



THE JOURNAL OF ENGLISH AS AN
INTERNATIONAL LANGUAGE

VOLUME 14 ISSUE 1 2019

**Published by English Language Education Journals
488 Queen Street
Brisbane
Australia**

A Division of SITE Ltd

**English as an International Language Journal
A Division of SITE Ltd
Australia <http://www.eilj.com>**

© Journal of English as International Language 2019

**This book is in copyright.
No unauthorized photocopying**

**All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced, stored in
a retrieved system or transmitted in any form or by any means,
electronic, mechanical, photocopying or otherwise, without the prior
written permission of the English Language Education Journals
asianefl@gmail.com**

**Publisher: Dr Paul Roberston
Chief Editor: Dr Sivakumar Sivasubramaniam
Production Association Editor: Dr Su-Hie Ting**

ISSN: 1718-2298

JOURNAL OF ENGLISH AS AN INTERNATIONAL LANGUAGE

CHIEF EDITOR

Dr Sivakumar Sivasubramaniam, University of the Western Cape,
Republic of South Africa

PRODUCTION ASSOCIATE EDITOR

Dr Su-Hie Ting, Universiti Malaysia Sarawak, Malaysia

ASSOCIATE EDITORS

Dr Anita Pandey, Morgan State University, USA

Dr Murat Hismanoglu, Usak University, Usak, Turkey

Dr Vijay Singh Thakur, Dhofar University Salalah,
Sultanate of Oman

Dr Sharon Clampitt-Dunlap, Inter American University of
Puerto Rico/Ponce Campus

EDITORIAL BOARD

Dr Abdullah Coskun

Abant Izzet Baysal University, Turkey

Achilleas Kostoulas

The University of Manchester, UK

Dr Amrendra K Sharma

Dhofar University, Oman

Sharon Clampitt-Dunlap, Ed. D.

Inter American University of Puerto Rico, Puerto Rico

Dr Shirley Yangyu Xiao

The Hong Kong Institute of Education

Dr İsmail Fırat Altay

Hacettepe University

Dr Ayhan Kahraman

Dumlupınar University

Dr Ajay K Chaubey

National Institute of Technology,
Uttarakhand, India

Dr Ali Karakaş

Mehmet Akif Ersoy University
İstiklal Campus 15030, Burdur, Turkey

Dr Amer M TH Ahmed

Dhofar University in Salalah, Sultanate of Oman

Dr Natalia N. Velez

Inter-American University of
Puerto Rico/Ponce Campus

Dr Engin Arik

Istanbul Medipol University, Turkey

Dr John Wanka Foncha

University of Limpopo, Polokwane,
South Africa

Ms Rachel L. Peralta

Institute for Tourism Studies, Macau

Dr Shoba K. N.

Anna University, Chennai, India

Dr Tyler Barrett

The Defence Language Institute, San Antonio, Texas, USA

SENIOR AND REGIONAL ADVISERS

Professor Dr Cem Alptekin

Doğuş University, Turkey

Darren Lingley

Kochi University, Japan

Professor Jennifer Jenkins

University of Southampton

Dr John Adamson

University of Niigata

Prefecture, Japan

Professor Dr Z.N. Patil(retired)

Central Institute of English and
Foreign Languages Hyderabad,
India

Dr Suresh Canagarajah

Pennsylvania State University,
USA

Pedro Luchini

Universidad Nacional de Mar
del Plata, Argentina

Dr Phan Le Ha

Monash University,
Australia

Professor Robert Phillipson

Copenhagen Business
School, Denmark

Dr Roger Nunn

American University of
Sharjah, UAE

Sandra Lee McKay

San Francisco State University

**JOURNAL OF ENGLISH AS AN INTERNATIONAL
LANGUAGE VOLUME 14 , ISSUE 1, June 2019**

Language and Identity: How Do Different Aspects of an L2 Identity Correlate With Spoken English Ability in Japanese High School Students?	1
David Chevasco	
L2 Writers Construct Identity through Academic Writing Discourse Socialization	20
Wenqi Cui	
Subject-Auxiliary Inversion in Embedded Questions in Spoken Professional Discourses: A Comparison of Philippine English Between 1999 and 2016-2019	40
Leonardo O. Munalim	
Exploring the Filipinization of the English Language in a Digital Age: An Identity Apart from Other World Englishes	58
Orlyn Joyce D. Esquivel	
Macau or Macao? – A case study in the fluidity of how languages interact in Macau SAR	73
John Wheeler	
Problematizing the Commodification of ESL Teaching in the Philippines: Mediating Expectations, Norms and Identity(ies)	92
Aiden Yeh	

Foreword

Welcome to the June 2019 issue of the Journal of English as an International Language!

This issue showcases intellectual exercises and innovative applications that are in keeping with EILJ's declared mission of promoting locally appropriate, culturally sensitive and socially-aligned pedagogies and practices in EIL. The voice and agency of our contributing authors assume particular primacy and prominence in this issue in that it is synonymous with EILJ's attempts to democratize and dehegemonize the use of English across the cultures of Asia and farther afield in the world.

David Chevasco's paper entitled "Language and Identity: How Do Different Aspects of an L2 Identity Correlate with Spoken English Ability in Japanese High School Students?" sets the tenor and tone for this issue. Using the basic concept of sociolinguistic identity as a point of departure, the author considers various aspects of research into Japanese national identity as a basis for analysing how these can possibly influence the learning of English in Japan. Further to this, the author presents a detailed account of the participants' specific context and a rationale for the methodology that is to be used with them in his study. Needless to say that the paper attempts a correlation between the sociolinguistic identities of high school students and their productive English-speaking abilities, the findings provide an interesting as well as informed description of the dynamics and fall-outs of the Japanese students' L2 identity, which can help explain as to how international posture links with motivation, willingness to communicate (WTC) and ultimately proficiency in English. Invoking Graddol's claim (as cited in Matsuda, 2003) that the future of English would be decided by L2 speakers, the author urges Japan to free itself from its obsession with the perceived superiority of NS Westerners' pronunciation (Tsuda, as cited in Kubota, 1998) so as to create a sociolinguistically empowering image of themselves by speaking English in their own way. In keeping with his intellectual integrity, the author voices a further need to expand on his domain of investigation by factoring in a qualitative dimension to the study to optimize its relevance and reach. We hope that the paper will elicit wider international reception and debate from our readership.

Wenqi Cui's paper entitled "L2 Writers Construct Identity through Academic Writing Discourse Socialization" makes a strong case for understanding identity formation from a perspective of socialization. Given the currency that "sociolinguistic lens" has gained in studies focused on identity constructions, the author uses it to understand as well as underscore the impact of English ideologies and the unequal power relations on L2 students' identity construction that accrue as a result. This makes it imperative for the author to examine the permeating influence of socialization in their academic writing with their

writing instructor, teaching assistants, peers, and their professors of other disciplines. In light of this, the author uses the findings of the study to provide a persuasive account of how and why the L2 writers' English ideologies influenced their progressive understanding of linguistic varieties and language practices as well as their attitudes to language users. Consequently, she argues that the L2 writers' identities were both constructed and co-constructed from a multiple perspective: insiders, outsiders, and commuters in relation to other members in this academic community. Needless to say that such a position is commensurate with the sociolinguistic sensibilities and sensitivities that characterize our attempts to understand the identity constructions of our L2 students, the issues and insights presented in the paper can support and strengthen EIL pedagogies and practices that are meant to resist the prevalent inequitable and discriminatory practices that L2 students face as they attempt border crossings into Western academic communities to become its members.

The paper entitled "Subject-Auxiliary Inversion in Embedded Questions in Spoken Professional Discourses: A Comparison of Philippine English Between 1999 and 2016-2019" by Leonardo O. Munalim alerts us to the abject paucity of research into the features of Philippine English, especially in the clausal level of spoken discourses used by a professional group. The accruing concern assumes particular primacy and centrality in the paper as the issues it has determined to cover are in sync with what EILJ advocates. With a view to providing a chronological perspective, the author compares the cases of inverted subject-auxiliary in embedded questions of the same group of professionals between 1999 and the years of 2016-2019, thus spanning nearly 20 years. Making use of the findings that emerged from a substantial corpus of 159 Filipino speakers engaged in the production of six types of professional discourses, the paper suggests that Philippine English may have morphed into the use of inverted subject-auxiliary in embedded questions as illustrated by a sample utterance: "So we already know **what's** an entrepreneur" instead of "So we already know **what** an entrepreneur **is**." Based on this position, the author argues that Philippine English may have reached the "endonormative stabilization" stage in the way it frames embedded questions. He further contends that, if inversions have been fossilized either incrementally or incidentally among professionals, they need to be reckoned with as an (new) emerging feature of the Philippine English. Having discussed the limitations and trajectories of endonormativity, the author entreats his readership to research further into the dynamics and fall-outs of endonormative stabilization in the Philippine English.

We hope that the highlights of this paper will resonate with the epistemic resolve of our readership as they deduce critical relevance for their EIL practices aimed at democratizing English in their respective settings.

The paper entitled “Exploring the Filipinization of the English Language in a Digital Age: An Identity Apart from Other World Englishes” by Orlyn Joyce D. Esquivel comes as an interesting sequel to the preceding paper in this issue in light of the value systems and beliefs it advocates. Considering the status of English as a second language in Philippines by virtue of its “centuries long” contact with America, it is only reasonable to assume that American English would be the preferred model of English in Philippines. In contrast, the paper raises the issue of language identity and language change engendered by the emergent Philippine English. Drawing on the strengths of “The Language Drift Theory” as a basis to explain the process of Filipinization of English, the paper examines 60 selected tweets from Twitter individually in order to highlight the distinctive features of Philippine English (PE). The paper uses a mixed methods approach to analyze the lexical and grammatical features of the tweets alongside the following linguistic features: graphology, syntax, and lexical semantics. The resultant comparative analyses is meant to characterize the features of Philippine English as a dialect of International English (IE) with graphology, syntax, and lexical semantics as bases for its viable recognition. In light of this, the author signposts the localization of English in Philippines as evidenced by the findings, which are replete with the occurrences of localized spellings, syntax, translated idioms, and innovated lexical items. Such an outcome, the author argues is in keeping with the central tenets of “The Language Drift Theory” which she believes typifies the perspective of language drift. Pointing out the inevitable fluid, provisional and indeterminate nature of language, even if it is English, the paper urges our readership not to use either the Standard American English or Standard British English as the exclusive basis for the evaluation of our students’ outputs. EILJ believes that the recommended shift of emphasis and orientation, can help EIL practitioners come to terms with the implications for localizing English, thereby augmenting the World Englishes paradigm. The take-away then from this paper is: the syntactically and semantically individualized characteristics of Philippine English (for that matter any local variety of English) should no longer be seen as errors but as emerging features that distinguish PE or any other localized version of English from other World Englishes.

John Wheeler’s paper entitled “Macau or Macao? – A case study in the fluidity of how languages interact in Macau SAR”, charts the role of English and its status of increasing prominence in Macau, a thriving gaming enclave in the Special Autonomous Region (SAR) of China with a disrunct Portuguese colonial heritage. The subtle word play embedded in a subtle spelling twist of the country’s name on the title is intriguing enough to set off any discerning reader’s curiosity. Pointing out the prevalence of Portuguese, Mandarin, Tagalog and English in Macau, the author is of the view that the language mix of Macau can provide insights into how languages rise and fall in use and status. By the same token, he feels that Macau can also be a useful tool for re-evaluating/reconceptualising notions such as “linguistic imperialism” and “the concentric circles model of World Englishes”. Needless to say that the paper

presents a comprehensive coverage of existing literature, it uses a methodology predicated on questionnaire survey directed at garnering attitudinal data of students at Macau Polytechnic Institute, which could perhaps reveal some aptitudinal traits as well. The results reveal that students assign a higher status to English than Portuguese, despite the latter being the former colonial and current official language. Nevertheless, the author feels that Portuguese is likely to continue as an important language of Macau SAR. Deducing critical relevance from the current language mix coupled with the students' non-standardized and non-standardizing attitude to languages, the author argues that neither Kachru's (1985) notion of "three concentric circles model" nor Phillipson's (1992) polemically denounced notion of "linguistic imperialism" can offer us a viable understanding of the spread of English in Macau against the inevitable backdrop of language mix. As languages are often mixed and blended in Macau, the author points out the need for more research to determine whether there is a Macau variety of English and what status it would have in Macau's Education policy. Given the current prevalence of four main languages in Macau, it is reasonable to assume that the continuous language blend/mix will continue to give Macau (SAR) its unique linguistic flavour.

Aiden Yeh's paper entitled "Problematizing the Commodification of ESL Teaching in the Philippines: Mediating Expectations, Norms and Identity (ies)", presents and discusses a set of issues such as cost factors, learner expectations, course satisfaction, quality of teaching, Filipino teachers' (FTs) pronunciation, the Philippine English (PhE) accent vis-à-vis native speaker norms, and their ramifications for pedagogy and other users of wider sociolinguistic significance. Needless to say that the Philippines has become a popular destination for English language learning, especially for people in South East Asia, the realities on the ground contradict its status as a popular ESL/EFL destination. In light of this, paper points to a disjuncture/disconnect as well mismatches between pronouncements and real time practices, which are of a serious nature. In light of this, the author argues that most of the problems identified via research studies published in the country appear to suggest that the problems cited are mainly due to the misguided commodification of English language teaching in the Philippines for which there has been no government accountability, for that matter any policy initiative that will ensure accountable governance of all the establishments/schools that tout their EFL ESL teaching services for economic gains. Thus, the paper stresses the pressing need for the government to compile and release an ESL directory on school services, training and accreditation accessible to anyone and anytime. In this way, teachers, learners, and suppliers are assured of quality services and accountability of the stakeholders. In sum, the exploratory and interpretive nature of the paper can throw up a number of opportunities for future research, both in terms of theory development and concept validation for more effective, proactive and accountable ESL/EFL learner-friendly programmes and practices in the Philippines.

In closing, I wish to applaud the courage and clarity of the contributing authors in this issue for showcasing their alternate discourses of current reckoning in EIL so as to make sense of their world and themselves. They have thus made bold border crossings to signpost the translatability of their issues and insights in the practices of EIL. Such endeavours are central to EILJ's declared mission of creating "a heterogeneous global English speech community, with a heterogeneous English and different modes of competence" (Canagarajah, 2006, p. 211). Given this, I am certain that the issues and insights discussed in this issue would serve as a lamp to all of us, without which we will all be stranded in a "methodological wasteland of EIL". Read on!

Dr Sivakumar Sivasubramaniam
Chief Editor

Language and Identity: How Do Different Aspects of an L2 Identity Correlate With Spoken English Ability in Japanese High School Students?

David Chevasco
Aoyama Gakuin University High School

Abstract

This paper attempts to establish that there is a correlation between the sociolinguistic identities of high school students and their productive English-speaking abilities. The paper initially explains the basic concept of sociolinguistic identity and refers to various aspects of research into Japanese national identity to analyse how these may influence the learning of English in Japan. Secondly, the participants' specific context is detailed and reasoning for the relevance of the two tasks that are put to them is provided. Following on from this, the methods of data collection and analysis are described. Results posit that learners with a greater interest in English-speaking cultures are more likely to interact competently, and in turn, having stronger productive skills correlates positively with the rejection of an anti-English sentiment. The paper ends with a brief discussion on how cultural constraints in Japan affect English expression and the importance of emerging trends such as "international posture" (Yashima, 2002).

Keywords: language, identity, spoken English ability, Japanese

Introduction

The sociolinguistic concept of identity stems from the notion that a country must construct a national identity to function as independent cities within a united whole, and that a national language holds central importance in forming it (Joseph, 2004). Being social constructs, identities are formed and reconstructed during interactions with others (Coetzee-Van Rooy, 2006; Schiffrin, as cited in Coulmas, 2013; Swain, Kinnear, & Steinman, 2015; Takahashi, 2013), although the level of flexibility with which this occurs may differ depending on individual adaptability, cultural constraints and/or other factors.

This study builds on the idea that learners of a foreign language (i.e. English) with flexible identities, or a keen interest in English-speaking countries, may choose to build a second language (L2) identity for themselves and demonstrate greater expressive ability in English, whereas learners who avoid speaking English, or whose identities are less flexible, might instead stick to the cultural norms (and linguistic limitations) of their default national identity (i.e. Japanese).

