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Foreword

Welcome to the June 2017 issue of the Journal of English as an International Language!

The spectrum of research agendas and insights featured in this issue resonates and chimes in with EILJ's resolve to engender a plurality of foci and conceptualizations. We fervently believe that the endeavours and exercises showcased in this issue could provide the stimulus and synergy that EILJ needs to democratize and dehegemonize the use of English across the cultures and continents of the world.

Ali Karakas' paper, "The Forgotten Voices in Higher Education: Students' Satisfaction with English-Medium Instruction", sets the tone and tenor for this issue. The author, who is one of EILJ's Editors, uses his well- informed theoretical stance to systematically examine the dynamics and fall-outs of English Medium Instruction (EMI) in a well-known Turkish university. The paper investigates the four mainstays concerning EMI: (1) teaching, (2) content teachers' English, (3) the institution, and (4) the institutions' English language policies and practices. The findings point out that while the majority of the students felt quite content with EMI in general and its four components, they were less satisfied with their institutions' language policies and practices. In light of this, the author uses his reasoned discourse to bring a particular sense of primacy and immediacy to his examination of the issues underlying EMI at his university. Using his theoretical stance and his findings, he recommends that a student-centred EMI which is committed to learning centeredness should focus on: academic English skills rather than general English skills, a categorical debunking of the native speaker myth and promotion of a use of English that is predicated on successful communicator, interculturally competent speaker, or skilled language user models. Such a position, the author believes, will encourage students in EMI contexts to learn English not merely for fulfilling closure-focused objectives but also for using it with an abiding sense of intrinsic motivation. We hope that this paper would serve as a rationale and motivation for our readership to accord student satisfaction and involvement the priority it deserves in their educational practices of EIL.

Van Khanh's Nguyen paper, "World Englishes Communication and Challenges: A Qualitative Study of Three Vietnamese University Graduates", investigates into the pedagogical implications of the varieties of English within the WE paradigm. Pointing out that WE users should be aware of the potential problems in WE communications, the paper adopts a qualitative case study, employing an Interpretative Phenomenological Approach to examine and explore the perception and experience of three Vietnamese university graduates of such WE communicative problems. Drawing on the data gathered via semi-structured interviews, the author analysed them through the lens of exist-

ing WE theories, especially the theory of intelligibility in communication. The findings confirm problems of intelligibility, achievability and perception in the context of WE. The findings also stress that sound recognition as the most frequent and dominant among the intelligibility issues, while the issues of comprehensibility and interpretability vary and depend on the contexts of use. Needless to say that the study has yielded a great deal of information on the effects of WE problems on both the participants' feelings and their English proficiency, a timeous integration of WE into current English as a Foreign Language (EFL) practice in Vietnam can help foster a critical understanding of languages and contribute to the formation of a positive identity of EFL/English as a Second language (ESL) users. By highlighting the conflict inside the participants to maintain intelligibility and their native-speaker proficiency dream, this paper underscores the need to include/infuse WE perspectives in/into EFL. Given that the author has conducted the study into this "powder-keg domain of teaching spoken English", we entreat our readers to voice their reactions to it and do further research into this domain. This would be wholly in keeping with EILJ's steadfast allegiance to English as an international language and its users as "a heterogeneous global English speech community, with a heterogeneous English and different modes of competence" (Canagarajah, 2006, p. 211).

The paper entitled, "Developing Monolary as an Innovation of Language Games to Practice Students' Vocabulary Mastery in Elementary Schools in Bali", by Putu Indra Kusuma, presents an innovation of language games aimed at enhancing English vocabulary. The study was meant to investigate the development of Monolary (The given name toward the game) while principally focusing on: (1) investigating the media and games used in teaching vocabulary, (2) investigating the development of Monolary, and (3) investigating how Monolary can be used as a media or game in providing students space for practicing/mastering students' vocabulary. The participants were 5 elementary English teachers and 132 students of 5 elementary schools in Bali. The instruments used were questionnaires, observation sheets, and interview guide. The results show that (1) teachers did not have any media and games to support vocabulary teaching and (2) the development of Monolary was based on vocabulary learning theories which could be used for practicing vocabulary as well as assessing vocabulary mastery of elementary schools' students. From the results obtained, it can be concluded that teachers need media and games to support vocabulary teaching and Monolary could be one beneficial solution. More importantly, the author has used his paper to demonstrate the efficacy of using games both in the teaching and assessing of vocabulary in the educational practice of teaching English. Rather than use tests addictively and compulsively like most Indonesian teachers of English do, the board game featured in the paper could well serve as an innovative assessment tool that preempts monotony and demotivation that characterize conventional English vocabulary tests used in most Indonesian schools. Furthermore, the students will

be well placed to learn from other players about the written and verbal forms of the vocabulary they have not known before as well as the new vocabulary items featured in a topic. This could motivate and maximize their interest to learn English for personal enrichment.

Mai Thanh Nguyen's paper, "The Benefits of a Bilingual Program in English Language Teaching in Vietnam", addresses the current situation of English Language Teaching (ELT) at a general education level in Vietnam and offers a lucid review of English in bilingual education, its advantages and its disadvantages along with its implications. In keeping with the spirit and focus of the paper, the author directs our attention to the implementation of a bilingual program in the Vietnamese American School System (VASS). With a view to generate a comparative perspective, the paper compares the English proficiency of pupils studying in bilingual programs at VASS with those who study English as a foreign language (EFL) as in most cases in Vietnam, using standard Cambridge English examinations for all Grade 5 pupils in District 2 of Ho Chi Minh City as well as Grade 5 pupils of VASS. This constitutes the methodological mainstays of the study reported in the paper. The results of the study as the author points out illustrate the significant differences in the levels of English competency of bilingual pupils at VASS and those of pupils attending a normal Vietnamese program. The author eloquently argues that this can serve to confirm quite definitively the advantages of a bilingual education, and could well be a promising solution for teaching foreign languages in Vietnam's general education system especially, in a Vietnamese EIL context. Therefore, the author makes a bold case for the creation of legal framework to implement bilingual education in the general education system of Vietnam in order to achieve the targets of the National Plan for "Teaching and Learning Foreign Languages in the National Formal Educational System in the Period of 2008 – 2020". In closing the author hopes that the Vietnamese Government would follow through on her advocacy. A paper of this nature and stature is commensurate with EILJ's declared mission of democratising and dehegemonizing the use of English both in the domains of policy formulation as well as pedagogical implementations. In light of this, our readership should find this paper both appealing and exhorting.

The joint paper entitled "Attitudes toward English as an international language: A comparative study of college teachers and students in Taiwan", by Pei-Hsun Emma Liu and Yu-Ching Cheng takes cognizance of the power, potential and promise of EIL across the cultures and continents of the globe given EIL's ever increasing currency. With a view to localizing its relevance and to globalise is appeal, the authors have chosen to investigate into the attitudes of English teachers and students in Taiwan toward EIL. The research discusses differences between teachers' and students' attitudes toward EIL through a quantitatively analysed questionnaire of EIL attitudes completed by 300 students and 17 teachers in the English department of a university in Tai-

wan. The findings indicated that both students and teachers had a distinctive positive attitude towards the concept of EIL, but resisted using Taiwanese English. In addition, while most students felt inferior to native speakers, the teachers tended to encourage their students to put their emphasis on linguistic correctness during communication. The findings indicated that although the participants were willing to accept English varieties and would like to know different kinds of English, they were still inclined to believe that it is not advisable to use Taiwanese English. In addition, they thought that it is not necessary for people to sound native-like, but if they can, they would like to pronounce English like the American or British people do. The more likely explanation for this could rest on the nature of participants' attitudes which depend on the educational goals and particular social environment of each country (Tokumoto & Shibata, 2011). Such a situation is congruent with previous studies which found that although students had embraced the idea of EIL, they still retained a strong preference for linguistic accuracy predicated on native speaker English norms, aspired to sound native-like, and believed that American English is the best variety to teach and learn (Pishghadam & Saboori, 2011; Saito, 2012; Xu & Poel, 2011). Given this set of scenarios, the authors feel that they can/should sensitise their students to different English accents and varieties during class. Directing our attention to Jin (2005), who designed a course that integrated the concept of World Englishes, the authors are confident that they could signpost Jin's arguments regarding the ownership of English and Standard English. This would help infuse particular confidence in and acceptance of Chinglish, as a respectable derivation of EIL in Taiwan. Given the bold assertions voiced by the authors, we hope that our readership would draw on their insights and issues constituting their epistemic dimensions to deduce relevance for their respective educational practices of EIL.
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Sayaka Saito's paper, "Imagined Second Language Identities Language Learning and Identity – A New Perspective", gives a robust account of how learners of English invest this powerful language of career and social enhancement in their new identities. Anchoring the envisioned notion of imagined second language identities (ISLIs), the paper illustrares the how and why of ISLIs via the participants' bold attempts to make sense of their use of English and their energetic involvement with it. In this regard, the paper argues that ISLIs are diametrically different from second language identities that are developed within the simultaneous process of acquiring linguistic knowledge of the target language and learning its sociocultural practices. This is to suggest that the participants featured in the paper, chose not to approximate to English as a linguistic code in a non-agentive way. But they used their ISLIs to attempt bold border crossings to make sense of their "self and their world" shaped by their agentive use of English. The vibrant methodology used in the paper suggests that ISLIs are embedded in the participants' picturing/ imagining/visualizing themselves as successful English-speaking professionals, as well as being able

to communicate fluently, confidently and cross-culturally in English. In stark contrast to Japan's entrenched traditional attitudes toward the learning of English, which focused on passing examinations, the participants' ISLIs constitute their new aspirations for learning the global language and acquiring new global identities with the help of the via-duct that English provides them. In light of this, the paper makes a bold recommendation that, in order for Japanese English learners to be active users of the language, their ISLIs require more attention and accommodation in mainstream ELT pedagogy. The tone and tenor of the paper, especially in regard to the ways and means with which the author has captured and unpacked the nuances of the phenomenon chosen for investigation, provides a fitting finale to this Issue. We, then, fondly hope that our readership would take the invaluable leads offered by the paper and actualize it in their research attempts respectively.

In closing, I wish to applaud the gusto and gumption with which the contributing authors of this issue have showcased their alternate discourses of current reckoning in EIL. Such endeavours are pivotal to EILJ's declared mission of creating "a heterogeneous global English speech community, with a heterogeneous English and different modes of competence" (Canagarajah, 2006, p. 211). Given this, I am certain that the issues and insights discussed in this issue would serve as a lamp to all of us, who otherwise would be stranded in a "methodological wasteland of EIL". Read on!

Dr Sivakumar Sivasubramaniam
Chief Editor

The Forgotten Voices in Higher Education: Students' Satisfaction with English-medium Instruction

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Abstract

This study explores how satisfied Turkish students are with English-medium instruction (EMI) in the context of higher education in an era when EMI universities operate as international brands capitalizing on English as a commodity to vie for more customers, that is, national and international students. Data were collected through a questionnaire administered to a large group of students enrolled in a private EMI university in Turkey's capital, Ankara. The data were further complemented through qualitative data obtained from open-ended email discussions with students. The analysis done by computing descriptive statistics and content analysis addressed EMI in terms of students' satisfaction with (1) teaching, (2) content teachers' English, (3) their institutions, and (4) their institutions' English language policies and practices. The results show that the majority of the students were satisfied with EMI in general and the four components, but it was their institutions' language policies and practices with which students were less satisfied compared to other EMI components for some reasons. Pedagogical implications of the findings are discussed in light of the findings of previous studies.
Keywords: English-medium instruction, higher education, internationalization, language policy and practice

Introduction

In recent years, universities worldwide have begun to offer content courses through the medium of a foreign language, unsurprisingly English. Therefore, the number of courses delivered through English-medium instruction (EMI), has grown at an exponential rate across the world, especially sweeping across Europe (Dearden, 2015; Wächter & Maiworm, 2014). The main factor leading to EMI's being the current practice in teaching content courses is the process of *Englishization*, that is, an increased use of English in different forms and for particular purposes (Kirkpatrick, 2011). One can also find the Bologna Declaration initiated by the European Ministers of Education (1999) behind the adoption of EMI policies. This is because the Bologna process, viewed as a covert symbol for internationalization (Phillipson, 2012), has increased student and staff mobility, alongside competitiveness within the member countries, necessitating the use of a common language. Through shifting to EMI, universities have made financial gains, attracted international students and staff, contributed to the modernization and development of the country, and suitably prepared students for the global labour market (Altbach & Knight, 2007; Doiz, Lasagabaster, & Sierra, 2011; Wilkinson, 2013).

EMI in Turkey is not a new craze. The origins of EMI date back to 1956 when a state-run EMI university was established to serve Turkish students in pursuing scientific advances. The EMI trend in Turkey can be divided into two phases. The first phase spans the period between the 1950s and the 2000s when there were only a few

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EMI universities that strived to raise qualified human resources for the country. According to the Official Gazette of 1984, the chief purpose of EMI courses then was to aid "students who are registered in an English medium department to access scientific and technological information published in English in their related departments" (Kırkgöz, 2005, p. 102). As regards the initial EMI universities, Karakaş (2016) noted that "these first generation EMI universities were far from being international in today's terms, for they principally sought to serve Turkish students, and thus did not have many students of other nationalities" (p. 5).

The second phase began after the 2000s when the then-government empowered private universities to decide upon their own medium of instruction. Unlike the first phase, the second phase was generated by external factors, such as marketization and internationalization of higher education. Being a member of the Bologna process, Turkey has desired to make its higher education competitive, with high intake of international students and academic staff (Collins, 2010). One way of doing this was to make a change in the language of instruction so that all students from different linguistic backgrounds can study in Turkish institutions. Although Turkey is behind its European counterparts in terms of the number of EMI programs offered, a recent survey indicated that about 20% of the undergraduate degree programs are delivered fully or partially in English in Turkey (Arik & Arik, 2014). Added to that, there has been a rapid escalation in the number of international students, which exceeded over 100,000 in the 2014-2015 school year (Kılanç, 2014, May 12).

The transition to EMI has led to several issues worldwide, ranging from students' linguistic readiness, teachers' linguistic and pedagogical preparedness, to concerns about cultural erosion. Among them, research into students' satisfaction with EMI is particularly important and should be regarded as critical because students prefer EMI programs over Turkish-medium programs with high expectations (e.g., to study at a prestigious university, to improve their English, to have better career prospects). However, what they have expected before and what they have experienced after the placement can be mismatched. Currently, little is known about to what extent students are satisfied with EMI and its sub-components. This study, thus, attempts to explore this issue by seeking answers to the following questions: How satisfied are students with the EMI phenomenon in terms of:

a. content teachers' expertise?
b. content teachers' English ability?
c. the EMI status of their institution?
d. their institution's English language policies and practices?

Theoretical framework

Language policy and planning

Language policy is "the combination of official decisions and prevailing public practices related to language education and use" (McGroarty, 1997, p. 67). This research builds its theoretical grounds on Spolsky's (2004) language policy framework, composed of three interrelated components: language practices, language beliefs and language management. These components act as interpretative tools in identifying issues related to institutions' avowed language policies and actualised practices, policy makers' and stakeholders' (i.e. lecturers and students) beliefs about the use of English, and any particular institutional attempts to manipulate people's practices via interventions (e.g. Hu, 2015; Jenkins, 2014, Karakaş, 2016).

The component of language practices is often manifested as the use of English in all academic activities, e.g. research, workshops, thesis defences, and examinations, on paper, but not always in practice (Turner & Robson, 2008). As for the manifestation of language beliefs, one can find that choosing English over the local language(s) or other international languages is an ideological decision that views English only as fit-for-purpose, i.e. instruction (Karakaş, 2016). This decision also pertains to the manifestation of language management in which EMI is legislated as a policy rule, overtly pronounced in the universities' policy papers (e.g., strategic plans) and mostly on their websites.

Several implementations evidently stand out as the mechanisms that can affect EMI shareholders' practices (Wächter & Maiworm, 2014) such as the English language requirements, language support programs, and academic writing trainings. Finally, there is also a teacher recruitment mechanism in which lecturers are supposed to meet the language standards of the institutions before they are recruited. For this, they are linguistically assessed through various measures, e.g. a certain amount of English (C1 in the CEFR framework), one-to-one interviews and a micro teaching before a jury (Ball & Lindsay, 2013; Karakaş, 2016; Lasagabaster, 2015). However, the teacher recruitment mechanisms are not implemented in the same light at institutions across the world. Particularly, those universities which have recently converted to EMI attempt to improve their existing staff's English through training sessions instead of recruiting new staff with high English proficiency (Ball & Lindsay, 2013; Klaassen & Graaf, 2001).

Students' experiences with English-medium instruction

Despite the scarcity of research directly addressing students' satisfaction with EMI, the existing studies partly offer glimpses into students' EMI satisfaction from different angles. One particular matter was students' learning. The results indicated that students' experiences with EMI education can be positioned at the two opposite ends of the EMI satisfaction continuum. At the negative end, students were displeased with EMI for several reasons. Take, for example, the study with the Finnish students who experienced difficulty in comprehending some of the lectures (Suviniitty, 2010). Among the factors negatively affecting students' experiences were students' difficulty in explaining themselves in English, slower rate of speech, problems with note-taking and reduced interaction with lecturers (Airey, 2009; Inbar-Lourie & Donitsa-Schmidt, 2013; Karabınar, 2008). However, concerning the positive end of the continuum, students in some locations, such as in Macau, were found to be quite pleased with EMI teaching, deeming that the more EMI courses are offered, the more international their institution becomes (Botha, 2013). Moreover, students supported EMI over instruction in their own language for its instrumental, for example, career development, boosting English skills and intrinsic values, e.g. socialising via English, reading in another language (Botha, 2013; Sert, 2008).

Another issue addressed previously was students' perceptions of lecturers' English. Largely, a deficit view prevailed among students towards lecturers' English, especially that of lecturers with whom they shared the same nationality. For instance, Korean students were seen to be displeased with their Korean professors' English, whereas they positively judged their native-English-speaking lecturers' English (Byun et al., 2010). To explain this dilemma, Byun et al. (2010) argued that "utilizing non-native English speakers as EMI instructors produced less interaction and intimacy between professors and students" (p. 433). This lack of intimacy probably led to the

emergence of a deficit view of lecturers' English. A study with Danish students demonstrated a parallel tendency among students, with more negative attitudes towards Danish lecturers' English compared to that of international academic staff (Jensen et al., 2013), despite Denmark's standing on the third place with the '*Very High Proficiency*' label in the ranking of countries by English skills (EF English Proficiency Index, 2015). This nationality contrast might have thus stemmed from the fact that students considered their Danish lecturers' English to be more tainted with Danish characteristics (e.g., vocabulary choice, pronunciation, accent) in comparison to the English of the international staff.

When exploring students' perceptions of EMI, researchers have obtained information on students' opinions about their institutions' EMI status. Although many students encountered difficulties in following EMI courses, they were quite satisfied with the benefits offered. For example, Karakaş (2016) observed that many Turkish EMI students described their institution as being superior to and more prestigious than Turkish-medium universities. Research also revealed students' contentment with studying in an academic environment together with international students and academic staff (Doiz et al., 2013).

Another line of inquiry pertains to language policies and practices in EMI universities. Policy studies (e.g. Karakaş, 2016; Kırkgöz, 2009) revealed that students were particularly dissatisfied with the language-support program as they found it unsatisfactory in terms of preparing students for disciplinary studies. Students argued that the EAP support was grounded in general English skills; therefore, students could not successfully respond to course requirements since they lack essential academic English skills to cope with academic tasks. Many students agreed, however, that attending the program improved their language skills (Karakaş, 2016). Students were displeased with some language instructors of the program who expected students to abide by standard English norms in productive skills (speaking and writing), with an emphasis on correctness (Karakaş, 2016). Also, while the majority of the students were positive about the teaching materials imported from the English as a native language (ENL) countries, a small minority were not since they believed that the ENL-oriented materials remain incapable of preparing them for real-world communication in and outside the campus where they use English mostly with non-native English speakers. These results agreed with recent studies conducted in other contexts, including the Anglophone context (e.g., Jenkins, 2014).

As discussed above, students' experiences with EMI show that their satisfaction with EMI has been somewhat addressed while exploring students' perceptions of and attitudes towards EMI, and that the extant results have been rather inconclusive and contradictory. Therefore, this small-scale study seeks to examine the students' experiences with EMI in the Turkish context in a more comprehensive manner so as to better understand students' satisfaction with the current state of EMI teaching in their own institution from different points.

Research process

Research context and participants

The research was undertaken at Bilkent University, located in Ankara, the capital of the country. There are currently 13,000 students studying at the university, about 10% of whom are international students. It offers a variety of degree programs in varied disciplinary fields. Its teaching staff consists of roughly 1,000 members, including

international staff from over 40 different countries. It also flies high in various university league tables. English is the official medium of instruction. Compared to other Turkish universities, its international outlook is far more noticeable. This positive outlook seems to allow the university to draw in the very highest calibre of academic staff, domestic and international students.

The participants were undergraduate and graduate university students enrolled in various disciplines of the Bilkent University. Altogether 184 students were involved in the questionnaire study; however, not all fully completed the questionnaires. Due to the drop outs, the number of surveys completed was 112, corresponding to 61% of the participants. A few participants skipped some items on the questionnaire due probably to the fact that those items were not totally relevant to their EMI experiences. A total of 33% of the students were male and 67% were female, with a mean age of 21.8 years. The sample represented students from a wide array of disciplines, including politics, industrial engineering, computer science, psychology and molecular biology and genetics, to name a few. The participants were in different years of study at the time of the study, ranging from first year to master's degree.

Research instrument and data analysis

The data was garnered via a survey questionnaire designed by the researcher. It consisted of five sections: a) personal/demographic information, b) satisfaction with EMI teaching, c) satisfaction with lecturers' English, d) satisfaction with the institution and e) satisfaction with the English language policies and practices of the institution. The questionnaire was transformed into an online platform, i.e. Qualtricks, for a quick distribution. It was administrated bilingually to let students respond to the items either in Turkish or English. The questionnaire was reviewed by two colleagues to assess its content and structure. After necessary modifications on the questionnaire items and its layout were made, a [1]link to the questionnaire was created and sent to the participants through private Facebook messages. The sampling was done randomly, aiming to recruit a subset of students from a larger set, i.e. the student body of the university. The questionnaire also included an item asking students to provide their email addresses if they wish to discuss their responses and answer further questions about the issues not addressed in the questionnaire.

The quantitative data were subjected to descriptive statistics to draw an overall picture of the students' satisfaction with EMI and its constituting sub-components. Qualitative data obtained from students' further comments on the questionnaire were collected through open-ended emails and then analysed via the categorical content method (Klassen et al., 2011). The qualitative data were subsequently merged with the questionnaire data wherever relevant considering the categorical content of the quantitative data.

Results and discussion

Students' satisfaction with content teachers' expertise

Table 1 indicates that the participants were fairly pleased with content teachers' expertise in their disciplines and qualifications for teaching disciplinary subjects. Additionally, the vast majority agreed that teachers have a considerable role in their academic growth. Another reason for students' satisfaction was the teachers' responsive-

ness to their needs, implying that their teachers are approachable. Overall, more than one-fourth (82.7%) were positive about their content teachers.

Table 1
Students' views about content teachers

Statements	SA	A	NA/D	DisA	SD
	%	%	%	%	%
	f	f	f	f	f
1. Content teachers are knowledgeable and professional.	41.8	53.2	1.6	3.2	0
	51	65	2	4	0
2. Content teachers are making a positive contribution to students' academic knowledge.	40.1	52.4	2.4	4.9	0
	49	64	3	6	0
3. Content teachers respond to students' inquiries in a timely manner.	34.9	50.4	11.3	3.2	0
	43	62	14	4	0
4. Overall, I'm very satisfied with content teachers.	31.1	51.6	9	6.5	1.6
	38	63	11	8	2

Note: SA: Strongly agree, A: agree, NA/D: Neither agree nor disagree, DisA: Disagree, SD: Strongly disagree

After contacting the students (N= 9) volunteering to provide additional information on their responses via emails, more elaborate responses on students' satisfaction with content teachers were attained. Specifically, the students reiterated that lecturers attempt to sympathize with them and back their content acquisition. For instance, a student remarked "indeed it depends on the individual lecturer. Some are really encouraging, especially when it comes to motivating students to speak English and participate in classroom activities" (S1). It was also reported by four students that content teachers often take on the role of language teachers by helping students with low language skills. This role-taking act was described by a student as follows:

> Some lecturers correct our mistakes on our assignments and even in the exams. They do this to help us improve our writing and they don't mark us down for such errors. They're really well-intentioned and student friendly. All they want is contribute to our learning in our respective discipline (S4).

