight for those who by so many have been forgotten. I want to be the eyes, ears and a voice of [the host country]. In 2004, 300,000 people were killed in the tsunami disaster in South East Asia and the aid response was outstanding. Yet as 300,000 people in [the host continent] die of AIDS, malaria and malnutrition every month often goes unnoticed.

Charlene proceeded to further pathologize the host continent by referring to its states of disadvantage and poverty, saying,

> I want to figure out a way to halt the daily atrocities and be part of the restoration of pride and strength amongst the [host country] people. . . . I believe having worked in a Third World country with underprivileged children will serve as a great incentive for me to do well in my studies. I am certain my fun and loving energy will bring a smile to those I meet along the way as I aspire to restore hope amongst those who have lost it.

Charlene's use of the terms *Third World* and *forgotten continent* indexes the colonial imperium, whose ambivalence includes a superficial recognition of the need for states to be independent yet concern that liberated colonies have few cultural or economic resources through which to sustain themselves outside the sphere of Western patronage. This lamentable state of pathology could, wrote applicants, be alleviated through visiting volunteers' sincere sentiments and efforts. Another program applicant, Marti Baxter, typified this perspective, saying:

> The socialization of the youth in [the host country] is one of the most important ways to overcome their painful history. I want to be a part of that. I want to help the children to see a life of opportunities as big or

small as they may be. I plan to instill a sense of hope and confidence in-
to the lives of these children.

Discussion

Henry Luce (1941) asserted that "[i]t now becomes our time to be the power-
house from which the ideals spread throughout the world and do their myste-
rious work of lifting the life of mankind from the level of the beasts to what
the Psalmist called a little lower than the angels" (cited in Hogan, 1999, p.
233). People overseas were typically pathologized in the application essays
within the discourse of American Exceptionalism ventriloquated by Luce.
From a postcolonial perspective (e.g., Escobar, 1995), NGO-designed inter-
ventions are typically designed to remediate or repair communities that are
constructed as homogeneously poor, downtrodden, and teleologically behind
the trajectory set by Global North economies. In this frame, countries such as
the U.S. are constructed as uniformly affluent and the Global South is con-
structed as pervasively impoverished and deprived as a consequence of peo-
ples' own inherent cultural failures and shortcomings. Like Victor Hugo's *Les
Misérables*, Global South people are considered to be agents of their own mis-
fortune; they are only capable of salvation and uplifting through the involve-
ment of more affluent, Global North others.

Yet, postcolonial scholars (e.g., Escobar, 1995; Sachs, 1992) do not
view poverty in the Global South as a consequence of local people's cultural
and moral destitution. Rather, the inequitable distribution of global wealth fol-
lows from a confluence of historical and present-day geopolitical factors in-
cluding, but not limited to, the fiscal austerity measures imposed by suprana-
tional financial institutions on vulnerable nations; multinational trade agree-
ments that favor the growth of colossal corporations over the subsistence of
small and family-run businesses; and local and national government policies
that contribute to multi-scalar, far-reaching inequities. Poverty thus cannot be
disengaged from the interventions of historical and neo-imperial powers.

The notion of American Exceptionalism positions the United States as
an imperial, if benevolent, superpower whose influence and inherent greatness
oblige its people to improve the lives of others around the globe. Our analysis,
however, suggests that the perspective inherent to American Exceptionalism
produces unacknowledged contradictions that postcolonial scholars consider
to be problematic. Fundamentally, it unhinges the U.S. from complicity in past
and contemporary events that have contributed to global economic disparities.
If poverty is a problem in the Global South, it cannot be considered apart from
decisions that actors such as the Washington Consensus of privatization, trade
liberalization, and deregulation continues to fuel (Davis, 2006).

Rhetorically, the discourse of American Exceptionalism, such as that
exhibited in the application essays analyzed in this study, homogenizes great
and diverse nations into a single population type. In the host country to which
applicants in this study applied to volunteer, for instance, numerous official
languages are spoken. The United Nations classifies it as a middle-income

country; three different rankings (World Bank, 2008; International Monetary Fund, 2009; and CIA World Factbook, 2009) list its Gross Domestic Product as ahead of Finland, Israel, the United Arab Emirates, Portugal, Egypt, and many other nations not presumed to be pervasively impoverished and culturally deprived. In a form of rhetorical synecdoche, however, only the poorest and most abject of the host nation's citizens served to personify the recipients of volunteer service in the discourse of the application essays we analyzed.

A corollary to this misrepresentation concerns the applicants' depiction of U.S. residents as uniformly affluent. Even as they often spoke of *domestic* others as devoid of values, self-esteem, role models, initiative, and worldliness – often as a result of poverty – applicants' aspirations were to go overseas to uplift *foreign* populations. When discussing successful teaching experiences, for example, applicants tended to focus on their work with U.S. students living in poverty, perhaps as a way to demonstrate their credentials for teaching destitute people overseas. American Exceptionalism, as articulated in these essays and no doubt in many such treatises, referred to a certain kind of American, one who is privileged and affluent and possessed of a spirit of noblesse oblige – at least towards indigent people living outside of the U.S. The authors of such expressions have the time to afford a two-month hiatus from work or school to volunteer as a way to, as some of the applicants directly acknowledged, build portfolios designed to launch their professional futures in the realms of .com, .edu, .gov, and .org. Meanwhile, poverty in the U.S. remains a problem of the poor, who must bootstrap themselves into affluence independent of societal structures and institutions whose priorities and practices do little to afford their economic ascendance.