High school participants from two selected classes complete an individual learner questionnaire on attitudes towards the English language in Japan and on what they believe to be their own L2 identities. They are also tested and graded on a paired speaking activity. The answers gleaned from the former are cross-analysed with Cambridge B1 Level grades for pronunciation and interaction from the latter to analyse the extent to which individual high school learners' L2 identities might influence their spoken English language production, and vice versa.

Research into various aspects of Japanese national sentiment, including an apparent fixation with native-speaker English, is depicted as a cultural split in attitudes towards the learning of English. Finally, I mention some of the study's limitations and suggest how future teaching might take into account knowledge of L2 identity and respond to the limitations of Japanese high school students.

“Identity” and Japanese views

This study understands a broad definition of identity as Peirce (as cited in Coetzee-Van Rooy, 2006) describes it: the way a person understands and constructs a relationship with the world. It also draws attention to both essentialist and non-essentialist approaches; the former being an identity pre-determined by culture or biology that cannot be resisted (Bucholtz, 2003), and the latter being one that empowers an individual to construct his/her own reality (Hall, as cited in Phan, 2008). Within non-essentialist (or “liquid”) identities, I investigate the self-appropriated or “inhabited” aspect that becomes a learner's L2 identity, even though an externally imposed or “ascribed” element (Blommaert, as cited in Preece, 2016) may also qualify as an L2 identity. Subsequent references to the literature include both ascribed and inhabited identity research and I attempt to analyse their effects on the spoken English output of Japanese high school learners.

Coulmas (2013) points out that a language links both individual and collective identities to a sense of national loyalty. Sounding different to those around you can hence hypothetically place you on the wrong end of the “we-they distinction” (Coulmas, 2013, p. 191), even within your own community. It may therefore not be desirable to speak fluent English if your peers are not capable of doing so. The Japanese seem to have collectively and historically resisted being overpowered by the English language. Japan was never colonised by a Western power and English was never adopted during the 7 years of American occupation after World War II (Sergeant, 2011). Seemingly a matter of national pride, Japan also discouraged the teaching of the English language during WWII (Kubota, 1998), and even today, there may still be a sense that English, often likened to globalisation, is a threat to national unity and cultural values (Sergeant, 2011). Even though

English instruction is spreading in Japan, not only as an individual subject but also gradually as a *modus operandi* at schools (Seargeant, 2011), and Japan seems to prefer looking to the West for guidance than to Asia (Yano, 2011). Seargeant (2011, p. 31) observes that in the Japanese Diet “a commonly expressed concern is that the focus on English takes time away from Japanese language study and citizenship education.” The consensus seems to translate to something like: “by all means study English, but be cautious and don’t allow it to subtract from your Japanese language and values.”

The fact that Japan almost stands alone as a non-western country that has not had to sacrifice its language and culture in achieving extraordinary financial success, supports those who advocate a unique identity, or “*nihonjinron*”, that owes nothing to the West (Kubota, 1998, p. 300) and provides Japan with power and stability on its own terms (Rivers, 2011). As Kubota (2011) and the teachers in Matsuda’s (2011) study of high school students agree, it is a fact that one can be very successful in Japan today without much fluency or competence in English. Seen from the opposite end of the spectrum, Tsuda (as cited in Kubota, 1998) purports that Japan has developed an addiction to learning English as a defence mechanism to override an inner identity crisis. Officially, Japan’s rationale for developing English is that it is essential in the global competitive market, although interestingly, Seargeant (2011) notes that the promotion of English is directly linked to new programmes supporting the national language, in what would seem to be an attempt to balance out an excess of English language and possibly of foreign cultural influence. While such psychological views of a collective Japanese identity may have the effect of restricting English language production as a community, this discussion has not yet cleared the realm of ascribed identities. Thus far, identities are attributed, through the influence of the powers that be, to individuals who choose to accept them (Stewart & Miyahara, 2011). Having said this, we should not underestimate the strength of community pressure on individual decision-making in Japan.

English as an international language (EIL)

The notion of English as an international language (EIL), or *lingua franca* (ELF), provides L2 learners the choice of whether to unrealistically push for a native-sounding accent by removing any hint of local “foreignness” (Jenkins, 1998), or to accept identifying with the English pronunciation and usage of their L1 community, as long as it is comprehensible. Although seemingly simple and perfectly plausible, inhabiting the identity of a Japanese speaker of English does not come easy to Japanese learners. This is due in part to the negative connotations of Japanese English locally, in comparison to native varieties of English

(Chiba et al., 1995). According to several authors, the Japanese feel that their accent is incorrect and inappropriate when addressing NS and even doubt its intelligibility (Matsuda, 2003; Tokumoto & Shibata, 2011). Matsuda explains that even though the high school students in her study recognise the use of English internationally, they do not feel it belongs internationally, and definitely not to the Japanese.

Much of this modern obsession with imitating NS English may stem from the UK and US native speaker (NS) models provided to students in their textbooks (Kubota, 1998; Matsuda, 2003). The idea of associating English exclusively with the Anglo-American culture and ostensibly only learning it to communicate with NS, keeps Japan at the level of other EFL countries, lacking international contexts within its shores (Jenkins, 1998) and bereft of the possibility of developing its own variety of English (Yano, 2011).

A further reason for resisting an L2 identity in Japan may be because English, like in other EFL countries, is seldomly spoken outside the context of a classroom. This may prompt the few fluent speakers of English within the classroom to mask their bilingual abilities in order to fit in with their peers (Vasilopoulos, 2015). This notion of undercover L2 speakers in Japanese classrooms adds an intercultural angle that further limits the propagation of L2 identities. Greer (2000, p. 183) terms this pressure to fit in: “The Eyes of *Hito*” (*Hito* perhaps meaning *people* or *society* as an individual force). He suggests that students will make mistakes on purpose and evade sounding native to avoid “sanctions by the audience” (Lebra, as cited in Greer, 2000, p. 185) for standing out and breaking the in-class alignment of students’ levels.

Although unwillingness to identify with the English language as non-native speakers (NNS) may be linked to the country’s “national failure to acquire a working command of English” (Honna, as cited in Schneider, 2014, p. 22), it may also be due to the low regard Japan has for NNS countries within Asia (Rivers, 2011), such as Malaysia or the Philippines. Rivers maintains that Japan chooses to identify with Western superpowers instead of with other Asian countries, and Nakamura (as cited in Kubota, 1998) goes further to suggest that Japan has internalised an idea of Western superiority towards many of its neighbours. If it is true that Japan feels superior to its Asian neighbours, it may be difficult to nationally accept the educational value that Singaporean or Filipino English can have on their own local variety. If Japan were to empower its own variety of English and opt for ELF, what would this mean in terms of sociolinguistic identity? Does an ELF identity exist? Or is House (as cited in Jenks, 2013, p.167) right in saying that ELF is “an acultural variety of English ... unusable for ‘identity marking’”?

From internationalisation to “international posture”

To answer the above question, Jenks finds that individual language proficiency is an important part of an ELF identity. Without the confidence that proficiency provides, there seems to be little point in constructing an L2 identity. The idea of internationalisation in Japan is deeply related to English language proficiency. The term “*kokusaika*”, or internationalisation, is described by Kubota (1998, p. 300) as the way Japan “harmoniously embraces” Westernisation through the teaching and study of English, and perhaps oddly, through promoting Japanese nationalistic values. Although this is a more gracious definition than the previously mentioned “*nihonjinron*”, it contrasts the idea of how internationalisation is viewed in other countries. Stewart and Miyahara (2011) refer to a study by Yoneoka which presents Japanese students’ views of internationalisation as: knowledge of foreign languages and cultures, while the general view of internationalisation, by students from around the world (including German and American participants), was to be increasingly sociable and broad-minded to people from other nations. The latter is of course not linked to linguistic ability.

The term “international posture”, coined by Yashima (2002), is nevertheless closer to what the global group of students felt about internationalisation. Yashima (2009) describes it as a willingness to feel connected to a global community, regardless of language, and to interact with citizens from other countries. It is an individual decision or a personal choice and hence qualifies as an inhabited identity. Using international posture as one of the bases for predicting spoken English language production, this study attempts to find a correlation between positive global sentiments, as elicited in question 17 of the questionnaire (see Appendix 1) and successful English interaction during the paired speaking activity.

Figure 1 illustrates Yashima’s (2009) findings on how international posture, frequency of communication, willingness to communicate and English proficiency all mutually interconnect through the vehicles of confidence and motivation. Based on her studies, it is also worth predicting that the stronger the participants’ international posture, or perhaps conversely, the weaker their traditional “*nihonjinron*” views are, the greater their proficiency in spoken English would be. Strong agreement with statements such as 4, 9, 15 and 22 (see Appendix 1) might therefore point to participants having a claim over their own national agency and hypothetically, less interest in learning English.

Further evidence of inhabited identities in Japan can be found in Matsuda’s (2011) above-mentioned study. The students were frustrated due to the lack of oral communication in their classes, and their opinions were at odds with those of their teachers who believed studying English grammar would be more beneficial to them. These students believed in

the importance of English language communication more than their teachers did. This serves to consolidate the idea that international posture in a classroom is a student's choice and not a blanket identity attributed to them by figures of authority such as teachers or the Ministry for Education. The students' comments in Matsuda's study also strengthen Yashima's (2002, 2009) view that international posture is more sought after by younger generations of Japanese students, who may be interested in things such as helping foreign tourists in their cities, speaking to exchange students or pursuing a career abroad. This may be the beginning of what Arnett (in Lamb, 2004, p. 13) calls a "bicultural identity" and what LoCastro (in Lamb, 2004, p. 14) defines as a Japanese struggle to form "an identity that includes being a competent speaker of English while retaining one's L1 and the L1 culture."

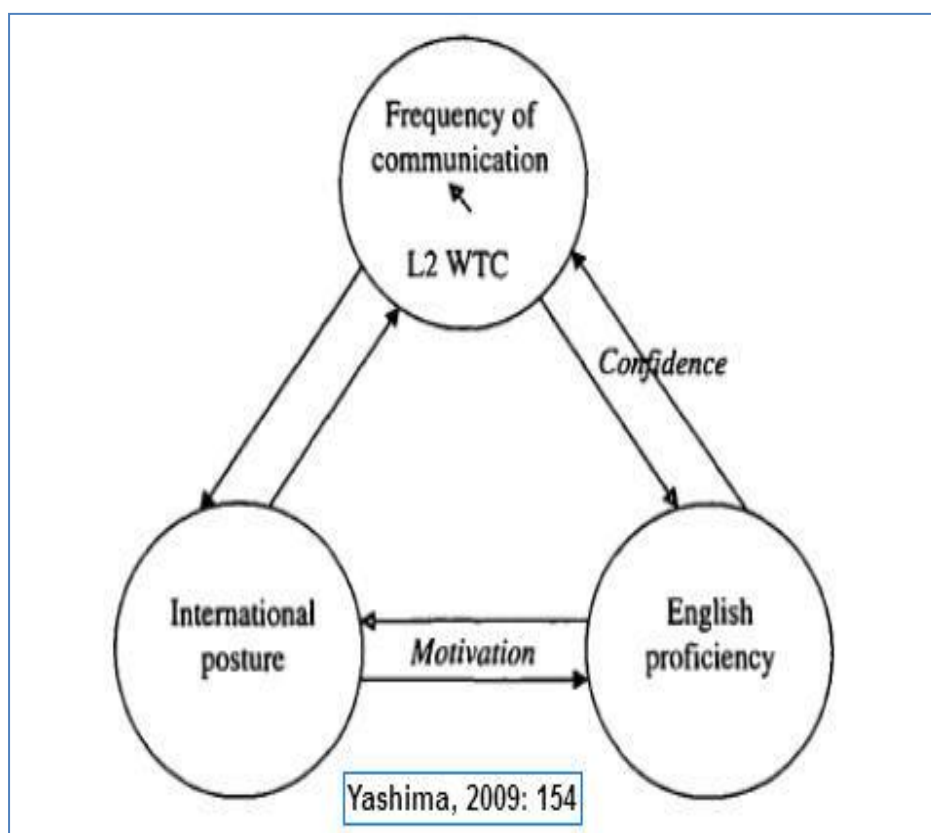


Figure 1. Diagram of international posture. Reprinted from *Motivation, Language Identity and the L2 Self* (p. 154), by Z. Dörnyei, & E. Ushioda, (eds), 2009, Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Learners in my context

The participants were all first-year students in a Japanese private high school and all shared Japanese as their first language (L1). They were between the ages of 15 and 16 and took a compulsory course in *English Expression* at Level 2, out of three possible levels. Level 1 (the top level) is reserved for students returning from English-speaking countries or Japanese learners with remarkably high English proficiency levels. The level in question (Level 2) is roughly equal to a pre-intermediate/intermediate level, or a B1 in the CEFR scale. Classes comprised two 50-minute lessons a week throughout the academic year (3 trimesters), as well as self-study time. Students at the school generally come from wealthy backgrounds, which, according to Kubota (2011) and Schneider (2014), can be a marker of English competence in EFL countries such as Japan. Two full classes, of 28 and 30 students respectively, participated in the study, giving a total of 58 participants. However, due to a technical difficulty during recording, the final number of participants was 56.

The English Expression course at the high school is run by NS teachers and essentially covers the listening and speaking skills, as opposed to a parallel course generally centred on reading and writing skills, run by Japanese English teachers. Both courses are compulsory and are administered and graded independently. NS teachers are individually responsible for running their lessons as they see fit, obviously keeping to the school's standards. This fact, in part, belies the ubiquitous image of the native teacher in Japan, which Ibata (2013, p. 280) describes as: "an exotic 'Other'... insensitive to Japanese culture... to remain 'foreign' to Japanese learners in order to inspire students' interest in foreign cultures."

The activities

A questionnaire activity with 22 statements, adapted from Chiba, Matsuura, and Yamamoto's (1995) study of Japanese university students, required participants to circle a number on a seven-point scale next to the statements, with number 1 being "completely agree" and 7 being "completely disagree". The aim of this was to measure this sample of high school students' attitudes and familiarity with NS English, their attitudes towards other non-native varieties of English (Kachru, 1990) and to observe whether feelings of identity may have determined the way they interacted in English. The questionnaire was simply for the purpose of the research and had no pedagogical function other than to question students' awareness of issues regarding language and identity. In the case of some students, thinking about answers to these questions may have been something new to them. For this reason, the questionnaire was

translated into Japanese for the individual students to answer in their L1, as it was believed this would ensure a better understanding of the questions and hence provide a more accurate collection of data.

The interactive speaking activity in dyads was not an entirely new exercise for the students. Speaking tests during the course would often follow this same pattern with students required to discuss and problem-solve with each other. As part of a Health and Injury theme, the pedagogical aims of this task were: 1) to individually convey appropriate language of health, injury, advice and negotiation and 2) to interact in pairs for between 2-3 minutes, “practising the process of communication” (Littlewood, as cited in Al-Arishi, 1994, p. 343) in a way that may simulate a real-life event.

Nunan (as cited in Halápi & Saunders, 2016) maintains that problem-solving tasks, such as this one, inspire conversation, reveal creativity, promote self-confidence and develop fluency. These are aspects that cannot be rehearsed during individual preparation time and were therefore of interest to this study in which interaction in English was being assessed. The task was performed by the pairs in the presence of the teacher (this researcher), who timed and recorded the language samples. It was not delivered in front of the class, as this would have both increased anxiety (Gardner, as cited in Halápi & Saunders) and removed task authenticity. As Al-Arishi (1994) accurately notes, an audience will generally not listen-in to your everyday conversations. The speaking task was also a graded test that formed part of the final course grade. This fact should hopefully have pressured the students/participants into performing well and dissuaded the stronger speakers from purposely concealing their abilities, as the above literature imply they might do.

Method

In order to define the main aspects of sociolinguistic and cultural identity among the participants, the 22 statements from the questionnaire were grouped into one of four labels, namely, UK, US and English, Japanese pride, International posture and Identity. For example, statements such as 3, 8 and 10 (see the questionnaire in Appendix 1) formed part of the group UK, US and English; statements 4, 9 and 15 formed part of Japanese Pride and so on. Answering with a value of “4” denoted the participant’s neutral feelings towards the statement, whereas 1-3 meant feelings were positive and 5-7 were negative. In order to work out an individual respondent’s sentiments towards one of the four aspects above, the average value of all answers under one of the 4 labels was calculated and compared to that of his/her classmates.