One student (S7) expressed dissatisfaction with some of her lecturers. She recounted her experience with a female teacher who offended her before her classmates just because she could not clearly answer a question due to her limited English and shifting to Turkish in order to avoid faltering and making mistakes. As S7 said, switching to Turkish got the lecturer mad. S7 uttered what she felt afterwards as follows:

> I felt broken after that class. I still recall her shouting at me in front of my classmates. You know I was not a primary school student at that time. I found myself in a position like I'd say I would never speak in any of the classes again.

These results partially match those reported in earlier studies (e.g., Airey, 2009; Suviniitty, 2010) which revealed that not all students could successfully follow cours-

es, communicate their ideas and comprehend courses. One reason for this might be that students come from different linguistic backgrounds. Most are linguistically well-equipped to shoulder the burden of learning in English while others, despite being in minority, are not. Another factor involves students' socioeconomic status and educational background. Seeing as the study was conducted in a private university charging high tuition fees, many students are from families with high socioeconomic status. It is likely, thus, that students from such families have experienced EMI or been involved in language-study abroad before (Karakaş, 2016). However, the students awarded a scholarship to study in such universities are often from families with low income status and their educational background is limited to state schools where the quality of language education is fairly poor (Koru & Akesson, 2011).

Students' satisfaction with teachers' English

Table 2 reveals the existence of a great deal of satisfaction among students as to the aesthetic elements, e.g. accents and pronunciations. However, 12% was not as pleased with teachers' accents and pronunciations as the majority were. The highest degree of satisfaction was with teachers' intelligibility. This finding suggests that even if there are some students disliking teachers' accents and pronunciations, they still do find them comprehensible.

Table 2
Students' satisfaction with teachers' English

Aspects of teachers' English	VS	S	N	DisS	VD
How satisfied students are with	%	%	%	%	%
	f	f	f	f	f
1. with the accents of their content teachers	5.9	66.1	14.4	10.1	3.3
	7	78	17	12	4
2. with the pronunciation of content teachers?	8.47	63.5	16.1	10.1	1.6
	10	75	19	12	2
3. with the grammatical knowledge of your teachers' English?	5.9	72	13.5	5.9	2.5
	7	85	16	7	3
4. with the intelligibility of your content teachers' English?	18.64	62.7	11	5.9	1.6
	22	74	13	7	2

Note: VS: very satisfied, S: satisfied, N: neutral, D: dissatisfied, VD: very dissatisfied

The email exchanges with students displayed the contrast between the perceptions of Turkish lecturers and international lecturers, and between the Turkish lecturers who have stayed in a native English-speaking environment before and those who have not. For example, a student stated "Teachers who have been abroad speak so good English. However, we have a teacher who did her master's degree in Spain. I don't find her English so good. She's trouble in expressing herself and lacks fluency" (S3).

Another student, S6, explained why he does not like Turkish teachers' English, noting "Their English has no variety in lectures. They keep using the same phrases and words again and again". Moreover, in a disapproving manner, a few students referred to Turkish-accented speech of some lecturers and the fact that few lecturers even use Turkish in classes. One student, for instance, stated "most of our classes are 98-99% in English, yet there're a couple of lecturers who switch to Turkish frequently" (S9). She further added "Some lecturers' English is not so bright because they

speak English as though they spoke Turkish. Their accents are too ear-splitting." Such harsh comments on lecturers English are not new as similar pejorative comments were reported in earlier studies (e.g. Byun et al., 2010; Jensen et al., 2013). Behind the harsh comments lies probably the fact that some lecturers keep retaining their own accents, as an identity marker without attempting to mimic native English accents. Students' pejorative remarks can be explained by citing the possibility that most students expect their content teachers to sound like a native speaker, yet the teachers who cannot meet this expectation seem to cause dissatisfaction.

Students' satisfaction with their institution

Table 3 provides evidence that the participants are reasonably pleased with their institution. This is also confirmed by the fact that merely few students reported repenting of choosing an EMI university. Only 12 students wished to study in a different EMI university and six were in favour of enrolling at a Turkish medium institution. However, once it comes to studying with international students and teaching staff, students' satisfaction level was considerably higher.

Table 3
Students' satisfaction with their institution

Statements (N= 113)	SA	A	NA/D	DisA	SD
	%	%	%	%	%
	f	f	f	f	f
1. I'm pretty satisfied with the university I chose.	53.1	37.1	6.1	2.6 3	0.8
	60	42	7		1
2. I'm pretty certain that I made the best decision by choosing this university.	51.3	24.7	17	5.3 6	0.8
	58	28	20		1
3. I feel regretful for choosing an English-medium university.	3.54	2.6	4.4	17.7	71.6
	4	3	5	20	81
4. If I could take the university exam again, I'd choose a different English-medium university.	5.3	5.3	15	23.8	54.8
	6	6	17	27	62
5. If I could take the university exam again, I'd choose a Turkish medium university.	1.7	3.5	7.9	20.3	66.3
	2	4	9	23	113
6. I'm very satisfied that there are foreign students in the university.	47.7	32.7	14.1	3.5	1.7
	54	37	16	4	2
7. I'm very satisfied that there are foreign faculty staff in the university.	71.6	22.1	6.1	0	0
	81	25	7	0	0

Students particularised the questionnaire results in their emails by emphasising the underlying factors impacting on their satisfaction. For instance, one student (S2) established a connection between his institution and Oxford to illustrate his pride in studying at Bilkent, saying that "as I see it Bilkent is in a sense like 'Oxford' and 'Harvard' positioned in Ankara. Its use of a foreign language in teaching has a very influential role in its current position". Further, it became evident from the students' accounts that the approach embraced towards the international staff was instrumental-

ly prompted, as some students believed they could refer to them as a reference upon deciding to follow a graduate degree abroad. S5, for instance, noted that "Bilkent employs very prominent lecturers from abroad. It's an advantage to take courses with them, especially when we go abroad and such like".

Besides, the students favouring the intake of international students in their institution mentioned, first and foremost, the prospect of practising their spoken English and the positive impact of these students on the institution's international outlook (S5 and S8). Moreover, two students (S7 and S2) emphasized networking opportunities available in their institution, through which they can keep in touch with their international peers for future work-related and socio-cultural-based activities.

For students wishing to study in a different EMI university, the driving force was the claim that studying in Bilkent is quite a difficult process that not everyone can go through successfully. Confronted with repeated failures, as some students reported (S8 and S4), their friends prefer to move from Bilkent to another low-profile EMI university or to a Turkish-medium university. Speaking of this issue, S6 stated "Baskent university is filled with students from Bilkent who failed in its programs, particularly in the preparatory program". Another student (S3) similarly maintained that his "friends now can easily pass their classes in their new universities".

To recap briefly, the interview results indicated a high level of parallelism with the findings of previous studies in which students ascribed prestige and superiority to EMI universities (Doiz et al., 2013; Karakaş, 2016). Intriguing is the participants' overall orientation to EMI, which is typified by instrumental expectations, e.g. improving their speaking skills, expanding their international network, working with leading academics from abroad, which echoed the findings earlier work on EMI by showing how intrinsic and instrumental values enjoy a crucial part in guiding students' satisfaction with EMI (Botha, 2013; Sert, 2008).

Students' satisfaction with their institutions' English language policies and practices

Students' satisfaction with English language policies and practices were a bit lower compared to their satisfaction with the above components. Roughly 60% perceived policies and practice to be *good* or *very good*. Nonetheless, most participants chose a middle point, viewing English language policies and practices as being fair. Table 4 shows that about half were negative about the quality of the materials used in the preparatory school and the predictive value of the proficiency exam. The participants were most pleased with the quality of language support given in the preparatory school and their faculty. Additionally, their perceptions of language instructors' English was between *high* and *very high* (over 60%) and fair (32%).

Table 4. Students' satisfaction with English language policies and practices

Language policies/practices (N=107)	VP	Poor	Fair	Good	VG
How satisfied students are with	%	%	%	%	%
	f	f	f	f	f
1. Overall, the quality of language support in preparatory school is	1.92	4.8	35.5	38.4	19.2
	2	5	37	40	20
2. Overall, the quality of faculty language support is	0.9	8.4	22.4	42.9	25.2
	1	9	24	46	27

	VP				VG
3. Overall, the predictive value of university English language proficiency test scores is	1.8	8.4	30.8	43.9	14.9
	2	9	33	47	16
4. Overall, the quality of the materials used in the preparatory school is	2.9	6.8	39.8	36.8	13.5
	3	7	41	38	14
5. Overall, the level of preparatory school language teachers' English is	0	0.9	32	40.7	26.2
	0	1	33	42	27

Note: VP: very poor, VG: very good

Students' comments on the above issues in their emails were varied. Overall, students threw a focus on the insufficiency of the EAP support, which, as they claimed, paid no mind to academic English. Therefore, as put by S6, "just a few students can successfully comprehend the classes due to the majority's English being limited". Another student (S9) emphasized the fact that "studying in the prep school for one year is not enough to strengthen academic English skills". A possible explanation for such negative views on language support programs is the diversity in students' language proficiency levels. Some come to the university with desired levels of English, however, the majority do not because of the differences in educational background. However, students unanimously agreed that studying English intensively over a year helped them improve their English skills. Turning to the materials, some students mentioned the difficulty of following the textbooks used in the prep school. Especially, two students (S1 and S3) raised the issue of language focus in the books, which was, as they said, predominantly on grammatical structures. These results partially supported the previous research where some students were critical of their institutions' EAP support for similar reasons (Karakaş, 2016; Kırkgöz, 2009).

Concluding remarks

This paper canvassed students' satisfaction with EMI in the context of a private Turkish higher education institution. Being an initial study into students' satisfaction with EMI in Turkey, the investigation has shown that most students were pleased with their teachers' linguistic competence and subject-matter expertise as well as being an EMI student at their institution. From the findings, it can be concluded that students mostly have seen what they expected from their institution in the respective areas of EMI. Nevertheless, they were found not to have as much satisfaction with language policies and practices as they did with other components. It was perhaps because the curriculum followed in language support units are founded on general English skills rather than academic English skills. Additionally, some issues with language learning materials were raised by students to spotlight the inadequacy of such resources in preparing students for their disciplinary studies. This is probably because the disciplinary language use is fairly different from the general English students learn and practise in the language support units. One practical implication of these findings is that the EMI institution(s) should take an action to integrate a more academic-English-based curriculum into their language support programs rather than a general English skill-based curriculum, using materials which are fit-for-purpose.

Another aspect of this study consisted of identifying the way students orientated towards English and EMI in particular. The results made it clear that the leading factors behind students' overall satisfaction with EMI and its shareholders are largely

instrumental and intrinsic. It should be also noted that EMI institutions appear to be accorded prestige owing to the use of English in the instruction and the current status of English seen as a key that can open any door to students. Relating to English language teaching, this paper portrayed students' expectations of near-native-like performance of their teachers, especially in the area of pronunciation, giving evidence that the *nativeness* principle still matters for students even if they are mostly surrounded by non-native English-speaking students and staff. It is within the remit of language teachers to inform their students not only about the native speaker model but also about other alternatives (e.g., successful communicator, interculturally competent speaker, or skilled language user) without enforcing any of them on students. Students themselves should make a decision on the model they aspire to emulate in their linguistic behaviours.

This study has been concerned with one EMI university in Turkey. Nevertheless, further investigations can and should be made with other EMI universities using different versions of EMI in Turkey and other countries with similar characteristics because the implications of the present study go far beyond the Turkish context. Moreover, such investigations can pave the way for motivation research into why students make and have made a growing demand for EMI institutions.

Notes

[1]https://az1.qualtrics.com/jfe3/preview/SV_78JTLveeEp9bQXz

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Appendix: Profile of students involved in email exchanges

Student ID	Gender	Year of study	Academic discipline
S1	M	1	Interior architecture
S2	M	2	Molecular biology and genetics
S3	M	4	Business administration
S4	M	1	Molecular biology and genetics
S5	F	3	Industrial engineering
S6	M	2	Computer engineering
S7	F	2	Mathematics
S8	F	1	Psychology
S9	F	4	Business administration

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World Englishes Communication and Challenges:
A Qualitative Study of Three Vietnamese University Graduates

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Abstract

The wide use of English has given rise to the World Englishes (WE) paradigm, within which there has been a growing interest in the pedagogical implications of the varieties of English. A frequently documented rationale for the marriage between second language education and WE is that WE users should be aware of the potential problems in WE communication. This study adopts a qualitative case study, employing an Interpretative Phenomenological Approach (IPA) to explore the perception and experience of three Vietnamese university graduates of such WE communicative problems. The data collected through semi-structured interviews were analyzed through the lens of existing WE theories, especially the theory of intelligibility in communication. The findings confirm problems concerning sound recognition as the most frequent and dominant intelligibility issue while comprehensibility and interpretability problems vary and depend on the contexts of use. The data also yield information about the effects of WE problems on both the participants' feelings and their English proficiency. Findings from this study urge the integration of WE into current English as a Foreign Language (EFL) practice in Vietnam as a WE awareness can help build a critical understanding of languages and contribute to the formation of a positive identity of EFL/ English as a Second language (ESL) users.

Keywords: World Englishes, intelligibility, communicative problems, Interpretative Phenomenological Approach

Introduction

World Englishes, or the varieties of English developed as a result of indigenization when the language comes into contact with local cultures (Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008), has become a growing research trend with a burgeoning of scholarly works on this topic (Bruthiaux, 2010; Chang, 2014; Jenkins, 2006; Pishghadam & Sabouri, 2011). As non-native speakers of English (NNS) vastly outnumber the native speakers (NS), it is more likely for NNS of English to use the language to communicate with other NNS rather than with NS (Chang, 2014; Deterding & Kirkpatrick, 2006; Matsuda, 2002; Tokumoto & Shibata, 2011; Tran & Moore, 2015). Given this trend, a proper understanding of WE, especially the potential problems in WE communication is of great importance. On the one hand, this understanding prepares ESL (English as a Second Language) and EFL (English as a Foreign Language) users for effective communication with both NS and NNS of English (Chang, 2014). On the other hand, an awareness of the nature of WE communication and the problems present in these settings helps WE users gain a critical insight into their identity as NNS of the language, as well as encourages their confidence in their own English varieties (Jenkins, 2006).

A frequent argument for the acknowledgement of WE is that WE research has yielded significant pedagogical implications for language teaching, especially in

ESL/EFL settings (Bruthiaux, 2010; Chang, 2014; Hamid & Baldauf, 2013; Matsuda, 2002; Matsuura, 2007; Mukminatien, 2012). In a similar vein, the issue of WE communicative problems advocates the incorporation of WE into English Language Teaching (ELT). Considering the aforementioned argument that understanding the challenges of using WE will empower and encourage ESL/EFL learners to be confident and critical users of the language, and better the chance for successful use of English in real life situations, raising English learners' awareness of challenges facing WE interlocutors should be a major goal in ELT (Chang, 2014).

Central to the literature on WE communicative problems is the theory of intelligibility, or "understanding" in the most basic meaning of this concept. As argued by Pickering (2006), research on intelligibility problems in WE conversations mainly focuses on the NS's judgment of NNS's Englishes. This study, however, targets the NNS group who experiences WE problems through real life communication. This resonates with Matsuura's (2007) call for the need to investigate intelligibility problems with NNS as the studied group.

In Vietnam, although English is a de facto foreign language (Ton & Pham, 2010), WEs remains quite an uncharted land, especially for EFL practitioners. Many EFL users in Vietnam are confronting problems using the language in daily communication, especially with NNS of English. This inefficacy may be explained by the fact that one single variety of English cannot satisfy students' real communicative needs (Jenkins, 2006). Research on such WE communicative problems in the context of Vietnam is imperative.

Although WE has become an increasingly acknowledged paradigm (Bruthiaux, 2010), there is still a need for more WE research, especially the empirical ones given the fact that WE is enthusiastically promoted in theory but not in reality (Chang, 2014; Hamid & Baldauf, 2013; Jenkins, 2006). Bruthiaux (2010) criticizes much of the available WE literature for being "producer-centered" rather than "consumer-centered", ignoring the learners' learning conditions and needs. He further argues that much of the work is on postcolonial settings, featuring urban classrooms. This echoes the calls for evidence of English language use from contexts other than the classrooms, such as the workplace, which is one of the major sites for cross-cultural communication as a result of globalization (Nair-Venugopal, 2003; Pakir, 2010; Pishghadam & Sabouri, 2011).

Ton and Pham (2010) argue that current WE research tends to disregard the dynamics of particular speech communities, raising the need for investigations in specific contexts. Within the context of Vietnam, there has been a paucity of WE research in EFL (Tran & Moore, 2015). Considering the aforementioned gap between scholarly discussions of WE at theoretical levels and grass-roots research at practical levels, Nguyen (2008) observes that although the concept of WE is not strange to many linguists and language practitioners, it remains unfamiliar to Vietnamese learners and users of English. Besides, most of the available WE studies within the context of Vietnam's EFL practice target teachers' perspectives (Tran & Moore, 2015), teachers and students' attitudes towards WE in college settings (Ton & Pham, 2010), or overseas Vietnamese students' understanding of WE (Nguyen, 2008). There has been no such research that focuses on university graduates in Vietnam. These subjects may voice valuable perspectives regarding WE uses and challenges as well as its pedagogical implications, thanks to their practical experience with both WE and the current EFL practice in Vietnam. Research targeting this group, therefore, is needed as it adds an objective and convincing voice to the current WE research in Vietnam.

The purpose of this study is to explore the experience of Vietnamese university graduates with communicative problems arising from the use of WE. This study will provide insight into WE in EFL contexts in general and in Vietnam in particular. The findings of this study will be a source of reference for educational policy makers and EFL practitioners in Vietnam and other similar contexts who work towards raising WE awareness among EFL users through introducing WE perspectives into EFL training programs.

This study adopts a qualitative case study design, employing Interpretative Phenomenological Approach (IPA). This method is appropriate with the explorative purpose of this research, for the interpretative nature of IPA enables close-as-possible insight into the experience of the phenomenon (the participants) (Smith, Flowers, & Larkin, 2009). Furthermore, the approach maximizes the participation of the informants by minimizing the interference of the researchers during data collection process; therefore, rich and detailed information on the research problem is often obtained.

The paper is organized into five chapters, including: the introduction, the literature review of existing knowledge in WE paradigm, the methodology section describing how the research was conducted, the analysis section of collected data, and a discussion of the findings, followed by the conclusion.

The research will answer the question, What are the Vietnamese university graduates' experiences of and perceptions towards communicative problems raising from the use of WE?

In particular, the data collected and hereby analyzed will investigate these two questions:
1. What communicative problems do Vietnamese university graduates face in WE conversations?
2. What are the effects of such problems on Vietnamese university graduates?

Literature Review

World Englishes

The contemporary postmodern setting has raised new communicative needs and trends in English language communication, which has hitherto been most widely used for international communication (Canagarajah, 2006). The increasing use and recognition of World Englishes (WE) is among such trends (Pishghadam & Sabouri, 2011). Braj Kachru is among thinkers who laid the foundation for the study of WE (Kachru, 1986). He proposes a model of WE composed of three concentric circles: the inner circle where English is used as a native language (ENL); the outer circle where English is spoken as a second language (ESL) and the outermost, expanding circle consisting of English as a Foreign Language countries (EFL). Although this model is criticized by its legitimizing English variants in terms of its national identity, thus ignoring the trans-boundary spread of English, and emphasizing the dichotomy of NNS and NS (Bolton, 2005; Jenkins, 2006), its attempt to establish the legitimacy of new varieties of English in ESL and EFL settings is significant. This study adopts the definition of WE as an umbrella term under which is a wide range of new Englishes developed and used in EFL and ESL settings.

Recently, there has been a rapid growth of WE research in both volume and quality (Bruthiaux, 2010). The WE paradigm has given space to academics from all circles whose concerns embrace a multitude of aspects, from applied linguistics and

lexicography to socio-linguistics and second language acquisition. Recent issues that have attracted attention of WE scholars include the studies of linguistic features of new Englishes (Bolton, 2005), the debates against Standard English or the mono-centric view of English (Jenkins, 2012), the empowerment of new variants of English and challenging of the superiority of NS norms (Pishghadam & Sabouri, 2011), and especially the increasing focus on the implications of WE for ELT (Bruthiaux, 2010; Chang, 2014). This study locates itself within the focus on WE pedagogical implications; therefore, some WE studies of this kind will be discussed.

Chang (2014) conducted a qualitative study to explore the effects of incorporating WE in ELT. Participating in the study were 22 Taiwanese students who enrolled in a semester-long WE course. The researchers analyzed the reflection papers written by the participants at the end of the course, in which the students were asked to reflect on what they have experienced during the course. The findings of this study yielded important pedagogical implications of WE. The participants believed that WE knowledge equipped them with new lenses to notice the politics of English language as well as the values of different English varieties. Being WE conscious also made the participants confident with their own English variety and to promote their forms/variety.

Another qualitative research was conducted by Pishghadam and Sabouri (2011) who problematize the lack of WE research in an Iranian ELT setting. The research involved 25 EFL Iranian teachers and students who participated in interviews exploring their attitudes and adherence to the concept WE. Data were also collected through observations of seven teachers to gain better insight into what actually happened in class and the consistency in which people's beliefs matched their actions. The findings show that most participants believed in the superiority of Standard English while devaluing English varieties as a deviation. The study calls for the need to raise WE awareness as the current adherence to Anglo-American norms has significant influences on pedagogical practice of the studied EFL teachers.

The available research on WE pedagogical implications has several limitations. Firstly, there is a theory and practice gap as the pedagogical proposals which have been tried and tested remained scant in number (Galloway, 2013). Secondly, many studies take place in classroom settings (Bruthiaux, 2010); this practice risks ignoring the settings which are actual sites of WE uses, such as the workplace (Pakir, 2010; Pishghadam & Sabouri, 2011). Moreover, much of the available literature targets ESL/EFL teachers and students' practices and attitudes. This problem echoes what Bruthiaux (2010) criticizes as "producer-centered" rather than "consumer-centered".

In Vietnam, WE, albeit an alien concept to many EFL teachers and learners, starts to attract the attention of linguists and educational practitioners (Ton & Pham, 2010). Available literature on WE in Vietnam demonstrates a major, if not to say exclusive, focus on teachers and students' perceptions and attitudes towards the concept WE. To my knowledge, there is only one project that touches on the issue of intelligibility, a central issue of WE problems; however, this topic was not fully explored then. It can be concluded that WE research in Vietnam is still in its infancy; therefore, attempts to explore and provide different insights into this construct should be encouraged.

Problems in WE communication

Why are WE communicative problems a significant issue? Crystal (2012) attempts to quantify the wide currency of English language as he suggests the nonnative users of

English (both as first language (L1) and second language (L2)) outnumber the native speaker by about three to one. This spread of English results in the fact that the language is no longer used exclusively among its NS, or between NNS-NS, but also often for communication exclusively among NNS (Matsuda, 2002; Young &Walsh, 2010). This status quo raises the need for English users to be ready for communication involving the use of different varieties of English. However, there are growing concerns over the possibility that speakers of different English variants will fail to reach mutual understanding (Smith & Nelson, 2006). Problems that might jeopardize WE communication are inevitable as a result of variability, which requires more than knowing about the way of using language and being able to accurately produce particular features of language (Berns, 2008). Furthermore, the potential problems present in WE communication merit consideration for the direct pedagogical implications they carry. Problematizing WE communication advocates the need for building a comprehensive WE awareness of ESL/EFL users as well as a shift in pedagogical approach, for it is the communicative competence not the ability to produce native-like linguistic proficiency that matters in WE interlocutions (Kaur, 2010). Besides, discussion on WE communicative problems contributes to building a critical view of what often conceived as second language errors (Hamid & Baldauf, 2013), which, in turn, encourages NNS of English to be confident in their own variety and identities (Chang, 2014).