As we have reviewed, disconfirming data appeared in the form of a discourse of *reciprocal relationships* in which the applicants anticipated a dramatic learning experience. It may be worth noting that such discourse tended to appear in the essays of those applicants who had earned teaching credentials and thus may have been exposed to a discourse of multiculturalism and its attendant values on respect for diversity. Each applicant who had formal training as a teacher was coded for reciprocal relationships, and of those without teaching credentials, only two were coded in this category. Of these two, one identified as Latina and the other Jewish, suggesting the possibility that they might have experienced othering in their own lives. The discourse of othering, in contrast, most often came from people preparing for careers in diplomacy and related fields. This suggests that the perspective of American Exceptionalism dominates in policy arenas, which potentially influence the lives of far more people than individual teachers can affect.

Our study suggests the pervasiveness of the discourse of American Exceptionalism in U.S. society such that it becomes naturalized and commonsense in the thinking of many, even college-age applicants to a summer volunteer teaching program. The NGO streamed this discourse into its documents and suggested its appropriateness in its essay prompts, and the applicants for the most part took it up without critique. Applicants overall did not

challenge the consumptive habits of U.S. residents or the ways in which the consequences of these habits impinge on the quality of life in the Global South. Just as American drug use creates violence in Mexico that in turn fuels anti-immigration feelings in the U.S., policies and practices driven by American consumption of oil, precious metals, cheap products, and other resources contribute to poverty that Americans then blame on those who are most vulnerable and have the fewest resources for combating exploitation. This problem of logical circularity seems built into the discourse of American Exceptionalism and its unwillingness to look inward for the source of problems, either domestically or abroad.

Gee (1990) views discourse analysis as fundamentally moral. One moral consequence of our analysis is to unearth ideologies that are not readily apparent in the speech and related communication of those espousing the exceptional characteristics of Americans. Going to a Global South country to help people in poverty overlooks the homeless people passed on the sidewalk on the way to the NGO's U.S. headquarters. Locating poverty in the culture of others does little to address either systemic inequities in the U.S. or the ways in which the daily practices of American consumerism contribute to the problems that exist abroad. Interrogating the discourse of American Exceptionalism, and the discourse of international voluntourism that swims in its stream, can potentially illuminate these problematic issues and help lay the foundation for a more critical way of thinking about the consequences of personal actions in a complex and interconnected world. For example, participation in volunteer tourism increasingly serves as evidence of "global citizenship" (Butcher & Smith, 2015). It behooves would-be volunteers and other stakeholders in volunteer tourism to examine whether and how notions of "global citizenship" are a gloss for American Exceptionalism.

Luce defined the 20th Century as American. If the 21st Century shows unacknowledged strains of that influence, then defining the new century might involve interrogating nationalistic discourses and the ways in which their contradictions exacerbate the very problems that they aspire to address. The discourse of voluntourism evident in the essays analyzed for this study provides one avenue for understanding the ideological underpinnings and practical consequences of viewing the U.S. only in terms of its stated intentions but not in terms of its unintended effects.

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Appendix 1: Coding scheme: Representation of the Self

Broad Category: Representation of the Self (250 occurrences)
Superordinate Category: Motivations of Self (87 occurrences)
Subordinate Category: Self-fulfillment (29 occurrences)

Readiness to change (5). "I have been a teacher in special education for over ten years. . . . I am striving for greater personal challenges in my teaching opportunities."	*Safe and structured adventure* (5). "Adventures are the only experiences worth having. For without risk, one gains nothing. However, I am a cautious risk-taker. I probe unknown surroundings with a balanced approach of respect and insatiable curiosity."	*Curiosity* (8). "I have been curious about S. Africa all my life."	*Personal interests* (11). "My primary goal of joining [the NGO] is to become a more effective leader."

Subordinate Category: Lofty Vision (58 occurrences)

Uplifting quotes (4). "As Maya Angelou once said 'Perhaps travel cannot prevent bigotry, but by demonstrating that all peoples cry, laugh, eat, worry, and die, it can introduce the idea that if we try and understand each other, we may even become	*Altruism* (8). "There are many children who do not receive comprehensive, life-fulfilling educations because of political turmoil, residual racism, or poverty. I want to be an [NGO] volunteer to help chip away at these iniquities, and help rebuild a better future for the people in S.	*Ambassadorial discourse* (9). "Of the many skills I bring to the table . . . the greatest contribution is simply my willingness to participate in the community and create cultural understandings between the two nations."	*Naïve optimism* (18). "If I can provide a child, an adult, an elder with the unimaginable potential of language—I can empower another human being to effect change within their own lives."	*Bromide* (19). "I will form strong bonds that will last a lifetime."

friends.'"	Africa, no matter how small of a contribution I make."			

Superordinate Category: Achievements and Aspirations of Self (163 occurrences)

Subordinate Category: Self-advancement (42 occurrences)

Gap year experience	*Interest bundling*	*Professional growth*	*Portfolio-building*	*Corporate confidence*
(4). "My life is soon to be entering into a transitional period in which I will complete my undergraduate studies and gain practical field experience before embarking on the journey to graduate school."	(5). "Teaching internationally would combine so many things I love: traveling, experiencing/studying different cultures, working with children, and making a difference in places that really need the extra help."	(8). "I am considering a career in international development, and this experience will help inform my decision in terms of the next steps I take in my life."	(11). "I hope volunteering with [the NGO] will be the first step in reaching my long term goal of one day working for the United Nations."	(14). "I am a leader who is not afraid to take initiative in speaking my mind or getting things done. . . . I am flexible and rational. . . . I think being reasonable will be particularly useful in a place where there will be many challenges."