Attempting to find a relationship between identity and spoken English proficiency, the speaking activity was graded based on

Cambridge English testing criteria for Level B1 (PET or Preliminary English Test). This assessment was chosen due to the similarity of my speaking activity with the collaborative task in the PET speaking exam and because of the international reputation of Cambridge speaking examinations. See Appendix 2 for a copy of the online Cambridge English criteria I chose to use for the grading. The recordings were listened to and the aspects of pronunciation and interactive communication were graded separately by two qualified Cambridge English speaking examiners. Given that the participants were allowed individual planning time prior to the activity, fluently rehearsed utterances and memorised questions were expected during the exchanges. Therefore, grades for pronunciation and interaction (such as repetition and reaction to the other speaker's comments) were the two features of language being measured, as opposed to either grammatical constructions or fluent stretches of discourse. To merit a high score (above a "3"), pronunciation, such as word and syllable stress, needed to be correct and not heavily influenced by the L1, although NS pronunciation was not a requirement. Jenkins (1998) states that using nuclear stress accurately is fundamental for English learners, regardless of whether this is native sounding or not.

Interaction needed to be fluid and both speakers were required to exchange opinions and react to each other's comments during the 2-minute test to receive more than a score of "3". According to www.cambridgeenglish.org, "the descriptors for band 3 and above generally indicate performance of at least B1 level." Total scores for the exchanges were made up of the sum of the Interaction and Pronunciation scores (for example a "3" for Pronunciation and a "3" for Interaction would give a total of "6"). Both examiners' scores were considered to calculate an average score per participant. It is worth noting that there was very little discrepancy between the two examiners' scores of the participants. Due to the level of the students in this study being relatively high for the criteria being used, average sums below "6.5" were considered "weak" and those above "8" were considered "strong". This procedure produced a total of 19 "strong" students but only 8 "weak" students. In response to this lack of data, a third category: the "average" student, was added to the study, which gave a further 18 subjects. It was decided that average students would be those who obtained combined sums of between 6.5 and 7.25.

Results

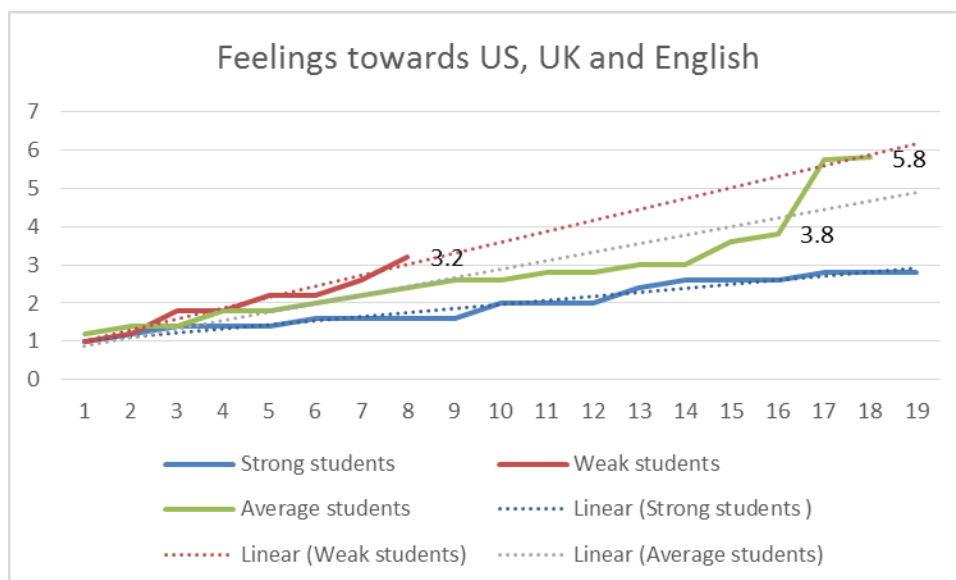


Figure 2. Line chart showing feelings towards English-speaking cultures

This first line chart (Figure 2) seems to depict a greater tendency among strong students to be positive about influences from English-speaking countries, as is shown by the blue line, which maintains a consistently low value. Interestingly, the strongest negative reactions (averages of around 5.8) came from student numbers 45 (S45) and S47, both in the “average” category. The weak students ranged from being very positive to less positive about English-speaking countries, although the lack of data for this group made it hard to read much into this. It can be argued however that the average-level participant’s linear graph (green line) was sufficiently different from the blue line, to give some credence to the hypothesis that stronger speakers were more interested in English-speaking countries.

Figure 3 depicts a possible correlation between a lack of spoken English ability and an anti-English sentiment, labelled “Japanese pride” in this study. This chart has all three trendlines matching the hypothesis that the stronger the level of spoken English, the greater the rejection of what seems to be a sense of pride in one’s inability to speak English. The most rejected statement from the questionnaire (see Appendix 1) was statement 15: “I don’t like students who pronounce English like American or British people”, for which the average answer for all 56 participants was a value of 6.3, with 38 participants recording the

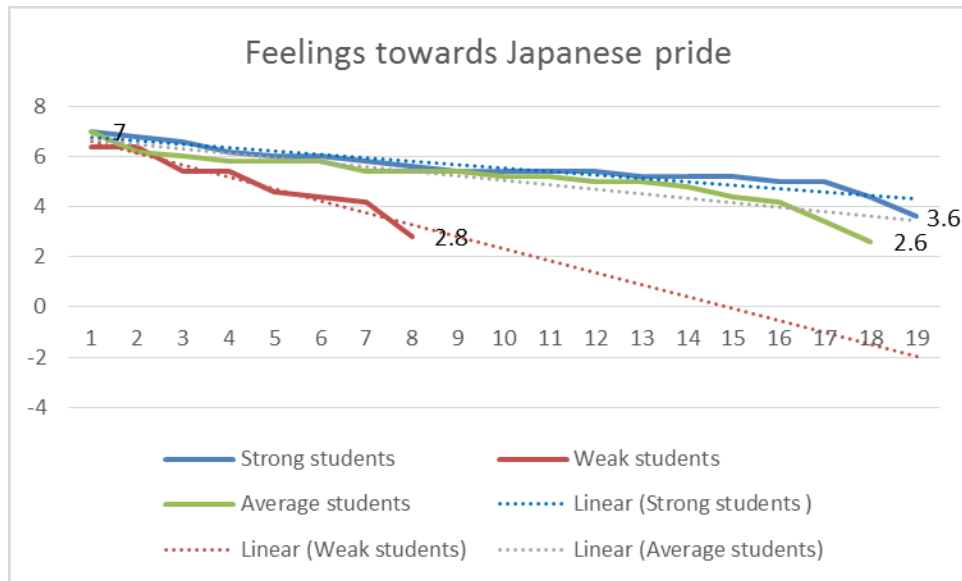


Figure 3. Line chart showing feelings towards Japanese pride

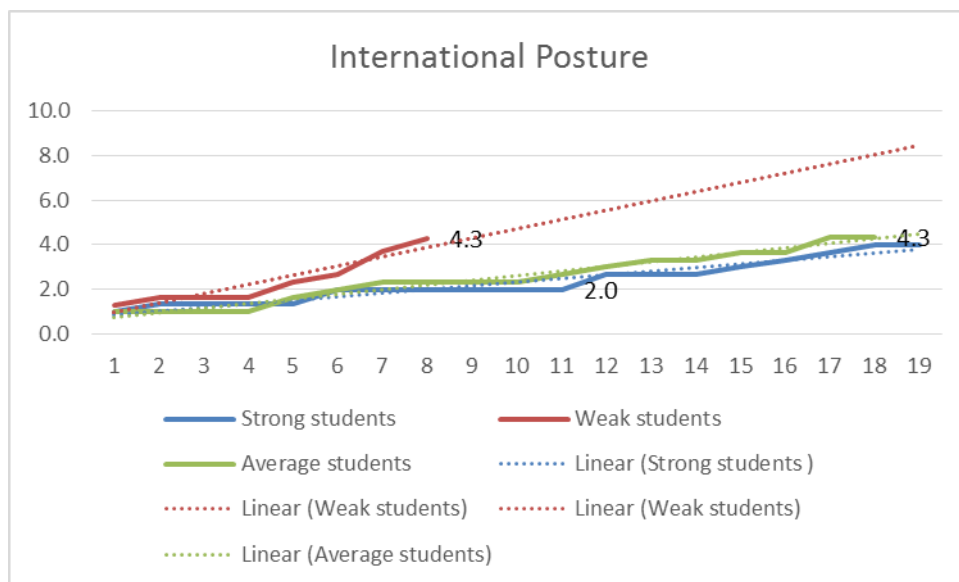


Figure 4. Line chart showing participants' levels of international posture

Table 1

Statistics of participants' average scores for international posture

International Posture	<i>Strong students</i>	<i>Weak students</i>	<i>Average students</i>
Mean	2.33	2.41	2.52
Median	2.00	2.00	2.33
Mode	2.00	1.67	1.00
S. D.	0.93	1.08	1.12
Range	3.00	3.00	3.33
Minimum	1.00	1.30	1.00
Maximum	4.00	4.30	4.33

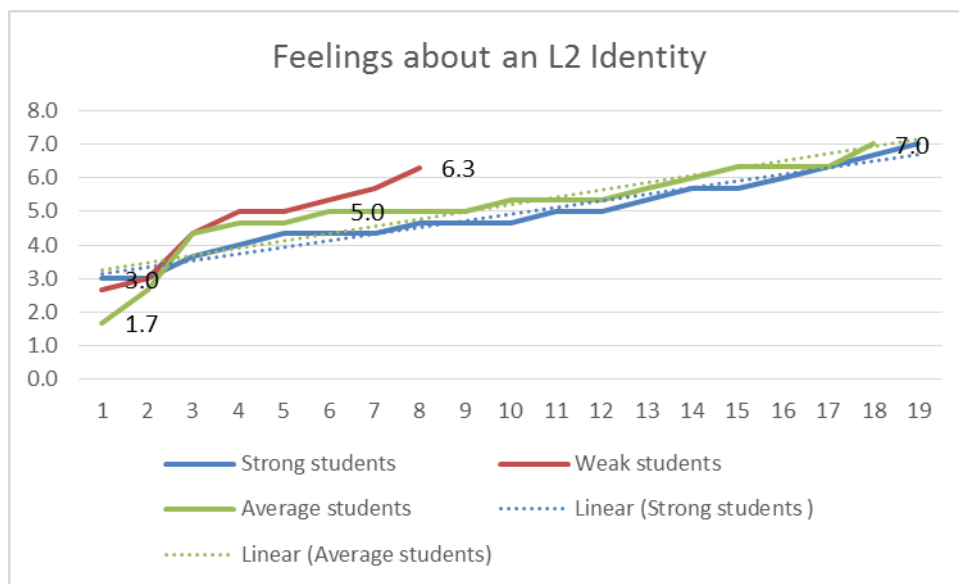


Figure 5. Line chart showing feelings about L2 identity

Table 2

Statistics of participants' average scores for L2 identity

L2 Identity	<i>Strong students</i>	<i>Weak students</i>	<i>Average students</i>
Mean	4.91	4.67	5.09
Median	4.67	5.00	5.17
Mode	4.33	5.00	5.00
S. D.	1.13	1.27	1.29
Range	4.00	3.63	5.33
Minimum	3.00	2.67	1.67
Maximum	7.00	6.30	7.00

strongest possible rejection value of 7. Only 4 out of the 56 participants, or 7%, agreed with statement 15 by choosing values between 1 and 3. Despite this study focussing solely on Japanese students, the idea of certain class-mates who share one's same language, speaking a foreign language with native-sounding pronunciation, can potentially be interpreted as pompous in any corner of the world. The data may therefore suggest maturity on the part of these particular participants who were generally unfazed by this phenomenon.

Figure 4 illustrates the possible correlation between international posture and oral proficiency. While the line chart appears to give credit to the hypothesis that the greater the English-speaking ability, the more predisposed participants were to a global mindset, individual answers made the boundaries less clear. The data in Table 1 shows a marginally more positive tendency towards international posture among stronger students, especially when compared to average students, but the distribution of data was not significant enough to draw any conclusions. Participants in all three levels responded positively to the idea of international posture, with mean values between 2.33 and 2.52. As previously mentioned, a wealthy background might be an indication of English ability among Japanese students. From these positive results we can argue that it is precisely the background of these particular high school students, and potentially of other wealthy private school students in other EFL countries, which is reflected as an inhabited identity of positivity towards foreign people and foreign cultures.

Despite results showing that participants expressed positivity towards the global community, the idea of an L2 identity appeared to be something out of reach for these teenagers. To statements such as number 13, which asked them to assess whether they felt they were different people when speaking English, or especially number 19, about whether they liked the way they sounded when speaking English, average responses across all 3 proficiency levels were negative. The line chart (Figure 5) depicts similar trends for all levels and the data in Table 2 reinforces the general rejection by participants of their Japanese-sounding English accents. As the exception that proves the rule, S45 again stands out as the only participant to react very positively to questions about his L2 identity, averaging 1.7 for this aspect of the study. These results support Tokumoto and Shibata (2011) and Matsuda's (2003) comments about a national impression that the Japanese accent is lacking, and unsuitable for addressing NS, and Matsuda's analysis of how Japanese speakers of English do not feel the language belongs to them as part of the international community. While this study does not empirically compare Japanese students to other EFL students, this particular self-critical characteristic of the participants may be more predominant among Japanese students, who rely heavily

on native English models and have a culture of extreme modesty, than that of students from other EFL countries.

In summary, findings of this study suggest that an appreciation for the English language and anglophone cultures does correlate with higher oral proficiency levels for the participants of this study. In addition, and more markedly, greater English spoken abilities correlate with a rejection of the seemingly archaic view that the English language has no place in Japanese society and that it detracts from being a true Japanese. Yashima's (2002) notion of international posture appears to come naturally to the participating students of this high school, possibly, due to their above average economic means. Finally, when asked explicitly to allocate themselves an English-speaking identity, the participants were generally unable to do so, falling back on beliefs that Japanese-sounding English is somehow inferior or unpleasant to the ear.

Discussion and implications

We can argue that international posture accounts for a form of inhabited identity and that results of this study are in line with Yashima's (2009) previous findings on how international posture links with motivation, willingness to communicate (WTC) and ultimately proficiency in English. However, an L2 identity is defined here as something gradable for Japanese students of English, initially as "kokusaika", then as international posture, or openness to English from "Outer Circle" countries (Kachru, 1990, p. 3) and eventually as a recognised L2 self. Defining the strength of individuals' L2 identities should therefore prove feasible through questionnaires such as the one used in this study. With such findings, an EFL professional may wish to adapt his/her teaching to show a greater recognition of the various levels of L2 identity within a classroom. This might be done in practice via various activities, or by simple changes such as pairing students in a way as to encourage the propagation of more advanced L2 identities. The curriculum itself could also be adjusted to consider knowledge of such individual differences, although this would require further research to explore how certain syllabuses work better or worse in groups with mixed L2 identities. If Japan is to combat its failure to attain a decent level of English (Honna, as cited in Schneider, 2014), acceptance of a Japanese-sounding accent and a complete dismissal of the idea that "we Japanese sound stupid when speaking English" would be good starting points.

A potential limitation of this study and a suggestion for further research is that some of the students could have been interviewed, and these qualitative results triangulated with the quantitative questionnaire results to add another angle to the research. We should also consider the value that Japanese culture attributes to modesty. It may be possible that

confident speakers among the participants, who might pride themselves of the way they sound when speaking English, will still have been critical of themselves. As Matsuno (2009, p. 14) observes, “Japanese believe that they should not assess themselves higher than others as modesty is traditionally considered a virtue”. An idea for further research might be to compare self-deprecating tendencies among Japanese students to students in other EFL contexts.

Ridicule for sounding “overly” proficient, or different, implies that Japanese students are presently unfamiliar with both fluent speakers of English and with a variety of pronunciations. Instruction therefore needs to focus on familiarising learners with other varieties of English that are accessible to them, to improve their acceptance and understanding (Chiba et al., 1995). If Graddol (as cited in Matsuda, 2003) is correct in claiming that the future of English will be decided by L2 speakers, Japan must free itself from its obsession with the superiority of NS Westerners’ pronunciation (Tsuda, as cited in Kubota, 1998) and individuals need to create a positive image of themselves and their own way of speaking English.