Central to much of the research that has emerged from the WE paradigm is the concept of intelligibility (Sewell, 2010). In a broad sense, intelligibility can be interpreted as the ability to fully participate in international business and technological activities (Schneider, 2014). Matsuura (2007) approaches the concept at a conversational level, defining it as the extent to which utterances are actually understood by listeners. However, the most common conceptualization of the construct is proposed by Smith and Nelson (2006) who frame intelligibility within the tripartition of: (a) intelligibility, the ability of the listener to recognize the words or utterances, (b) comprehensibility, the ability to understand the meaning of the words or utterances, and (c) interpretability, the listener's ability to understand the speaker's intentions behind such words or utterances. These three concepts vary in terms of degree of understanding, from phonological to pragmatic levels. This tripartition has provided a framework for much research on WE communicative problems, regardless of the perspective taken by the inquirers, linguistic or pedagogical. However, it is also worth mentioning the classification of intelligibility into three levels: international, national and local (Melchers & Shaw, 2003), is useful because it captures the complexity of intelligibility as that intelligibility might not be a problem at local level does not mean that it will not be problematic at a global level (Hamid & Baldauf, 2013).

Upon reviewing current intelligibility research in the light of WE theories, Pickering (2006) groups factors influencing intelligibility into two major sources, namely speakers and listener factors. Examples of speaker factors include the speaker's pronunciation and accent, which are the two most salient factors, grammatical/ syntactic miscues, lexical variation, discourse structure, and so forth. Listeners' factors can be named as the degree of familiarity with variables such as phonological forms, lexicology, topics; listeners' attitudes; listeners' specific factors such as level of tiredness, environmental noise, and the like. This categorization is congruent with the interactional nature of intelligibility which is neither listener-centered nor speaker-centered (Pickering, 2006; Sewell, 2010).

Thus, intelligibility is a central issue in understanding WE communicative problems (Rooy, 2009). Intelligibility is closely linked to the central tenet of WE, commu-

nicative competence. Intelligibility, as argued, is the goal of WE conversations (Kaur, 2010). Given the fact that WE interlocutions are characterized by variability, being communicatively competent in such settings is about being intelligible. In a similar vein, intelligibility can be regarded as a prerequisite for successful communication because within WE paradigm, native-like proficiency or linguistic competence in one single variety of English fails to prepare the interlocutors for impediments or problems attributed to differences of phonology, syntax, lexis or "cultural load" embedded in the messages (Nair-Venugopal, 2003; Sewell, 2010). Furthermore, the classifications of intelligibility, either in terms of level of understanding (Smith & Nelson, 2006) or the level of usage (Melchers & Shaw, 2003), provides a framework with much space for research in WE communicative problems, regardless of the inquirers' perspective.

Given the aforementioned salience of intelligibility in WE communications, scholars from all circles of English have engaged in hectic discussions, expressed their concerns on various aspects of WE intelligibility, making intelligibility a key element of the WE framework (Berns, 2008; Kachru, 2008). Matsuura (2007) argue that research on intelligibility of different varieties of English appears to become more important than ever as a result of the increasingly significant roles of English as an international language. Major themes in WE intelligibility research will be introduced below through a discussion of notable works.

Smith and Nelson (2006) report a quantitative study involving three groups of English users from all three backgrounds: ELN, ESL and EFL. The participants were placed into non-native speaker, native speaker and mixed groups. The groups were asked to do tests on intelligibility, comprehensibility and interpretability by doing listening tasks and answering a questionnaire survey. The results reveal that there are considerable differences among intelligibility, comprehensibility and interpretability, with the first level to be easier to deal with than the other two, and being able to do well in one component does not ensure that one will do well with the others. The study advocates pedagogical implications of WE when showing the positive effect of familiarity with English varieties and NNS on the participants' performance. One striking finding of the study was that the native speakers of English were not found to be the most easily understood, nor were they the best able to understand different varieties of English. Thus, being a native speaker does not seem to be as important as being fluent in English and familiar with Englishes.

Another quantitative research study was conducted to deal with the problems of inappropriate ELT methods leading to unintelligibility in WE communications (Jung, 2010). Altogether 91 Korean university students of different English proficiency levels participated in a questionnaire survey on their understanding and opinions about different elements of intelligibility and comprehensibility in WE communication. The results demonstrate that comprehensibility factors were perceived as the most difficult and important in NNS – NNS communication. Miscommunication may occur due to differences in phonology, speech style as well as wider socio-cultural and pragmatic competence. Thus, the participants believed that the most crucial factors to successful communication in WE are being confidence, able to adjust to different cultural norms and to understand each other.

Matsuura (2007) studied the relationship between intelligibility and individual learner differences by collecting quantitative data from 106 Japanese participants. The participants listened to a number of recordings spoken by both NS and NNS of English and did comprehension tests as well as a questionnaire on their WE experiences. One notable finding was that anxiety, a psychological factor, seemed to considerably

affect intelligibility, regardless of the varieties of English the participants listened to. Similar to Jung's (2010) finding, the more varieties students are exposed to, the better their understanding of a non-standard variety will be.

In the EFL context of Vietnam, Nguyen (2008) conducted a mixed-method study on the WE awareness of 17 Vietnamese students. Data were collected through a questionnaire survey and close group interviews on the participants' awareness of WE and their attitudes towards intelligibility. Regarding the intelligibility topic, the participants showed an inadequate understanding of intelligibility, ignoring the cultural and pragmatic levels of the concept. From this finding, the research highlighted the need for raising WE awareness through changes made to English curriculum and ELT materials in Vietnam.

These studies all relate their findings to the need for incorporating WE perspectives into language teaching. This trend is also observed by Kachru (2008), who argues that intelligibility continues to be constructed in terms of traditional pedagogical norms. However, much of the available research employed one-directional test instrument in which the participants passively listened to recorded speech (Matsuura, 2007). This practice limits the findings to some extent as intelligibility is not co-constructed and achieved in an interactional fashion (Kaur, 2010; Pickering, 2006; Sewell, 2010). More empirical inquiry should be conducted to unpack other intelligibility influencers such as psychological effects, cultural conventions and discourse structure rather than adhering to issues of pronunciation, accent and speech accuracy as many existing studies do (Nair-Venugopal, 2003). Another gap in current intelligibility literature, which is taken into account in this study, is the ignorance of NNS-NNS interactions and the exclusive focus on the inner-circle speaker-listener (Pickering, 2006).

All in all, the literature demonstrates an increasing interest in different aspects of the WE paradigm, of which one central issue is problems present in WE communications. Research on WE communicative obstacles mainly evolves around the construct of intelligibility, the different aspects of which has provided much space for inquiries from different perspectives, especially the second language teaching one. This study approaches WE paradigm from an EFL perspective and lends itself to the intelligibility theory. The research attempts to fill in the aforementioned gaps in WE and intelligibility research by targeting university graduates in an EFL context, whose experiences of WE communication as active interlocutors, not as passive listeners, will be explored. This also resonates the call for WE research in settings beyond the classroom walls.

Method

Taking into account the nature of the research question, which is to explore new Vietnamese graduates' experience and perception of WE communicative problems, the study employed a qualitative approach. Qualitative approaches value context sensitivity by prioritizing the examination of the researched event in its full complexity and within a particular context (Maykut & Morehouse, 1994). Therefore, given the aforementioned need to contextualize WE research, and that the targeted participants of the proposed study remained an under-researched group in the WE paradigm, this approach helped to build deep insight into the issue. Furthermore, qualitative methods are suitable for the proposed research because of their flexibility and fluidity (Liamputtong, 2013), which allows the researcher to deal with the challenges posed by the scarcity of literature on WE communicative problems in the proposed context.

Specifically, the research question focuses on the participants' personal experience (Vietnamese university graduates facing WE communicative problems) and their making sense of such experience (their perceptions) in a particular context (Vietnam). Consequently, the most suitable qualitative approach in this case is the IPA. The aim of IPA is to scrutinize how participants are making sense of their personal and social world and how such processes make sense to them (Smith & Osborn, 2008). Smith et al. (2009) argue that the choice of IPA over other qualitative approaches should be primarily based on its consistency with the epistemological position of the research question. Epistemology embraces the origins and nature of knowing and the construction of knowledge. The research question, which aims at exploring the perception of university graduates, posits that knowledge is co-constructed and the knower and the known are interdependent (Maykut & Morehouse, 1994). IPA is a suitable approach to answer such questions as it allows the stories of the participants to be recounted through the perspective of the researchers, which emphasizes the salience of both parties in the research process.

The study takes the form of a case study design. This research design is consistent with the IPA approach as in case study, the case is an object of interest in its own right, of which the inquirer strives to gain an in-depth insight (Bryman, 2016). Berg and Lune (2012) describe the process of case study as involving systematically gathered information about a particular person, social setting, event or group to enable the researcher to produce holistic description and explanation, thus to understand how the phenomenon functions or operates. These authors further argue that the case study method is suitable for the study of any phenomenon.

Participants

Mai, An and Chi were graduates taking part in this study. They had completed their bachelor degree and started to work or study further in environments that involve WE communication between one and two years of the time of this study. Mai and An were working as interpreters in EFL countries while Chi was studying in an English speaking country. This group was selected because they were "new" to WE problems and they also had experience with the most up-to-date EFL program in Vietnam. Details about the participants are presented in Table 1.

Table 1
Participant demographics

Participant	Gender	Occupation	Year(s) since graduation	Frequency of English use (day per week)
Chi	Female	Student	2	7
Mai	Female	Sale assistant Project assistant	1	5
An	Male	Interpreter	1	7

These participants were recruited through purposive homogenous sampling strategy, which is an idiosyncratic feature of IPA (Smith et al., 2009). However, homogenous sampling does not mean all participants must be the same. In fact, variability among the participants gives rise to patterns of convergence and divergence, which are crucial to understand the phenomenon's complexity (Smith & Osborn, 2008). The

participants of this study experienced WE in different settings, from the workplace in EFL countries to the classrooms in an inner circle country. In addition, three participants were selected, reflecting the idiographic nature of IPA in which samples are small in size and carefully selected.

Snowball sampling techniques were employed to recruit these participants. This form of opportunistic sampling allows the researcher to take advantage of the participant's network and contacts. This is crucial given the challenging task of obtaining a list of graduated students after their graduation. Besides, a sampling profile was used to aid selection of participants. Factors such as participants' gender, setting of WE use, and the amount of time using WE were considered to obtain both homogeneity and variability among the participants.

In particular, An's contact and information were first obtained by the researcher's network. The researcher then contacted this participant via telephone to introduce the project and invite his participation. An invitation letter containing information about the project, the benefits and rights of the participant followed. After accepting this invitation letter, An received a copy of the consent form and explanatory statement of the project for consideration and proposed his preferred date for the interview. The same procedure was applied to the Mai and Chi whose information and contacts were recommended by An.

Data collection

Semi-structured interviews were the instruments to collect data in this study. This instrument is argued by Bryman (2016) to comply with the flexible nature of qualitative inquiry. Semi-structured, one-to-one interviews are the preferred means for collecting rich, detailed experience in IPA inquiry (Reid, Flowers, & Larkin, 2005). Besides, this kind of in-depth interviews is easily managed, facilitates rapport and encourages participants to think, voice and be heard (Smith et al., 2009). The three participants were interviewed, using Skype application due to geographical distance between the researcher and participants. The participants were encouraged to decide the language of the interviews; therefore, the three interviews were conducted in Vietnamese. These interviews were recorded under the consent of the participants. The length for each interview was around 30 minutes.

The interviews were grounded on five basic questions related to the central issue, WE problems, as shown in Table 2. The first three questions explore the participants' experience with WE problems and the effects of these problems, while the last two questions focus on the participants' opinions of the causes of WE problems and the need for introducing WE into EFL programs in Vietnam.

Table 2
Interview Questions

No.	Question
1	Please tell me how often do you use English, in which situation and with whom?
2	What are the problems that you have when using English to communicate with other English non-native speakers?
3	What do you think might be the causes of such problems?
4	What impacts do such problems have on you?
5	What do you think of introducing WE to English training program in your (old) university?

An interview protocol was developed to facilitate the discussions of these questions, or in other words, to act as a virtual map of the interview (Creswell, 2015; Smith et al., 2009). Then, to aid preparing for and conducting the interview, an interview checklist was also employed. A unique feature of qualitative inquiry is its employment of human-as-instrument, in which the researcher per se is an instrument, thus both the interviewer and interviewee are active participants within the research process (Smith et al., 2009). Therefore, upon conducting the interviews, strategies such as probes, which are questions to clarify and elaborate information, and active listening techniques such as avoiding interruption, paraphrasing and summarizing were utilized to actively engage the participants. At the same time, the interviewer participated by bracketing her concerns and indwelling into the interviewees' stories (Maykut & Morehouse, 1994).

Data analysis

The recorded interviews were transcribed verbatim. Notably, in IPA, transcription is itself an interpretative activity (Smith et al., 2009); therefore, in this project, the researcher took part in the transcription process. Furthermore, due to the time and funding constraint, the transcribed data were then translated from Vietnamese into English also by the researcher. However, to ensure reliability, the translation was reviewed by a professional translator who is an acquaintance of the researcher.

Although IPA does allow the researcher to be innovative in approaching the data, the study adopted Smith et al.'s (2009) iterative and inductive procedure of IPA data analysis. Accordingly, the analysis process was as follows:

1. Reading/ listening and re-reading: First, the researcher read the transcript and listened to the recording of the interview at the same time to recall the interview. The researcher engaged in the recorded conversation by bracketing her concerns, ideas and impressions of the other two interviews, keeping in mind that the participant is the focus of the analysis. Then, re-reading allowed the researcher to see the overall structure of the interview as well as attach special attention to richer and more detailed sections. The researcher's impression and opinions about the interview were then written down.

2. Initial noting: This stage involved the examination of the transcript in details to ensure the researcher becomes more familiar with the transcript. The particular way that the participants talk about and think of the issues were initially explored at this stage. To do this, the researcher made descriptive, linguistic and conceptual comments on the transcript whenever possible;

3. Developing emergent themes: Completing the second stage, the researcher had a considerable amount of data including the original data and the exploratory comments. In the third stage, the initial notes were transformed into phrases capturing the essential of what was found. This stage required a higher level of abstraction and interpretation (Smith & Osborn, 2008). Intelligibility theories discussed earlier in the literature review provided the researcher with a theoretical resource to interpret and analyze the data.

4. Connecting themes: In this step, the researcher connected the themes obtained in the previous stage by putting them together. Some themes emerged as super-ordinate themes while other themes were subordinate. The researcher, on the one hand, relied on her own understanding to make sense of what is being

said by the participant, and, on the other hand, continuously checked her own sense-making with what the person is actually saying by looking back at the transcript. This practice reflects the phenomenological and hermeneutic natures of IPA. The outcome of this stage was a table of super-ordinate themes with extracts from the interviews as supporting evidence for such themes.

5. Moving to the next case and cross-case analysis: Each interview was analyzed separately, following a similar procedure; then, a cross-case analysis was conducted to identify convergent and divergent themes among the cases (Creswell, 2015). At the end of this stage, a table of emergent themes with supporting evidences from three interviews was developed. By this practice, the analyzed data was presented and arranged in a convenient way to facilitate the writing stage.

This data analysis process reflects the double hermeneutic of IPA. Although the primary focus of IPA is the participants' experience and how they make sense of such experience, the final outcome of IPA inquiry is how the researchers make sense of what the participants perceived. Therefore, IPA analysis gradually "takes you further away from the participant and includes more of you" (Smith et al., 2009, pp. 91-92).

Results

Intelligibility problems in WE communication

Phonological elements as the most prominent WE problems. One of the most emergent themes found across the cases is that phonological elements, namely. pronunciation, intonation and stress are the most frequent and notable problems in WE communication.

Phonological problems are usually the first to emerge and most observable when these graduates participate in a WE conversation, as Mai says:

[… in the first meeting in which I worked as an interpreter, the meeting between the Korean, and… and… the Vietnamese contractors and my boss, my first impression was… was… I could not understand what they were talking about because they spoke so fast, so fast as I felt as if I were able to hear the sound only, and catch a few simple words, such as numbers, such as one, two, three, or…. words in… which are common words.]

She further confirms that WE problems of this kind (phonological problems) are common, and most fresh graduates encounter such issues when they use English in WE contexts:

[Eh… eh… yes, actually…. for those fresh graduates like me, I have encountered quite a few problems… , some problems with using English to communicate with non-native speakers of English. Eh… eh… for example…. with the Japanese…. actually…. their speech… is not,…. in the beginning,… not easy to understand, or in the beginning they did not speak Standard English as we expected.]

In this extract, Mai recounts that as a fresh graduate, she had faced challenges posed by WE. The change in her use of quantifiers, from "quite a few" to "some", together with the repetitive use of "in the beginning" demonstrate a change in the frequency that WE problems occur. The problems happened more when she first came in contact with the variety of WE and occurred less as she became more familiar with the variety of WE. The intelligibility problem is perceived as a consequence of the

NNS's failing to adhere to Standard English. Hence, a strong sense of preference for Standard English is evoked, which can also be found in An's narration:

[The major.... major problem I usually find is their pronunciation which does not … not… follow standards. Although my English is not standard-like, I strive hard to follow… the standard. I often look up the dictionary and strive to alter my accent to sound standard. But…. actually, actually my accent cannot be standard-like. When I listen to English, at least, I always try to pronounce correctly; however, their pronunciation is so wrong. My pronunciation is correct, following standards, but they think it is wrong. For example, the technical drawing, I say /ˈdrɔːɪŋ/ while they always say /drɑː ŋ/, /drɑː ŋ/, so I had no idea of what it was then.]

An asserts that the most dominant WE problem is an intelligibility problem (sound recognition) which is mostly a result of one's failed attempt to follow standards. On the one hand, he demonstrates a strong aspiration to achieve a native-like proficiency in English; on the other hand, he is aware of the unattainability of such aspirations. The use of the contrastive conjunction "but", the pause and lowering of his voice when admitting that his non-native accent is unchangeable reflects both a sense of disappointment and preference for NS accent. His expectation of other NNS to follow Standard English and his own adherence to Standard English were attributable to his confusion when experiencing sound recognition problems because in WE conversations Standard English is not always intelligible ("they think it is wrong").

Among the phonological elements that pose intelligibility challenges to WE interlocutors, pronunciation is the most frequent and has detrimental effects on sound recognition:

[Interviewer: So, those [problems] are due to their level of English proficiency in general or just pronunciation?
Chi: Well… It's pronunciation. So that is why I have said that most of the time misunderstanding is due to pronunciation.]
She further exemplifies this misunderstanding due to pronunciation:
[For example, I ask my friend about the lesson, her … pronunciation is very different, for example /ʃ/ or/s/, they [the sounds] are very different, they [the Chinese] cannot make these fricatives… well… they speak English in their own way, not following any standards…. yeah… Well…. eh… as I remember…. I once asked the girl sitting next to me to give me a pen, then I said "Can you grasp me a pen?" and then… ah, and then to my surprise …um… she gave me the book (laugh), I said "pen, not book" and then… um… and…. Because their [the Chinese] pronunciations of the sounds /p/ and /b/ are quite similar, so they could not catch the correct sound.]

In this extract, Chi demonstrates an awareness of the existence of varieties of English ("their own way") featured by their own pronunciation, which is perceived as a consequence of the difference in the sound mechanisms of English and the NNS's first language. Notably, this understanding was acquired through her experience with the problem ("to my surprise").

Then she further describes other intelligibility problems resulted from phonological elements, such as intonation:

[when I communicate with the Afghanis, well…. well…. Their way of speaking English is like…. they speak like… because it's not their language, like…. um…. They…. They just express what they want to say. Normally, for instance, when we speak English, we have to…. when it comes to a question, we have to raise our voice at the end of the sentence, but they just say it without intonation,

they speak their own way, as if it is Afghanis intonation, not English intonation, yeah.]

The issue of the ownership of English was brought to the fore, in which Chi perceives the identity of NNS as the user, not the owner of the language. On the one hand, the perception of English ownership raises the issue of reconsidering the goal of communication using English, which is to communicate the ideas rather than to showcase one's level of proficiency. Accordingly, WE interlocutors just "speak their own way", which is first language interference (Afghanis intonation). On the other hand, the use of the model verb of obligation "have to" reflects her belief that NNS must follow NS rules. It was the Afghanis speakers' failure in delivering the interrogative function of raising tones of speech that might lead to intelligibility problems regarding the types and functions of sentences. These conflictive thoughts resulted in a negative feeling of confusion about what she always believes (following NS rules) and what she must do (ensuring intelligibility).

Phonological problems is a typical WE problem that challenges even NNS of high English proficiency:

[For the French people, the French speaks English quite…. well; however, they still confront the… the problem of intonation, and sometimes their pronunciation, or the words they say, they follow French rules, not English.]In this narration, Mai first acknowledges that NNS can become fluent users of English. However, the interference of their first language is a hindrance to their achieving native-like proficiency.

On summary, problems with sound recognition found by the three participants when using WE are presented in Table 3.

Table 3
Examples of intelligibility problems in WE Communication

Phonological element	Example
Pronunciation	Confusing /θ/, /r/, /l/ sounds (Mai)
	Water vs. quarter (An)
	Close /p/ vs. /b/ sounds (Chi)
Intonation	"English" with high tone and no /ʃ/ ending (Mai)
	Afghanis intonation (Chi)
Stress	No stress at all (Mai)
Accent	Local Korean accent, high rate of speech (Mai)
	French accent: gentle and soft (Mai)
	Vietnamese accent (Chi)

Comprehensibility (meaning) and interpretability (intention) problems are also WE issues facing the interviewees; however, these problems are much dependent on the contexts of use. To be specific, they are less frequent and less severe in engineering contexts.

Mai recounts her experience with grammar problems, one influencer of comprehensibility:

[Actually, regarding grammar problems, I find that, grammar mistakes are very common, for both Koreans and Vietnamese. Eh…. for the Korean…. in fact, in the project that I am working for… the use of English is just to make people understand, just for people to understand what the issues are, because they use a lot of technical terms. Eh, but they, they can make grammar mistakes. For ex-

ample, to talk about a certain event, "I did it yesterday", but they, instead of using past tense verb, they still say "I do something" or "I work for something", or the like, which means they still use present tenses. They will not care about grammar, they will use the content words directly "I need this", "I need that", without using past tense verbs.]

She recognizes that grammar mistakes are common in WE conversations; however, these mistakes are not detrimental to comprehensibility. She emphasizes that the ultimate goal of WE dialogues is intelligibility or successfully communicating ideas rather than showing ones' proficiency of the language; therefore, grammar and other linguistic elements are no longer of the utmost importance. This change also reflects the significance of the work environment in determining the feature of language use. The engineering sector is characterized by peculiar systems of terminology, the understanding of which is more important than following grammatical rules to ensure comprehensibility.

In a similar vein, An justifies:

[they work, they themselves work in multicultural, multinational environments; they have worked there for ages. There are people working for many years and using English for many years, but their English is still not standard-like. They speak [English] frequently, they use it a lot, they use it everyday but they speak…, because … their English does not follow any standard, they just… concentrate on how to make their ideas understood. As a result, there is no grammar, no stress, no… no word stress at all.]

Again, the salience of achieving intelligibility comes to the forefront. Paradoxically, even though during the interview An preferred Standard English and showed a strong aspiration to obtain native-like proficiency through a strict adherence to standard rules, he concedes here that standards play a minor role in WE communication. In fact, comprehensibility can be attained without following standard grammar or pronunciation rules. He also acknowledges that this is a feature of cross-cultural conversations.

Likewise, the influence of the work environment is evident in interpretability issues. While An and Mai use English mainly in their work in engineering disciplines, Chi's experience with WE conversations is within a wider range of contexts, from everyday talk to communication at work and in academic settings. As a result, An and Mai rarely face interpretability problems due to the prominent use of specialized vocabulary and the importance of precision, as Mai mentions:

[Because the project I am working for is an engineering project, all the words used are technical terms, which are very, very clear, they do not cause much mis… misunderstanding.]

Or as An suggests:

[Misinterpretation is never…. if it is saying "yes" instead of "no", then I have never encountered such problem, because this matter [precision] is very important. If you misinterpret, for example if they ask to pull the crane up but I translate it into "pull the crane down", the crane might fall down, killing many people. Although I am just a translator, it… it…. I am under the pressure that my work has tremendous effects on other people. Or…. or if the machine is broken, the cost is significant if I misinterpret the information. Then when I don't understand, I always verify the information before doing the translation.]

Meanwhile, Chi illustrates her experience with interpretability problems through an incident at work:

[The… the Af…., yes, they are Afghanis, the ones who use the… veil for their face that just leaves only the area around their eyes clear… um… then… I remember once I sold our product to her…. eh… that woman… and then… her husband accompanied her then. One workmate of …, one of my workmate… is a man, he worked with me … then… when she took the product…. my workmate helped her take it and touched her hands, and looked straight into her eyes, and… and then he said while taking the item, "Let me do this…" something like that. He spoke and looked at her eyes and touched her hands, but it was by accident only. And… her husband called him rude and … um… said, "you shouldn't say that", and then "you shouldn't say that", and then they walked away, and they talked with the center management (Laugh). We did not know what had just happened then (laugh).]