Subordinate Category: Self-aggrandizement (121 occurrences)

Knowledge display (3).	*Name-dropping* (3).	*Big heart* (4).	*Accomplishment* (5). "As	*Boldness* (6). "I	*Noblesse oblige* (8). "I	*Protestant work ethic* (8). "I
"Recently I sat down with a classmate from my	"I had undertaken the prestigious	"Although I imagine	captain of my college soccer team I	consider myself a stu-	feel that as a Harvard student,	can see how one could

Lucretius course in which we are reading *De Rerum Natura* in its native Latin."	summer Latin and Greek Institute with the CUNY Graduate Center."	Japanese and S. African culture are quite different, the skill you must use to acclimatize to them is the same. That tool is the ability to not only open your mind, but to open your heart."	have leadership and organizational skills that I can bring to the [NGO]."	dent of the world. For that reason, I have a tendency to throw myself into the unknown. I do not frighten easily. The prospect of a challenge enlivens my senses. Adventures are the only experiences worth having. For without risk—one gains nothing."	as an American, but most importantly as a human being, it's my duty to contribute in whichever way in helping disadvantaged citizens of the world."	interpret this opportunity as a vacation, an escape from the daily grind of the workforce. However, I know where my heart lies, and I know that this position comes with a lot of responsibility that I'm willing to take on, regardless of the challenges."

Cosmopolitanism	Bootstrapping	Divine intervention	Adaptability	Positive thinking	Singularity	Vanity
(9). "I represent your typical well-rounded cultural anthropologist to be who comes from a heritage of cultural sensitivity and tolerance, with the ability to not just adapt easily in new circumstances, but flourish among people of any culture."	(10). "The forecast looked bleak. I soon realized my options were to move home with my family and start life again from zero or I could look at the situation as an opportunity and start life again from zero somewhere else, somewhere I fell in love with a year ago when I visited on holi-	(10). "When I researched the [NGO] summer program in South Africa, I knew that I had found my sabbatical "calling."	(11). "I claim not to have the ability to automatically adjust to the differences in culture and lifestyle; rather, but my prior experiences allow for a better transition in new environments."	(11). "I am very optimistic, and while many people have told me this quality will only hurt me throughout life, I think it will be beneficial in a developing nation."	(14). "I have realized how important it is to lend a hand, but also how oblivious most American are to this need."	(19). "[Microsoft Office is] entry level, and baby, I ain't entry level."

	day. I chose the latter and thrived.					

Appendix **2: Coding scheme: Representation of Other Populations**

Broad Category: Representation of Other Populations (241 occurrences)
Superordinate Category: Reciprocal Relationships (59 occurrences)

Equanimity (6). "If I'm given the opportunity to volunteer in [the host country], I will be prepared to be flexible and creative in a culture that I'm not completely familiar with."	*Historicizing/ contextualizing the other* (6). "[The AIDS pandemic] is a complex, multifaceted issue that defies a simple solution. The government-advocated policy of ABC, Abstain, Be faithful, and Condomise, is a narrow, overly simplistic one."	*Humility* (8). "Being an American, I do not fully comprehend the struggles still restricting [host country peoples] today. However, I'm anxious to learn."	*Embracing difference* (39). "I would be an invitee into [the host country's] culture and would respect that position with compassion and hard work. . . . I would carry this knowledge and an open, alert mind with me so that I can fully absorb, appreciate, and excel in the opportunity I was given."

Superordinate Category: Othering (182 occurrences)
Subordinate Category: Domestic Other (23 occurrences)

Expand their horizons (3). "I would like to reach out to individuals, help them gain awareness, and make a positive change with their lives."	*Instilling values* (3). "The bond between the students and me made me care even more deeply about inculcating in them the Christian principles I hold valuable."	*Role model* (5). "[Twelve-year-old girls] looked up to me as an authority figure, as well as a friend and role model."	*Bootstrapping* (6). "Lesson activities such as the one demonstrated above will better equip my students to know the power they possess within and the doors that will be made open to them if they believe in themselves and work hard."	*Self-esteem* (6). "It is essential to be relaxed while teaching and be confident in the students. A student needs to know that you believe in them."

Subordinate Category: "Exotic" Other (159 occurrences)
Specific Category: Romanticizing (31 occurrences)

Happy natives (4). "Ghanaians are genuinely humble people . . . . Their soul is pure . . . . With their smiles, Ghanaians light up Western Africa."	*Going native* (5). "I quickly knew that for this place to feel like home, I had to try to become one of the natives."	*Difference as adventure* (11). "I bought an old bike to venture through [Spain] and gained my independence from the typical American hangouts."	*Orientalizing* (11). "Since I was 10 years old, I have wanted to live in [the host country]. I anxiously checked the mail every week for the next *National Geographic* magazine, flipping through the pages, infatuated by the pictures of people and cultures that were so different than the white picket fence, suburban America I lived in."

Specific Category: Dehistoricizing (29 occurrences)

Lotto Logic (2). "I've been privileged with a wonderful life, and I desire to utilize this to its full potential, helping others who aren't so fortunate."	*On the veranda* (7). "After taking a course at Amherst this past semester called African Education, I understand the complexities and problems of education in the underdeveloped world."	*Commonality* (10). "We might have had completely different backgrounds but we had a common goal and that was enough to unite and drive us—a 17 year old Mexican/Puerto Rican girl and a 7 year old Chinese immigrant teaching each other."	*Surface understanding* (10). "Through working with [the girl I knew for one day], I began to understand just how strong her desire to learn was, despite the absolute poverty and despair she and her family lived in."

Specific Category: Westernizing (44 occurrences)

Bootstrapping	Globalization	Empowerment	Westocentrism
(4). "I want them to crave for learning with [sic] the instructor's absence; for them to truly see and embrace their potential with conviction, regardless of messages a neglectful government and scarcity of resources might send."	(9). "I would like to become aware of [the host country's] needs in order to be informed as well as inform others about the different opportunities to deliver global social change."	(13). "While in the [host country] program, I hope to show the students that finding success as an individual, community, or country is not impossible."	(18). "In the future I hope to work for a NGO that focuses on international development. At that point, I think my familiarity with educational systems in [the host country] and programs such as [the NGO] will be extremely important because education is a vital component of improving developing nations."