References

- Al-Arishi, A.Y. (1994). Role-play, real-play, and surreal-play in the ESOL classroom. *ELT Journal*, 48(4), 337-346.
- Bucholtz, M. (2003). Sociolinguistic nostalgia and the authentication of identity. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 7(3), 398-416.
- Cambridge English Language Assessment. *Assessing Speaking Performance – Level B1*. Online. Retrieved December 28, 2016, from <http://www.cambridgeenglish.org/images/168618-assessing-speaking-performance-at-level-b1.pdf>
- Chiba, R., Matsuura, H., & Yamamoto, A. (1995). Japanese attitudes toward English accents. *World Englishes*, 14(1), 77-86.
- Coetzee-Van Rooy, S. (2006). Integrativeness: Untenable for world Englishes learners? *World Englishes* 25(3-4), 437-450.
- Coulmas, F. (2013). *Sociolinguistics: The study of speakers' choices*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Greer, D. L. (2000). "The Eyes of *Hito*": A Japanese cultural monitor of behavior in the communicative language classroom. *JALT Journal*, 22(1), 183-195.
- Halápi, M., & Saunders, D. (2002). Language teaching through role-play: A Hungarian view. *Simulation and Gaming*, 33(2), 69-178.
- Ibata, R. (2013). [Review of the book *English in Japan in the era of globalization*. Ed. by P. Seargeant] *World Englishes*, 32(2), 279-281.
- Jenkins, J. (1998). Which pronunciation norms and models for English as an International Language? *ELT Journal*, 52(2), 119-126.

- Jenks, C. (2013). 'Your pronunciation and your accent is very excellent': Orientations of identity during compliment sequences in English as a lingua franca encounters. *Language and Intercultural Communication*, 13(2), 165-181.
- Joseph, J. E. (2004). *Language and identity: National, ethnic, religious*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Kachru, B. B. (1990). World Englishes and applied linguistics. *World Englishes*, 9(1), 3-20.
- Kubota, R. (2011). Immigration, diversity and language education in Japan: Toward a glocal approach to teaching English. In P. Seargeant (Ed.), *English in Japan in the era of globalization*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Kubota, R. (1998). Ideologies of English in Japan. *World Englishes*, 17(3), 295-306.
- Lamb, M. (2004). Integrative motivation in a globalizing world. *System* 32(1), 3-19.
- Matsuda, A. (2011). 'Not everyone can be a star': Students' and teachers' beliefs about English teaching in Japan. In P. Seargeant (Ed.), *English in Japan in the Era of Globalization*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Matsuda, A. (2003). The ownership of English in Japanese secondary schools. *World Englishes*, 22(4), 483-496.
- Matsuno, S. (2009). Self-, peer-, and teacher-assessments in Japanese university EFL writing classrooms. *Language Testing*, 26(1), 75-100.
- Phan, L. H. (2008). *Teaching English as an International Language: Identity, resistance and negotiation*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.
- Preece, S. (2016). *The Routledge handbook of language and identity*. Abingdon-on-Thames: Routledge.
- Rivers, D. J. (2011). Intercultural processes in accented English. *World Englishes*, 30(3), 375-391.
- Schneider, E. W. (2014). New reflections on the evolutionary dynamics of world Englishes. *World Englishes*, 33(1), 9-32.
- Seargeant, P. (2011). Introduction: English in Japan in the era of globalization. In P. Seargeant (Ed.), *English in Japan in the Era of Globalization*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Stewart, A., & Miyahara, M. (2011). Parallel universes: Globalization and identity in English language teaching at a Japanese university. In P. Seargeant (Ed.), *English in Japan in the Era of Globalization*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Swain, M., Kinnear, P., & Steinman, L. (2015). *Sociocultural Theory in second language education: An introduction through narratives* (2nd ed.). Bristol: Multilingual Matters.
- Takahashi, K. (2013). *Language learning, gender and desire: Japanese women on the move*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.
- Tokumoto, M., & Shibata, M. (2011). Asian varieties of English:

- Attitudes towards pronunciation. *World Englishes*, 30(3), 392-408.
- Vasilopoulos, G. (2015). Language learner investment and identity negotiation in the Korean EFL context. *Journal of Language, Identity & Education*, 14(2), 61-79.
- Yano, Y. (2011). English as an International Language and 'Japanese English'. In P. Seargeant (Ed.), *English in Japan in the Era of Globalization*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Yashima, T. (2002). Willingness to communicate in a second language: The Japanese EFL context. *The Modern Language Journal*, 86(1), 54-66.
- Yashima, T. (2009). International posture and the ideal L2 self in the Japanese EFL context. In Z. Dörnyei, & E. Ushioda (Eds.), *Motivation, language identity and the L2 self*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Appendix 1

Questionnaire No. _____

To what extent do you agree with the following statements. Circle a number from 1 to 7.

1 = Completely agree // 7 = Completely disagree

1. I study English because it is required for graduation.
2. I would like to speak English like they do in India, Singapore or the Philippines.
3. I would like to speak English like they do in the UK or USA.
4. I like speaking English with a Japanese pronunciation because I am Japanese.
5. English spoken by Japanese people is easy to understand.
6. English spoken by Japanese people is difficult to understand.
7. As long as it is understood, incorrect English is acceptable.
8. I prefer friends from English-speaking countries (UK, USA) to those from Asia.
9. There is too much English in Japanese TV commercials.
10. I want to study or travel in an English-speaking country like USA or UK.
11. English is the best foreign language to learn.
12. I am happy to respond in English, if spoken to in English.
13. When I speak in English I feel like a different person.
14. I envy those who can pronounce English like an American or British person.
15. I don't like students who pronounce English like American or British people.
16. If I speak good English, it's easier to make foreign friends.
17. I want to meet people and make friends from different countries.
18. It is more important to use Japanese correctly than to speak English fluently.
19. I like how I sound when I speak English.
20. I think I sound stupid when I speak English.
21. The Japanese language should always be used at schools in Japan.
22. Speaking too well in English makes me feel less Japanese.

Appendix 2

Assessing Speaking Performance – Level B1

B1	Grammar and Vocabulary	Discourse Management	Pronunciation	Interactive Communication
5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Shows a good degree of control of simple grammatical forms, and attempts some complex grammatical forms. Uses a range of appropriate vocabulary to give and exchange views on familiar topics. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Produces extended stretches of language despite some hesitation. Contributions are relevant despite some repetition. Uses a range of cohesive devices. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Is intelligible. Intonation is generally appropriate. Sentence and word stress is generally accurately placed. Individual sounds are generally articulated clearly. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Initiates and responds appropriately. Maintains and develops the interaction and negotiates towards an outcome with very little support.
4	<i>Performance shares features of Bands 3 and 5.</i>			
3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Shows a good degree of control of simple grammatical forms. Uses a range of appropriate vocabulary when talking about familiar topics. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Produces responses which are extended beyond short phrases, despite hesitation. Contributions are mostly relevant, but there may be some repetition. Uses basic cohesive devices. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Is mostly intelligible, and has some control of phonological features at both utterance and word levels. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Initiates and responds appropriately. Keeps the interaction going with very little prompting and support.
2	<i>Performance shares features of Bands 1 and 3.</i>			
1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Shows sufficient control of simple grammatical forms. Uses a limited range of appropriate vocabulary to talk about familiar topics. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Produces responses which are characterised by short phrases and frequent hesitation. Repeats information or digresses from the topic. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Is mostly intelligible, despite limited control of phonological features. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Maintains simple exchanges, despite some difficulty. Requires prompting and support.
0	<i>Performance below Band 1.</i>			

<http://www.cambridgeenglish.org/images/168618-assessing-speaking-performance-at-level-b1.pdf>

Note on Contributor

An English literature graduate from Reading University (UK) and MA in TESOL from UCL London, David Chevasco has been teaching EFL and ESL since 2004 in Italy, Spain, the UK and Japan. He currently teaches in High Schools and universities in and around Tokyo and his interests lie in L2 motivation and identity. Email: D_Chevasco@hotmail.com

L2 Writers Construct Identity through Academic Writing Discourse Socialization

Wenqi Cui

Indiana University of Pennsylvania, USA

Abstract

In the past decades, interests in L2 (English as a second language) students' language socialization in academic communities have increasingly grown since more and more L2 students have enrolled in universities in the Western world. Previous studies centered on L2 students' attempts to obtain academic discourses as well as linguistic and cultural repertoire to establish their membership in new academic communities. This study took the sociolinguistic lens to explore the impact of English ideologies and unequal power relations on L2 students' identity construction through examining their academic writing socialization with their writing instructor, teaching assistants, peers, and their professors of other disciplines. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) was employed to analyze the collected data to recognize the ideological nature of language practices and to uncover power relationships between mainstream academic communities and L2 students. The findings indicated that the English ideologies held by the L2 students and academic community members shaped their understandings of linguistic varieties and language practices as well as their attitudes to language users. Accordingly, these L2 participants' identities were constructed and co-constructed as insiders, outsiders, and commuters in relation to other members in this academic community. Finally, this article concluded with pedagogical suggestions regarding resisting inequality and bias against L2 writers in educational practices as well as how to help L2 students construct their identities and establish their membership in western academic communities. This study does not mean to generalize its findings to other contexts or language learners. Instead, it contributes to current conversations by reflecting L2 students' voices and perceptions of socializing with various academic community members under the influence of the macro-level English ideologies.

Keywords: Language socialization, academic writing discourse, L2 writers, Critical Discourse Analysis

Introduction

There have been a large number of studies on language socialization and exploring how an individual socializes with other community members through language to learn to think and behave appropriately and get accepted by a specific community (Lee & Bucholtz, 2015). In the process of socializing, newcomers are exposed to and engaged in "language-mediated social activities"

(Morita, 2000, p. 281). Language socialization (LS) functions not only as a tool to develop novices' or learners' linguistic and cultural competence, but also to acquire their knowledge of sociopolitical ideologies of a specific community. The study of language socialization has been traditionally applied in children's L1 (English as a first language) acquisition and socialization, centering on how children learn to become competent members of their societies (Clancy, 1999; Heath, 1983; Ochs, 1988; Schieffelin, 1986). Later on, research on language socialization extended to L1 adults who internalized not only socially and culturally constructed conventions and practices of a community but also its embedded beliefs, values, and ideologies (Duff, 2010; Morita, 2000; Ochs, 2000; Ochs & Schieffelin, 2012; Talmy, 2009). In the meantime, individuals "construct and evolve his/her identity [and membership]" (Bhowmik, 2016; Godley & Loretto, 2013) accordingly to fit into the expectations of the community.

In the past decades, many scholars have become interested in L2 (English as a second language) students' language socialization in academic communities such as universities and writing classes since more and more L2 students have enrolled in universities in the Western world (Duff, 2003; Johns, 2005; Starfield & Ravelli, 2006; Zuengler & Cole, 2005). To become competent members, L2 students need to learn academic discourses and conventions acknowledged in western academic communities. Importantly, when L2 students learn academic discourses and conventions that belong to these academic communities, they also imbibe the macro-level English ideologies implanted, "disseminated and reinforced" in academic discourses (De Costa, 2011, p. 350) through language socialization and interactions. Language ideologies are defined as "the ideas with which participants and observers frame their understanding of linguistic varieties and map those understandings onto people, events, and activities that are significant to them" (Irvine & Gal, 2000, p. 35). Originated in political and social contexts, language ideologies also serve as "the mediating link between social structures and forms of talk" (Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994, p. 55). In academic communities, mainstream discourses privilege Standard English language, while marginalizing other language varieties. The practice of privileging particular linguistic practices while stigmatizing others "conflate[s] certain racialized bodies with linguistic deficiency unrelated to any objective linguistic practices" (Flores & Rosa, 2015, p. 150). As a result, L2 students' languages and cultures, their English learning practices, micro-level linguistic features, and even themselves are likely to be put at a disadvantage.

Prior literature enriched our understanding of L2 students' academic discourse socialization by shedding light on how L2 students identified themselves or were identified as experts or novices in their attempts to acquire linguistic and cultural repertoire and then become competent members of new academic communities. However, it is not clear how English ideologies held by L2 students affect their construction and negotiation of their memberships in academic writing contexts. It also remains equivocal how mainstream academic

community members co-construct L2 writers' identities and impact their discourse practices under the influence of macro-level English ideology. This study attempts to address that gap by articulating the voices from L2 writers, particularly looking at how L2 students describe the influence of macro-level ideology on their perceptions of themselves and on their micro-level linguistic practices. This practice is executed by asking why the students feel this way and probing into how they identify themselves in relation to the mainstream academic community members.

The goal of this paper is twofold: the first is to explore what identities L2 writers construct and negotiate when socializing with other academic community members including their writing instructor, teaching assistants, peers, and their professors of disciplines; the second goal is to adopt a sociolinguistic lens to delve into the relationship between linguistic practices and language ideology in a mainstream academic discourse community, hence, unearthing the impact of unequal power relations on marginalized groups in institutional settings. This study does not intend to generalize its findings to other contexts or language learners. Instead, it contributes to current conversations by reflecting L2 students' voices and perceptions of socializing with various academic community members under the influence of macro-level English ideologies. Hopefully, this article will inspire more research on this issue, enabling voices from more L2 students or other diverse groups as well as resisting inequality and bias against L2 writers in educational practices which is significant, especially in this growingly linguistically and culturally diverse academic environment.

In what follows, I will first review the literature on academic discourse socialization and social identity. Afterward, I will report my findings from the collected interview data, illustrating the impact of English ideology on L2 students' identity construction and discourse practices. Finally, I will offer pedagogical suggestions regarding resisting inequality and bias against L2 writers in educational practice as well as how to help L2 students construct their identity and establish their membership in western academic communities.

Literature Review

Academic discourse socialization

Socializing with expert members allows newcomers to construct their identities in a community. Individuals possess numerous social identities in response to certain communities, and each type of identity is shaped through meeting particular expectations when interacting with other individuals in that community. Similarly, in academic contexts, newcomers learn and practice academic discourses, defined by Duff (2010) as "forms of oral and written language and communication—genres, registers, graphics, linguistic structures, interactional patterns" (p. 175), and they then participate in academic communities through interactions with their professors, peers, and other

experienced members (see Anderson, 2017; Bernstein, 1972; Halliday, 2004; Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986). There is a body of studies on L2 or multilingual students' socialization in academic discourses. Some studies explored how L2 learners achieved academic success and increasingly became competent members in a new academic community. For example, some first-year multilingual doctoral students at North American universities learned the rules of their new academic communities through socializing in class interactions and out-of-class contexts (Anderson, 2017; Seloni, 2012). In a like manner, some L2 undergraduates and graduates performed successful oral academic presentations after they mastered the oral academic discourses (Kobayashi, 2003, 2006; Morita, 2000; Yang, 2010; Zappa-Hollman, 2007). Nevertheless, in both secondary and post-secondary contexts, L2 students inevitably encountered various language and literacy challenges when socializing in classroom discourses to earn their membership in a new academic community (see Duff & Anderson, 2015; Mohan & Marshall-Smith, 1992; Morita, 2002, 2004).

Other studies took a cross-cultural perspective to investigate the construction of L2 learners' identities when they engaged in culturally, politically, and socially situated language socialization (Duff, 2002; Ho, 2011; Lee & Bucholtz, 2015; Morita, 2004; Séror, 2011). These studies revealed that identity construction is culturally related and is a fluid and dynamic process in various socialization contexts. For example, in their study, Lee and Bucholtz (2015) illustrated that the youth, who were racially, linguistically, and/or economically marginalized, could be both experts and novices depending on what expertise they had when socializing within different local contexts—the school, the peer group, the home, and the local community. Likewise, Ho (2011) discovered that English L1 and L2 postgraduate students in a TESOL course shifted their identities between “NES/NNES, a person of a certain cultural background, a foreign/second language learner, an experienced or novice teacher, and so on” in small groups during their in-class academic discussion. Like Ho (2011), Morita (2004) investigated a group of L2 graduates who “constructed various identities that were often based on their changing sense of competence ... [and] proficiency in English” (p. 583) in an academic community of a Canadian university. The findings from the above studies conform to the typical language socialization models which “assume that ‘novices’ will learn to participate like ‘experts’ or more proficient peers” (Duff, 2002, p. 314). It seems that newcomers, including L2 students, can earn their legitimate membership in the academic communities as long as they become like the expert members, being proficient in standardized spoken and written English and following their forms of communication.