Clearly, in this incident, the sentence "Let me do this…" was completely intelligible and comprehensible to both the speaker and the listener. However, the intention of the speaker was misinterpreted as flirting instead of offering help because:

[When we use language, use English to talk with them, we are not allowed to look into their eyes, and then if we look into their eyes, we should not speak (laugh), like… this will lead to misunderstanding… even if we say something different, they will pick it as flirting or the like, yeah…yeah… That's the experience that I remember most.]

Chi's job requires more daily conversations which give more space for interlocutors to show their cultural codes and social conventions more frequently than in the cases of An and Mai. Her emphasis that this incident is the most memorable reflects the remarkable effect of the problem. She also raises the issue of non-linguistic elements such as eye contact, body language, and body contact in WE communication. These aspects of context of situation are equally important with linguistic elements in achieving interpretability.

The effects

The most direct effects that WE intelligibility problems have on the participants are the psychological effects.

[So, I usually… when I first did the job, I was very shocked because the way they speak the words is so different from ours, so I had no idea of what they spoke then. However, as time goes by, I have become more familiar with this.]

An recalls his feeling when first experiencing WE intelligibility problems. This feeling of shock is a result of the conflict between the fact that NNS may pronounce English words differently as a result of their first language interference or level of proficiency and his expectation of NNS to follow Standard English conventions. However, he admits that this feeling is not insurmountable as the more he is exposed to the problems, the more familiar he gets and the less shocked he feels. This confession touches upon the issue of increasing familiarity with a variety leading to increasing intelligibility.

The psychological effects of WE intelligibility become more serious partly because of the importance of intelligibility in Mai's work as a translator:

[Eh… yes… because as a fresh graduate working as a translator, when I… for my first meeting with the Korean and the French, using both English and Vietnamese, I should be able to understand English to translate into Vietnamese and vice versa. So, my first feeling when attending such meetings was… very worried. I worried because, firstly, I could not understand what they wanted to

say…. I could not get what they wanted to say to retell the Vietnamese sitting next to me about that…. about what the French contractor wanted to say…"]

However, these effects soon disappeared as she became more familiar with the variety of English spoken by her interlocutors:

[Eh… about, about the Koreans, it was very challenging to work with them at first, but after three or four consecutive meetings, I found that their speech was clear, and their ideas were quickly expressed, and even (laugh) when the Korean contractor finished his talk my New Zealand boss had to ask me, "What has he just said?" (laugh). This means that although he is a native speaker of English, he still has to ask me to interpret English into English (laugh).]

The feelings of shock and worry were replaced by confidence, which then resulted in a positive attitude towards the NNS's English variety ("their speech was clear"; "ideas were quickly expressed") and even her identity as a NNS of English because her boss, despite being a NS, could not overcome intelligibility problems with WE as she did. This also means that NSs are not always better at understanding NNS's English than NNs.

 "A man is known by the company he keeps". While psychological effects of WE problems such as worries, confusion, disheartenment, and shocks are decreased as the participants grow more familiar with the problems, the detrimental effects of WE problems on the interviewees' English proficiency might be harder to overcome.

An shows a negative attitude towards the WE problems that he has encountered at work:

[Yes. The effects… are… the first one is the so called 'A man is known by the company he keeps". I have to make my pronunciation sound like theirs, so the… the English that I have tried to make standard-like is remarkably deteriorated, deteriorated.]

To ensure intelligibility, An adopted the accommodation strategy of modifying his pronunciation to make it intelligible to his interlocutors. However, his negative attitude toward this change is apparent. Here he makes it clear that his English and "theirs" are different because of his efforts to follow standard English rules, and he had to go against his desire for the sake of intelligibility. He also expressed the fear that his English might stray away from standards despite his aspirations to achieve a standard-like proficiency. This conflict is the major factor that led to this negative attitude.

To be specific, An pointed out two aspects that have significantly deteriorated due to the aforementioned WE problems of pronunciation and grammar:

[For example … it is… when I have to change my pronunciation, I always have to say the words that way in order for them to understand. Consequently, my… my pronunciation is degraded remarkably. Secondly, in terms of, say, my grammar, I have lost my grammar gradually. If I insist on following grammar rules, they will not understand.]

An emphasizes the detrimental effects of WE and ensuring intelligibility on his English proficiency through the use of such words as "degraded", "lost", "remarkably", which also reflects his negative attitudes towards these changes. Again, intelligibility won over his aspire to subscribe to NS norms.

On the one hand, Mai recognizes the importance of intelligibility in WE communication; on the other hand, she admits the negative effects of such awareness on her efforts to achieve Standard English competence:

[Sometimes, I must admit that, when they [her NNS interlocutors] do not ask for clarification about what I have just said, about my pronunciation, I don't want to correct my pronunciation then. And since then I just speak in whatever way I like as long as I can make them understand.]

Here, she is aware of her pronunciation not following standards; however, as such mistakes did not interfere with intelligibility, she felt less motivated to correct it. Later in the interview, she concedes that this in turn becomes a source of WE problems.

Likewise, Chi acknowledges the influence of WE on her English,

[Once you live with the Asian, you will speak [English] in Asian ways. Your English will… will be not fluent like the native speakers.]

In this extract, she expresses the view that NNS is always in an inferior status compared to the NS, and that the NNS Englishes cannot be as "fluent" as the NS English. Like An, she ascribed her lack of success in achieving NS fluency to her being with NNS. Despite frequently encountering WE communication and increasing familiarity with Englishes, she admitted,

[Most of the time… actually I prefer working with native to non-native speakers (laugh).]

This preference for NS English is explained by the ownership of the language, as Mai suggests,

[Eh… in fact eh… because we, the Vietnamese, speak English, our English is not Standard English, because… our mother tongue is Vietnamese.]

This stance on the ownership of English has become deeply entrenched due to the advocacy of native-speakerism in EFL practice,

[Eh, yes, in fact… during my study at…. my university, the teachers always want to introduce the best, the Standard English for their students.]

Here Mai turns the spotlight on the schools' critical role in promoting the hegemony of Anglo and American Englishes. NS's English is considered the best variety to be learned and used by EFL learners. The desire of reaching NS-like proficiency is passed from the teachers to the learners, which has also become a goal of EFL education.

In summary, the interviews demonstrate problems in all three levels of intelligibility that the interviewees encounter in WE communication. Intelligibility (sound recognition) remains the most common and severest WE problems while comprehensibility and interpretability issues vary in frequency and intensity, depending on the settings that the conversations take place. Among the influences of WE intelligibility problems, the most notable one is the detrimental effects that these problems have on the interviewees' English proficiency.

Discussion

The findings of this study show frequent and dominant communicative problems experienced by the participants as well as their perceptions of the effects that such problems have on them. Firstly, among the three levels of intelligibility, problems with intelligibility (sound recognition) most frequently occur; however, these problems become less severe and decrease as the participants grow familiar with such issues. This result echoes Nguyen's (2008) finding that Vietnamese EFL users' understanding of intelligibility remains superficial, ignoring the cultural and pragmatic levels of the concept. However, while Nguyen's study focuses on the understanding of intelligibility of a group of overseas Vietnamese students, this research draws its conclusion

on the participants' narration of their real experience with intelligibility. Therefore, besides acknowledging the participants' perception of sound recognition as the main intelligibility problems in WE conversations, this study yields a deeper insight into the issue by identifying problems associated with sound recognition as temporary in nature and transient as the participants' familiarity with the varieties of English increases. Previous research conducted in other contexts also reports the proportional relation between ones' familiarity with WE varieties and his or her performance in WE conversations (Matsuura, 2007; Pickering, 2006). Furthermore, while this study reports the participants' acknowledgment of the significance of familiarity with varieties of English, Nguyen's (2008) study describes a contrast trend, arguing that Vietnamese users of WE are not aware of such importance. This interesting contradiction is likely to result from the aforementioned different aims of the two studies: one exploring the participants' understanding (Nguyen's study) and the other investigating their real experience with WE communication (this study).

Another important finding is that comprehensibility and interpretability problems are perceived as less common problems, the intensity and frequency of which vary according to the context of use. These problems are less frequent and less severe in technical contexts. From a socio-linguistic perspective, this finding can be justified in the light of J. R. Firth's (1957) theory of context of situation. Accordingly, different styles of utterance are identified by reference to the relevant features of the appropriate situations, making the description of such utterance in its situation a unique occurrence (Robin, 1971). Therefore, communicative events in technical contexts should be treated differently with those happening in daily interaction. Technical contexts constitute unique terminology as well as the demand for succinctness and precision. These characteristics are responsible for minimizing comprehensibility and interpretability problems in technical contexts. This finding provides new insight into current research on WE communicative problems. On the one hand, it resonates other WE intelligibility studies' findings that comprehensibility and interpretability are more challenging to deal with (Jung, 2010; Smith & Nelson, 2006). On the other hand, it emphasizes the importance of context of use, thus questioning the generalization of intelligibility issues across contexts of use. Given the lack of WE research on English for Specific Purposes (ESP), findings of this study importantly indicate the potential and idiosyncrasy of WE uses in technical contexts.

In order to fill the gap in existing WE intelligibility literature about the need for unpacking non-linguistic issues arising from WE uses (Sewell, 2010), this study reports common psychological effects facing users in WE communication. The data yield a rich and complex picture of the participant's feeling and attitudes towards the effects of WE problems. To begin with, such psychological effects as feelings of shock, disheartenments, or worries are direct, immediate yet become less severe as the participants grow familiar with WE. In fact, in some cases, these negative effects even transform into positive ones when the participants eventually feel comfortable and confident in WE communication. This transformation can be explained by documenting the aforementioned proportional relation between WE familiarity and performance in WE conversations. However, positive attitudes towards WE resulted from the overcoming of WE problems and the familiarity with WE varieties are in stark contrast with the negative feelings arising from the perceived detrimental effects of WE on the participants' English proficiency. On the one hand, the participants express a fear of having their Anglo-American norms adhering to standard English pronunciation and grammar destroyed by modifying these elements. On the other hand, they (the participants) concede that achieving intelligibility in WE communication is a

must, as a condition to complete their tasks at work. This requirement is against their effort to follow standard English rules, and they even start to feel comfortable with "making mistakes" to ensure intelligibility, which is later blamed for the reoccurrence of WE problems. Such complex psychological developments, the underlying cause of which will be analyzed later in this chapter, lead to a feeling of confusion and a negative attitude toward WE.

Another critical issue arising from the analysis of WE effects is the participants' perception of their identity as a user of English. The strong aspiration to reach a native-like proficiency and the effort to follow Anglo-American English norms are the demonstration of their beliefs that the NS are the owner of the language and always have superior status over NNS. Therefore, WE, no matter how important and frequent it is, is always at the inferior end of the Standard English and WE dichotomy and regarded deficit rather than difference (Jenkins, 2009). This carries an important implication for EFL practices in NNS countries, which calls for the introduction of NNS varieties of English not only to build a proper WE understanding but also to help reform WE user identity as the owner of their varieties.

The data indicated a conflict between the participants' desire and awareness regarding the use of English. On the one hand, they express a strong aspiration to obtain native-like proficiency of English; on the other hand, they acknowledge the unattainability of such a goal. In the same vein, they form a negative attitude toward WE problems, claiming that such problems detrimentally affect their English proficiency; meanwhile, they enjoy the confidence and even the rewarding feeling of getting familiar with non-native varieties of English. This conflict can be rationalized by the clash of the deeply entrenched native-speakerism, a term coined by Holliday (2007) to refer to the assumption that NSs are always superior to NNSs, and the increasing awareness concerning the importance of WE and intelligibility.

First, the promotion of NS Englishes and Anglo-American cultures by the existing EFL practice as well as other socio-economic forces such as the media, publishing industry and so forth, is responsible for the bias against NNS Englishes and a strong preference for NS norms. Second, as analyzed above, through their own experience with WE, the participants develop an awareness of WE as a status quo inevitable trend. Regardless of their inclination towards Standard English, they all, at least, acquiesce that achieving intelligibility is the most important aspect in communication, especially in conversations using WE. Interestingly, their experience with WE even starts to build up positive feelings and attitudes toward the NNS Englishes as they realize NS are not always better and the most understood in WE communication. This is also congruent with Smith and Nelson's (2006) aforementioned report. Hence, the mismatch between what these participants experience as EFL learners (at school) and as WE users (at work) is accountable for the conflicting findings found here. On this point, an important pedagogical implication of WE arises. Respectively, EFL programs should be developed with a WE perspective, introducing both NS and NNS varieties of English and encouraging learners to critically think about the politics of languages (Matsuda, 2002). Some initial recommendations for such a marriage are as follows:

- For low level learners, varieties of English should be exploited as a source of teaching materials together with the traditional Anglo-American English(es) in teaching four skills as well as grammar and pronunciation;
- For higher level learners, WE courses on the history of Englishes, trends as well as the politic power of languages should be piloted (Chang, 2014).

Limitations

The use of IPA research methodology has provided the researcher with useful tools to explore the participants' world, thus generating rich, detailed data to delineate the complex psychological picture of this group of WE users. However, there remain some limitations that should be considered by future research on similar topics. First, concerning the methodology, due to a constraint in time as financial support, the recorded interviews were translated from Vietnamese into English by the researcher without back-translation. However, to ensure objectivity and the accuracy of the information, the translation was then proofread and edited by a professional translator. Besides, the sampling population was confined to graduates from only one university; therefore, one should be cautious when generalizing the results of this study to all Vietnamese WE users. Another limitation of this study is that it fails to cover issues of WE intelligibility in written language, which is, in fact, an important part of WE communication. Finally, the data were analyzed and synthesized in the light of intelligibility theory (Nelson, 2011). As a result, this research risks ignoring other possible types of problems arising from WE communication, such as the participants' characteristic, psychological effects, cultural conventions, discourse structure and so forth. Although thanks to the IPA approach, the data on WE problems collected in this study touch upon issues of both psychology and linguistics, the data was structured and presented around the core concept of intelligibility.

Conclusion

In summary, the findings of this research add a new insight to the current picture of WE communication as participated by Vietnamese users of English. On the one hand, it confirms notable findings from previous studies concerning the most typical intelligibility problems; on the other hand, it compares interestingly with the findings of the only available study targeting Vietnamese WE users to date (cf., Nguyen, 2008). This contrast again highlights the importance of research aims and targets. Given the fact that research on WE communicative problems is still limited in number, this study's findings about both psychological and linguistic effects of WE on the users might have important implications for future research. Research should also be conducted to explore WE problems in written communication, which involves reading and writing skills, yet remains unexploited. Then, elements other than intelligibility and its three levels should also be taken into account in enquiry about WE problems. Hark back Firth's (1957) context of situation, this theory also highlights the importance of non-linguistic elements to intelligibility. This view is exemplified in Chi's experience with her Afghanis customers. Regarding the research problem of Vietnamese university graduates' experience and perception on communicative problems arising from the use of WE, this research is in fact the first investigating such issues in the context of Vietnam; thus the findings can become a source of reference for future research on similar topics. Specifically, data about types of intelligibility problem, its causes and effects can be employed in future quantitative studies which might wish to explore the comprehensive picture of problems in WE uses, either in Vietnam or in any other EFL/ ESL contexts.

Finally, this research locates itself among the studies advocating for developing a WE integrated EFL pedagogy. One prominent theme found across the cases in this study is the deeply rooted issue of native-speakerism. The study depicts this belief from the way the participants perceive intelligibility problems to how they express

their feelings towards the effects of WE intelligibility problems. By highlighting the conflict inside the participants to maintain intelligibility and their native-speaker proficiency dream, this research calls for the need to include WE perspectives in EFL.

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Developing *Monolary* as an Innovation of Language Games to Practice Students' Vocabulary Mastery in Elementary Schools in Bali

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Abstract

This paper presents an innovation of language games for practicing English vocabulary mastery. The main focus of the study was to investigate the development of Monolary (The given name toward the game) while specifically, it focused on: (1) investigating the media and games used in teaching vocabulary; (2) investigating the development of Monolary; and (3) investigating how could Monolary be used as a media or game in practicing students' vocabulary mastery. The participants were five elementary English teachers and 132 students of five elementary schools in Bali. The instruments used were questionnaires, observation sheets, and interview guide. The results show that (1) teachers did not have any media and games to support vocabulary teaching and (2) the development of Monolary was based on vocabulary learning theories which could be used as media of practicing as well as assessing vocabulary mastery of elementary schools' students. From the aforementioned results, it can be concluded that teachers need media and games to support vocabulary teaching and Monolary could be one solution.

Keywords: language game; practicing vocabulary; game to practice vocabulary

Introduction

The establishment of ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) in 2015 is a new milestone for ASEAN community. It indicates that the center of global economic gravity is shifting toward Asia. By this establishment, 10 ASEAN member states allow the free flow of goods, services, investments, skilled labors, and the freer movement of capital across the region. As a result, these 10 member states, including Indonesia need to develop their own human resources to be ready to an open competition.

To produce these human resources, education is the most important aspect which the Indonesian Government has focused on. By implementing meaningful learning in Indonesian education, the government hopes to produce competent human resources. This orientation brings some changes in the educational process paradigm from teaching oriented to learning oriented where students become the center of learning; and from classical and formal approach (where education is held in classroom only) to a more flexible one where education also involves activities outside the classroom. Besides, Indo-

nesian education also focuses on achieving competencies needed to survive in the global era.

Furthermore, the government considers that English is really important since it is an International language which is used in all South East Asian countries as the medium of communication. Indonesian citizens must be able to communicate using English if they want to work in these countries. Thus, the government puts English as an extra subject as well as a compulsory one in its curriculum.

Considering the English mastery, the government believes that English should be taught in early ages. Therefore, this subject matter is mostly taught in primary education. Thus, English is taught in all Indonesian elementary schools, including in Bali, a province of Indonesia. Even, English is introduced in some kindergartens.

In history, English was taught as an extra subject because the government considered that English had become an international language. English teaching in Indonesia has undergone many shifts including the ways of teaching and its existence in the Indonesian curriculum. Legally, English has been introduced as an extra subject in Indonesian primary education's curriculum, especially in Bali since 1994 (Kamal, 2006).

By having two decades of English teaching in Indonesia, teachers should have known the best ways of teaching this subject and the kind of assessments that should be implemented. But, they did not know how to implement this subject matter. This assumption was reached based on the Indonesian practitioners of English teaching who have been doing studies to find the best ways to teach English up to this time (see Efendi, 2013; Kusuma, 2016; Sutiah, 2011; Zulfah, Rasyid, Rahman, & Rahman, 2015).

The above assumption is best explained through the observation which was conducted by the researcher on English teaching in elementary schools. It was found that teachers mostly focused on the teacher centered approach and mostly used the grammar translation method. Besides using this method, they did not have any media to support English teaching.All students' activities were based on these textbooks as supported by a research conducted by Kusuma (2016) in 2012 where English textbooks used by teachers did not contain any contextual and authentic material and all classroom activities were mostly from the books where students were asked to answer all questions in the books. In other words, these results showed that the English teachers still used traditional teaching praxis in English teaching. This supports the previous findings of Sutiah (2011) and Zulfah, Rasyid, Rahman, and Rahman (2015) who reported that teachers mainly used traditional teaching and management in English class. Furthermore, from the data gathered from the students, it was found that their teachers only had a very limited numbers of media. They stated that flashcards were the main media used by the teachers in teaching vocabulary. The rest of the learning was conducted by relying on textbook or worksheet. However, the students rarely had vocabulary learning.

After 20 years of the implementation of English teaching in primary education, apparently teachers should have figured out that vocabulary learning should be the very first activity given to the students. But they did not mainly focus on this teaching since they just used the textbooks as the main the material. As stated by Cross (1991), a good memory on vocabulary is really crucial and needed to master the target language. Mostly, the main objective of language program is to help students to gain, memorize, and master the meaningful vocabulary used in the target language. Supporting this statement, Bennet (2006) stated that learning vocabulary of the target language could help in developing students' grammar. This was based on the research conducted by Bennet (2006) himself where vocabulary learning is not only about recalling vocabulary but also the meaning and context where the vocabulary is used.

Meanwhile, vocabulary learning in Indonesia is mostly assessed using traditional assessment such as multiple choice, matching, and cloze test. The teachers could only use these techniques probably because they did not know any other assessment techniques used to assess vocabulary learning. According to O'Malley and Pierce (1996), assessment is anything used to find information toward students. Through this statement, it can be said that vocabulary learning is not only about answering some questions, but it can also be assessed through activities which involve both written and verbal activities.

Besides, from the interview conducted by the researcher with the students, it was found that almost all of the students stated that they were stressed in English class since teachers mostly asked them to do the exercises in the textbook or worksheets. Thus, the students felt that English was a boring subject for them. Therefore, some innovation in English teaching is needed, especially in vocabulary learning.

As stated by Cross (1991), English teaching could be implemented through the use of various media and activities. He also suggested that games could be innovation activities toward learning. Through games, students may enhance their motivations since there are many competitions in playing the games, especially competitions against the opponent players. Supporting this statement, Paul (2003, p. 48) stated "Games play a central role in a child-centered lesson and make it possible for children to fully immerse themselves in learning". It implies that games play an important role in students' center learning and enables them to be involved in learning itself.

Thus, this article will present an innovative game as a breakthrough of English teaching in Indonesia, especially in practicing and assessing vocabulary mastery. The game developed in this study was an adaptation of monopoly games to practice English vocabulary in both spoken and written forms. Monopoly game was chosen as the basis of this development since based on the questionnaire data , all students know how to play this game. Besides, vocabulary learning was chosen since English acquisition should start with vocabulary learning. This game was developed by implementing ADDIE (Analysis, Design, Development, and Implementation) design and its development

was based on the criteria of good English material proposed by Howard and Major (2005).

Research Questions

The research questions of the following study are as follows:
1. Did the teachers implement media and games in teaching vocabulary?
2. How was the development of *Monolary*?
3. Could *Monolary* be used to practice and assess students' vocabulary mastery?

Vocabulary learning through games and some researches

Vocabulary is a set or a group of words of a language which is known, learned, and applied by the speakers of the language (Linse, 2005). Improving vocabulary mastery is really important in accordance with mastering the target language. As stated by Becker (1977) improving vocabulary mastery is essential and can be done by connecting the vocabulary already possessed by students with the topics provided in target language learning. Thus, it means that vocabulary is not simply a set of words learned by students butalso should be applied to the context where it can be used.

In vocabulary learning, games is one of the ways of teaching on how to improve students' vocabulary mastery. A game is an activity which contains rules, purposes, and excitements. Through the implementation of games, learning will not be a boring process. Meanwhile, through games, students may learn and practice the vocabulary.

There are a lot of games which had been developed to practice vocabulary such as guessing games, scrambled words games, puzzle games, crosswords games, etc. Particularly, some researches on improving vocabulary mastery have been conducted (e.g., Alemi, 2010), Efendi, 2013; Yip, et al. (2006)..

Alemi (2010) did an experimental research on vocabulary games as a technique of teaching vocabulary. The results show that vocabulary games had positive effects on students' vocabulary mastery. A similar research was conducted by Yip et al. (2006) on online vocabulary games as a tool for teaching and learning English vocabulary. The research showed that the experimental group outperformed the control group in vocabulary mastery test. Similarly, Efendi's (2013) results concur with these findings. Efendi's (2013) results showed that competitive games could improve students' vocabulary mastery where the students actively competed with the opponents to learn some vocabulary to win the games. Therefore, it can be said that games could be one of the alternatives of practicing vocabulary as well as assessing the students' vocabulary mastery. Furthermore, through games, the English class will be fun and enjoyable which bring benefits to students' learning.

Methodology

The study belongs to a research and development study (R&D) by implementing ADDIE (Analysis, Design, Development, and Implementation) as the development model. Meanwhile, in conducting the study, a mixed methods approach was implemented. The participants of the study were five English teachers and 132 Elementary school students from five different elementary schools in Bali.

The research was started by conducting a preliminary study to investigate whether or not the teachers used media and games in teaching vocabulary. Then, the study was continued by implementing ADDIE development model comprising five stages such as the Analysis Stage where some data about vocabulary learning, topics taught to the students, rules and ways of playing monopoly game were investigated. Then, this was followed by the Design Stage where the data in analysis stage became the source of designing the game. Later, the Development Stage was conducted where the design was developed into a product. After that, the Implementation Stage is when the game was implemented. The final stage was thethe Evaluation Stage to investigate the teachers' and students perceptions toward the game.