Specific category: Pathologizing (55 occurrences)

Voicelessness	Infantilizing	State of disadvantage	State of poverty
(4). "This community lived in social exclusion in public housing projects and I was there to conduct research for my thesis while volunteering as a youth advocate in their summer program. I adapted to their lifestyle and value system so that I could work as an advocate for them, to seek the services they deserve."	(13). "With my presence, I will be able to remind the community and students that people, even from across the world, believe that things can and should be better, lives can be improved, and even the underprivileged need and deserve a real chance to succeed."	(15). "To teach in [the host country] would satisfy my persistent desire to reach out to a country whose [sic] racially charged social and economic challenges parallel the history of many African Americans."	(23). "Never have I looked extreme poverty in the eye. Never have I held the hand of an AIDS orphan."

Notes on Contributors

Cori Jakubiak is an Assistant Professor of Education at Grinnell College in Grinnell, Iowa, USA, where she teaches courses in educational foundations, critical applied linguistics, and place-based education. Her research interests are situated at the intersection of teaching English to speakers of other languages (TESOL), volunteer tourism, and teacher education. Email: jakubiak@grinnell.edu

Peter Smagorinsky is Distinguished Research Professor of English Education at The University of Georgia, USA, where he serves as faculty advisor to the student-edited Journal of Language and Literacy Education. His most recent book is *Creativity and community among autism-spectrum youth: Creating positive social updrafts through play and performance*, published by Palgrave Macmillan. Email: smago@uga.edu

Tiptoe of Indirect Intervention: An Exegesis

Farid Ghaemi
Islamic Azad University

Amir Nikmehr
Tarbiat Modares University, Iran

Abstract

Teacher reflection despite its conceptual and practical problems has been deemed crucial regarding teacher development. However, direct intervention in which instruction specifies what it is that learners will learn and when they will learn it, may lead to an artificial reflection in light of teaching failure. This artificiality seems reasonable when teachers' personality is taken into account, as teachers like all other human beings are slaves to their ego, rendering reflection as a means of justifying the way they teach. On the other hand, indirectly intervening in the process of learning with the purpose of merely creating conditions where learners can learn seems to be face-saving on the teachers' part, giving rise to a more realistic reflection. Indirect intervention due its relative newness may be too radical for some teaching contexts, especially if teachers view classroom learning as necessarily analytical. Thus, the present paper argues in favor of indirect intervention, by examining the literature and then moving towards more practical forms of indirect intervention emblazoned through task-based language teaching (TBLT). As indirect intervention always opts for the implicit, this paper concludes by proposing a concrete case for tweaking extensive recasts by means of gambits.

Keywords: Teacher reflection; direct intervention; indirect intervention; task-based language teaching; extensive recasts; gambits

The historical origins of indirect intervention

Communicative language teaching (CLT) is not a monolithic and uniform approach thus, leading to various applications in classrooms. It seems that no two classrooms claiming to teach language communicatively are the same. This seems to be mostly a merit rather than a disadvantage as it gives teachers the power to conduct a communicative classroom based on their own understanding of CLT thus, fitting the shoes of a postmethod teacher which according to Kumaravadivelu (2006, p. 178) is "the heart of postmethod pedagogy".

However, guiding principles are indispensable if the aim is to come up with a more universally applied CLT. These principles are not intended to de-power the teacher, as noted by Celce-Murcia, Dornyei, and Thurell (1997) in which "the need for guiding principles [in CLT] is in fact, not inconsistent with the postmethod perspective" (as cited in Bell, 2003, p. 332). According to

Bell (2003, p. 332), postmethodolgy in this sense "rather than going beyond method, may be understood as a synthesis of various methods under the umbrella term of CLT". It seems that providing guidance on an approach does not necessarily turn it into a method or what Richards and Rodgers (1982, p. 154) called "design". Giving general guidance on an approach should not be taken to imply providing all the bits and pieces in its implementation thus, giving rise to what Prabhu (1990, p. 173) described as "overroutinization". On the contrary, guidance should indicate the means to engage "teacher's sense of plausibility" (Prabhu, 1990, p. 172).

Howatt, (1984, p. 12) distinguished a "weak" and a "strong" version of CLT. While the former was based on systematic teaching of communicative competence through identifying its components, it did not involve a radical departure from earlier methods due to reflecting what White (1988) had referred to as a Type A approach to language teaching i.e., an approach that is interventionist. Thus, instead of teaching learners the structural properties of language, it was proposed by a weak version of communicative language teaching that learners should develop the ability to realize specific general notions such as 'duration' and 'possibility' on one hand, and to perform language functions such as 'inviting' and 'apologizing' on the other. This version was actually manifested in the proposals for notional/functional syllabi developed by Wilkins (1976) and Van Ek (1976).

In contrast, a strong version of CLT prioritized communication by emphasizing the belief that "language is acquired through communication" (Howatt, 1984, p. 279). This was acknowledged three years later by Prabhu (1987) who operationalized communication in terms of tasks. Prabhu (1987, as cited in Ellis, 2005, p. 721) argued that "it was necessary to abandon the pre-selection of linguistic items in any form and instead specify the content of teaching in terms of holistic units of communication, that is, tasks". He claimed that this would open up the possibility to teach "through communication" rather than "for communication".