However, identity construction is complicated when language socialization involves individuals from different cultures or classes who have already had different linguistic, discursive, and cultural repertoires as well as the embedded values, ideologies, and tenets from their prior communities. On the one hand, L2 students need to learn new practices and performances

expected from new academic communities, whereas their active agent may drive them to resist, challenge, partially accept, or reconstruct the repertoire of the new community (Duff, 2010). Though it is unlikely that L2 students would internalize the entire repertoire of language, culture, and ideologies of the new community, this newly-developed linguistic and cultural knowledge, as well as its ideology, will potentially impact how L2 students perceive themselves, how they reconstruct their identities, and how they practice academic discourse activities. On the other hand, language ideologies shared by the new community members such as how they perceive L2 students and their linguistic practices, will also exert influence on these L2 students' identity construction and establishment of membership, especially when the new community is privileged over those L2 students in terms of their language, values, and ideologies.

Social identity

Identity is defined as “an individual and/or a collective aspect of being while social identity focuses on aspects of a person's self-image derived from group-based categories” (Allen, 2011, p. 11). This study discussed how the participants constructed their social identities when socializing in academic writing settings rather than their personal characteristics. Individuals define and position themselves in opposition or in relation to others (Allen, 2011; Godley & Loretto, 2013). In other words, people construct their identities based on how they sense themselves by identifying differences from other people as well as finding commonalities with others. People position themselves in various communities where they share something in common and in this way, they identify the “social identity groups” they belong to (Allen, 2011, p. 10).

Furthermore, people's identities are multifaceted and evolving through socializing with other people or groups and use of language (Godley & Loretto, 2013; Bhowmik, 2016). To put it another way, social identities are dynamic and contextual rather than static and fixed because the processes during which people explore their relationships with others are recursive and continual. In addition, people's identities are continuously co-constructed by other community members through social interactions. On the one hand, individuals are active agents in “position[ing] themselves in relation to those others” (Schiffrin, 1996, p. 197), thus constructing, negotiating, or resisting their identities. On the other hand, an individual can belong to numerous social identity groups and each social identity is socially and culturally shaped and co-constructed through using language to “produce, interpret, and share meaning[s]” (Allen, 2011, p. 10) and beliefs with other group members.

Likewise, L2 writers' social identities are dynamic and contextualized depending on how they position themselves in relation to other academic community members as well as co-constructed by the shared values and discourse practices in academic communities. When socializing with expert members including instructors, institutions, editors, and others in education and professional contexts, L2 students learn Standard oral and written English

which is “privileged, expected, cultivated, conventionalized, or ritualized” by English ideology (Duff, 2010, p. 175). Hence, L2 students could construct their identities and legitimate memberships in this academic community. Therefore, studying L2 students’ academic discourse socialization allows us to see the impact of macro-level language ideology on L2 students’ language practices and identity construction.

Methodology

The primary purpose of this article was to better understand how L2 writers constructed and co-constructed their identities in various academic writing activities. The data analysis and discussion were guided by the following research questions:

1. What identities do L2 students construct through academic writing socialization?
2. How do their identities influence L2 students’ participation in academic writing socialization?
3. How do L2 students perceive their experiences of academic writing socialization?

Participants

The participants were recruited from a group of multilingual student writers who had some experiences of socializing with members of academic communities. At the Mid-Atlantic university in America where the study was conducted, each semester, there is one writing class for freshman multilingual students and one for sophomore multilingual students respectively. Considering students’ availability and their writing experiences with academic discourses, sophomore multilingual students were selected for this study. After obtaining approval from the Institutional Review Board (IRB) and permission of the instructor, I went to the multilingual writing class to recruit participants. Two students volunteered to participate in this study. They were two female undergraduates from a second-year writing class. One of the participants was from China and the other was from Puerto Rico. The Chinese girl, Lee (pseudonym), was an exchange student from a college in Beijing, China, majoring in Accounting and she will study at this American university for two years. The participant from Puerto Rico was Marsha (pseudonym), majoring in Respiratory Care. Both of them were in their first year at this university when this study was conducted and enrolled in a second-year writing class for multilingual students. Lee had never been to America before, while Marsha had been in America for about eight years since she was in middle school. Lee’s native language is Chinese, while Marsha’s is Spanish; English is their second language.

Research context

The exchange student program that Lee participated in required her to study the first two years at a college in China and junior and senior years at the American university. Before she came to this American university, she had taken some major-related courses and English classes in China. The main purpose of the English classes Lee took at the college in China was to help students prepare for the International English Language Testing System (IELTS). Lee got a grade high than 5.5 in IELTS test. Therefore, she could study in a first-year composition class (ENGL 101) rather than through the American Language Institute (ALI), which offered noncredit English classes for international students and visitors.

Marsha had been in America for around eight years during which she went back and forth between America and Puerto Rico, finishing her middle and high school education. In her high school, she was taught English, but she was placed with other Spanish speakers in a class where there were not any native speakers of English. She did not have chances to practice English with native speakers, which she believed restricted her language development.

After entering this American university, Lee and Marsha took English 101 and English 202, designed to improve multilingual writers' writing abilities. Both writing classes involved activities such as in-class lectures given by their writing instructor, class discussions with their peers, and peer reviews of their writing with the teaching assistants. In addition to writing assignments in these two specific writing courses, they had writing tasks in the General Education courses they took and their disciplinary courses.

Data collection

Data used in this study included interviews with the two participants. A 45-60 minute, one-to-one, individual semi-structured interview was conducted with each participant respectively. In the interviews, I inquired about participants' experiences with their writing class, group discussions, and peer reviews when they interacted with their instructors, peers, and teaching assistants. For example, their feelings and perceptions of their interactions with different people (professors, multilingual/American peers, and teaching assistants) and how they see themselves as language users. And these interviews were audio recorded.

Before I transcribed the interviews and conducted data analysis in NVivo, I replaced participants' names with pseudonyms and removed identifying information before transcribing and importing the data into NVivo. The interview with Lee was conducted in Chinese, the native language Lee and the researcher share. Lee requested to speak her native language during the interview because she felt more comfortable with her native language and she could fully express her opinions and thoughts. I first transcribed the interview with Lee in Chinese and then translated the transcript into English, during which

I tried to stick closely to Lee's original ideas. Afterward, I employed member check with Lee to make sure my translation accurately represented her views and thoughts. The interview with Marsha was conducted in English, and I also carried out member check with Marsha after transcribing the interview with her.

Data analysis

This study utilized the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) approach (Fairclough, 1992; Emery, 2016) to analyze data. CDA is used to address social inequality and injustice issues as well as uncover power relationships via analysis of texts and subtexts (Emery, 2016). In addition, CDA offers the theoretical and methodological framework to recognize the ideological nature of educational practices and their social, historical, and political contexts in which they are situated and reinforced (Rogers et al., 2005). My study aims not only to reveal injustice but also to encourage actions to reduce and eliminate inequality in educational practice. Through investigating and uncovering visible and invisible inequalities towards L2 writers in education, I attempt to bring the issue to light and advocate an action to resist injustice and bias against L2 writers when they were involved in academic socialization with their professors, teaching associates, and peers. Therefore, CDA fits my research purpose and enables people in academic contexts to deepen their insights into the macro-level social practice that is mirrored by micro-level linguistic features.

The CDA employed in this study is Fairclough's Three Dimensional Model (1992, p. 73) of Critical Discourse Analysis which entails three elements: "a text (writing, talking, images, symbols); a discursive practice (the production, distribution and consumption of the text); and the social practice (the social events and activities taking place in the society which the discourse represents)" (Emery, 2016, p. 8).

Text. In the textual analysis, I examined linguistic features in my interview data, focusing on the participants' use of pronouns (I, we, you, they, he), rather than "undertake an in-depth linguistic analysis" (Emery, 2016, p. 9). In this study, the participants mainly used these pronouns to construct their identities in various academic writing socializations. Therefore, through examining their feelings and perceptions when using these pronouns, I could see how they constructed and negotiated their identities, which will be discussed in-depth later.

Discursive Practice. According to Fairclough (1992), "discursive practice focuses on processes of text production, distribution, and consumption" (p. 71). Discursive practice is particularly concerned with how texts (both verbal and written) are interpreted, used, and reproduced. In my study, from participants' interviews, I identified and analyzed interview extracts about how participants described their feelings and experiences in different academic socialization contexts when they used different texts—personal pronouns.

Social Practice. Social practice is the final element of the Three Dimensional model. "This stage is referred to as the explanatory stage for it

allows the analyst to draw conclusions on how the discursive practice both constitutes the social world and is constituted by other social practices” (Emery, 2016, p. 10). In this part, I connected the discursive practices of the participants to the socially constructed academic practices which are embedded with ideology and power of the mainstream class. In other words, the participants’ identities were shaped and positioned by the ideology of the dominant class. The prevalence of the ideology in academic socialization reinforced the marginalization of L2 writers as well as the privileged position of the dominant class. Social injustice and inequality are unconsciously enforced in education.

Findings

The first step of CDA is textual analysis during which I utilized AntConc freeware, a corpus analysis tool, to run instances of personal pronouns—I, we, you, they, he—and the contexts where the participants utilized these pronouns (see Table 1). After running AntConc, I got the total numbers of words in the interviews and the numbers of each pronoun, based on which I then calculated the percentage for each pronoun by using the number of each pronoun to divide the total the number of words in the interviews.

Table 1
The occurrences of pronouns in the interviews

Pronouns	Freq (%)	Examples
I	276 (24%)	“we both in the same shoes”;
We	69 (5.2%)	“English is a second language we struggle with the English barrier”;
You	102 (8.9%)	“you read stuff, <i>you</i> don’t know some words”; “They don’t make <i>you</i> confuse, they talk clearly”; “If <i>you</i> have question, he would answer”;
They	82 (5.9%)	“They try to explain like everything to us”; “They try to guide us like to the right path”; “They quickly judge you”; “They are some racists”;
He	136 (13.4%)	“he made us write essays”; “He tries to be specific”; “He gives me feedback about my paper”;

When participants used “I” and “we”, they referred to themselves and other L2 writers; “you” sometimes referred to the participants themselves in the socialization they were involved in. “They” could be teaching assistants or native speakers; while “he” was their professors or writing instructors (their professors and writing instructors mentioned in the interviews were males). The

participants expressed different feelings and experiences in the academic socialization when they used “I, we, you, they, he,” which implied how they construct and negotiate their identities.

In order to study L2 writers’ social identities, I will follow Fairclough’s Three Dimensional Model, continuing to examine participants’ discursive practice to answer the research questions:

1. What identities do L2 students construct through academic writing socialization?
2. How the identities influence L2 students’ participation in academic writing socialization?
3. How do L2 students perceive their experiences of academic writing socialization?

I analyzed the participants’ interviews focusing on language (negative or positive words) they used to describe their emotions and feelings (e.g. happy, comfortable, unsettling, mad) when they utilized various personal pronouns. Based on the discourses they applied to describe their experiences with academic writing socialization, the participants identified themselves as insiders, outsiders, and commuters. Their experiences with academic writing socialization and how their constructed identities affected their participation in these socializations were illustrated by the direct quotations from the participants, depicted as follows:

Identity as an insider: “I, we, you” pronoun

When the participants, Marsha and Lee, talked about themselves as L2 writers in the interviews, they had mixed feelings and perceptions: they could not understand the English spoken by other L2 students very well because of their limited English ability, but they felt they belonged to the same community—insiders of their group who could speak more than one language. For instance, both participants asserted that they “are in the same boat” (Marsha & Lee, personal communication, March 23 & 27, 2017) and encountered similar hardships and challenges in socializing with other people such as language barriers. Therefore, they understood each other’s situations. In the interview, Marsha said, “I feel more comfortable with other multilingual students because we understand each other... English is a second language we are struggling with the English barrier” (Marsha, personal communication, March 27, 2017). Similarly, Lee admitted that when she saw other L2 students, she wondered if “they have the similar language problems such as expressing their ideas accurately or understanding what others say” so she felt “I’m not alone hence I feel relieved” (Lee, personal communication, March 23, 2017).

On the other hand, the participants acknowledged that their limited language ability restricted their writing development as well as socialization with other L2 students who do not share the same native language. Marsha said

“[writing] is so hard for me since English is my second language... I have problem with vocabulary... that’s so hard” (Marsha, personal communication, March 27, 2017). Lee explicated that her limited language ability was one of the reasons that prevented her from interacting with others, especially other L2 students. Meanwhile, she also mentioned that she sometimes could not understand other L2 students due to their accents. Therefore, “multilingual students don’t communicate with each other a lot mostly we like to talk to students speaking our native languages” (Lee, personal communication, March 23, 2017). Additionally, Marsha noted that vocabulary was another factor that hindered effective communication among L2 students and she felt “more comfortable when speaking [her] native language” (Marsha, personal communication, March 27, 2017).

In a word, the participants, Marsha and Lee, viewed themselves as insiders of the L2 writers’ group where they felt comfortable and reassured. However, because of restrictions of their English ability, they were inclined to interact with those L2 writers who could speak their native languages.

Identity as an outsider: “they” pronoun

When interacting with some native speakers of English, the participants felt they were outsiders because they were rejected or discriminated against in terms of their accents or their nonstandard English. This finding echoes previous literature (Duff, 2002; Talmy, 2008, 2009) in which immigrant students were identified as outsiders. Marsha described how she was laughed at because of her accent: “Sometimes people judge you make fun of your accent” (Marsha, personal communication, March 27, 2017). Once, in one of her disciplinary courses, her accent was corrected by her professor because “it is not the way we say [the word]” (Marsha, personal communication, March 27, 2017). Since then, feeling upset and hurt, Marsha resisted participating in class discussion or speaking in front of the class and explained “I am scared to participate because they may not be able to understand me [because of my accent] all the people can make fun of you” (Marsha, personal communication, March 27, 2017). Marsha’s response echoes Duff’s (2002) finding that “non-local students were afraid of being criticized or laughed at in class because of their English, [so] silence protected them from humiliation” (p. 312).

Both Marsha and Lee, the two participants, always used “they” to refer to native speakers of English, implying they were outside of native speakers’ group, though they acknowledged that some native speakers of English were nice, helpful, and caring. In the interview, Marsha recounted that “some natives are good they understand your struggle they know sometimes you don’t know the word the professor are saying so he was try to help” (Marsha, personal communication, March 27, 2017). In a similar vein, Lee contended “native speakers of English tend to speak very fast but they will slow down when talk to [me] considering that English is my second language” (Lee, personal communication, March 23, 2017). Communication with native speakers of

English was more effective, but nevertheless, the participants felt they are outside of the community of native speakers of English since “[the native speakers of English] don’t speak other languages they can’t understand you fully [and] completely” (Marsha, personal communication, March 27, 2017).

What is worth noting is that though Lee felt that she was an outsider and she could not communicate with other people well, she put the blame on herself and felt guilty about her limited English proficiency. To answer the question “Has interacting with peers, teaching assistants, and instructors at this university influenced the way you see yourself as a language user?”, Lee responded, “I feel my English is too poor when I speak to others no matter they are my instructor assistants or peers I always feel sorry because I cannot express myself clearly” (Lee, personal communication, March 23, 2017). Contrary to Lee’s reactions, Marsha was confident that she was clear and intelligible when she spoke English. Marsha was proud of herself because she could speak two languages and she had to work harder compared with native speakers of English “I know two languages ... because English is second language we have to work hard to understand materials professor gave us we able to talk to express ourselves in another language we are not comfortable” (Marsha, personal communication, March 27, 2017).