In conducting the ADDIE development model, the methods of data collection implemented in this study were administering questionnaires, interview, and document study. The questionnaires for teachers were on the use of media (8 items) and the games used (16 items) in teaching English were implemented in a preliminary study. To confirm the data, a checklist containing nine items and an interview guide as the instrument were used in interviewing the students. This was intended to know the use of media and games. Then, researcher notes and observation sheets were used in Analysis Stage to find some theoretical reviews of vocabulary learning, syllabus analysis, and the rules and ways of playing monopoly game. Then, in the Development Stage, a checklist containing 13 items was implemented to investigate the content and construct validity. In the Implementation stage, observation sheets were used to record how this game was played by the students. Finally, interview guide was used in the Evaluation stage.

Results

In developing the adapted monopoly game (named as *Monolary*) to practice Elementary school students' vocabulary mastery, a preliminary study and ADDIE development model was carried out. The results of the development are next described.

Preliminary study

The preliminary study showed that all teachers used printed and non-printed media to support their teaching in the classroom. Somehow, they used printed

media more than the non-printed media to teach English to students. The teachers also stated that they often used interesting and fascinating media to get students' interest in learning.

Further, it was found that teachers mostly used games with materials which were contextual and authentic. The games they used must be played by two or more students but the games rarely required students to interact with other players. The teachers also stated that their games could improve students' vocabulary in both written and verbal forms. Overall, the games used by them could stimulate students to learn English.

To support the above findings, a number of questions had been asked to the students to triangulate the data. Surprisingly, students' responses were different from their teachers'. They mostly stated that the teachers did not often use media and games in their English class. Meanwhile, the games used by the teachers did not contain vocabulary learning including verbal and written forms. From the students' testimonies, it was found that the teachers only had a few media and they were rarely used in English class. The only media used by the teacher was mainly flashcards. Further, the students also stated that the teachers only implemented limited games, probably two or three games in a semester. The games mostly contained English instructions rather than English vocabulary. Besides, teachers mostly used textbooks or worksheets as the only material and assessment instruments. The students were given a brief explanation about the topics, then they were asked to answer the questions in the textbooks or worksheets. As a result, students stated that they often got bored with English subject matter since the material in the textbook was too difficult for them. Finally, they required media or games which could support their English learning as well as improve their vocabulary mastery and English thoroughly.

Analysis stage

This stage was about investigating some theoretical reviews of vocabulary learning, syllabus analysis, and the rules and ways of playing monopoly game. Based on the document study on vocabulary learning, some theoretical reviews had been collected including the theories proposed by Nation (1974, 2006), Linse (2005), Harmer (2007), and other scholars. Then, it continued into syllabus analysis where it was found that the topics that the students got from are as follows:

1. Stationery
2. Uniforms
3. Things in the classroom
4. Foods
5. Beverages
6. Fruits
7. Animals
8. Clothes
9. Public Places

Then, it continued into investigating the ways and rules of playing monopoly as the game adapted in this study. Monopoly is played by two or more players and the main task of playing this game is to own many stores as well as have more wealth than other players. There are some supporting tools in playing this game such as stores cards, duce, fake money, and instructions or questions cards.

Design stage

Based on the preliminary data found in Analysis Stage, a design of a game was developed then. The monopoly game was used as the basis since all students knew how to play this game. The design of this game was providing students with a game which could be played by two or more players to master vocabulary in both written and verbal forms.

The game was designed by involving some material they got in elementary school such as schools, stationery, things in their neighborhood, foods and beverages, clothes, electric tools, and public places. This material was then wrapped into some stores or shops following the original monopoly game. The rules of the game were almost the same as they had in the original monopoly game. The purpose of this developed game was to own more stores than any players. Somehow, the different thing than the original monopoly is to own a store, the students had to mention three possible things sold in it. If their answers were stated as "correct" by other players and the bank officer, they could buy them. They could also sell things in the stores they owned. Every time they arrived at a store they had, they had to write and spell the word of one possible thing sold in it. The possession of the stores and things sold in the stores were noted on players' play book. From this book, both teachers and students could identify their progress of vocabulary mastery.

Development stage

After having a clear design of the developed game, it was developed into a board game including the tools needed. Mostly, the board and the tools were designed by using *Adobe Photoshop CS3 Intended*. The name of the stores and their pictures used the original stores which existed in students' region. The game was named as *Monolary* (Monopoly board game to practice vocabulary) . To support the play, a manual book including students' play book was developed. The picture of *Monolary* board game can be seen in Picture 1.

Picture 1. *Monolary* Board Game

The developed *Monolary* then was evaluated by two experts: one expert in childhood education, and the other on media development. Based on the expert judgment test, *Monolary* had high content validity as shown by score 0.8. It only had a few minor revisions. The revisions were mostly about the size of the board and some pictures of the stores. Finally, *Monolary* was revised based on the revisions given by the two experts who had expertise in English education and teaching English for young learners.

Implementation Stage

The revised *Monolary* game was implemented in two elementary schools. It was played by two groups in each school where each group had four students and their teachers acted as the bank officers. Before having the game, the students were told about some important instructions verbally by the researcher and team. Then, *Monolary* was played for 30 or 45 minutes and the students' play book was filled by the teacher as the bank officer. The play was watched by the rest of the students and the teachers. No audience was allowed to give any answers to help the players. At the end of the play, almost all players had three stores and at least three things sold. Only one or two players in each group had more than three stores.

Evaluation Stage

In this stage, the students and the teachers were asked for their testimonies after playing *Monolary* board game. Both groups stated they were happy to have this kind of game, especially the students where they could play this game to practice their vocabulary mastery as well as learning new words from other players. It was not too difficult understanding the rules since they already knew how to play Monopoly games. If they forgot the rules, they could check them again in the manual book. They could own some stores because they had learned some vocabulary in their lessons previously while the rest was because

they were familiar with the stores on *Monolary* board and they knew the things sold in those places. While playing the game, the students stated that the problems were mostly in saying and spelling the words of the vocabulary required. But, they could learn from other players when they had their opportunities of saying and spelling the words. Overall, they loved the game and could not wait to play it again. But, they would prepare themselves before playing the game again.

Discussion

Vocabulary learning is really crucial in learning a language where improving vocabulary mastery means improving language mastery. It is best to explain that vocabulary is mostly applied in language skills such as listening, speaking, reading, and writing. By having the understanding how to apply the vocabulary in language skills and being supported by the use of grammar, a learner could improve his/her language proficiency of a target language.

The student interviews revealed that their teachers rarely used media in English teaching, especially in vocabulary learning. Even, the teachers only implemented very limited games. Then, of course, English became a boring subject matter for the students. According to Cross (1991) English teaching could be implemented through the use of various media and activities. Thus, the learning will be fun, enjoyable, and meaningful accordingly.

The aforementioned statement is could be one of the examples of the failures of Indonesian teachers in conducting English vocabulary teaching. They mostly focus on teaching the word meaning to the students rather than teaching the word form and teaching the word form and meaning altogether. Indonesian students are getting used to learn the meaning of a vocabulary list every time they get English subject matter at schools. Besides, recalling many vocabulary and its meaning makes them happy. Therefore, as a characteristic of Asian students, the students are really good in recalling the meaning, but they mostly will fail in spelling and using the vocabulary in context.

Besides, most of Indonesian teachers do not know how to teach the vocabulary in their classroom as well as use any media to support their teaching (see Efendi, 2013; Kusuma, 2016; Sutiah, 2011; Zulfah, Rasyid, Rahman, and Rahman, 2015). The common way of teaching vocabulary in Indonesian is through repeating and drilling activities where the students are given a list of new vocabulary every time they have English class. Then, it is continued into working on students' worksheet. Whereas, some teachers may talk about the context and spelling of the vocabulary, but the focus is still on the meaning where the teachers will test students' memory on vocabulary meaning. Therefore, English subject matter is one of the most difficult subject matter in Indonesia. When the students hear they will have an English lesson, they feel apprehensive before the class.

Probably, this problem happened since the teachers did not fully understand the importance of using media in English teaching, especially introduc-

ing new vocabulary, which is totally not their native language. Besides, the very major cause could be not graduating from an English department since most English teachers in elementary schools in Indonesia graduated from teacher education of primary schools' department which rarely had the English subject. Then, when they were assigned as English teachers, they learned English subject by joining in English private courses or they just learned by themselves without having some pedagogy courses of teaching English for young learners. Therefore, they did not know best how to teach English to students. As a result, they failed in conducting fun and enjoyable English instructions as well as they did not know how to best assess the students' English proficiency.

So, the very basic problem here is how to make students' learning fun and enjoyable where all students could learn happily without being fearful. Therefore, learning English through games could be a one-stop solution. As stated by Paul (2003), games play a central role in a child-centered lesson and make it possible for children to fully immerse themselves in learning. Therefore, developing *Monolary* board game to practice vocabulary could be the solution to the major problem in English class in Indonesia including in Bali.

Monolary was developed through a clear procedure by implementing ADDIE.. The rules were quite similar with those in monopoly game since *Monolary* is actually the adaptation of monopoly game. Therefore, through expert judgment, *Monolary* had high content validity as shown by score 0.8 which it means that thoroughly, *Monolary* contained appropriate material and was developed well. Even, it was based on the theories of vocabulary learning which involve written and verbal form of vocabulary where to play the game, the players will deal with verbal and non-verbal activities such as mentioning the vocabulary verbally, spelling the words of the vocabulary, and write the vocabulary. Besides, the material in *Monolary* was authentic and contextual because all students could find these stores in their environment. These will help them to think about the vocabulary related to the things sold in those stores for the purpose of playing the game. Furthermore, the material was based on the topics they got in an English class. Therefore, the content validity was high since this game had fulfilled the criteria of vocabulary learning. But, as stated previously although it had high content validity, it got a few revisions on the construct such as the size of the board and some pictures of the stores. Therefore, this game was revised to fit the experts' comments. Then, the revised game was implemented to investigate how this game was played.

Then, could *Monolary* be used as a media or a game to practice vocabulary? According to Paul (2003), most children spend their childhood playing. Playing is everything they want to do and it is not something being instructed to do. Games are also fun and enjoyable for them. Therefore, teachers have to take it for granted and could use games as media in learning. Thus, *Monolary* board game was developed to facilitate the students to practice both verbal and written forms of vocabulary by playing it. As stated by Rodgers (1969) and Ellis and Beaton (1993) in Nation (2006), vocabulary learning involves writ-

ten and verbal forms where these two forms should be taught to the students. This is supported by Harmer (2007) where in some languages sounds and spelling are interrelated. But, in English some letters in a word could be pronounced differently in other words. Therefore, *Monolary* has fulfilled those criteria since it involves activities of practicing verbal and written vocabulary's forms.

In Monolary, the material was authentic and contextual where they then were wrapped into some stores or shops following the original monopoly game. The rules of the game were almost the same as they had in the original monopoly game. The purpose of this developed game was to own more stores than any players. To own a store, the students had to mention three possible things sold in it. If their answers were stated as "correct" by other players and the bank officer, they could buy them. They could also sell things in the stores they owned. Every time they arrived at a store they had, they had to write and spell the word of one possible thing sold in it. The possession of the stores and things sold in the stores were noted on players' play book. From this book, both teachers and students could identify their vocabulary mastery. Therefore, *Monolary* is not merely a game, but it is clear a language game where students could practice their vocabulary mastery in both written and verbal forms as well as learning the context and meaning of the vocabulary involved in the game. So, this fits Yu's (2005) statement that language game is a general term used to cover a variety of language activities. Language games are used for practicing specific language items such as grammar, sentence structures, vocabulary, and spelling, and for developing language skills.

If the students play *Monolary* board game, then how to assess them? According to O'Malley and Pierce (1996), assessment is the process of collecting information by implementing any tools. Here, assessing students is not all about giving them formal tests such as multiple choices, true-false, cloze test, and others which result numbers. But, teachers may implement any tools to get qualitative data as well as quantitative ones. Therefore, playing *Monolary* could be considered as assessing students where both teachers and students could know the vocabulary mastery through the stores and the things sold in playing it as well as shown by students' play book. The students' play book records the students' vocabulary mastery since in owning one store they must be able to mention three things correctly and in selling things, they must be able to spell and write them correctly. So, the more stores they have, the more vocabulary in different topics they show. Then, this data could be used by teachers to show how many words in either topics the students know and how often they fail in mentioning them or spelling and writing them.

On the other hand, students may get feedback about their vocabulary mastery and they could learn from other players in terms of verbal and written forms they have not known before as well as the new words in a certain topic. As stated by Fowle (2002, cited in Read, 2004), the common task of students' vocabulary learning is through selecting and recording their own words to study based on individual needs or interests. The vocabulary notebook is a

useful tool for this purpose. In *Monolary*, students are provided by students' play book where their vocabulary which is used in playing the game is recorded. By having these notes, they may also learn other vocabulary from other players' notes. Therefore, this may become source for the students to learn new vocabulary from their friends.

Conclusion

The study showed that teachers need media and games to support their English teaching, especially in vocabulary teaching. Furthermore, *Monolary* board game could be the solution of teaching English in elementary schools as well as assessing students' vocabulary mastery. It is an innovation of assessing students' performance rather than implementing tests as Indonesian teachers always do in teaching and learning process. By playing this game, both teachers and students may get feedback on the students' vocabulary mastery on the topics they learn in English. Besides, the students may also learn from other players about the written and verbal forms of the vocabulary they have not known before as well as the new vocabulary in a topic. Furthermore, by having games like *Monolary*, students could be well motivated and could improve their interest in learning English.

Somehow, there are some limitations in this study such as the implementation was only in a small region for the purpose of developing the game and the evaluation conducted in this study was only formative evaluation. Summative evaluation to find the effectiveness in larger groups and populations can be the next study for researchers who are interested in this *Monolary* game.

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Appendix

Table 1.
The results of the use of media in English teaching from teachers' view

No	Questions	Responds (%)				
		VO	O	S	Sm	N
1	How often do you use printed media?	0	40	60	0	0
2	How often do you use non-printed me-dia?	40	40	0	20	0
3	How often do you media which involves written words?	0	40	40	0	20
4	How often do you media which involves audio?	0	0	80	20	0
5	How often do you use media which could facilitate students' learning	0	60	40	0	0
6	How often do you use media which could send message in relation with the material being taught?	0	60	40	0	0
7	How often do you use media which could increase the students' interest in English learning?	0	80	20	0	0
8	How often do you use interesting and fascinating media to teach the students?	0	80	20	0	0

Note:
VO   :Very Often
O   : Often
S   : Sometimes
Sm   : Seldom
N   : Never

Table 2.
The use of games in English teaching from teachers' view

No	Statements	Responds (%)	
		Yes	No
1	The games I use contain contextual material.	60	40
2	The games I use require students to play in-dividually.	0	100
3	The games I use must be played by two or more students.	60	40
4	The games I use could stimulate students to interact with other players.	40	60
5	The games I use contain vocabulary learning	60	40
6	The games I use could improve the students'	60	40

	vocabulary mastery.		
7	The games I use could improve students' English proficiency.	60	40
8	The games I use could support students in learning vocabulary verbally	40	60
9	The games I use contain written vocabulary.	40	60
10	The games I use could support students in learning written vocabulary.	20	80
11	The games I use give opportunities to students to integrate their knowledge when they are playing.	60	40
12	The game I use contain authentic material.	60	40
13	The game I use could attract the students' interest to play.	40	60
14	The games I use could improve students' interest to learn English.	60	40
15	The games I use contain clear instructions.	60	40
16	The games I use contain clear rules.	60	40

Table 3
The use of media and games from students' view

No	Questions	Responses	
		Yes (%)	No (%)
1	Do your teachers often use media in English teaching?	20.45	75.76
2	Do your teachers often use games in English teaching?	25.76	74.24
3	Do the games contain English vocabulary?	20.45	75.76
4	Do the games contain verbal vocabulary form?	16.67	83.33
5	Do the games contain written vocabulary form?	8.33	91.67
6	Can the games improve your vocabulary mastery?	20.45	75.76
7	Can the games enhance your interests in learning English?	21.21	78.79
8	Do you know how to play monopoly game?	100	0
9	Do you expect to have a kind of monopoly game which can be used in practicing your vocabulary mastery?	77.27	23.73

Note on Contributor

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The Benefits of a Bilingual Program in English Language Teaching in Vietnam

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Abstract

The paper summarizes the situation of English Language Teaching (ELT) at a general education level in Vietnam and briefly reviews bilingual education, its advantages and its disadvantages. The implementation of a bilingual program in the Vietnamese American School System (VASS) is also described. To compare the English proficiency of pupils studying bilingual program at VASS with those who study English as a foreign language (EFL) as in most cases in Vietnam, a study using standard Cambridge English examinations for all Grade 5 pupils in District 2 of Ho Chi Minh City as well as Grade 5 pupils of VASS has been conducted. The results of the study show big differences in the levels of English competency of bilingual pupils at VASS and those of pupils attending a normal Vietnamese program. This is clear evidence of the advantages of a bilingual education, and maybe a solution for teaching foreign languages in Vietnam's general education system.

Introduction

To promote the study of English further and to better the quality of English teaching and learning in Vietnam and to meet the increasing trends of globalization and international interdependency in the global village. On September 30th 2008 the Vietnamese Prime Minister issued Decision 1400/QD-TTg on Approving the National Plan for "*Teaching and Learning Foreign Languages in the Formal National Educational System for the Period of 2008 – 2020*", which is said to be worth 9 trillion 378 billion VND (currently equivalent to about 5 billion USD). According to the Decision, the plan consists of three phases. The first phase extends from 2008 to 2010; the second phase, from 2011 to 2015; and the third phase, from 2016 to 2020.

In the first phase, top priority is given to developing and perfecting the 10-year foreign language curriculum and focusing particularly on English, writing foreign language textbooks and preparing necessary conditions for exercising the pilot 10-year foreign language (English) program (from Grade 3).

In the second phase, the focus is on introducing the 10-year foreign language program throughout the whole general educational system.

In the third phase, the focus is on perfecting the 10-year foreign language program throughout the whole general educational system and on developing intensive foreign language programs for vocational schools, colleges and universities.

In terms of English standards, the Plan explicitly accepts the 6-level testing system as developed by the Common European Framework of Refer-

ence for Language (CEFR) as the standard for assessing the quality of English learning in Vietnam and encourages Vietnamese educational institutions to actively develop and carry out bilingual programs.

In this project, the Government also encourages educational institutions to actively build, implement, and grow bilingual programs in their establishments. However, bilingual programs have not been legalized and standardized yet, causing difficulties for institutions which want to implement them. Therefore, schools have to build their own programs and apply them in different ways. In this paper, a bilingual program which has been implemented very successfully at the Vietnamese American School System (VASS) is presented as an example. Some difficulties and drawbacks of the program are also addressed.

English Language Teaching (ELT) at General Education Level in Vietnam

Vietnamese general education consists of three levels with 12 grades:
- Primary level (from Grade 1 – 5 for children aged 6 to 11).
- Lower secondary level (from Grade 6 – 9 for children aged 11 – 15).
- Upper secondary level (from Grade 10 – 12 for children aged 15 – 18).

From 1982 to 2002, English was introduced nationally as a compulsory subject at upper secondary level and as an elective subject at lower secondary level. In this period, two sets of English textbooks were concurrently used in Vietnamese schools:
- The 3-year set (for students who started learning English from Grade 10 – 12).
- The 7-year set (for students who started learning English from Grade 6 – 12).

The final upper secondary school exam, however, was based on the knowledge and skills required in the 3-year set. Both sets of textbooks, although differing in orientation, are mainly grammar-based. Taking the view that grammar can be taught systematically as a set of rules to be mastered and transferred by the learner into proficient language use. While they take cognizance of the significant place of reading comprehension and oral skills, the grammar sections in each unit tend to dominate.

Since the early 1990s, due to the impact of English as a global language, the teaching of English in Vietnam has tended towards the view which places the learner at a focal point, with the teacher seen in the role of a facilitator who provides creative contexts for language learning. With this new philosophy of foreign language teaching, the two sets of textbooks which had been in use in the Vietnamese general education for nearly two decades have proved to be inadequate. In the face of this situation, the Vietnamese Government issued Decree 14/2001 TC-TTg on the Renovation of the Vietnamese General Education Curriculum, specifying the requirements and tasks of the Ministry of Education and the concerned ministries and governmental departments. In im-

plementing the Government's Decree, at the beginning of 2002, the Vietnamese Ministry of Education and Training (MOET) organized the design of the new curriculum and the writing of new textbooks for all school subjects. This national project finished in early 2008 when the new textbooks of all school subjects were put into use across the whole general educational system of Vietnam, and in the case of English teaching, there are two types of book, one is a set of English textbooks for lower secondary schools and the other is two sets of English textbooks for upper secondary schools to be used across the country:

- Standard set which serves around 96% of the students (lower secondary).
- Advanced set which serves around 4% of the students (upper secondary).

Unlike the period of 1982-2002, the new current general curriculum, English is a compulsory subject at both lower and upper secondary levels and an elective subject at primary level. At primary level, English is introduced from Grade 3 – 5, 2 periods per week with 35 weeks/year, making the total of 210 periods. At lower secondary level, English is studied for 3 periods a week in Grades 6, 7, and 8, and for 2 periods in Grade 9, making the total of 385 periods a year. And at upper secondary level, English is studied for 3 periods a week/35 weeks/year, making the total of 315 periods. The number of periods studied at each level and the total number of periods studied in the whole formal general education system in Vietnam can be summarized in the Table 1.

Table 1
The number of periods of ELT for each level of education

Level of Education (Grades)	Number of Periods each Week	Total periods
Primary (Grades 3 - 5)	2 periods/week/35 weeks	210
Lower secondary (Grades 6 - 8)	3 periods/week/35 weeks	210
Lower secondary (Grade 9)	2 periods/week/35 weeks	70
Upper secondary (Grades 10 -12)	3 periods/week/35 weeks	315
	Total	805

The aims of Vietnam's English language teaching (ELT) at general educational level at the end of the upper secondary level, students will be able:

- To use English as a means of communication at a certain level of proficiency in four skills: listening, speaking, reading, and writing, be able to read materials at the same level as their textbook, and use a dictionary.
- To have mastered basic English phonetics and grammar, to have acquired the minimum of around 2500 vocabulary words.
- To attain a certain level of understanding of English speaking cultures, to become aware of cross-cultural differences in order to be better overall com-

municators, to better inform the world of the Vietnamese people, their history and culture, and to take pride in Vietnam, its language and culture. (MOET 2007)

However, the biggest problem of ELT in Vietnam is that pupils who graduating from schools cannot use English for communication (speaking), even for very basic conversations. The reasons of this failure have been discussed and analyzed in many types of research (Le, 2011; Moon, 2005; Ngoc, 2015; Nguyen, 2005; Trinh, 2007). This paper does not come back to this issue but provides a solution to solve this problem with the application of a bilingual program in the general education system of Vietnam.

Bilingual education

A successful bilingual education program is defined as a program leading to the development and maintenance of language skills, achieving better academic performance and enhancing cross-cultural understanding. It is determined by three important principles:

- Taking it step by step, learning bilingual through monolingual and bilingual as a reward (Cumming, 2012).
- Hamers and Blanc (2000) describes the general goal of bilingual education is the use of two languages to educate generally, meaningfully, and equitably,
- For tolerance and appreciation of diversity.

According to McCarty (2012), there are four ways to classify bilingual programs:

(i)   language use (i.e., first or second language used to present subject matters).

(ii)   amount of each language used (both languages used equally or in different portions).

(iii)   type of ESL (e.g., audio-lingual system, repetition and memorization of sentences and phrases, etc).

(iv)   purpose of programs (i.e., the bilingual program will help to maintain students' mother language or ultimately replace it with second language).

Naturally, bilingual programs usually try to resolve the desire of participants to become bilingual, bi-literate and to have cross-cultural understanding. The definition and classification of bilingual commonly recognized as complex, in part because bilingualism is multidimensional. The definition of bilingualism can range from the proficiency in both languages as native speakers to simply as the ability to communicate in a second language at basic level (Garcia, 2009). Native speakers could be refered to people in the Inner Circle in the Kachru's Three-circle Model (Kachru, 1985; Pandey, 2012).

Although it is recognized that the development of bilingual children depends on family, environmental and socio-cultural factors, many researchers (Bialystok, 2001; Cummins, 2003; Lightbown & Spada, 2006) all demonstrate

that there is little evidence to suggest that learning more than one language in childhood is a problem for children. There is also no evidence that suggests learning two languages can have a negative effect in the development of children's language as well as the cognitive and academic development.