In a nutshell, the strong version of CLT believes that learners will discover the structural system of language in the process of learning how to communicate. In other words, more communication will lead to more language learning. This type of discovery learning is clearly in line with the 'Activate intuitive heuristics' principle proposed by Kumaravadivelu (2003) which highlights the importance of providing learners with rich textual data and allowing them to infer the underlying rules through self-discovery. Nevertheless, it seems that postmethodology is just an emblazoned form of the strong version of CLT.

This version of CLT in its most extreme sense seems to conform to Hopper's (1998) theory of emergent grammar. According to Hopper (1998, p. 164), emergent grammar is a "a set of sedimented conventions that have routinized out of the more frequently occurring ways of saying things" and is assembled "fragment by fragment" as we increasingly participate more extensively and intensively in social activities". Thus, from this perspective it can

be said that "learning a language will merely involve enhancing one's repertoire of fragments rather than an attempt to build up a seamless grammar as a prerequisite for producing well-formed sentences" (Lantolf, 2005, p. 349). This fragmentary perspective of language clearly favors participation, implying that more participation will lead to higher acquisition of language fragments which in turn will enable participation in more activities.

In this light, Lantolf (2005, p. 349) argues that "conceiving of language as emergent parallels closely Vygotsky's thinking on higher forms of consciousness, it is never complete, always (potentially) developing as we move into new activities". Thus, Lantolf was able to connect Vygotsky's Sociocultural theory (SCT) with a theory of language, that is, Hopper's (1998, 2002) emergent grammar, responding to one of the essential criticisms leveled against SCT, that is, its failure to "offer any very thorough or detailed view of the nature of language as a formal system" (Mitchell & Myles, 1998, p. 162). It seems that this fragmentary view of language is also linked to Skehan's (1998, p. 130) "exemplar-based" system in his proposed "dual mode of language learning and processing" which he states "is heavily based on redundant memory systems. Since this system does not require internal computation, its advantage is a marked increase in processing speed". In other words the "exemplar-based" system leads to fluency while as Skehan (1998, p. 130) mentions "is less efficient in incorporating changes to the underlying system".

The strong version of communicative language teaching therefore relates to Hopper's (1998) emergent grammar and Skehan's (1998) exemplar-based system in his cognitive approach thus, compensating for the lack of attention to fluency. While Hopper (1998) did not leave any room for accuracy, Skehan (1998) connected accuracy to the "rule-based" system implying the need for a focus on form. The strong version of CLT with its emphasis on fluency seeks to provide learners with opportunities to experience how language is used in communication. This approach reflects what White (1988) has called a Type B approach i.e., an approach that is non-interventionist and holistic. This approach has clear traces in Krashen and Terrell's (1983) Natural Approach and also in teaching centered proposals utilizing tasks (Candlin, 1987).

Built-in flexibility of indirect intervention

Learners may mold into active participants rather than passive recipients when teachers treat them as partners through indirect intervention. This may stem from the notion that communicating to learn the language offers more affordances in contrast to learning the language to communicate. Thus, various opportunities for participation may render learning as more flexible. However, this functionality of indirect intervention may also encompass teacher instruction, in the sense that when instruction takes an explicit form determining what the learners should learn, it would most probably lessen the flexibility of altering the plans the teacher had initially opted for.

The type of planning which takes place in the realm of the classroom is believed to be interactive. Parker (1984, p. 220) argued that "teaching-learning contexts change and teachers' behaviors must change accordingly. The basic problem for teachers is, therefore, to acknowledge that there is no one best way to behave, and then to learn to make decisions in such ways that their behaviors are continually appropriate to the dynamic, moment-to-moment complexity of the classroom". Richards and Lockhart (1996, p. 84) argued in favor of the necessity of interactive decisions:

> The ability to make appropriate interactive decisions is clearly an essential teaching skill, since interactive decisions enable teachers to assess students' response to teaching and to modify their instruction in order to provide optimal support for learning. A teacher whose teaching is guided solely by a lesson plan and who ignores the interactional dynamics of the teaching-learning process is hence less likely to be able to respond to students' needs.

Thus, it seems rather obvious that indirect intervention would not only treat the learners as active participants accounting for learner agency, but will also lend support to teachers' interactive decision-making by giving them the opportunity to assess students' responses and tailor instruction to the learners' needs. In other words, when teachers break away from their authoritative positions, taking on a partnership role with students, their interaction would lead to a more realistic reflection-in-action thus, affording them opportunities to provide instruction that are truly within the learners' Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD).

According to Vygotsky (1986, p. 188) "ZPD is a projection of a person's developmental future in the sense that what one can do in cooperation with others today one can do alone tomorrow". The real question is "How can teachers tailor their instructions to the learners' ZPD?" Aljaafreh and Lantolf (1994) developed a "Regulatory Scale" which involved a continuum from the most implicit to the most explicit correction, bearing in mind the idea to "offer just enough assistance to encourage and guide the learner to participate in the activity and to assume increased responsibility for arriving at the appropriate performance" (Aljaafreh & Lantolf, 1994, p. 469).

Imagine a teacher starting out by providing explicit feedback regardless of the learners' abilities. What would happen? Learners with higher levels of proficiency would clearly get mixed with those of lower proficiency levels thus, rendering the teachers' feedback as inefficient regarding learners' needs. This has been acknowledged by Ohta (2001, p. 89) which emphasized 'waiting' in the sense that "assistance is only helpful when it is needed, not when it is redundant with the learner's established abilities". In other words, holding off on feedback offers learners the opportunity to gain fuller control of knowledge that immediate explicit assistance might not. This is precisely why indirect intervention in the form of implicit instruction (e.g., recasts) would

actually result in a more flexible teaching plan, giving teachers opportunities to tailor their instructions to the learners' needs.