Both Lee and Marsha felt that they were outside the group of native speakers of English for different reasons. Marsha thought she was rejected because she was stigmatized by her accent; therefore, she was scared to speak in class. Alternatively, Lee felt she could not express herself clearly, so she was reluctant to speak in the discussion. However, language ability may not necessarily be the only factor that prevents L2 students from participation in class discussion. Duff (2002) asserts that “multilingual students did not need to participate because they had other multilingual repertoires, literacies, expertise, and identities to draw on and use in multiple discourse communities they belonged to locally and internationally” (p. 314). Unlike monolingual language speakers, L2 students have multiple linguistic resources and communities from where they could obtain various types of support. Therefore, they may feel it is not entirely necessary to be participants in the group of native English speakers. Like Marsha said in the interview, “we have us we don’t need them” (Marsha, personal communication, March 27, 2017).

Identity as a commuter: “they, he” pronoun

The participating L2 writers were positioned in a quandary. On the one hand, they could not be entirely accepted and become a legitimate member of the academic community no matter how long they have been in America or how good they were at speaking and writing in English. On the other hand, L2 students have to work hard to align themselves in those “privileged, expected, cultivated, conventionalized, or ritualized” (Duff, 2010, p. 175) conventions of the academic discourses so that they could become legitimate and competent members of the community (Duff, 2007; Flores & Rosa, 2015; Morita, 2002,

2009; Godley & Loretto, 2013). Like professional commuters, every day they commuted between their own community and writing classes which could equip them with skills that allow them to be competent writers in academic communities.

The participants in my study valued and appreciated what they learned from their writing instructor and teaching assistants. When the participants talked about their socialization with their writing instructor and teaching assistants, they used “helpful, nice, responsible, talk clearly.” Marsha commented on her writing instructor: “[our composition teacher] is really good he’s really helpful” (Marsha, personal communication, March 27, 2017). Lee delineated how the teaching assistants helped her with writing “he pointed out where I did not make clear and suggested that I should use a citation to back my argument to make my writing strong” (Lee, personal communication, March 23, 2017). What is most impressive is that both participants concurred that their writing instructor and teaching assistants treated them impartially and without discrimination.

Their writing class created a space where the participants were treated fairly and they could socialize with writing instructors and teaching assistants. L2 writers had good interactions with their instructors and assistants from whom they got help and support; they were not afraid of asking questions or asking for help. Their writing instructors and teaching assistants functioned as veteran members to relay historically and socially established academic conventions as well as the beliefs, values, and ideologies that are embedded in the discourses. As a result, L2 writers would acquire linguistic and cultural competence as well as ideological knowledge which assisted them to be accepted by academic communities, regardless of the fact that they could never be accepted as legitimate members not because of the English they spoke, but because of their assigned inferior status on the basis of “ethnicity-based” hierarchy (Allen, 2011, p. 14).

Discussion

This study explored L2 writers’ identity construction through their socialization with other academic community members including their writing instructor, teaching assistants, peers, and professors in other disciplines. Based on their linguistic practices and how they positioned themselves in opposition to other members in various academic contexts, the L2 participants identified themselves as insiders with other L2 students; outsiders in relation to native speakers of English; and commuters when they commuted to writing classrooms to learn about the norms, conventions, and expectations of academic communities. Additionally, L2 writers’ identity construction and socialization with other academic community members were impacted by English ideologies that shape group members’ attitudes and beliefs about language and how they are expected to use the language (Lee & Bucholtz, 2015). This study indicated that the L2 writers, as novice members, tried to align themselves with acceptable

discourses and language practices (Kubota, 2003) so as to become legitimate members, while expert members in mainstream academic communities employ these conventions of discourse and language as criteria to spurn L2 writers' membership. It is worth noting that English ideologies and social practices are historically constructed and related to "macro-level social and political power dynamics" which are "reproduced" and enhanced by discourses (Emery, 2016, p. 8).

One kind of power that is reflected in discourse is from the outside—the social and political power of dominant classes: the "standard language and non-accent myth" (Lippi-Green, 2012, p. 44). L2 students are marked because of their less standard English and their accents. Marsha's professor's critical reaction to Marsha's accent is not uncommon; "studies consistently demonstrate that educators manifest a generally negative reaction to the 'less familiar dialect' in favor of *SAE (Standard American English)" (Lippi-Green, 2012, p. 84). Everyone has an accent, but only Marsha's was marked. In effect, only people from nondominant groups are marked because of their accented English, while those from the mainstream group are perceived as speaking standard English (Flores & Rosa, 2015; Lippi-Green, 2012; Matsuda, 1991). Marsha, one of the participants in my study, was discriminated against not because of what varieties of English she spoke but because she was not from the mainstream class. In other words, language per se is neutral, while people's beliefs and ideologies about language use result in the fact that "individuals and groups are denied recognition" (Lippi-Green, 2012, p. 67). The statement of Marsha's professor—"this is not our way of speaking [the word]" (Marsha, personal communication, March 27, 2017)—suggests that the "non-accent English myth" was applied to judge Marsha's English and Marsha as a language user. The professor used their way as the normal and standard way, which actually leads to another issue which is "who has authority to decide what is good" (Lippi-Green, 2012, p. 3). Obviously, a benchmark that "privileges dominant white perspectives [is taken as an authority to judge] linguistic practices" (Flores & Rosa, 2015, p. 150). The implementation of "non-accent myth" in an educational context shaped the identity of Marsha as an outsider. It also impeded Marsha from talking in class because she had been called out for her accent.

The other type of power is from L2 writers—their inner perception of "the perfect English myth" (Kubota & Okuda, 2016, p. 170). Kubota and Okuda (2016) explained that "Perfect language myth assumes that the ideal use of language should demonstrate a complete knowledge of the language system" (p. 170). In my study, though neither Lee nor Marsha were obsessed with "accent myth", they were concerned about "perfect English myth" because they were unsatisfied with their English ability of academic writing and both wanted to conform to the conventions and traditions in the academic writing community. However, when L2 writers attempt to conform to the appropriate use of genre and language, they are "marshaled [towards] purist language ideologies" (Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994, p. 60) and internalizing dominant

values, expectations, and their class, race, gender, and ethnicity-based hierarchical relationships. This can “reproduce the inequality that characterizes the language and cultural globalization of English” (Liu & Tannacito, 2013, p. 356) as well as “facilitate the social construction of inequality, result[ing] in favoritism and privilege for some groups and disadvantage for others” (Allen, 2011, p. 14). Accordingly, multilingual writers who are devalued and stigmatized may become “complicit in its [dominant class] propagation against themselves, their own interests and identities” (Lippi-Green, 2012, p. 68). This “perfect English myth reflect[s] and reinforce[s] the apparent ‘superiority’ of inner circle mainstream English, while assigning an inferior status not only to other varieties of English and other languages but also to the speakers of those varieties and languages” (Kubota & Okuda, 2016, p. 172). “The perfect English myth” justifies the marginalization of people who speak varieties of English as well as legitimizes the privilege of the mainstream English speakers. Concurrently, it specifically shaped the way Lee, the participant in my study, defined what good English is as well as how she identified herself as a problem and burden to other interlocutors.

The external power from social practice and internal perception of English from L2 writers are operating in opposite directions. “The perfect English myth” held by L2 writers motivates them to comply with academic traditions to construct their identities as legitimate and competent members; while the prevalent beliefs about “*SAE (Standard American English) and attitudes to L2 writers tend to deconstruct L2 writers’ newly-established identities through alienating and discriminating against them. The two opposing forces place L2 writers in a catch-22 situation, which may deprive L2 writers of opportunities to reconstruct their identities in the new academic community.

In order to help L2 students overcome the conflicts of following academic conventions to succeed in academia and meanwhile being disenfranchised by the ideology set in academic discourses, I propose a couple of pedagogical ideas. First, instructors could unpack and make visible English ideology not only to L2 writers but also to mainstream academic community members. For example, they can start from concepts like “Standard English myths” or “listening subjects’ ideological perspectives” (Flores & Rosa, 2015, p. 152), followed by investigating how discourse helped construct social identity historically and then how meanings of discourse change related to social identity groups as well as the ways that discourse produces, maintains, and/or resists systems of power and inequality (Allen, 2011, p. 10). In so doing, both professors and students, native and non-native English speakers, will be aware that discourse is constructed historically, socially, and contextually and can sometimes enforce social inequality and injustice. In addition, writing teachers could champion L2 students to use their multilingual resources to construct and negotiate their identities or “incorporate critical theoretical perspectives to encourage multilingual writers to preserve their identities” (Bronson & Watson-Gegeo, 2008). For instance, composition teachers could utilize writing assignments such as narratives or autobiographies to have L2 students explore

their personal experiences or unique cultural and historical anecdotes, thus “develop[ing] an understanding of their identities” (Canagarajah, 2015, p. 126). Lastly, writing instructors could facilitate students to realize that mainstream discourses are dynamic, fluid, and negotiable; hence, they can be deconstructed, transformed, and reconstructed. However, there is no one-size-fits-all pedagogy. The methods of helping L2 students construct and negotiate their identities vary according to students as well as teaching contexts.

Conclusion

This study applied a sociolinguistic lens to explore the impact of English ideology and unequal power relation on L2 students’ identity construction. The findings indicated that the English ideologies held by the L2 students and academic community members shaped their understandings of linguistic varieties and language practices as well as their attitudes to language users. Accordingly, these L2 participants’ identities were constructed and co-constructed as insiders, outsiders, and commuters in relation to other members of this academic community.

Though this study did not intend to generalize its findings to other universities or L2 writers from other cultures, the number of participants and its research method could be limitations. Future research could include more participants and employ various research methods such as classroom observations and students’ writing samples.

Despite the above limitations, the findings provide insights concerning how L2 writers co-construct and negotiate their identities in academic writing socialization under the impact of English ideology. First, this study confirms that L2 students are positioned or position themselves according to people’s perceptions and beliefs of standard English, which is actually related to the ideology of mainstream class. Kubota and Okuda (2016) also observe that “this hierarchy of language speakers often mirrors a racial or ethnic hierarchy, constituting a further, racialization myth, which conflates legitimate English speakers with whiteness” (p. 172). In addition, this study uncovers that L2 writers are stuck in constructing new identities in an academic context. L2 writers commute to and socialize in writing class to construct their new identities as legitimate members of the academic community. Nevertheless, their identities are deconstructed in other academic situations when people utilize English ideology to discriminate against them and decline their membership in academic contexts. This issue is complex and involves many factors. Further research is needed on the deconstruction of L2 writers’ identities and its impact on L2 writers’ linguistic practices in the education field.

References

Anderson, T. (2017). The doctoral gaze: Foreign PhD students’ internal and external academic discourse socialization. *Linguistics and Education*, 37,

1-10.

- Allen, B. J. (2011). *Difference matters: communicating social identity* (2nd ed.). Long Grove, Illinois: Waveland Press Inc.
- Bernstein, D. (1972). Social class, language and socialization. In P. P. Giglioli (Ed.), *Language and social context* (pp. 157-178). New York: Penguin Books.
- Bhowmik, S. K. (2016). Agency, identity and ideology in L2 writing: Insights from the EAP classroom. *Writing & Pedagogy*, 8(2), 275-309. Retrieved from <http://doi.org/10.1558/wap.26864>
- Bronson, M. C., & Watson-Gegeo, K. A. (2008). The critical moment: Language socialization and the (re)visioning of first and second language learning. In P. A. Duff & N. H. Hornberger (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of language and education: Vol. 8. Language socialization* (pp. 43-55). New York: Springer.
- Canagarajah, A. S. (2015). "Blessed in my own way:" Pedagogical affordances for dialogical voice construction in multilingual student writing. *Journal of Second Language Writing*, 27, 122-139.
- Clancy, P. M. (1999). The socialization of affect in Japanese mother-child conversation. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 31, 1397-1421.
- De Costa, P. I. (2011). Using language ideology and positioning to broaden the SLA learner beliefs landscape: The case of an ESL learner from China. *System*, 39, 347-358. Retrieved from: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.system.2011.07.007>
- Duff, P. (2002). The Discursive co-construction of knowledge, identity, and difference: An ethnography of communication in the high school mainstream. *Applied Linguistics*, 23, 289-322.
- Duff, P.A. (2003). New directions in second language socialization research. *Korean Journal of English Language and Linguistics*, 3, 309-339.
- Duff, P. (2007). Second language socialization as sociocultural theory: Insights and issues. *Language Teaching*, 40, 309-319.
- Duff, P. (2010). Language socialization into academic discourse communities. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, 30, 169-192.
- Duff, P., & Anderson, T. (2015). Academic language and literacy socialization for second language students. In N. Markee (Ed.), *The handbook of classroom discourse and interaction* (pp. 337-350). Chichester UK: Wiley Blackwell.
- Emery, C. (2016). A critical discourse analysis of the new labour discourse of social and emotional learning (SEL) across schools in England and Wales: Conversations with policymakers. *Education Policy Analysis Archives*, 24(104), 1-28.
- Fairclough, N. (1992). *Discourse and social change*. Cambridge: Policy Press.
- Flores, N., & Rosa, J. (2015). Undoing appropriateness: Raciolinguistic ideologies and language diversity in education. *Harvard Educational Review*, 85(2), 149-171.
- Godley, A., & Loretto, A. (2013). Fostering counter-narratives of race,

- language, and identity in an urban English classroom. *Linguistics and Education*, 24(3), 316-327.
- Halliday, M. (2004). Three aspects of children's language development: Learning language, learning through language, learning about language. In J. Webster (Ed.), *The language of early childhood* (pp. 308-326). London: Continuum.
- Heath, S. B. (1983). *Ways with words: Language, life and work in communities and classrooms*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ho, M. (2011). Academic discourse socialization through small-group discussions. *System*, 39(4), 437-450.
- Irvine, J. T., & Gal, S. (2000). Language ideology and linguistic differentiation. In P. V. Kroskrity, (Ed.), *Regimes of language: Ideologies, politics, and identities* (pp. 35-84). Santa Fe: School of American Research Press.
- Johns, A. (2005). English for academic purposes: Issues in undergraduate reading and writing. In P. Bruthiaux, D. Atkinson, W. Eggington, W. Grabe, & V. Ramanathan (Eds.), *Directions in applied linguistics* (pp. 101-116). Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Kobayashi, M. (2003). The role of peer support in students' accomplishment of oral academic tasks. *The Canadian Modern Language Review*, 59(3), 337-368.
- Kobayashi, M. (2006). Second language socialization through an oral project presentation: Japanese university students' experience. In G. H. Beckett & P. C. Miller (Eds.), *Project-based second and foreign language education* (pp. 71-93). Charlotte, NC: Information Age.
- Kubota, R. (2003). New approaches to gender, class, and race in second language writing. *Journal of Second Language Writing*, 12, 31-47.
- Kubota, R., & Okuda, T. (2016). Confronting language myths, linguisticism and racism in English language teaching in Japan. In Bunce, Pauline, Phillipson, Robert, Rapatahana, Vaughn, & Tupas, Ruanni (Eds.), *Why English? Confronting the hydra* (pp. 165-183). Bristol: Multilingual Matters.
- Lee, J. S., & Bucholtz, M. (2015). Language socialization across learning spaces. In N. Markee (Ed.), *The handbook of classroom discourse and interaction*. (pp. 319-336). Chichester UK: Wiley Blackwell.
- Lippi-Green, Rosina. (2012). *English with an accent: Language, ideology, and discrimination in the United States* (2nd ed.). New York: Routledge.
- Liu, P., & Tannacito, D. J. (2013). Resistance by L2 writers: The role of racial and language ideology in imagined community and identity investment. *Journal of Second Language Writing*, 22(4), 355-373.
- Matsuda, M. (1991) Voices of America: Accent, antidiscrimination law, and a jurisprudence for the last reconstruction. *Yale Law Journal*, 100(5), 1329-1407.
- Mohan, B., & Marshall-Smith, S. (1992). Context and cooperation in academic tasks. In D. Nunan (Ed.), *Collaborative language learning and teaching* (pp. 81-99). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Morita, N. (2000). Discourse socialization through oral classroom activities in a TESL graduate program. *TESOL Quarterly*, 34, 279-310.
- Morita, N. (2002). *Negotiating participation in second language academic communities: A study of identity, agency, and transformation* (Order No. NQ75057). Available from ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global. (305431130).
- Morita, N. (2004). Negotiating participation and identity in second language academic communities. *TESOL Quarterly*, 38(4), 573-603.
- Morita, N. (2009). Language, culture, gender, and academic socialization. *Language & Education: An International Journal*, 23(5), 443-460.
- Ochs, E. (1988). *Culture and language development: Language acquisition and language socialization in a Samoan village*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ochs, E. (2000). Socialization. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology*, 9(1-2), 230-233.
- Ochs, E., & Schieffelin, B. B. (2012). The theory of language socialization. In A. Duranti, E. Ochs, & B. Schieffelin (Eds.), *The handbook of language socialization* (pp. 1-21). Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Rogers, R., Malancharuvil-Berkes, E., Mosley, M., Hui, D., & Joseph, G. O. G. (2005). Critical discourse analysis: A review of the literature. *Review of Educational Research*, 75(3), 365-415.
- Schieffelin, B. B., & Ochs, E. (1986). Language socialization. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 15, 163-246.
- Schieffelin, B. B. (1986). Teasing and shaming in Kaluli children's interactions. In B. B. Schieffelin & E. Ochs (Eds.), *Language socialization across cultures* (pp. 165-181). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Schiffrin, D. (1996). Narrative as self-portrait: sociolinguistic constructions of identity. *Language in Society*, 25(2), 167-203.
- Seloni, L. (2012). Academic literacy socialization of first year doctoral students in the US: A micro-ethnographic perspective. *English for Specific Purposes*, 31, 47-59.
- Séror, J. (2011). Alternative sources of feedback and second language writing development in university content courses. *Canadian Journal of Applied Linguistics*, 14 (1), 118-143.
- Starfield, S., & Ravelli, L. J. (2006). The writing of this thesis was a process that I could not explore with the positivistic detachment of the classical sociologist: Self and structure in the New Humanities research theses. *Journal of English for Academic Purposes*, 5, 222-243.
- Talmy, S. (2008). The cultural productions of the ESL student at Tradewinds High: Contingency, multidirectionality, and identity in L2 socialization. *Applied Linguistics*, 29, 619-644.
- Talmy, S. (2009). A very important lesson: Respect and the socialization of order(s) in high school ESL. *Linguistics & Education*, 20, 235-253.
- Woolard, K. A., & Schieffelin, B. B. (1994). Language Ideology. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 23, 55-82. DOI:

10.1146/annurev.an.23.100194.000415

- Yang, L. (2010). Doing a group presentation: Negotiations and challenges experienced by five Chinese ESL students of commerce at a Canadian university. *Language Teaching Research*, 14 (2), 141-160.
- Zappa-Hollman, S. (2007). Academic presentations across post-secondary contexts: The discourse socialization of non-native English speakers. *The Canadian Modern Language Review*, 63(4), 455-485.
- Zuengler, J., & Cole, K. M. (2005). Language socialization and L2 learning. In E. Hinkel (Ed.), *Handbook of research in second language teaching and learning* (pp. 301–316). Mahwah, N.J.: Erlbaum.

Note on Contributor

Wenqi Cui is a Ph.D candidate in the Composition and Applied Linguistics Program at Indiana University of Pennsylvania, USA. Wenqi was also an Associate Professor at Beijing University of Chemical Technology in Beijing, China where she taught various English courses. Her research interests include transfer of learning, writing center research and administration, teaching writing and composition pedagogy, digital rhetoric, identity, and multilingual writers. Email: w.cui@iup.edu

Subject-Auxiliary Inversion in Embedded Questions in Spoken Professional Discourses: A Comparison of Philippine English Between 1999 and 2016-2019

Leonardo O. Munalim

Philippine Women's University-School of Arts and Sciences, Manila, Philippines;
Philippine Normal University-College of Graduate Studies and Teacher Education Research, Manila, Philippines

Abstract

Hardly any work has been done on the features of Philippine English in the clausal level from spoken discourses from a professional group. This paper compares the cases of inverted subject-auxiliary in embedded questions of the same group of professionals between 1999 and the years of 2016-2019, thus spanning almost 20 years. A total of 167 hits from a specialized corpus was uttered by 159 Filipino speakers during six types of professional discourses: interdisciplinary local and international research conferences; classroom discourses from Ph.D. in Linguistics and M.A. in English; basic and higher education seminar-workshops; university meetings; university professional English fora and symposia; and series of thesis defense. The first set of corpus was compared to the corpus of Philippines Component of the International Corpus of English compiled by Bautista, Lising, and Dayag (1999). It is composed of 20 sets of class lectures. Overall results show that Philippine English may have morphed into the use of inverted subject-auxiliary in embedded questions like in a sample utterance: “So we already know **what's** an entrepreneur” instead of “So we already know **what** an entrepreneur **is**.” It is initially argued that Philippine English in terms of embedded questions may have reached the endonormative stabilization stage. Arguably, if inversions have been fossilized among professionals, they may be considered a (new) emerging feature of the Philippine English. Limitations and trajectories are offered in this paper.

Keywords: Embedded questions, ICE-PHI, noun phrase, Philippine English, prescriptive grammar

Introduction

The discourse of World Englishes since its inception (Kachru, 1985) remains at the level of sociolinguistic processes such as nativization, hybridization, localization, acculturation and/or indigenization (Tupas, 2004). Postcolonial

countries show propensity to manifest a kind of linguistic independence (Tupas, 2008) that may deflect from the norms of native speakers. Hu (2015) posits that the trend of English use is not aligned to the framework of the native language anymore. Non-native speakers may also question the merits of the Inner Circle's linguistic hegemony as the only "correct" way of using English (Mahboob, 2010). Thus, the normativity of the natives is now slowly eroding, thereby giving speakers around the world a kind of sundry Englishes.

"Errors" from a variety of English may not be taken as an impoverished version of the standard English. Instead, they are now considered as special features made in utility within the immediate speech community of local speakers without constraints from the prescriptive rules of the Inner Circle. Mahboob and Elyas (2014), for example, report that Saudi English is marked with the use of present perfect tense used by textbook authors to narrate events that already happened in the past, without any connection to the present. Other recorded variations include the use of subject-verb agreement and the use of singular and plural markers for nouns.

Variations from the norms of the Inner Circle also occur inevitably in Philippine context. Bautista (2000) shares that Philippine English shows a lack of (or faulty) subject-verb agreement, inappropriate use of articles, faulty preposition usage, the incorrect pluralization of nouns, the lack of (or faulty) agreement of pronoun and its antecedent, and faulty tense-aspect usage combinations. Jubilado (2016) also reports that Filipino speakers of English in Hawaii observe Verb-Subject-Object sentence pattern as opposed to English Subject-Verb-Object pattern; fronting or topicalization; object deletion; copula deletion; and SV-(dis)agreement.

Amid the growing literature discussing the Filipino-ness of Philippine English, it is remarkable how little attention is paid to grammatical features at the clausal level from oral discourses among professional groups. Collins, Yao and Borlongan's (2014) study investigated Philippine English at relative clauses levels such as *that*-relatives and *wh*-relatives diachronically, but the corpus was in written modalities such as press, learned writing and fiction. To my knowledge, my study is the first attempt to initially document the cases of subject-auxiliary inversion in embedded questions, which has become a renewed interest among researchers from different linguistic landscapes (e.g., Brantmeier, Callender, & McDaniel, 2011; Lipták & Zimmermann, 2007; Pozzan & Quirk, 2014; Stringer, 2015).

This present study takes up a special corpus I personally collected. I compared these inversions to the possible cases of Subj-Aux inversions available in the Philippines Component of the International Corpus of English (ICE-PHI) compiled by Bautista, Lising, and Dayag (1999). Thus, this comparative study is between 1999 and 2016-2019, thus spanning almost 20 years. Comparison of these inversions to that of the Inner Circles' is left for future studies.

The Philippines as a postcolonial, multilingual country

Philippine English can be first traced back to its origins in the US intervention of 1898 and the first teachers known as “Thomasites” who arrived in 1901 (Bolton & Bautista, 2008). English had become the first medium of instruction when US President William McKinley issued a Letter of Instruction on 7 April 1900 (Bernardo, 2008). From then on, Filipinos learned English rapidly although English was first cultivated by a small number of US colonial officials (Gonzalez, 1997, as cited in Bolton & Butler, 2008).

One case that attests to Filipinos’ confidence in English was the publication of the first modern short story in English written by Paz Marquez-Benitez, one of the founders of Philippine Women’s College in 1919 (now, Philippine Women’s University). Her short story, “Dead Stars” published in 1925 marked “the landmark of the maturity of the Filipino writer in English” (Santiago, 2015, para. 7). Toward the end of US colonialism, the “growth of English writing signaled the assertiveness of the Americanized intellectuals turned out by the universities” (Lumbera & Lumbera, 2005, p. 103).

“Deterioration” of English was also noted by some scholars. Thirty years ago, Babst-Vokey (1988) bared three phases of English in print media in the Philippines. The first phase covers the “elegant, Europeanized” English, characterized by correct grammar, which is also true in the third phase. The second phase, however:

...was the most dismal one of the three, covering the period of the Martial Law years. This was the time when newspapers and magazines were dominated by men and women who clearly could not write, and who obviously did not use English as their language for communicating anything but the simplest thoughts. When they tried something even just slightly more complicated, their English deteriorated into gibberish, abusing the most basic rules of grammar, unity, coherence and emphasis. (p. 88)

The multicultural and multilingual set-up of the Philippines has precipitated “language conflict/rivalry” (Sibayan, 1988, p. 93) between English, Filipino and other regional languages (Bautista, 2004; Bolton & Bautista, 2008; Dayag, 2008; Eugenio & Ogena, 1988; Lapira, 1988; Lockwood, Forey, & Price, 2008; McFarland, 2008; Pascasio, 1988; Sibayan, 1985). Recently, the “Mother Tongue-Based Multilingual Education” from Kinder to Grade 3 that commenced last school year 2012-2013 supplanted the country’s bilingual education policy, thus displacing English and Filipino as the mediums of instruction (Tupas, 2011). As recalled, Bautista (1988) predicted that English would be relegated into a foreign language, which happens to be otherwise because English continues to be the second language in the Philippines. Sibayan (1985) predicted that the future of a modern and intellectual Pilipino is irreversibly Taglish (a portmanteau of Tagalog and English).

A decade ago, Tayao (2008) classifies Philippine English as a result from the Type A macrolanguage acquisition process. “It has evolved with little input from native speakers except in the initial stage, when English was transplanted in the country as a colonial language upon the annexation of the Philippines from Spain by the United States in 1898” (p. 157). To date, the status of Philippine English may be still at the tension between nativization and endonormative stabilization based on assertions made by Borlongan (2016), Martin (2014), and Schneider (2007, 2003).

The Filipino-ness of Philippine English

Bautista (2008) claims that Philippine English variety can be first traced back to the maiden publication of Teodoro A. Llamzon’s *Standard Filipino English* in 1969, a way earlier than to that of Kachru’s (1985) work on “Three Circles.” The book includes a two-page description on Filipinism with “English expressions which are neither American nor British, which are acceptable and used in Filipino educated circles, and are similar to expression patterns in Tagalog” (Llamzon, 1969, p. 46, as cited in Bautista, 2008, p. 219).

Aside from grammatical features and distinct accent (Bautista, 1988; Bolton & Bautista, 2008; Tayao, 2008), Philippine English is investigated at the discourse level and contrastive studies (Genuino, 2002). Studies like these exemplify that Filipinos attempt to accommodate the pattern of the Inner Circle, at the same time, establish a kind of autonomy from the standards of the natives. At heart, special features of Philippine English may be predictable in nature. Needless to say, the production of English is influenced by the transfer of L1 knowledge to the target language which is also the case of other studies of errors in English (e.g., Lado, 1957; Yildiz, 2016).

Grammatical scope

The grammatical scope of this study is in the clausal level of embedded questions. An embedded question is a question that has been transposed into a subordinate clause like in example number 2:

- (1) What **is love**? (S-AUX inverted; matrix question)
- (2) I wanna know **what love is**. (non-inverted, normal S-AUX)
- *(3) I wanna know **what is love**. (inverted, unacceptable, non-prescriptive)

“What love is” as a noun clause is the embedded question that is now part of a longer clause. While subject-auxiliary inversion is restricted to matrix questions (Henry, 1995), the syntactic arrangement of an embedded question should not be inverted. To prescriptively say, inversion of subject-auxiliary should not occur in embedded questions (Fromkin & Rodman, 1983; Murphy, 2004; Radford, 2009). Example 2 shows that “what love is” functions as the object (Biber et al., 1999).

Because there are also native speakers who invert Subj-Aux positions in embedded questions (cf. Henry, 1995; Wolfram & Schilling, 2015), this study is also anchored on prescriptive grammar in standard English (e.g. Azar & Hagen, 2016; DeCapua, 2017; Herring, 2016). One of the reasons is that the speakers under study are professional teachers/researchers, in what DeCapua (2017) maintains:

Prescriptive grammar as the “grammar taught in school, discussed in newspaper and magazine columns on language and on various social media, or mandate by language academies... tells people how they should say something, what words they should use, when they need to make a specific choice, and why they should do so. (p. 10)

Methodology

Corpus producers

Participants were 156 Filipino professionals who represented both public and private educational institutions in the Philippines. They represented the disciplines of language education, literature, applied linguistics, health and allied sciences, law, foreign service, mathematics, social studies, IT education, journalism, philosophy, and music education, to mention a few. Likewise, there were chances when the speakers’ titles were recognized such as doctorate. The demographic profile of the speakers was not secured because it is not relevant in this study.

Corpus collection

Documentation commenced in the middle of 2016 and lasted until 22 February 2019. It took place during six professional discourses presented in Table 1. I was present during these discourses either being a presenter, delegate, participant as a committee chair in a meeting; resource speaker, panelist, and as a then-Ph.D. student. No permission was sought because I did not record the whole proceedings. I only noted the speakers’ “ungrammatical” utterances and were automatically encoded into MS Word.

All presentations were seen to be spontaneous and unscripted. Because the discourses were considered naturally-occurring and non-experimental, they have afforded one advantage of doing away with the “observer’s paradox” (Labov, 1984). Consequently, a total of 159 professionals produced a meager of 167 hits of inverted Subj-Aux in embedded questions. I personally believe that these instances have at least yielded an initial representative view of these occurrences.

Table 1
The distribution of speaker per type of discourse

Types of Discourse	Researcher's Role	Gender		Total Inversions
		Female	Male	
Interdisciplinary research conferences (local and international)	Presenter, participant	42	38	80
Ph.D. in linguistic and M.A. in English classroom discourses	Ph.D. student, professor	13	9	22
Basic and higher education seminar-workshops and fora	Resource speaker, participant	17	13	30
University meetings	Participant	9	2	11
University professional English fora	Participant, speaker	5	3	8
Thesis defense	Panelist	4	4	8
	Total	90	69	159

During oral discourses, I considered pausing as a suprasegmental feature for documentation. When a pause was employed, the clause was not considered an “error” because the pause signals the offing of an independent, matrix question clause (Henry, 1995). When no pause was audible, then I treated that as inversion of subjects and auxiliaries. I also noted the discourse fillers such as *ahhh*, *mmm* as boundary markers between two clauses. To illustrate:

- (1a) Correct: You have to tell me [pause]: what does this mean?
- (1b) Incorrect/Inverted: You have to tell me what does this mean.
- (2a) Correct: I actually asked them, mmm, ahhh, “Why did you fail?”
- (2b) Incorrect/Inverted: I actually asked them why did you fail?
- (2c) Correct: I actually asked them why they failed.

Comparative analysis

To compare whether these inversions are also present around 1999 in the Philippine setting, I traced the corpus of “The Philippines Component of the International Corpus of English” (ICE-PHI) with the aid of AntConc, a corcondancing tool (Anthony, 2014) for instant tracking of *Wh*-questions. The Philippines English component contains different genres of spoken texts. I only

traced the corpus of “public class lessons” under “dialogue section”. The choice of this group of corpus was based on compatibility (Friginal & Hardy, 2014) with my specialized corpus, spoken by professional teachers/researchers. There are 20 spoken texts under “class lessons” marked S1B-001 to S1B-020.