The benefits of bilingual programs have been documented and supported favorably in numerous studies. Cummins (2003) suggests that the bilingual program brings a positive effect on language development and education ability of children, while Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) explains that the bilingual program increases economic opportunities in business and society, and maintains superiority of learners. Cummins (2003) also believes in the benefits of a deeper understanding of the language and how to use it effectively and supporting children in developing more flexibility in their thinking by the habits of processing information through two different languages. Empirical evidence also support the broad advantages of bilingual education, recognized by many researchers proving that these programs are needed to develop resources of languages and cultures.

Baker (2006) points out of nine major advantages of bilingual education (not including the aspects of social, ethnic or community):

1) High level of proficiency in both languages allows effective communication.
2) Multi-cultural understanding.
3) Knowing two languages increases a person's chance to discover literature, to give a deeper understanding of the history, traditions and perspectives.
4) Increasing achievements in the classroom.
5) Better cognitive development.
6) Increasing self-esteem, especially for ethnic minority children.
7) Having strong sense of pride in their own cultural backgrounds.
    Economic advantages by increasing employment opportunities.

This is the desired education system in many countries by educators, parents and policy makers.

Specifically in cognitive development, Baker (2006) refers to the information processing skills and educational qualifications that can be developed through the two languages, as well as through the four skills of listening - speaking - reading - writing, the whole system helps to develop awareness to the extent that when one or both languages are not fully implemented, cognitive functioning and academic performance may be affected badly. Many researchers (Bialystok, 2001; Bialystok, 2011; Garcia, 2009) found many other benefits brought by a bilingual education, such as superior skills in their first language, to raise awareness about languages, higher IQ and increased cognitive flexibility and development.

As briefly introduced above, a successful bilingual education program is a strong form, in which both languages are maintained and developed. According to Baker (2006), they generally have economic value resulting in a highly skilled, trained and recruited workforce. The immersion program is an

example, with no matter to when it is applied during, early, middle or old ages, and including the majority language children with both languages used in classrooms or social purposes, resulting in progress to a high level for both bilingual and bi-cultures.

Although there are different definitions, Genesee (1987) states that at least 50 percent of instruction in a given school year must be provided through a second language for the program to be regarded as immersion. The program in which a subject and language arts are taught in a second language is often identified as an enhanced second language program.

Despite general concerns to whether the students of an immersion program can manage learning in terms of language, Garcia (2009) confirmed that immersion students can learn just as well as the groups of English language learners used to compare. Baker (2006) also demonstrates that immersion programs tend to raise achievements across the curriculum and improve the standards and activities of the children. In order for immersion programs to have a high successful rate, some of these essential characteristics must be used. With immersion schools existing in many countries today, the study shows the ideal time must be between 4 and 6 years, with a curriculum that is similar to 1st language curriculum, with at least 50% taught in a second language The enthusiasm of the teachers and the parents' commitment is also a big help. The enthusiasm of teachers is essential as it is a model, and to perform tasks in the classroom focusing on authentic communication, the availability of communication is then multiplied.

Implementing a bilingual program at the Vietnamese American School System in Vietnam

Vietnamese American School System (VASS) was established 2005. Located in Ho Chi Minh City, it is a private school offering a bilingual program from grade 1 to grade 12. Most of the pupils at VASS are Vietnamese who want to take higher education in English speaking countries, such as the USA, the UK, Australia, Canada and New Zealand or study at International universities in Vietnam or Asian countries. Besides a minority of pupils whose parents are English natives or who were born in English speaking countries, the majority do not speak English at home. At VASS, in the mornings from Monday to Friday, all pupils learn the Vietnamese program regulated by the Ministry Of Education and Training, (MOET). In the afternoon, they study the English program designed by the School's Department of International Programs and Curriculum (DIPAC). The English programs are based on the Cambridge International Examinations' programs and qualifications (CIE, 2016). With the motto "brighten your future", VASS has standardized its international programs with the outcomes of primary (after Grade 5), junior secondary (after Grade 9) and senior secondary (after Grade 12) are Cambridge Primary, IGCSE (International General Certificate of Secondary Education) and Cambridge A Level, respectively.

As mentioned above, in order to be regarded as a bilingual or immersion program, "at least 50 percent of the academic year must be provided in the second lan-

guage for the program" (Genesee, 1987, p. X). In the case of VASS, half of the program (morning lessons) is taught in Vietnamese and the other half (afternoon lessons) is conducted in English (as the second language).

Primary pupils study four periods in mornings and four periods in afternoons (45 minutes per period). Therefore, in total every week, primary pupils will study 20 periods in Vietnamese and 20 periods in English. See example of a timetable of a grade in Table 2.

Table 2
Example timetable of a class at VASS

Morning sessions – Vietnamese curriculum					
Period	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
1	Assembly	Fine Arts	Science & Society	P.E.	Music
2	Phonics	Phonics	Phonics	Phonics	Phonics
Break					
3	Moral	Maths	Maths	Maths	Maths
4	Script Practice	Script Practice	Craft	Script Practice	Life Skills
Lunch – Taking nap					
Afternoon sessions – English curriculum					
Period	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
1	Reading & Voc.	English	Science	ICT	Maths
2	Phonics	English	Science	ICT	Maths
Break					
3	English	Science	Grammar & Voc.	Maths	Music
4	English	Science	English	Maths	Phonics

Secondary pupils have similar timetables. However, there are seven subjects at junior grades and five subjects at senior grades in the English program are taught as shown in Table 3.

Table 3
Subjects and periods of English program for junior and senior secondary levels

Junior Secondary Level (Grade 6 to 9)		Senior Secondary Level (Grade 10 to 12)	
Subject	Number of period /week	Subject	Number of period /week
Academic English	5	Academic English	6
Maths	4	Maths	4
Science	4	Science	4
Geography	2	Economics	4

ICT	2	ICT	2
French Language	2		
Music	1		

Results and Discussion

After 10 years of implementing the bilingual program at VASS, many positive results have been achieved. In the Vietnamese program, VASS pupils have fulfilled all requirements of MOET at each grade as well as threshold levels in order to receive qualifications of primary, junior secondary and senior secondary. This paper does not go into the details of these achievements. Instead, some positive results/examples of the English program will be presented and discussed. This aims to confirm the benefits of a bilingual or immersion program, including having positive effects on language development and education ability of children, allowing effective communications in both languages at a high level of proficiency, helping children to have a multi-cultural understanding, increasing achievements in the classrooms, better cognitive development through the two languages, as well as through the four skills of listening - speaking - reading – writing, as claimed and reported by Cummins and Swain (1986), Hamers and Blanc (1983), Stafanakis (1991), Cummins (2003), and Baker (2006).

For the English program at Primary level, in order to compare the English proficiency of pupils studying bilingual program (at VASS) with those who study English as a foreign language (EFL) as in most cases in Vietnam, in January 2016, VASS organized a diagnostic survey using standard Cambridge English examinations (Cambridge ESOL, 2016) for all Grade 5 pupils in District 2 of Ho Chi Minh City. Cambridge English Exams are based on the Common European Framework of Reference for Language (CEFR) as in Table 4.

Table 4

The Common European Framework of Reference for Language

Description	CEFR	Requirement of MOET	IELTS Band	English for Young Learners (YLE)	Main Suite
Mastery	C2		7.5+		CPE
Effective Operation Proficiency	C1		6.5 – 7.0		CAE
Vantage	B2		5.0 – 6.0		FCE
Threshold	B1	Grade 12	3.5 – 4.5		PET
Way stage	A2	Grade 9	3.0	Flyers	KET
Breakthrough	A1	Grade 5		Movers	
				Starters	

There are two English programs offered at most of the public primary schools in Ho Chi Minh, including (i) Intensive English Program (IEP), in which pupils will study eight periods of English per week; and (ii) Elective English Program (EEP), in which pupils study four periods of English every week. In this survey, Cambridge Flyers Exam is used for pupils taking IEP and Cambridge Mover Exam is used for those studying EEP. The number of pupils of each school in District 2 is given in Table 5.

Table 5

Number of Grade 5 pupils of each school taking the diagnostic test

No.	School Name	Exam Level	Number of Candidates	English program
1	An Phu	Flyers	34	Intensive English program
2	An Khanh	Flyers	18	Intensive English program
3	Nguyen Van troi	Flyers	77	Intensive English program
4	Giong Ong To	Flyers	99	Intensive English program
5	Huynh Van Ngoi	Flyers	62	Intensive English program
Total number of candidates taking Flyers Exam			290	
6	Nguyen Van Troi	Movers	131	Elective English program
7	Luong The Vinh	Movers	108	Elective English program
8	My Thuy	Movers	95	Elective English program
9	Thanh My Loi	Movers	202	Elective English program
10	Giong Ong To	Movers	232	Elective English program
11	Nguyen Hien	Movers	73	Elective English program
Total number of candidates taking Movers Exam			841	

In Cambridge YLE, the shield system is used to access the English proficiency of candidates. Five shields are used to mark the proficiency in each skill: Listening, Reading & Writing, Speaking. Therefore, the best candidates can get 15 shields in maximum. In Ho Chi Minh City, Department Of Education and Training (DOET) also uses Cambridge YLE to access primary pupils. This means that pupils who study the

IEP are expected to take Flyers at the end of Grade 5 and must achieve at least 10 shields in total. Similarly, pupils who study the EEP are expected to achieve at least 10 shields in Movers Exam at the end of Grade 5. And the results of the survey conducted by VASS are shown in Table 6

For IEP group, the percentage of the pupils reaching 10 shields or more is 53.8%. This means only half of the pupils in this survey achieved the level required by DOET. In particular, there are substantial deviations with schools: An Phu and An Khanh schools have a high number of pupils with 10 shields or more, 70.6% and 72.2%, respectively. Giong Ong To reached 67.7%. In contrast, the relatively low scores were observed in other cases: Huynh Van Ngoi reached 51.6% and Nguyen Van Troi at 26%.

In EEP group, results showed that test scores of this group are very low, only 20% of candidates qualified according to the average level (from 10 shields upwards). Average points of this group are only from an average of 5.4 to 9.7 out of 15 shields in total.

In comparison, VASS Grade 5 pupils took Cambridge Main Suite Exams, including KET, PET and FCE, and the results are: among the 42 pupils at Grade 5, there are 18 who achieved KET, 15 got PET and 9 passed FCE. Particularly, 2 out of 9 pupils passing FCE tests have reached C1 Level in CEFR. So, if CEFR is used to scale the English proficiency levels of VASS pupils against those do not take bilingual program (i.e., pupils at public schools in District 2), there is a very big difference between them. This result once again shows the big advantage of a bilingual program compared to EFL.

For the bilingual program at secondary level, the results have not completed a full cycle of 12 years yet (i.e., from Grade 1 to Grade 12). Furthermore, as mentioned above, the benefits of bilingual education are not only higher levels of competence in both languages, but also others such as enculturation, increasing learners' opportunities for literature, history, higher levels of cognitive development, increased self-esteem, increased employment opportunities, etc. This is beyond the scope of this paper and will be the objective of further research.

Table 6
The results of the Diagnostic Test

No.	School Name	Exam Level	Number of pupils	Exam (Using scheme of 15 shields)						results
				Average	*10-13*	*%*	*14*	*%*	*15*	*%*
1	An Phu	Flyers	34	10.7	24	*70.6%*	4	*11.8%*	0	*0%*
2	An Khanh	Flyers	18	11.2	13	*72.2%*	3	*16.7%*	0	*0%*
3	Nguyen Van troi	Flyers	77	7.8	20	*26.0%*	2	*2.6%*	1	*1%*
4	Giong Ong To	Flyers	99	10.1	67	*67.7%*	5	*5.1%*	0	*0%*
5	Huynh Van Ngoi	Flyers	62	9.3	32	*51.6%*	4	*6.5%*	0	*0%*
	Total number of candidates taking Flyers Exam		**290**		**156**	*53.8%*	**9**	*3.1%*	**1**	*0%*
6	Nguyen Van Troi	Movers	131	6.5	24	*18.3%*	2	*1.5%*	1	*1%*
7	Luong The Vinh	Movers	108	5.4	11	*10.2%*	0	*0.0%*	1	*1%*
8	My Thuy	Movers	95	5.6	10	*10.5%*	1	*1.1%*	0	*0%*
9	Thanh My Loi	Movers	202	7.8	56	*27.7%*	10	*5.0%*	2	*1%*
10	Giong Ong To	Movers	232	5.9	30	*12.9%*	0	*0.0%*	0	*0%*
11	Nguyen Hien	Movers	73	9.7	37	*50.7%*	11	*15.1%*	6	*8%*
	Total number of candidates taking Movers Exam		**841**		**168**	*20.0%*	**24**	*2.9%*	**10**	*1%*

Conclusion

The paper summarized the situation of English Language Teaching (ELT) for the general education system in Vietnam and briefly reviewed bilingual education and its advantages and disadvantages. The implementation of a bilingual program in the Vietnamese American School System was also described. To compare the English proficiency of pupils studying bilingual program (at VASS) with those who study English as a foreign language (EFL) as most cases in Vietnam, a study using standard Cambridge English examinations for all Grade 5 pupils in District 2 of Ho Chi Minh City as well as Grade 5 pupils of VASS has been conducted and the result was shown in this paper. The result of the study showed the big differences in the levels of English competency of bilingual pupils at VASS and those of pupils attending a normal Vietnamese program. This is clear evidence of an advantage of bilingual education, a solution for teaching foreign languages in Vietnam's general education system. Therefore, it is strongly recommended the Vietnamese Government should create legal framework to implement bilingual education in the general education system of Vietnam in order to achieve the targets of the National Plan for "*Teaching and Learning Foreign Languages in the National Formal Educational System in the Period of 2008 – 2020*".

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Attitudes toward English as an international language: A comparative study of college teachers and students in Taiwan

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Abstract

English has become an international language which people use to communicate with others to achieve a variety of purposes. Traditional English language teaching (ELT) pedagogy tends to promote native-like competence as the ultimate goal of English language learning. However, many scholars have criticized such a traditional teaching orientation and have proposed the concept of English as an international language (EIL) (McKay, 2003). In the framework of EIL, there is no one Standard English; rather, English learners should be aware of English varieties (e.g., American English, Singlish, Indian English, etc.) and be able to use appropriate English varieties in certain contexts. While the notion of EIL is accepted by many scholars, ELT professionals and English learners are usually unaware of EIL. Therefore, this research aims to investigate the attitudes of English teachers and students in Taiwan toward EIL. It discusses differences between teachers' and students' attitudes toward EIL through quantitatively analyzing the questionnaire of EIL attitudes completed by 300 students and 17 teachers in the English department of a university in Taiwan. The findings indicated that both students and teachers had positive attitudes towards the concept of EIL, but resisted using Taiwanese English. In addition, while most students felt inferior to native speakers, the teachers tended to encourage their students to put emphasis on linguistic correctness during communication. Pedagogical implications are also provided.

Keywords: English as an international language, Taiwan, teachers' and students' attitudes

Introduction

Nowadays English is an international language with which people communicate with others to achieve a variety of purposes such as social media, international business, cross cultural communication, and so on. Kachru (1992) distinguished English users into three concentric circles: the Inner Circle, the Outer Circle, and the Expanding Circle. The Inner Circle includes English speakers from countries where English is used as a first language such as the United States, the United Kingdom, and Australia. The Outer Circle refers to countries such as India, the Philippines, and Singapore, where English is used as a second language. In the Expanding Circle, English is studied as a foreign language and is used for international communication. These three concentric

circles show that there are many people speaking English, even though they are not using English as their first language.

Although in today's world non-native English speakers outnumber native English speakers, in traditional English language teaching (ELT), people still think of the Inner Circle speakers as the owners of the English language, and tend to promote native-like competence as the final goal of English language learning. However, many scholars have criticized this traditional teaching orientation and have proposed the concept of English as an international language (EIL) (Matsuda, 2003; Jenkins, 2003; McKay, 2003).

That is, English does not belong to any particular country or people, and certain English varieties in the Inner circle (i.e., British English or American English) should not be the only standards for teaching or learning English. Other English varieties in the Outer or Expanding circles should be acknowledged and valued as well because English is a tool for communication in different regions and across cultural borders (Kachru, 1992; Jenkins, 2003; McKay, 2003; Widdowson, 1994). Although many scholars have promoted the new concept of English language, it is still difficult to implement such a new concept in the real world because some teachers and students have different attitudes towards the EIL conception (Masoumpanah & Zarei, 2014; Matsuda, 2003). Therefore, a deeper understanding of attitudes toward EIL, ownership of English, and English varieties is both urgent and necessary.

The related works on the EIL conception reported in the literature can be classified into three major categories: accent attitudes, English language attitudes, and EIL attitudes. Several studies have examined attitudes toward the accents of English varieties. McKenzie (2008) examined the social factors and non-native attitudes towards varieties of spoken English in Japan through a questionnaire of English learners in Japan. The results of the study demonstrated that the informants' ratings of speakers of varieties of English speech tended to be complex and were often contradictory. That is, while most informants were in favor of British and American English varieties, they demonstrated a greater solidarity with a heavily accented English spoken by a Japanese speaker. Sari and Yusuf (2009) investigated the role of non-native English speakers' attitudes towards English accents and their identity through interviewing English learners. The findings showed that the main problem of the determination to use their accented English to express their L1 identity in an International English Lingua Franca (ELF) community is the ability to understand other non-native speakers of English who speak with their own accents as local dialects which differ from those of other regions or from the grammar of "received English."

Other studies have examined attitudes towards the English language. For example, Ke (2009) investigated Taiwanese college students' conceptions of English and their views of the world. These findings further support the claim that students' attitudes toward, preferences for, or proficiency level in English do not seem to relate to their conceptions of English. The most significant in-

dicator causing a positive attitude toward English is participants' intercultural experiences.

Few studies have been undertaken to understand students' or English learners' attitudes toward the EIL conception (Matsuda, 2003; Saito, 2012; Stanojevic & Smojver, 2010). Most of these studies pointed out that most teachers and students still think it is important to teach or learn native-like English. Many students claim that they prefer native speakers of English as their English teachers because they think that native-speaking teachers are more helpful for them to learn English (Matsuda, 2003).

To date, however, research has tended to focus on students' rather than teachers' attitudes toward EIL. Moreover, few studies have investigated the attitudes of both English teachers and students toward EIL (He & Miller, 2011; Ranta, 2010), and none have been conducted in the context of Taiwan. In general, the difference between teachers' and students' attitudes toward EIL conceptions has been a neglected area.

The purpose of this study is to understand the attitudes of Taiwanese teachers and students toward EIL. More specifically, this study was undertaken in order to understand the difference between teachers' and students' attitudes toward EIL. In addition, through examining and analyzing teachers' and learners' attitudes toward the EIL conception, certain points can be helpful for language educators to design more effective EIL courses in the future.

This study was guided by the following research questions:
1. What are Taiwanese college students' and teachers' attitudes toward the concept of English as an international language (EIL)?
2. What are the differences between students' and teachers' attitudes toward the concept of EIL?

Literature review

Conception of EIL: Ownership of English

In traditional thinking, English may be considered as belonging to the native speakers of English (Norton, 1997; Widdowson, 1994). As Norton (1997) pointed out, native speakers of the language are generally considered as the real owners of English. Likewise, Widdowson (1994) noted that English originated in Britain, and both its morphology and history were created there. It could therefore legitimately be claimed that the British are the custodians of English, and English is their property.

However, the native speakers' ownership of English has been challenged as more and more people have begun to learn English as their second or as a foreign language. As Graddol (1999) estimated, in the next 50 years, second language (L2) users of English are expected to grow from 235 million to around 462 million, which would overtake the number of first language (L1) speakers. Furthermore, Jenkins (2003) stated that in today's world, due to English being an international language or a lingua franca, most communica-

tion in English might not involve English L1 speakers. Therefore, many EIL scholars have pointed out that English does not belong to any particular country or people. For example, Norton (1997) argued that English belongs to all English users, no matter whether they are native or non-native speakers because it has become an international language. Similarly, Graddol (1997) claimed that although native speakers might feel that they are the owners of English, it would be those who speak English as a second or foreign language who are likely to determine the world's future. Widdowson (1994) pointed out that more and more language researchers and educators are embracing the fact that English is spoken by more people as a non-native than as a native language. In other words, as English is no longer exclusively owned by the native-speaking communities, it should be shared by all members of the English-speaking communities, including non-native speakers.

To sum up, the number of people who use English as a second or foreign language is greater than that of those who use it as their mother tongue. Native speakers of English cannot be the only owners of English because English is no longer determined by birth or origin, but by those who use the language.

Conception of EIL: Standard English

To achieve native-like ability was usually the main goal in traditional English language teaching (ELT) pedagogy (McKay, 2003). Gardner (2001) noted that L2 achievement referred to developing near-native-like competence. However, the concept of EIL proposes that Standard English should not be the English used in the United Kingdom and the United States, but rather, should include different English varieties from the whole world.

Kachru's (1992) three concentric circles highlighted that many of the Outer Circle countries were colonies of the Inner Circle and had indigenized (or localized) varieties of English, such as in India, the Philippines and Singapore. According to Kachru (1992), the "nativization" process, which comprises local development of mixing phonological, morphological, syntactic, semantic, and stylistic features, is the way to indigenize non-native varieties of English. Thus, these English varieties are used with distinct features by the regions or nations as their native or official language; Indian English could be considered as one convincing example. Likewise, when we look more closely at the European Union, we can know that in Europe, many countries have their own English which is integrated into their culture, life-styles, history, and so on (James, 2000). It is therefore important to raise people's general awareness of the global role of English, and L2 speakers need to be more tolerant of different kinds of English including non-native Englishes (Seidlhofer, 2004). In addition, to many L2 speakers, English communication ability is more important than achieving native-like competence (McKay, 2006). As a result, the main goal of learning English should focus on the competence of English communication.

English is a tool for communication in different regions and helps people cross cultural borders (Kachru, 1992; Jenkins, 2003; McKay, 2003; Widdowson, 1994). There should be no so-called Standard English, and British or American English should not overpower other English varieties. English should belong to those who use it, and can even represent one specific culture of a region.

Students' attitudes toward EIL

A number of studies have pointed out that students have a negative attitude toward EIL. For instance, Saito (2012) examined the native speaker orientation among middle school EFL students in Japan. Data were elicited from 338 students in a public middle school through a questionnaire. The findings suggested that the students had more positive attitudes toward native than non-native varieties of English. That is, many English teachers and students still support native English (i.e., British or American English) as the Standard English. Likewise, Matsuda (2003) explored the ownership of English in Japanese secondary schools through a questionnaire and interviews. The study was conducted at a private senior high school (10th-12th grades) in Tokyo, and one 12th-grade class was selected which consisted of 34 students. The findings showed that the students viewed the speakers of the Inner Circle as the owners of the language. They believed that although English is used all over the world, it does not belong to the world. The Japanese variety of English was perceived as either Japanese or incorrect English that deviated from the "real" English of native English speakers. Similarly, Moore and Bounchan (2010) studied the views of college lecturers and their students in relation to the status of English in Cambodia through a questionnaire. The findings showed that most of the students thought it was important for people in Cambodia to learn English, and the standard must be the native English which is taught by native speakers of English. Finally, Stanojevic and Smojver (2011) examined the attitudes of Croatian university students toward the possible emergence of Euro English and their foreign accent. The study found that the students seemed to be unwilling to accept English varieties. As a result, most of the findings indicate that, in general, students have negative attitudes toward the conception of EIL.

Among the studies on students' attitudes toward EIL, fortunately, there are a few students who have positive attitudes. Jin (2005) explored Chinese undergraduates' attitudes towards China English and the preferences of local or native English-speaking teachers through a pre-questionnaire before an EIL course and a post-questionnaire after the course, group discussion, and interviews. The findings showed that the participants were more positive about EIL after the course. The students became more comfortable using English with a Chinese accent, and felt that native-speaker norms are no longer so important. They thought that China English should one day be accepted as a standard va-

riety of English. Xu and Poel (2011) examined the relation between English as a lingua franca (ELF, a similar concept to that of EIL) as a theoretical construct and as a reality of life for Flemish language students. A total of 69 second-year university students completed questionnaires about the ELF conception. The results indicated that the students had embraced the idea of ELF but retained a strong belief in the native standard norm. In short, although most of the studies found that students cannot accept the concept of EIL, a small amount of research has indicated students' positive attitudes toward EIL.