Reflecting on indirect intervention

As previously stated, indirect intervention would give teachers the flexibility needed to engage interactively with learners. In other words, this type of implicit instruction can lubricate the process of reflection thus, providing the means for a more effective reflection-in-action. As Farrell (1998, p. 12) puts it, "Reflection-in-action is concerned with thinking about what we are doing … Reflection-on-action deals with thinking back on what we have done to discover how our knowing-in-action may have contributed to an unexpected action".

Reflective teaching from Dewey's (1933 as cited in Pollard et al., 2006, p. 14-15) perspective "requires attitudes of open-mindedness, responsibility and wholeheartedness". Open-mindedness refers to the teachers' willingness to question the status quo and to take into account various alternatives and possibilities and thus, give a second thought to their and others' beliefs, attitudes and preconceptions. It seems that willingness can be achieved when teachers are not pre-occupied with their superior authority in class and break away into a more interactive style. Thus, indirectly intervening in the process of learning may pave the way for an ease in reflection, since this will give teachers more opportunities to reflect on their actual teaching.

In his argument on practical problems with reflective practice, Akbari (2007, p. 198) states that "In most cases reflection will be just a repetition of the past or rediscovering what is already known". As Fendler (2003, p. 20) puts it, "when reflection is understood as a turning back upon the self, the danger is that reflection will reveal no more than what is already known" thus, "instead of looking for new possibilities and solutions, teachers will try to rationalize their practices and justify the way they teach" (Loughran, 2002, as cited in Akbari, 2007, p. 198-99). Thinking about reflection from this perspective will actually invoke an interest on the teachers' part to preserve their identities or in Akbari's (2007, p. 199) words, "defense mechanisms to protect the ego might come into play". Nonetheless, this seems to be merely a problem when teachers touch upon direct intervention.

It stands to reason that when direct intervention, which according to Ellis (2005, p. 713) "specifies what it is that learners will learn and when they will learn it" fails, teachers will opt to justify their teaching in order cover up their own shortcomings. Thus, reflection based on this approach would obviously lead to nothing but an opportunity to justify weaknesses. While on the other hand, if teachers conduct a more learner-centered class by realizing learners as active participants and devise a curriculum consisting of a series of tasks, then failure would most probably be considered as a joint responsibility (i.e., teachers & learners). In this way, failure would not be deemed as face-threatening for the teachers, opening up the possibility of alternative ways of

teaching and in turn more informative reflecting. The notion of indirect intervention lies at the heart of Task-Based Language Teaching (TBLT). This has been numerously implied in Ellis (2005). Thus, it is worthwhile to go over the literature on TBLT as a means of revealing the practical application of indirect intervention.

Operationalizing indirect intervention

One of the most widely quoted definitions for task is offered by Long (1985a), the pioneer in TBLT which unfortunately most of the criticisms leveled against TBLT were straightly addressed to his methodology. Long (1985b, p. 89) considers a task "as the hundred and one things people do in everyday life, at work, at play, and in between". Another well-known definition is provided by Nunan (1989, p. 10) who defines a task as "any classroom work which involves learners in comprehending, manipulating, producing, or interacting in the target language while their attention is principally focused on meaning rather than form". Skehan (1998, p. 147) summarizes the parameters for a task activity in the following way: "(a) meaning is primary, (b) learners are not given other people's meanings to regurgitate, (c) there is some sort of relationship to comparable real-world activities, (d) task completion has a priority, and (e), the assessment of tasks are done in terms of outcome".

What seems to be bewildering in Skehan's (1998, p. 147) definition is that "learners are not given other people's meanings to regurgitate". What does this mean? This corresponds to what Ellis (2009, p. 223) stated as a criteria that tasks must satisfy, that is, "Learners should largely have to rely on their own resources (linguistic and non-linguistic) in order to complete the activity". In other words, this implies that teachers should not offer the learners on a silver platter the language that is necessary in order to accomplish the task, giving credit to the underlying notion of indirect intervention in TBLT.

Another point in Skehan's (1988) definition that has attracted criticisms mainly by Widdowson (2001) is related to the relationship of tasks to real-world activities. According to Widdowson (2001, p. 18) "Instead of trying to achieve the impossible by simulating communication through tasks, i.e. teaching language as communication, we should opt for the possible by teaching linguistic competence for communication". However, Ellis (2009, p. 227) rightfully argued that:

> Widdowson also seems to be guilty of a more fundamental misunderstanding of a task. Widdowson appears to assume that a defining characteristic of a task is that it should be 'authentic'. However, as Bachman (1990) pointed out, we can distinguish two types of authenticity- situational authenticity and interactional authenticity. Widdowson obviously has only the former in mind, but even a cursory reading of the task-based literature should make it clear that what is important is interactional authenticity.

In other words, what Ellis seems to be saying is that tasks even though might not have situational authenticity, that is, they might not resemble something you actually do in the real world, the interaction that results from tasks, that is, the communication taking place using language to accomplish a task, is likely to be authentic. Considering the variety of proposals regarding tasks, it is quite clear that no size fits all. In other words, there are a lot of designs based on tasks. Thus, TBLT can be regarded best as an approach and not a method, a point acknowledged by Ellis (2009, p. 224) "it is important to recognize that there is no single way of doing TBLT". Along the same lines, Ellis (2009, p. 224) further clarifies this point by drawing a distinction between three approaches to TBLT, namely, Long (1985a), Skehan (1998), and Ellis (2003) based on the following features:

> (1) the provision of opportunities for natural language use (what Widdowson (2003) refers to as 'authenticity'); (2) learner-centeredness (as manifested in the centrality of small group work); (3) focus-on-form (whether the approach includes devices for focusing learners attention on form while they are communicating); (4) the kind of task (i.e. whether unfocused or focused); and (5) the rejection of traditional approaches to language teaching (e.g. PPP).