Teachers' attitudes toward EIL

Whereas many English students' attitudes have been explored, there are few studies focusing on teachers' attitudes toward EIL. Among the few that have examined teachers' attitudes, Lai (2008) explored what university English teachers think about the role of EIL today in Taiwan through qualitative interviews with five college English teachers in Taiwan. The findings revealed that these teachers were struggling about whether they should follow a native speakers' model or an English variety when teaching English. Although most of them agreed with the notion of EIL, it was very difficult for them to put it into their own teaching practices because most of their students wanted to achieve native-like competence as their final goal, and in Taiwan native-like English is more acceptable than English varieties. Therefore, even though the teachers themselves had positive attitudes toward EIL, it was still very hard for them to teach the EIL conception in class.

Both students' and teachers' attitudes toward EIL

While most of the studies have focused on either students' or teachers' attitudes, only a little research has examined both students' and teachers' attitudes toward EIL. Among these few studies, Pishghadam and Saboori (2011) analyzed teachers' and learners' attitudes toward English language learning and teaching in the language institutes in Iran, with respect to the theory of world Englishes through interviews and observation. The findings indicated that in Iran, both teachers and students still believed in a world English rather than world Englishes. However, there is another study which showed that students and teachers both had positive attitudes toward EIL. Ranta (2010) investigated Finnish English teachers' and students' views of English in the real world and English at school. Questionnaires were filled out by 108 students and 34 non-native teachers of English in a Finnish upper secondary school. The results suggested that although native-like proficiency is the standard when they teach or learn in school, students and teachers in Finland still had a good awareness of the concept of EIL in reality, and accepted English varieties. According to the findings of these two studies, there are many contradictions in both students' and teachers' attitudes toward EIL. Therefore, although much work has

been done to date, more studies need to be conducted to ascertain the difference between students' and teachers' attitudes towards the conception of EIL.

Summary

Previous studies have shown that native speakers of English cannot be the only owners of English based on the EIL conception. There should not be a single standard for judging English production. English should refer to English varieties in local contexts, rather than the Inner circle British or American English. Previous studies on attitudes towards EIL have highlighted that most teachers and students still think it is important to teach or learn native-like English. Many students claim that they prefer native English-speaking teachers because they think that they are more helpful for learning English than non-native English-speaking teachers.

According to these studies of attitudes toward EIL, there are still a few students and teachers who are aware of EIL in the real world and who welcome diversity. Although all of these studies have aimed to understand students' or teachers' attitudes toward EIL, none of them have investigated or compared the attitudes of both English teachers and students toward EIL in Taiwan. In other words, the difference between teachers' and students' attitudes toward EIL conceptions is a neglected area, and is thus the focus of the present study in the context of Taiwan.

Methodology

This aim of this study was to investigate Taiwanese college students' and teachers' attitudes toward the concept of English as an international language (EIL). It further examined the differences between students' and teachers' attitudes toward the concept of EIL. The following sections describe the research design, research participants, instruments, and data analysis, respectively.

Research design

In this study, we applied a quantitative research design to the investigation. The questionnaire design was used to address the research questions of the study. A questionnaire was administered to identify the attitudes of Taiwanese students and teachers toward EIL in a university in Taiwan.

Research participants

The present study was conducted at a university located in a suburban area of northern Taiwan. The participants were 300 students and 17 teachers in the English department. As faculty members, we are familiar with the university context, making it possible to develop a better understanding of the results.

All the students and teachers in the English department were invited to participate in the research. Of the 428 students and 21 teachers, 300 students and 17 teachers agreed to take part in the study. According to Table 1, the student participants were 92 males and 208 females majoring in the English department, consisting of 68 freshmen, 52 sophomores, 91 juniors, 80 seniors, and 8 above senior level (other). Table 2 indicates that the teacher participants were 3 males and 14 females teaching in the department.

Table 1
Background information of the students

Gender		Grade				
Male	Female	Freshman	Sophomore	Junior	Senior	other
92	208	68	52	91	80	8

Table 2
Background information of the teachers

Gender		Years of teaching English(year)			
Male	Female	0-4	5-9	10-14	15↑
3	14	1	6	6	4

Instruments

The questionnaire was adapted from Matsuda (2003), Xu and Poel (2011) and Stanojevic and Smojver (2011), and was translated into Chinese. The central issues structuring the questionnaire statements are based on the key concepts of the theory of "English as an international language" as reviewed earlier (McKay, 2003; Widdowson, 1994). The questionnaire for students was composed of 49 statements to which the respondents indicated their degree of agreement, with the choices of *"strongly agree", "agree", "no comment", "disagree"*, and *"strongly disagree."* The questionnaire for the students was structured into seven areas: (1) goal/focus of learning English; (2) motivation for learning English; (3) opinions about ownership of English and varieties of English; (4) opinions about Standard English; (5) feelings about interaction with native/non-native interlocutors; (6) focus of learning and views of EIL communication; and (7) opinions about ideal English teachers (NS/NNS). The questionnaire for teachers included the same items, but an additional area about teacher beliefs regarding teaching English was added (59 items).

Data analysis

The quantitative data were coded and analyzed by descriptive statistics, *t* test through SPSS version 22. Descriptive statistics were performed to explore the Taiwanese students' and teachers' attitudes toward the EIL conception. Specifically, the mean scores and standard deviation of the survey were calculated to understand the participants' views of the notion of EIL. *T* tests were conducted

to compare Taiwanese students' and teachers' attitudes toward the EIL conception.

Results

This section reports the analysis of the data collected from the surveys of the students' and teachers' attitudes toward English as an International Language (EIL). It reports five themes concerning the participants' attitudes toward the EIL conception: (a) goal and motivation of learning English, (b) ownership of English and English varieties, (c) opinions about Standard English, (d) interaction with native/non-native speakers, and (e) views on EIL communication. After presenting their attitudes according to each theme, the differences between the teachers' and students' attitudes toward the concept of EIL are discussed.

Goal and motivation of learning English

Regarding the goal of learning English, both students and teachers perceived speaking English fluently as more important than correct English pronunciation and grammar. According to Table 3, most students and teachers (strongly) agreed that speaking fluently is important when they speak English (item A1) (mean=4.41 vs. 4.39). The findings also revealed that most of the participants learned English in order to communicate with others. As Table 3 shows, most of the students and teachers (strongly) agreed that English is a tool for communication with people from different cultures and linguistic backgrounds (item B3) (mean= 4.41 vs. 4.53). Therefore, for most students and teachers, fluently communicating with others is their main goal and motivation for learning English.

Table 3
Results of the descriptive data and t test on students' and teachers' attitudes towards the goals and motivation of learning English

Items	Student M(SD)	Teacher M(SD)	t	P-value
Goal/focus of learning English				
(A1) When I speak English, I believe that being fluent is important.	4.39 (0.711)	4.41 (0.507)	-0.143	0.161
(A2) When I speak English, I believe that correct pronunciation is important	4.13 (0.710)	3.88 (0.600)	1.429	0.35
(A3) When I speak English, I believe that correct grammar is important	3.45 (0.900)	3.35 (0.702)	0.452	0.166
Motivation for learning English				
(B1) I like learning English because it al-	3.91	4.12	-	0.068

lows me to interact with native English speakers and understand their cultures.	(0.788)	(1.054)	1.020	
(B2) I like learning English because I love the beauty of the English language.	3.72 (0.786)	3.59 (1.004)	0.645	0.064
(B3) I like learning English because it is a useful tool for communication with people from different cultures and linguistic backgrounds.	4.41 (0.629)	4.53 (0.800)	-0.770	0.562
(B4) We learn English to communicate with people from a wide range of linguistic and cultural backgrounds, including both native and non-native speakers of English.	4.29 (0.659)	4.59 (0.507)	-1.829	0.512
(B5) Learning English for undergraduate students is important for their academic studies.	4.16 (0.755)	4.41 (0.795)	-1.334	0.801

Note: *p<.05，**p<.01，***p<.001

Ownership of English and English varieties

The results indicate that while most of the participants had an open-minded attitude toward the concept of English as an international language (EIL), regarding ownership of English and English varieties, the students and teachers had varied attitudes. As Table 4 shows, the students were more open-minded than the teachers regarding the concept of ownership of English (Items C1& C5). Specifically, more students than teachers seemed to agree that English does not belong to any particular countries or people (Item C1, mean= 3.81 vs. 3.35). The results of the *t* test also reveal that there is a significant difference between the students' and teachers' perspectives on item C1 (t=1.749; p=.038). While many students agreed that English belongs to those who can speak English fluently, teachers tended to disagree with the statement (Item C5, mean = 3.40 vs. 2.88).

Moreover, the findings reveal that more teachers than students tended to embrace different varieties of English (Table 4, items C2, C3, & C4). To illustrate, the teachers were more aware of other varieties of English in addition to British or American English than the students (Item C2, mean= 4.44vs. 4.00). Also, more teachers than students were interested in knowing about other English varieties (Item C3, mean = 3.81vs. 3.53). Finally, more teachers than students agreed that it is useful to know the different accents and ways of speaking English (Item C4, Mean=4.18 vs. 3.75).

Therefore, as Table 4 shows, the students were more positive about the ownership of English than the teachers; the teachers were more open-minded than the students when it comes to the concept of English varieties. The teachers and students had significantly different opinions on the aspects of owner-

ship of English and the concept of English varieties; this is probably due to their different identities and linguistic contact. That is, teachers tend to have stricter standards in terms of language accuracy; thus, it is less likely for them to claim ownership of English. When it comes to the concept of English varieties, though, the teachers were more tolerant and open-minded. This might be because most teacher participants had experience of studying or travelling abroad, which resulted in an increase in language contact with people from all over the world.

Table 4
Results of the descriptive data and t test on students' and teachers' attitudes regarding ownership of English, and English varieties

Items	Student M(SD)	Teacher M(SD)	t	P-value
Ownership of English and English varieties				
(C1) English does not belong to any particular countries or people.	3.81 (0.838)	3.35 (1.057)	1.749*	0.038
(C2) Besides British or American English, there are other varieties of English in the world, e.g. Singapore English	4.00 (0.734)	4.44 (0.496)	-2.444	0.788
(C3) I am interested in knowing about other varieties of English	3.53 (0.782)	3.81 (0.808)	-1.464	0.397
(C4) It is useful to get to know the different accents and ways of speaking English in the world	3.75 (0.773)	4.18 (0.636)	-2.248	0.098
(C5) English belongs to those who can speak English fluently	3.40 (1.015)	2.88 (1.219)	2.023	0.123

Note: *$p<.05$，**$p<.01$，***$p<.001$

Opinions about Standard English

Although most of the participants were aware of English varieties, some students and teachers still perceived American or British English as the standard when they learned English. Interestingly, as Table 5 indicates, the teachers were more likely to embrace English varieties, while the students tended to hold a monolithic view of English and see British or American English as Standard English (Items D1, D2, & D3). For example, more students than teachers would like to pronounce English as American and British people do (Item D1, Mean=3.81 vs. 3.35). It is shown that more students than teachers felt inferior to native speakers concerning English language use (Item D2, Mean=4.06 vs. 3.24). There are more students than teachers who thought that people should learn to speak English as closely to a British or American accent as possible (item D3) (mean= 3.38 vs. 3.12). The results of the *t* test also re-

veal that there are significant differences between students' and teachers' perspectives on items D1 (t=1.075, p=.025) and D2 (t=2.795, p=.011).

On the other hand, the results also indicate that many of the participants paid attention to fluency in communication rather than native-like competence, and that native norms are no longer the standard when learning English (Items D4, D5, & D6). According to Table 5, both teachers and students agreed that speaking fluently is more important than sounding native-like (Item D4, mean= 4.06 vs.3.80) and that it is not necessary to speak like British or Americans (Item D5, mean= 3.59 vs.3.38). Most of the participants did not mind people speaking English with an accent as long as it did not hinder the communication (Item D6, mean= 4.59 vs. 4.07). It is important to note that more teachers than students agreed with items D4, D5, and D6.

Table 5
Results of the descriptive data and t test on students' and teachers' attitudes regarding Standard English

Items	Student M(SD)	Teacher M(SD)	t	P-value
Opinions about Standard English				
(D1) I want to pronounce English as British or American people do	3.77 (0.848)	3.47 (1.125)	1.075*	0.025
(D2) With respect to my English language use, I see myself as inferior to native speakers	4.06 (0.840)	3.24 (1.200)	2.795*	0.011
(D3) People should learn to speak English as closely to a British or American accent as possible	3.38 (0.874)	3.12 (0.781)	1.201	0.378
(D4) It is more important to be able to speak fluently than to sound native-like	3.80 (0.849)	4.06 (0.827)	-1.212	0.389
(D5) It is not necessary to speak like British or Americans	3.38 (0.862)	3.59 (1.004)	-0.958	0.308
(D6) I don't mind people speaking English with an accent as long as it does not hinder the communication	4.07 (1.796)	4.59 (0.507)	-1.191	0.928

Note: *p<.05，**p<.01，***p<.001

In sum, more students than teachers felt inferior to native speakers regarding their English language use. Although many of the participants thought that it is not necessary to sound like native speakers, they still wanted to pronounce English as British or American people do, especially the students in this study. Because of the differences in English proficiency, the teachers were more confident and comfortable when conversing with native speakers of English. The students who felt inferior to native speakers might want to boost

their confidence and English proficiency by learning to sound like native speakers of English.

Interaction with native/non-native speakers

The findings from this study seem to indicate that the teachers and students had different attitudes toward native and non-native English speakers and the use of Taiwanese English. As Table 6 shows, more teachers than students felt comfortable speaking English with native speakers (Item E1, mean=3.94 vs. 3.20) as well as enjoyed speaking English with non-native speakers of English in multilingual environments (Item E3, mean=4.00 vs 3.64). More teachers than students thought that there is no difference speaking English with either native or non-native speakers (Item E4, mean=3.71 vs 3.50) and that native and non-native English speakers are equal when using English for international communication (Item E5, mean=4.35 vs. 3.93). There were more students than teachers who felt less comfortable speaking English with non-native speakers (Item E2, mean=3.06 vs. 2.59). The results of the *t* test also suggested that there are significant differences between the teachers' and students' attitudes toward items E2 (t=1.789, p=.014) and E4 (t=-.715, p=.026).

Table 6
Results of the descriptive data and t test on students' and teachers' attitudes regarding interaction with native/non-native speakers and views on EIL communication

Items	Student M(SD)	Teacher M(SD)	*t*	P-value
Interaction with native/non-native speakers				
(E1) I feel comfortable speaking English with native speakers	3.20 (0.837)	3.94 (0.827)	-3.568	0.115
(E2) I feel less comfortable speaking English with non-native speakers	3.06 (0.772)	2.59 (1.064)	1.789*	0.014
(E3) I enjoy speaking English with non-native speakers of English in multilingual environments	3.64 (0.690)	4.00 (0.707)	-2.066	0.135
(E4) There is no difference to me speaking English with either native or non-native speakers	3.50 (0.844)	3.71 (1.160)	-0.715*	0.026
(E5) Native and non-native English speakers are equal when using English for international communication	3.93 (0.800)	4.35 (0.7020)	-2.135	0.779
(E6) It is ok to use Taiwanese English when speaking or writing English	2.58 (0.945)	2.18 (1.185)	-0.490	0.139
(E7) Taiwanese English can express	2.74	2.29	2.016	0.552

Taiwanese things better than words from American English do	(0.872)	(1.047)		
(E8) Foreigners would not understand us if we talk to them in Taiwanese English	2.95 (0.924)	3.06 (1.088)	-0.454	0.203

Note: *p<.05，**p<.01，***p<.001

Views on EIL communication

The results showed that most of the participants considered communication skills as more important than linguistic correctness. As Table 7 indicates, the majority of the teachers and students believed that effective communication depends more on communication skills than on correct language use (Item F4, Mean=4.24 vs. 4.00) and that the focus of the teaching of English should be on developing communicative effectiveness across international contexts (Item F5, Mean=4.29 vs. 4.02). Most of the teachers and students agreed that they want to know more about the skills for intercultural communication (Item F6, Mean=4.35 vs.4.06).

While the majority of the participants thought intercultural communication skills are important, the study also illustrates that some of them still pay much attention to linguistic correctness. According to Table 7, many teachers and students tended to pay a lot of attention to linguistic correctness and precision in using English for spoken communication (Item F1, mean=3.88 vs.3.60) and felt very strongly about what constitutes "correct" English in spoken communication (Item F2, mean=3.24 vs. 3.36). When speaking with fellow non-native speakers, some teachers and students felt bothered by their linguistic errors and their varying levels of proficiency (Item F3, mean=2.82 vs. 3.07). What is interesting in this data is that the results of the *t* test reveal that there is significant difference between the students' and teachers' perspectives on item F1 (t=-1.831, p=0.001). That is, more teachers than students focus on linguistic correctness in EIL communication.

The study also indicates that the participants agreed that one's first language could be used as a resource in learning English. As Table 8 shows, many teachers and students agreed that their first language could help them learn English more easily (Item F8, mean=4.18 vs. 3.34); some of them disagreed with the statement that they should not use their first language during English class (Item F7, mean=2.53 vs. 3.43).

To sum up, while most participants agreed that fluency is more important than accuracy in EIL communication, the teachers tended to pay more attention to linguistic correctness in English spoken communication.

Table 7
Results of the descriptive data and t test on students' and teachers' attitudes regarding EIL communication

Items	Student M(SD)	Teacher M(SD)	t	P-value
Views on EIL communication				
(F1) I tend to pay a lot of attention to linguistic correctness and precision in using English for spoken communication	3.60 (0.757)	3.88 (0.600)	-1.831**	0.001
(F2) I feel very strongly about what is "correct" English in spoken communication	3.36 (0.831)	3.24 (0.752)	0.594	0.492
(F3) When speaking with fellow non-native speakers, I feel bothered by their linguistic errors and their varying levels of proficiency	3.07 (0.772)	2.82 (0.883)	1.291	0.664
(F4) Effective communication depends more on communication skills than on correct language use	4.00 (0.657)	4.24 (0.664)	-1.456	0.310
(F5) The focus of the teaching of English should be on developing communicative effectiveness across international contexts	4.02 (0.659)	4.29 (0.772)	-1.652	0.212
(F6) I want to know more about the skills for intercultural communication	4.06 (0.689)	4.35 (0.606)	-1.733	0.651
(F7) I think we should not use our first language during the English class	3.43 (0.906)	2.53 (1.125)	3.954	0.212
(F8) My first language can help me learn English more easily	3.34 (0.843)	4.18 (0.809)	-4.009	0.387

Note: *p<.05，**p<.01，***p<.001

Summary

The results of the present study suggest that, broadly speaking, both students and teachers had positive attitudes toward EIL. Most of the participants learned English in order to communicate with others so they thought that fluency is more important than accuracy. They preferred to focus on communication skills rather than native-like competence. In addition, the participants had ambivalent feelings about some of the EIL concepts. Many of them accepted English varieties but considered using Taiwanese English as undesirable.

Comparing the difference between students' and teachers' attitudes toward the concept of EIL, it could be concluded that teachers were more likely to embrace a range of English varieties and see one's first language as a resource in learning English, but they tended to pay more attention to linguistic correctness in spoken communication; unlike the teachers, many students still

wanted to pronounce English like British or American people do, and they saw themselves as inferior to native speakers of English regarding language use.

Discussion

General attitudes toward the EIL conception

Concerning the notions of EIL, the results of this study showed that most participants held positive attitudes toward English varieties, Standard English, and the ownership of English. They could embrace English varieties and consider that there is not only one standard when people learn English. Moreover, English belongs to the world because it is a tool for communication. A partial explanation for this may lie in the fact that people can get more information than before, which means there were more opportunities for them to be aware of different cultures and English varieties.

Up to this point, these results are consistent with Ranta (2010), whose study found that although native-like proficiency was the standard when the participants taught or learned in school, many Finnish students and teachers still had good awareness of the concept of EIL, and accepted different English varieties. The results of the current study are also in agreement with those of Jin (2005) who pointed out that after giving more information about the concept of EIL, the participants would have more positive attitudes. The findings of this study are not compatible with previous studies which suggested that both teachers and students still believed in a world English rather than world Englishes (Moore & Bounchan, 2010; Pishghadam & Saboori, 2011; Saito, 2012).

Ambivalence

Although the participants in this study were open-minded about the concept of EIL, they had ambivalent feelings about having a native-like accent and the use of Taiwanese English. The results indicated that although the participants could accept English varieties and would like to know different kinds of English, they still considered that it is not advisable to use Taiwanese English. In addition, they thought that it is not necessary for people to sound native-like, but if they can they would like to pronounce English like American or British people do. The more likely explanation rests in the nature of participants' attitudes which depend on the educational goals and particular social environment of each country (Tokumoto & Shibata, 2011). This result is congruent with previous studies which found that although students had embraced the idea of EIL, they still retained a strong belief in linguistic accuracy according to native English norms, aspired to sound native-like, and believed that American English is the best variety to teach and learn (Pishghadam & Saboori, 2011; Saito, 2012; Xu & Poel, 2011).

Most of the students would feel inferior to native speakers when they speak English. We interpret this to mean that students were afraid that native speakers might judge them according to their English proficiency and make fun of the mistakes they make. This is in complete agreement with previous studies (Ke, 2009; Xu & Poel, 2011). Previous research also pointed out that students have inferior feelings using English to communicate with native speakers, and this unequal linguistic power relationship does not help them develop a cosmopolitan worldview or view of an equal world.

Finally, most of the teachers tended to focus on linguistic correctness while speaking English. This result may be explained by considering that most of them have high expectations of themselves. They cannot accept themselves making mistakes in English because they are professionals. Besides, if they cannot speak English correctly, the society will doubt their capability as English teachers, which will influence their English teaching career. This finding is not surprising, as it confirmed what previous researchers have discovered about teachers having a strong sense of commanding the correct use of English rather than locally accented English or English varieties (Gun, 2009; Lai, 2008; Liou, 2010; Pishghadam & Saboori, 2011; Ranta, 2010).

In conclusion, the findings of this research show that most of the participants are willing to accept the EIL conception. However, they are still struggling with the use of Taiwanese English and a native-like accent. Furthermore, the students' attitudes toward the EIL conception are differentiated from the teachers'. While most of the students would feel inferior to native speakers when they speak English, most teachers believed that native and non-native English users are in an equal position, but they tended to place much more emphasis on linguistic correctness.

Implications of the study

Several pedagogical implications can be drawn from this study. First of all, the results indicated that most of the students would feel inferior to native speakers, and most of the teachers tended to focus on linguistic correctness while they speak English. Therefore, raising both students' and teachers' awareness of the EIL conception regarding these two aspects is one of the ways to change the status quo. Teachers' awareness raising is particularly crucial because they play important roles in English language education (Lai, 2009). Jenkins (2006) also argued that one of the reasons why the EIL conception has not influenced language teaching in practice is because teacher training programmers place less emphasis on it. Hence, in teacher education, the educators should be raising awareness of the concept of EIL by designing some EIL courses to raise both teachers' and students' awareness.

In addition, the findings showed that although the participants were open-minded about EIL, they still had ambivalent feelings about the native-like accent and the use of Taiwanese English. It is suggested that English educators and teachers can try to integrate the EIL concept into their teaching. They can

familiarize their students with different English accents and varieties during class. For example, Jin (2005) designed a course that integrated the concept of World Englishes which includes arguments regarding the ownership of English and Standard English. The result of the study suggested that after taking the course, Chinese students felt comfortable about using Chinglish, and they thought Chinglish should be accepted as a standard one day.

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Imagined Second Language Identities Language Learning and Identity – A New Perspective

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Abstract

Recent studies claim that second language learning influences learner identities. In the light of globalisation, learners of English invest in this powerful language of career and social enhancement, which is simultaneously an investment in their new identities. Learners of English, particularly in EFL countries such as Japan, strive to acquire this language despite their limited immediate need for it. This small qualitative case study of Japanese adult learners of English suggests that they believe English can transform who they are and/or what they can do. Additionally, they regard English as the language with which they can express their opinions freely. Findings also suggest that these Imagined Second Language Identities (ISLIs) –- imagined English-speaking selves in an imagined global English-speaking community –- are primary factors that influence their investment in learning English and their willingness to communicate actively. Given this, the concept of ISLIs should be explored and incorporated into ELT.

Keywords: second language identity, language learning

Introduction

English, the current global language, is being learnt in many parts of the world as a basic skill alongside the national or official language and numeracy (Graddol, 2006). This has changed who is learning the language, their motives and needs as learners. Since proficiency in English language is strongly associated with socioeconomic advancement and better prospects for the future, Norton (1997) argues that learners invest in this language, which is simultaneously an investment in their new global identities. In typical English as a Foreign Language (EFL) countries such as Japan, English is not an essential language for most people but is still considered to be the language of better opportunities and lifestyles. Japanese learners of English strive to become fluent English speakers regardless of their current need for the language. Through the process of learning English, learners imagine themselves as members of global English-speaking communities (Kanno & Norton, 2003). Drawing on Norton and her colleagues' theories of investment and imagined communities, this small qualitative case study investigates learners' Imagined Second language Identities (ISLIs) –- imagined English-speaking selves in an imagined English-speaking community.

This is part of a larger scale study which was conducted at eikaiwa schools in Tokyo, popular private institutions where both adults and children learn English for communicative purposes as opposed to examination-oriented public English education. Through the process of data collection, ISLIs emerged as a particularly significant factor that influenced learners' aspirations to learn the language and willingness to communicate actively.

While many studies have been done on the topic of language learning and identities, there seems to be a scarcity of literature on this emerging aspect of language learning. This study aims to explore learners' ISLIs and the implications of these for future English language teaching and learning, particularly in EFL contexts where learners have few opportunities to use English outside their English classrooms.

Background

Before exploring the topic of ISLIs, it is important to first clarify the English as a Foreign Language (EFL) contexts described in this study. I use Crystal's definition (2002) for this term although classification of English entails ambiguity and limitations given the present worldwide spread of the language. EFL contexts are places where English has no official status but is learnt as a foreign language in schools and colleges, and through various means. Such contexts include Japan, China and Brazil. These contexts are different from English as a Second Language (ESL) contexts where English has special status and is used in addition to local languages as an official language, for domestic and international purposes. Such contexts include Nigeria, Singapore and India. The participants in this research learn English in an EFL context. However, language learning in EFL and ESL contexts in addition to English as a mother tongue contexts is interrelated both in terms of similarities and differences; thus, it is necessary to explore the current topic from multiple viewpoints.

The interrelationship between identity construction and language learning has drawn much attention over the past decade and authors have argued that second language learning influences learners' identities (Benson, Barkhuizen, Bodycott, & Brown, 2013; Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2009; Gu, 2010; Kanno & Norton, 2003; Norton & Toohey, 2011; Palvenko & Norton, 2007). Such studies have provided a new perspective into language learning and teaching that it regards language as a dialogue in which speakers strive to negotiate meaning and positioning in their social contexts. Norton (1997) refers to identity as people's understanding of their relationship to the world, how this is constructed over time and space, and its prospects for the future. When language learners speak, they are not just exchanging information with interlocutors but constantly organizing and reorganizing their sense of self in relation to the social world. In other words, they are in the process of constant identity reconstruction and negotiation. Norton and Toohey (2011) also draw attention to the poststructuralist view of power and language among interlocu-

tors who seldom share the same right of speech when structuring discourse because meaning is in part determined by their ascribed social, political, individual and group identity. For example, Peirce's (1995) study of immigrant women in Canada (1995) describes their struggle to gain recognition as multicultural citizens and legitimate speakers of English in a new country where they constantly experience inferiority in daily interactions with native speakers of English. Lin (1999) has examined the dilemmas in four ELT classrooms of different socioeconomic backgrounds in Hong Kong where English is regarded as the language of educational and socioeconomic advancement, given the worldwide association of access to English language with social mobility and life chances as a result of the global spread of English.

Graddol (2006) claims that the current enthusiasm for English is closely tied to the complex process of globalisation which is shifting the world to a totally different social, economic and political order in which English plays a crucial role, as the current global language. Hence, English language learning is inseparable from the power it carries which signifies learners' identities. Consequently, from the perspective of learners, language learning can transform who they are and what they can do (Palvenko & Norton, 2007) because learners' identities are, in part, fixed by the language and varieties of language they speak and their membership of particular speech communities (Benson et al., 2013).

Norton and her colleagues' studies also suggest that when learning a language, learners participate in imagined communities (Anderson, 1991), groups of people who are intangible but accessible through the power of imagination (Kanno & Norton, 2003; Palvenko & Norton, 2007). This is particularly noteworthy in EFL contexts. For example, when a Japanese fashion designer learns English, he/she might imagine one day becoming a successful fashion designer in New York (Kanno & Norton, 2003). Learners' imagined communities are no less real than their immediate social and cultural communities and may have stronger impact on their investment in language learning (Kanno & Norton, 2003; Norton & Toohey, 2011). Learners invest in learning a language at a particular time in a particular setting because they believe it will give them access to a wider range of symbolic and material resources. In addition, investment in the target language is simultaneously an investment in the learner's own identity (Norton, 1997). Language learning may be shaped by the learners' desire to acquire cultural capital for a new and hopeful lifestyle that allows them to participate in different social and cultural groups (Benson et al., 2013).

Second language identity is different from language identity and refers to any aspects of a person's identity that is concerned with their knowledge or use of a second language (Benson et al., 2013). Language learners may develop their second language identity within the simultaneous process of acquiring linguistic knowledge of the target language and learning its sociocultural practices (Block, 2007). In other words, they build up knowledge of how things are done in a particular sociocultural context and how to do them. For example,

Benson et al. (2013) studied two students in Australia and England who became more and more confident as users of English during their study abroad programmes through making friends in a new environment, coping with the communicative challenges they faced, planning and accomplishing trips and so on, while they tried to project identities that matched who they were and how they wanted to be perceived by their interlocutors. In contrast, typical EFL countries rarely provide such sociocultural contexts for learners. In fact, learners in these countries are much more likely to imagine their contexts and the outcome of their learning English. For instance, Ryan's investigation (2009) of Japanese secondary and tertiary students' ambivalent attitudes towards English language learning indicated the notion of personal liberation which was particularly prevalent among female participants. This refers to their belief in the possibility of being able to express themselves more freely in English than in Japanese, a language typically considered to be more restricted in gender, pragmatic, and formality features. In the same study, a male interviewee spoke of his expectation of becoming another person by embarking on an intensive English language programme.

EFL countries are those where the majority of people do not use English in their everyday social interactions, therefore, they may not feel an immediate need for the language. However, Ryan (2006) argues that globalisation has had a significant influence on this conventional concept. Drawing on the theories of Norton's imagined language community and Dörnyei's Ideal L2 Self, he attempts to reconceptualise learner motivation in ELF contexts where globalisation has shifted their sense of identity and thus motivation to learn English. He argues that in addition to their local identities, learners have a sense of being a member of a global community which is detached from any particular nations or target language communities. They strive to gain membership of this imagined global community as users of English, which acts as the basis for their motivation to acquire the language. Similarly, Munezane's study (2013) of the relationship among various factors that influence students' willingness to communicate in class suggests the ideal L2 self, the idealised second language speaking self, hence belonging to the imagined global community with both linguistic proficiency and professional success, is particularly significant in EFL countries like Japan where students have very few opportunities to use English outside their English language classrooms.

Eikaiwa Schools and Japanese ELT

English language has been taught in Japan as a subject in junior and senior high schools, and as a foreign language activity in the fifth and sixth grades of primary school, and many students continue to learn it at a tertiary level in university and college. The Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT) has revised its ELT policies a number of times since the 1980s in response to criticism of the traditional grammar-translation approach that focused on preparing students for examinations and neglected

communication, and as a result, did not meet the various global needs of Japan (Kikuchi & Browne, 2009; Lockley, Hirschel & Slobodniuk, 2012). However, implementation of communicative language teaching has been reported to be difficult due to the pressure of high school and university entrance examinations, poor instruction, the inadequate speaking skills of Japanese teachers, and the prevailing culture of learning (Nishino & Watanabe, 2008; Sakui, 2004).

Eikaiwa schools, literally translated as "English conversation schools", first appeared during the Japanese economic boom in 1970s as a solution to examination-oriented high school English classes, and rapidly gained popularity throughout Japan. They aimed to fulfil Japanese learners' desire to communicate in English, a foreign language they would otherwise rarely use especially in interaction with native speakers. English conversation classes were offered to adults who had studied English at school but without being able to use it as a means of communication, as well as to children. The popularity of eikaiwa peaked in 1980s in the midst of Japan's kokusaika (internationalisation), the term with which the government promoted the necessity of being able to use English, the international language, in kokusai-jidai (international era), for expressive rather than passive purposes (Mizuta, 2009). However, being commercial entities as opposed to public school or private school English language education, eikaiwa schools have inevitably focused more attention on sales than pedagogical concerns and educational gains for the learners. Literature on the topic of eikaiwa schools has consistently criticised their operation for commodifying English language and whiteness, and exploiting Japanese learners' admiration for the imaginary West and Japanese women's akogare (desire) for Western men (Appleby, 2013; Bailey, 2007; Kubota, 2011). In addition, the native speaker focus that they utilise to promote their lessons has been blamed for encouraging a native-speaker and non-native-speaker dichotomy and reinforcing the supposed superiority of the West, which does not reflect the realities of English as an international language (Mizuta, 2009; Seargent, 2005). The recent emergence of new schools, private tutoring, online lessons, and cheap study abroad programmes has made the eikaiwa business more competitive than ever before, yet their popularity continues.

Whereas the tendency to learn English language at eikaiwa schools as a leisure activity has been observed in Kubota's study (2011), a growing number of learners study English for other purposes. In the light of globalisation where English has begun to play the role of the global language in various aspects of Japanese people's lives such as business, education and travel, English has become increasingly necessary for many people who now use English on a regular basis. The 2020 Tokyo Olympics seems to have accelerated Japan's enthusiasm for English, making the global language more prevalent in public places and among its people. As a result, although English continues and will continue to be a foreign language in Japan, learners of English aspire to attain this language as a powerful skill that gives them an advantage in their

current or future professions as well as in social interactions, and which will enable them to participate in the English-speaking global community. For those who learn English as a means to access career enhancement and/or to acquire cultural capital for a new and hopeful lifestyle, English language learning is an investment (Norton, 1997) rather than purely a leisure activity. In summary, despite the changing roles of English and learner aspirations, the learner diversity of eikaiwa schools suggests varied intentions for language learning, and the sales-prioritised operation of such schools implies ambiguity in pedagogy, employment and positioning in Japan's ELT.

Methodology

Setting

The study was conducted in 2013 at two eikaiwa schools in Tokyo. As mentioned above, eikaiwa schools are privately operated commercial language schools where people from various walks of life ranging from pre-schoolers to retirees learn English for a variety of purposes such as work, study and/or leisure. Due to the diversity of the learners, eikaiwa schools cater to their different needs with numerous courses ranging from children's play classes to adults' basic conversation classes, advanced business English classes, and preparation classes for English proficiency tests such as TOEIC. Additionally, some courses are offered on a fixed day and time while others can be booked and attended at the learners' convenience. The vast majority of adult eikaiwa school learners take their lessons once or twice a week after work in the evening or the weekend. A few courses are provided at eikaiwa schools for students who want to study English full-time. Such full-time courses attract adult learners who are eager to improve their English for career advancements, preparation before studying overseas, and as a lifelong study among the retirees.

Participants

Seven adult learners of English – five females and two males - at two different eikaiwa schools in Tokyo volunteered to take part in this study. Five participants were studying a full-time course five days a week while two were studying a weekly evening course. Most participants of the full-time course expected to find work that required English language skills after their course completion. The two participants on the weekly course were already using English at work regularly with their business clients from overseas but hoped to improve their English communication skills as well as to gain a better opportunity for promotion with a higher score on the TOEIC test.

Data collection and analysis

Two different methods, a questionnaire and a semi-structured interview, were used for data collection to investigate the case from multiple perspectives. A questionnaire was used as the first data collection method in order to get general views and opinions of the participants, to select participants for the following semi-structured interviews, and to develop interview questions. The questionnaire was written in both Japanese and English and some ambiguous terms were given a definition to avoid misunderstanding. The participants were given a choice to respond in either Japanese or English. It is also important to point out that at the time of designing the questionnaire, the focus of the research was not on the current topic, and ISLIs were a theme that emerged during the process of data collection and analysis.

After the questionnaire was returned from the participants, three participants were selected for a semi-structured interview using "opportunistic sampling", a sampling strategy in which the researcher samples individuals according to unfolding events that help answer research questions (Creswell, 2012, p. 209). All interviews were conducted in Japanese in order for the participants to express themselves clearly and to achieve linguistic consistency. Interviews took place in a café near their eikaiwa school and were audio-taped. The interviews were transcribed and then translated into English. The interview translations were emailed to and approved by the interviewees before being analysed.

Two cycles were used to code both questionnaire and interview data. The first cycle was Initial Coding, a line-by-line or sentence-by-sentence coding which provides the researcher with a starting direction in which to take the research (Saldaña, 2013). These small codes were analysed again into more categorical and thematic codes in the second cycle using Pattern Coding, an explanatory or inferential coding method that identifies an emergent theme, configuration or explanation (Saldaña, 2013). Qualitative data collection and analysis are normally conducted simultaneously since qualitative research is an emergent process (Merriam, 2009). As I was simultaneously collecting and analysing my data, I looked for emergent themes, and ISLIs were a theme that arose during this process.

Findings

English as a language of empowerment

Almost all participants associated proficiency in English with enhanced career, and academic and personal opportunities. Some had clear ideas regarding the purpose of learning the language.

Question: "What are your purposes and reasons for learning English?"

Miho: I believe that studying English gives me a lot of opportunities. If I spoke English fluently, I could get a nice job, and travelling overseas would be more fun.

Ai: I study English because I like it and I believe that English enables me to communicate with many people around the world since it is considered "world's official language." Also, now I study English because I want to work using my English.

Narumi: I want to learn about people from different countries and cultures. Also, being proficient in English is advantageous for job-hunting.

Kazu: My first reason is work. There is an increasing number of clients who develop their business overseas and I would like to be able to talk with and email the overseas representatives and read documents written in English. My second reason is promotion and job-changes. I would like to improve my TOEIC score because in many cases of promotion and job-changes, a high score is required. My third reason is to broaden my life. If I can speak English fluently, I may increase chances of meeting people by talking with more and various people

Masa: I need to use English for work to communicate with people from overseas.

The responses suggest that participants believed proficiency in English would enable them to gain access to better career, social and personal opportunities. However, only two of the seven participants knew exactly what those opportunities meant to them. These two participants already used English at work on a regular basis and had specific ideas about why and for what they were learning English. To them, English was a business tool – a term used repeatedly by some of the participants – that they had to learn to use. In addition to their current professional skills, a good command of English and a high score on an English proficiency test such as TOEIC were regarded as a requirement for promotions and job changes. This indicates that English is a powerful tool that advantages them in their careers. On the other hand, five of the seven participants did not have specific reasons for learning English despite their belief that doing so would enable them to get a good job and to communicate globally. However, they expressed considerable interest in the world, people and cultures outside Japan, and English was regarded as the necessary means to achieve access. Also, it did not seem to matter what their current life and career situations were; they assumed that proficiency in the English language would transform them.

English as a language of expression

It is noteworthy that all of the participants regarded English as a means to express opinions. Being unable to do so was also considered to be both a weakness of Japanese English speakers and an undesirable attitude. New understandings of Japanese communication were also expressed by the participants.

Question: "What is the English language ability required of Japanese people now and in the future?"

> Ai: Expressing ideas or opinions is needed for Japanese people. Many Japanese people are shy and too afraid to talk in English because we don't want to make mistakes or we weren't taught to express our opinions in school…..

> Miho: I think speaking is important. Japanese don't learn how to express our opinions, and people tend to think modesty is a virtue. We have to learn ways to express our opinions.

> Narumi: The ability to convey our thoughts to others. This might be an issue that precedes English language ability or learning any foreign languages, but I think we need an English ability with which we are able to state our opinions, and also to sympathize with others.

English language learning seemed to have had a marked influence on the participants' attitudes towards communication. In Japanese communication, traditionally, speakers avoid openly expressing opinions because this may be interpreted as boastful or disrespectful. Participants' responses suggest that they believed they could express themselves in English, but not in Japanese.

Two participants mentioned the impact that expressing our opinions in English may have on Japanese language and people as a result.

> Miho: …even among Japanese people, we hardly ever have opportunities to state opinions or are unable to express ourselves. Through English… learning aspects such as how to state one's opinion to people from other countries, and also among Japanese people, might have a positive effect.

> Narumi: I don't think there were occasions in our compulsory education in which we were asked "what do you think?" or asked others for their opinions in class "what do you think?" I think the priority may be the ability to express "what would I/you do?" in Japanese. The language of our country is Japanese…

Miho's and Narumi's responses indicate their changing attitudes towards Japanese communication as a consequence of learning English. As Narumi mentioned, Japanese learners of English may benefit from practicing expressing their opinions in Japanese if they wish to do so in English. This suggests learning a second language may also influence learners' first language and first language identities.

Discussion

Imagined Second Language Identities

The findings demonstrate the participants' strong association of English language proficiency with career, social and personal opportunities. This notion is described by Norton and Toohey (2011) in the poststructuralist view of

power and language which regards English as the language of educational and socioeconomic advancements. It is promoted and commoditized as a result of the global spread of English and its increasing impact in the world, creating power relationships among speakers and non-speakers, and inequalities as a consequence (Lin, 1999). English, the current global language (Graddol, 2006), was regarded by the participants as a powerful tool to access the world outside Japan. They expressed their desire to get a job that required English language skills, to work internationally, as well as to travel, meet people overseas and communicate with them. Career enhancement was also a key factor in learning English, for which proficiency and a good test result were vital. A small number of the participants had specific purposes for which they wanted to learn English while the others had rather vague ideas such as "If I spoke English fluently, I could get a nice job." English was seen as a powerful language that they believed could significantly change their status quo. This implies their aspirations for a new and hopeful lifestyle that allows them to participate in different social and cultural groups. Given the very limited role of English language in Japan for most people, such ideas indicate their participation in imagined communities (Anderson, 1991) - English-speaking global communities that are intangible but accessible through their power of imagination.

> Narumi: To be honest, I think you can live without English in Japan though I sometimes hear about companies suddenly becoming foreign owned or one day your boss is a foreigner… For example, I used to be in the field of social work where I never felt the necessity of English. I could easily live without it.

Even though there is an increasing number of Japanese learners of English who use English on a regular basis, for the majority, English-speaking communities are beyond their reach and tangible only through their imagination. Yet, they try to establish self-identity in terms of their relationship to the global world, constructed over time and space, and prospects for the future. They strive to gain membership of the imagined global language community, on the periphery of the English-speaking world (Ryan, 2006). These imagined communities are no less real than their immediate social and cultural communities and may have a stronger impact on their investment in language learning (Kanno & Norton, 2003; Norton & Toohey, 2011). Through learning English, the participants aspired to become different people because they believed that language learning could transform who they were and what they could do. Their investment in English was an investment in new identities.

In addition, the participants believed that English was the language with which they could express themselves to the world. They claimed that they needed to learn to speak English confidently because Japanese people are too shy and too afraid of making mistakes. Their responses indicate an attitude that is very different from traditional assumptions about Japanese communication styles which are typically regarded as restricted in gender, pragmatic, and formality features. A similar belief is referred to by Ryan (2009) as personal liberation, the possibility of being able to express themselves more freely in

English than in Japanese. Further implications of learning to express themselves in English were suggested by two participants who spoke of a reconceptualization of Japanese language. How Japanese learners of English are going to learn to express themselves in English remains unclear. Nonetheless, their aspiration to express themselves in English and perhaps in Japanese is evident.

Japanese learners' participation in an imagined English-speaking global community and belief in expressing their opinions more freely in English imply their envisioning of imagined second language identities (ISLIs) – imagined English-speaking selves in an imagined English-speaking community. ISLIs are different from second language identities that are developed within the simultaneous process of acquiring linguistic knowledge of the target language and learning its sociocultural practices. Rather, for the vast majority of people in EFL countries such as Japan, such sociocultural practices are accessible only through their imagination. Learners imagine their new second language speaking selves in an imagined English-speaking global community. These ISLIs are embedded in the participants' picturing themselves as successful English-speaking professionals, as well as communicating fluently, confidently and globally in English. As opposed to Japan's traditional attitude toward learning English which focused on passing examinations, learners' ISLIs are their new aspirations for learning the global language and acquiring new global identities. Hence, in order for Japanese English learners to be active users of the language, their ISLIs require more attention in ELT. In other words, educators need to incorporate ways to encourage and foster learners' ISLIs into their pedagogy.

In the light of ISLIs, ELT providers in Japan such as eikaiwa schools may play a greater role now and in the near future. As the MEXT struggles to meet the needs of global Japan with its English language education, learners have to turn to other sources to put their high school English into practice. Hence, at present and until the MEXT successfully implements its English language curriculum, an eikaiwa school seems to be a feasible solution for learners who wish to become active users of the language. Eikaiwa school learners invest in their new global identities with which they believe they can access a more hopeful career and lifestyle. However, many do not realise when they start that language learning demands time, effort and dedication. In order to become successful learners of English, a superordinate vision is needed to sustain them through the tedious process of language learning (Dörnyei, 2009). For most students of eikaiwa schools whose current career and social circumstances do not require English, such a vision is their ISLIs. Likewise, Munezane's study (2013) which investigates Dörney's (2005, 2009) theory of ideal L2 self (2005, 2009) in a Japanese ELT context, claims this idealised English-speaking self in an imaginary global community is a particularly significant factor in EFL countries that influences learners' willingness to learn the language and to communicate. Therefore, if eikaiwa schools and public

schools are to be successful providers of ELT, they need to find ways to enhance Japanese learners' ISLIs.

Conclusion

This study suggests that ISLIs significantly influence Japanese learners' aspirations to study English language in that English is regarded as the language which gives Japanese learners professional, social and personal opportunities. It is also regarded as the language with which they believe they can express themselves to the world. English will enable them to become who they cannot be and do what they cannot do with the Japanese language. Their investment in this powerful language is an investment in their new identities. Through learning English, Japanese learners take part in imagined English-speaking global communities that are, for the vast majority of them, accessible only through their imagination, and yet their participation in such communities seems to be the primary factor behind their desire and effort to learn the language. Therefore, the concept of ISLIs should be incorporated and encouraged in Japanese ELT because learners are always constructing their identities in relation to the world around them and prospects for the future in the era of globalisation, even if their current circumstances do not require any English.

Note
1Pseudonyms are used to protect the participants' confidentiality.

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Appendix: Questionnaire

What are your purposes and reasons for learning English?

Ai: I study English because I like it and I believe that English enables me to communicate with many people around the world, since it is considered "world's official language." Also, now I study English because I want to work using my English.

Hitomi: I want to use English at work.

Kazu: My first reason is work. There is an increasing number of clients who develop their business overseas and I would like to be able to talk with and email the overseas representatives and read documents written in English. My second reason is promotion and job-changes. I would like to improve my TOEIC score because in many cases of promotion and job-changes, a high score is required. My third reason is to broaden my life. If I can speak English fluently, I may increase chances of meeting people by talking with more and various people.

Masa: I need to use English for work to communicate with people from overseas.

Miho: I believe that studying English gives me a lot of opportunities. If I spoke English fluently, I could get a nice job, and travelling overseas would be more fun. Moreover, I could have chances to understand other cultures deeply.

Narumi: I've always wanted to learn about people from different countries and cultures. Also, being proficient in English is advantageous for job-hunting.

Saori: Because I'm interested in acquiring foreign languages, different cultures. Learning different ways of thinking through other languages has always fascinated me.

What is the English language ability required of Japanese people now and in the future?

Ai: Expressing ideas or opinions is needed for Japanese people. Many Japanese people are shy and too afraid to talk in English because we don't want to make mistakes or we weren't taught to express our opinions in schools; so I think it is important for us to learn how to express what we want to say whether you can use sophisticated words or not.

Hitomi: Speaking and discussion skills

Kazu: To convey your intentions and opinions forthrightly and to understand others without being embarrassed or ashamed.

Masa: The ability to actively achieve mutual understanding with people from various countries.

Miho: I think speaking is important. Japanese people don't learn how to express our opinions, and people tend to think modesty is a virtue. We have to learn ways to express our opinions.

Narumi: The ability to convey our thoughts to others. This might be an issue that precedes English language ability or learning any foreign languages. But I think we need an English ability with which we are able to state our opinions, and also to sympathize with others.

Saori: It's difficult to point out every problem we have in our English education, but one of the reasons why I joined this English course was that in high school they never taught me how to speak English, although I learned how to read or understand grammar. And I'm sure it is impossible to acquire speaking skills without real communication practice. So what we need is, I think, to be practical, that is, speaking and communication skills, and to be more affirmative speakers. We can study grammar after that.

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