Ellis (2009, p. 225) believes that the only characteristics that are common among all three approaches are (1) and (3), that is, "all three approaches (1) emphasize the role of tasks in creating contexts for natural language use, and (3) focus on form". Furthermore Ellis (2009, p. 225) also points out the differences in obtaining a focus on form:

> Differences exist as to how attention to form is to be achieved, with Long emphasizing corrective feedback, Skehan task design and pre-task planning, and myself a variety of ways in all three phases of a task-based lesson. Differences in the three approaches are evident with regard to (2) (i.e. I do not see group work as an essential characteristic), (4) (i.e. Skehan favours just unfocused tasks whereas Long and I myself also see a role for focused tasks), and (5) (Long and Skehan view traditional structural teaching as theoretically indefensible while I see it as complementary to TBLT.

Bearing in mind the authenticity of interaction resulting from indirect intervention in classroom teaching, we will devote the rest of this paper to Long and Robinson's (1998) focus on form and ways to overcome or more precisely lessen the ambiguity of recasts which lie at the heart of FonF.

Tweaking extensive recasts

Since the beginning of the 80s, conversational interaction has attracted a lot of attention in studies of acquisition (see Gass, 1997; Long, 1996). Research has most certainly revealed that L2 learners' participation in negotiated interaction eases the access to conditions claimed to boost language learning, namely: comprehensible input (Krashen, 1985; Long, 1985b), production of modified output (Swain, 1985, 1995) and focus on form (Long & Robinson, 1998).

It seems obvious that the necessity of oral interaction in L2 acquisition cannot be denied. This is what Allwright (1984, p. 156) rightfully called "the fundamental fact of pedagogy". Although Ellis (1991) believes that "Allwright perhaps exaggerates when he claims that everything that happens in the classroom happens through a process of face-to-face interaction", he also acknowledges the fact that "it remains true that 'teaching' can be profitably viewed as interaction that supplies learners with opportunities for learning" (Ellis, 1991, p. 3).

In his "interaction hypothesis", Long (1996) argued that interaction will lead to an ease in acquisition due to the conversational and linguistic modifications that occur in such discourse and in turn provide the learners with the input they need. Through one type of interaction, termed 'negotiation' by Long, nonnative speakers (NNSs) and their interlocutors signal that they do not understand something, thus, providing opportunities to understand and use the language that was incomprehensible. Additionally, they may receive more or different input and have more opportunities for output (Swain, 1985, 1995).

Later on, this hypothesis was further refined by Long to embrace the possible contribution of negative evidence to L2 learning. Long's (1996) claim in this new or rather modified version of interaction hypothesis pertained to an important role in the SLA process for negotiated interaction that elicits negative feedback. According to Long (1996, p. 414), this "negative feedback obtained in negotiation work or elsewhere may be facilitative of SL development". Negative feedback in its implicit form is most clearly demonstrated in recasts. Recasts have been generally defined as being a target like way of saying something that was previously formulated in a non-target like way (Long, Inagaki, & Ortega, 1998). Thus, applying the term with the aim of teaching in mind gives recasts a corrective flavor, as Ellis (2010, p. 7) points out "A corrective recast reformulates the learner's erroneous utterance with the correct form highlighted intonationally". The following example taken from Doughty and Varela (1998, p. 124) clearly exhibits corrective recasts:

L: I think that the worm will go under the soil.
T: I *think* that the worm *will* go under the soil?
L: (no response)
T: I *thought* that the worm *would* go under the soil.
L: I *thought* that the worm *would* go under the soil.

Ellis and Sheen (2006) consider these corrective recasts as explicit, while on the other hand, Long (2006) views them as implicit. It seems that both parties are somehow right. Long (1988, 1991, as cited in Williams, 2005, p. 672) which was the first one in coining the term Focus on Form (FonF) believed that "learners' attention should be drawn implicitly to form, not explicitly". The recasts which Long focused on were of the general or extensive type, that is, as Williams (2005, p. 674) defines "… a scattershot treatment in which various forms come into instructional focus as errors or communicative breakdown occurs". On the other hand, it seems that the main reason which led Ellis and Sheen (2006) to consider corrective recasts as explicit was that they entirely considered recasts as targeted or intensive, that is, narrow recasting of preselected forms. It is quite obvious that narrow recasting would divert the learners' attention to the mismatch regarding their IL (Interlanguage) form and the corresponding TL (Target Language) form thus, noticing a gap (Swain, 1995).

Indirect intervention accounting for a joint responsibility in light of learning failure leading to a more realistic teacher reflection renders a preference for implicit corrective feedback. The implicit nature of extensive recasts may also cater for face-saving feedback, a point acknowledged by Seedhouse (1997, as cited in Williams, 2005, p. 685) in "that teachers are exceedingly reluctant to tell learners explicitly that they are wrong, and they are far more likely to affirm content or positive effort than point out learners' errors".

Nonetheless, extensive recasting has attracted a lot of criticisms. Lyster (1998, as cited in Williams, 2005, p. 685) "… doubts the value of recasts as a classroom technique". It stands to reason that when a teacher recasts a learner in an unmarked fashion, that is, without clarifying that he/she is focusing on the form, the learner may be misdirected into believing that the teacher is merely giving a comment on meaning. Thus, in a sense Lyster rightfully argued towards the ambiguous nature of recasts. However, it seems that this is only a problem when recasting is not marked. Recasts accompanied with emphatic and rising intonation in their repetition of learner error may reduce their ambiguity (see Williams, 2005). Farrokhi (2005, p. 68) indicates that "recasts are often provided in 2 phases. The first phase (that is, repetition of the learner's error with stress and rising intonation) serves as an additional attention getting device to promote noticing of the erroneous forms and the second phase (that is, recast) is used to highlight the gap between the learner's erroneous form and the teacher's corrective reformulation".

Furthermore, Nikmehr and Farrokhi (2013) revealed that gambits such as 'pick-ups', 'underscorers', and 'tag-questions' can also perform an emphatic function. For example, tag-questions or in their words "post-recast marking gambits" (Nikmehr & Farrokhi, 2013, p. 231) can function as attention getting devices after the corrective phase of recasting. Consider the following examples taken from Nikmehr and Farrokhi (2013, p. 231) regarding the previously mentioned gambit types (Note that gambits are illustrated in italics, its type in square brackets and subtype in single brackets):

T: *Now* [starter] how was the birthday party last night?
S: *Well* [rheme-free], *eh* [appealer], it was nice. I have a very good time.
T: *You mean* [clarifier (underscorer)] you had a very good time.
S; *Oh, sorry* [appealer], I had a very good time.
As seen from the example above "You mean" as an underscorer gambit type clearly marks the following recast thus, leading to an uptake on the learner's part.
T: *So* [starter] where did you go last week?
S: *Oh well* [rheme-free], *you know* [clarifier (cajoler)], I go to New York.
T: *Go to New York* [pick-up]! It should be 'went to New York', *shouldn't it* [appealer (tag-question)]?
S: *Oh, yes* [appealer], I went to New York.

Again it is clear that "shouldn't it" functions as a "post-recast marking" gambit which is used after the recast itself thus, disambiguating the recast.

The second issue that Lyster believes to be problematic is uptake. Lyster (1998, as cited in Williams, 2005, p. 686) viewed uptake as an "immediate repetition of the reformulated learner utterance". However, Williams (2005, p. 686) rightfully points out that this view of uptake "may unnecessarily limit our view of the effectiveness of recasts". It is quite obvious that learners having understood the recast may not immediately demonstrate the correct form. This was further supported by Gass (1997), who stressed that the effects of interaction may not be immediate, pointing out the importance of looking for delayed developmental effects of interaction. Furthermore Ohta (2000, 2001, as cited in Williams, 2005, p. 686) has also shown that "even when learners do not respond immediately to a teacher's or other learners' recast, they may make use of them later, especially in private speech, barely audible rehearsals".

Overall, it seems that extensive recasting with a little tweaking in order to mark it and thus, reduce its ambiguous nature may prove both informative and face-saving as a form of feedback in indirect intervention.

Conclusion

It is important to address the fallacy regarding the superiority of explicit direct intervention over its implicit indirect counterpart. In Norris and Ortega's (2000, p. 467) meta-analysis, instructional treatments were coded as "explicit" if "rule explanation comprised any part of the instruction" and "implicit" when "neither rule presentation nor directions to attend to particular forms were part of the treatment". Although explicit instruction proved to be significantly more effective than implicit instruction, they note that the measurement of learning outcomes in many of the studies favored explicit learning (i.e. in 90% of the studies they examined learners' knowledge of the targeted structures was measured through experimentally elicited responses rather than in communicative use). Thus, caution needs to be exercised in concluding that explicit instruction is more effective than implicit (Ellis et al. 2009). Another point

worth mentioning is related to treatment duration. Indirect intervention with its implicit nature requires a longer duration of treatment as compared with explicit direct intervention. This seems rather obvious as indirect intervention is based upon language learning through rather than for communication with an emphasis on learner agency. Thus, as pointed out by Ellis et al. (2009, p. 10), "short duration, creates a bias against implicit learning".

This exegesis is not proposing indirect intervention as a means to an end. Teacher-centered direct intervention may also cater for leaners' needs. As Archer and Hughes (2011, p. 19) point out, "proponents of explicit instruction are equally focused on students. They understand, however, that many students struggle with learning when necessary guidance and support are not provided". What we are saying here is that indirect intervention deserves a chance for both teachers and learners' sake, despite not being compatible with most teachers' ideologies or the ideologies that run through some educational systems. Taking the risk of implementing novel perspectives requires the teachers to undergo a defamiliarization process as a means to break with the past. The dual empowerment introduced here which lies at the heart of indirect intervention, may justify this risk-taking.

The flexibility resulting from this type of intervention may result in an interactive decision-making, breathing life into the otherwise suffocating classroom environment. Treating learners as partners, letting their voices emerge, and hearing out their ideas may result in better tailored instruction and feedback. This is what Fani and Ghaemi (2011, p. 1553) emphasized by saying that "Learners can also help teachers in providing feedback on the strengths and weaknesses of the classroom. Having discussions with learners would aid teachers in whether they are on the right track or whether they have to make some kind of modifications or change in their teaching practice". In addition, teachers can also benefit by indirectly intervening in classrooms through protecting their ego, attributing any learning failure to a joint responsibility which in turn, may lead to a more realistic reflection.

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Notes on Contributors

Farid Ghaemi is an assistant professor of Applied Linguistics at Islamic Azad University, Karaj Branch. He has taught undergraduate and graduate courses for more than twenty years, and published a number of books and articles related to Applied Linguistics. His main interests are Language Teaching, First Language Acquisition, and Second Language Acquisition Research. Email: farid.ghaemi@gmail.com

Amir Nikmehr is a Ph.D. candidate in Applied Linguistics at Tarbiat Modares University, Iran. Currently, he is teaching English as a foreign language. He has published a number of articles related to Applied Linguistics. His research interests include Critical Discourse Analysis, Sociocultural TBLT, Communication Strategies, and Impoliteness. Email: a_nikmehr@yahoo.com