To confirm the contexts of these clauses, I personally re-checked the corpus manually without help from any external expert because the grammatical feature under study is rather basic and the number of ICE-PHI are rather manageable. Just like my own corpus, I did not code the utterances as inverted cases when short (<, >) and long pauses (<,, >) are annotated in ICE-PHI. Likewise, the following examples were not coded as they may introduce complete, didactic questions used by the teachers (in boldface):

<ICE-PHI:S1B-001#18:1:A>

What I mean by that is **how did using the child's or the student's first or second language affect his or her learning of a particular subject matter**

<ICE-PHI:S1B-001#103:1:A>

The next step of studies would have the next step of studies would deal with the question **why do we see these things** <indig> 'no </indig>

<ICE-PHI:S1B-007#127:1:A>

She uh <, > yes she she said the immediate reaction that she had was **how does one read this**

Results

Pattern of inverted subj-aux in embedded questions from 2016-2019

Table 2 reveals the inversion of subjects and auxiliaries in embedded questions. These clauses are classified into seven types such as the *what*, *how*, *who*, *why*, *where*, *which*, and *when*, according to their frequency.

Table 2

Types of inverted embedded questions

Sorts	Example Inversion	Hits
What	They can identify what are the lexical items here.	78
How	Step 1 presents who does the author present the territory.	60
Who	Can I know who are the balik-scientists in this room?	11
Why	We were wondering why did they fail.	6

Where	I worry about where can we get the financial assistance.	6
Which	We should know which direction should we take.	3
When	Do you have technologies to predict when does earthquake occur?	3
Total		167

Noun Embedded Clause (What- Inversion)

1. Can we know what time **will he** come.
 - Prescriptive: Can we know what time **he will** come?
2. We can also ask the office what subjects **do we** need to enroll.
 - Prescriptive: We can also ask the office what subjects **we need** to enroll.

Noun Embedded Clause (How-Inversion)

1. I am quite certain how **am I** handling myself.
 - Prescriptive: I am quite certain how **I am** handling myself.
2. The idea applied to how do the writers attribute the original author.
 - Prescriptive: The idea applied to **how the writers attribute** the original author.

Noun Embedded Clause (Who-Inversion)

1. The grouping will determine of **who will be** the leaders in the group.
 - Prescriptive: The grouping will determine of **who the leaders** in the group **will be**.
2. It would be hard for me to know **who are** the entrepreneurs.
 - Prescriptive: It would be hard for me to know **who** the entrepreneurs **are**.

Noun Embedded Clause (Why-Inversion)

1. It depends on the speech **why do they** choose that specific language.
 - Prescriptive: It depends on the speech **why they choose** that specific language.
2. I will demonstrate why **is it** that so.
 - Prescriptive: I will demonstrate why **it is** that so.

Noun Embedded Clause (Where-Inversion)

1. Because we really wanted to know **where does** really this person belong to.
 - Prescriptive: Because we really wanted to know **where** this person really **belongs**.
2. We need to understand **where is** the university heading for.

- Prescriptive: We need to understand **where** the university **is** heading for.

Noun Embedded Clause (Which-Inversion)

1. It will inform us on which plan **are we** going to follow.
 - Prescriptive: It will inform us on which plan **we are** going to follow.
2. We should know which directions **should we** take.
 - Prescriptive: We should know which directions **we should** take.

Noun Embedded Clause (When-Inversion)

1. We cannot predict when **will be** the dry season.
 - Prescriptive: We cannot predict when the dry season **will be**.
2. Can anyone tell me when **will be** the last day of enrollment?
 - Prescriptive: Can anyone tell me when the last day of enrollment **will be**?

As shown, the pattern of the different types of embedded questions shows the inversion of subjects and auxiliary verbs. Prescriptively, they are not supposed to be inverted in order to suit these independent clauses into their new syntactic environment as dependent clauses. On the one hand, the presence of operator “does/do” should not be present. Biber et al. (1999) mention that the *wh*-clause can occur in subject and object positions. The whole embedded questions which are not supposed to be inverted can be termed as “wh-in-situ question” that functions as the direct object complement placed immediately after the verb (Radford, 2009, p. 184). From the corpus, the pattern illustrates that the embedded noun clauses are object of the independent clauses, not the subject ones, thus are mainly introduced by prior clauses.

Although the sample “errors” were spoken by professional teachers/researchers who must have been introduced to some prescriptive rules of standard English, the cases of these inversions may be forgivable. Biber et al. (1999) posit that noun phrases can be challenging because they have a very complex syntactic architecture and can undergo several layers of embedding. In these occurrences, it is clear that these professionals still inverted the subjects and auxiliaries in their normal positions from a complete question forms (DeCapua, 2017).

Comparison to ICE-PHI around 1999

Surprisingly, among the 20 spoken texts, there are only two recorded inverted subjects and auxiliaries from embedded questions, spoken by two professors (Professor 4 and Professor 16).

<ICE-PHI:S1B-004#82:1:A>

So we already know **what's** an entrepreneur but are there certain types of entrepreneurs

<ICE-PHI:S1B-016#25:1:A>

Now tell me **what 's** the difference between grouped and ungrouped data

Looking at these inversions, no short nor long pauses have been annotated. It means that they must be considered as inversions of the subjects *entrepreneur* and *difference*, and auxiliary verb *is*. Likewise, the same Professor 16, from lines #106, #109, and #149, did not invert the subjects and auxiliary verbs. Looking at one case of Professor 16's inverted Subj-Aux, it may convey that this his/her sole "error" is isolated, considering that the other utterances were non-inverted:

<ICE-PHI:S1B-016#106:1:A>

You really don't know **how the values in between vary**

<ICE-PHI:S1B-016#109:1:A>

The limitation of the range is is that you would not know **how the values between the highest and the lowest <.>va<./> vary**

<ICE-PHI:S1B-016#149:1:A>

Now <,> if I want to know **how each day is doing** each day 's **sale is doing** in comparison to the average I am going to take the deviation from the mean right

Implications

My specialized data are for initial corpus building. Nevertheless, implications for these "errors" may remain relevant. Firstly, we cannot dispel the interlanguage interference (Pozzan & Quirk, 2014). A direct transliteration may the culprit to this "error. For example, either "bakit siya umalis" ((Why did she leave?)) in example sentence number 3, is taken separately as an independent clause or is embedded in a longer clause, the structure remains unchanged. In Tagalog, no non-inversions occur from the original matrix questions.

(3)

Bakit siya umalis? (*matrix question*)

[Sinabi niya sa akin kung] [bakit siya umalis.] (*embedded, unchanged*)

*[She told me]

[why did he leave.]

Secondly, Mahboob (2014) explicates how variations in the use, meanings and structures of Englishes occur. He shares three dimensions such as (1) users of Englishes, (2) uses of Englishes, and (3) modes of communication. The first dimension zeroes in on the issues on sociolinguistic and intercultural communication. The second dimension expounds the purpose of the language which he uses the term "register variation." The third dimension is the two

modalities of speaking and writing, or a combination of both.

We may categorize the speakers from this study in the “high” social distance. Given that these professionals may come from the same speech community, and that they had identical purpose of presenting research results and related purposes, I argue that they may also observe “low” social distance. There may be a shift from a low to a high social distance, vice versa, as they engage in discourses. That is, the inversion of subject-auxiliary position is still acceptable especially that the meanings are kept intact, and intelligibility is achieved. Looking only at the smaller units of language variation can impede one’s understanding about the ways a certain speaker creates a larger meaning (Mahboob, 2010; Martin, 2014).

Therefore, these inversions should not be considered as “low quality of English as a non-intellectualized variety of Philippine English” (Sibayan, 1988, p. 93). They are not “impoverished versions of the target languages but as natural grammars in their own right” (Stringer, 2015, p. 104). Further, Stringer challenges the concept of errors from the World Englishes tradition by pointing out that “interlanguages are indeed natural languages in the same sense as L1s, they are systematic...” (p. 104).

Thirdly, the acceptability of these inversions is still debatable. A few would still repudiate to the preponderance of emerging features of a certain variety of Englishes. While the following perceptions I collected are not intended to provide an imprudent generalization, nevertheless, these opinions can illuminate universal glimpse of sentiments and tensions of acceptance and repudiation of the varieties of English:

- If meanings are not distorted, why bother? [*Philosophy professor*]
- It is disappointing: I’ve been studying correct English since elementary only to find out it can be tweaked in the discourse of intelligibility. [*Student, Speech and Public Speaking*]
- The Philippines is not ready for World Englishes. [*A TV and media personality*]
- Majority said the content you are trying to convey is the most important. But I’ve come to realised that being grammatically correct is the way to convey something if you want to be called professionals. (*A call center agent with an international account*).

I documented another case of non-acceptance to inverted subject-auxiliary positions. I once corrected the label of the episode of a TV series in the Philippines published on Youtube. My intention was to test whether the writer would stick to the original, inverted embedded clause (Figure 1). In a few minutes, the writer corrected the clause (Figure 2). What this means is that the writer must have admitted his/her “fault.”

Lastly, we are also curious if these “errors” have been observed in classrooms. We expect teachers to “have a firm grounding in the grammar of the language they are teaching” (Celce-Murcia & Larsen-Freeman, 2008, p. 1),

and even those who are not teaching the language explicitly, but are also using English as a medium of instruction.



Figure 1. Original inverted noun clause



Figure 2. Edited, non-inverted noun-clause

Conclusion

By and large, teachers around the year 1999 when the ICE-PHI corpus was collected showed the propensity to use prescriptive rules of non-inversion of subject-auxiliary in embedded questions. By contrast, teachers and researchers who were documented between 2016-2019 exhibited the tendency to invert subject-auxiliary even if these clauses have been transposed to function as objects in the sentences. Although not conclusive, results show that after almost 20 years, Philippine English may have morphed into the use of inverted Subj-Aux in embedded questions as if these embedded questions remain the matrix questions (Henry, 1995), like in the sample utterances:

<ICE-PHI:S1B-004#82:1:A>

So we already know **what's** an entrepreneur.

Instead of...

So we already know **what** an entrepreneur **is**.

In fairness, there were also professionals from my corpus who did not invert Subj-Aux whose utterances also deserve documentation. My goal is to initially document these inversions and allow my readers to answer my personal questions: (1) Are these non-inversions forgivable with the idea in mind that they are professional teachers/researchers? And (2) If these non-inverted clauses are established to have been fossilized among the professional speakers, can they be considered new (emerging) features of Philippine English? Stringer (2015) crystallizes in his study of *Wh*-questions that "... the arbiters of change and the settlers of new standards are precisely people communicating in these contexts in which English is used for intranational purposes: in the realms of public education, business transactions, courtrooms, political debates, and broadcast media" (p. 126).

This initial documentation has limitations. Firstly, diachronic studies may be helpful by collecting corpus from online sources, and compare them to neighboring Asian Englishes. Secondly, local varieties of English are incriminated side by side with the Inner Circle (Giri, 2015; cf. Smith, 2018). It would be helpful to compare these features to that of American or British English whose speakers also invert Sub-Aux (cf. Belfast English by Henry, 1995, pp. 105-123). Wolfram and Schilling (2015) remind that "...inverted word order as in *She asked could she go to the movies*, is becoming just as much a part of informal spoken general American English" (p. 388). Lastly, this study did not have enough representatives from different disciplines. Future studies may document substrate-influenced Philippine Englishes such as Philippine Chinese English; Yaya English; and 'X-Englishes' such as Hokaglish" (Gonzales, 2017).

While the initial data spotlight a pattern, it remains erudite to claim that Philippine English in terms of embedded question clauses has morphed into endonormativity given the very limited corpus and the intentional non-comparison of these occurrences to that of the Inner Circles'. Arguing that Philippine English has reached stage 4 endonormative stabilization is non-conclusive. I acknowledge these limitations and hope that researchers would fill in these research spaces to further support Borlongan's (2016) assertion that Philippine English is dispatching itself from the stage 3 nativization level as claimed by Scheider (2003), as it has claimed the stage 4 spot of endonormative stabilization. To this end: I am then excited to know *who are* these researchers!

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank “The Philippines Component of the International Corpus of English” (ICE-PHI) and the Department of English and Applied Linguistics, De La Salle University, Manila, Philippines, and Bautista, Lising, and Dayag (1999), for the license and access to the corpus. I would also like to thank the editor and her team for their punctiliousness.

Declaration

No conflict of interest to report as this paper was carried out without help from any funding agency.

References

- Anthony, L. (2014). *AntConc* (Version 3.4.4w) [Computer Software]. Tokyo, Japan: Waseda University. Available from <http://www.laurenceanthony.net>
- Azar, B.S., & Hagen, S.A. (2016). *Understanding and using English grammar* (5th ed.). London: Pearson.
- Babst-Vokey, A. (1988). Patterns of language use in the print media. In A.B. Gonzalez (Ed.), *The role of English and its maintenance in the Philippines: The transcript, consensus, and papers of the solidarity seminar on language and development* (pp. 87-90). Manila, Philippines: Solidaridad Publishing House.
- Bautista, M.L.S. (1988). Domains of English in the 21st century. In A.B. Gonzalez (Ed.), *The role of English and its maintenance in the Philippines: The transcript, consensus, and papers of the solidarity seminar on language and development* (pp. 71-80). Manila, Philippines: Solidaridad Publishing House.
- Bautista, M.L.S. (2000). *Defining standard Philippine English: Its status and grammatical features*. Manila: De La Salle University Press.
- Bautista, M.L.S. (2004). An overview of the Philippine component of the International Corpus of English (ICE-PHI). *Asian Englishes*, 7, 8–26.
- Bautista, M.L.S. (2008). Investigating the grammatical features of Philippine English. In K. Bolton & M.L.S. Bautista (Eds.), *Philippine English: Linguistic and literary perspectives* (pp. 201-218). Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.
- Bautista, M.L.S., Lising, J.L.V., & Dayag, D.T. (1999). *Philippine English data for the International Corpus of English project*. Manila, Philippines: University Research Coordination Office, De La Salle University.
- Bernardo, A.B.I. (2008). English in Philippine education: Solution or problem? In K. Bolton & M.L.S. Bautista (Eds.), *Philippine English: Linguistic and literary perspectives* (pp. 29-48). Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

- Biber, D., Johansson, S., Leech, G., Conrad, S., & Finegan, E. (1999). *Longman grammar of spoken and written English*. London: Longman.
- Bolton, K., & Bautista, M.L.S. (2008). Introduction. In K. Bolton & M.L.S. Bautista (Eds.), *Philippine English: Linguistic and literary perspectives* (pp.1-9). Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.
- Bolton, K., & Butler, S. (2008). Lexicography and the description of Philippine English vocabulary. In K. Bolton & M.L.S. Bautista (Eds.), *Philippine English: Linguistic and literary perspectives* (pp. 175-200). Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.
- Borlongan, A.M. (2016). Relocating Philippine English in Schneider's dynamic model. *Asian Englishes*, 18, 232–241.
- Brantmeier, C., Callender, A., & McDaniel, M. (2011). The effects of embedded and elaborative interrogation questions on L2 reading comprehension. *Reading in a Foreign Language*, 23(2), 187-207.
- Celce-Murcia, M., & Larsen-Freeman, D. (2008). *The grammar book: An ESL/EFL teacher's course*. Singapore: Thomson & Heinle.
- Collins, P., Yao, X., & Borlongan, A. M. (2014). Relative clauses in Philippine English: A diachronic perspective. In L. Vandelanotte, K. Davidse, C. Gentens, & D. Kimps (Eds.), *Recent advances in corpus linguistics: Developing and exploiting corpora* (pp. 125–146). New York, NY: Rodopi.
- Dayag, D.T. (2008). English-language media in the Philippines: Description and research. In K. Bolton & M.L.S. Bautista (Eds.), *Philippine English: Linguistic and literary perspectives* (pp. 49-65). Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.
- DeCapua, A. (2017). *Grammar for teachers: A guide to American English for native and non-native speakers* (2nd ed.). New York: Springer.
- Eugenio, M.R., & Ogena, E.B. (1988). Meeting our language needs in science and technology. In A.B. Gonzalez (Ed.), *The role of English and its maintenance in the Philippines: The transcript, consensus, and papers of the solidarity seminar on language and development* (pp. 101-113). Manila, Philippines: Solidaridad Publishing House.
- Friginal, E., & Hardy, J. (2014). *Corpus-based sociolinguistics*. New York: Routledge.
- Fromkin, V. & Rodman, R. (1983). *An introduction to language* (3rd ed.). NY: CBS College Publishing.
- Genuino, C. (2002). Cohesion: A revelation of cultural practices. *Philippine Journal of Linguistics*, 33(2), 1-18.
- Giri, R.A. (2015). The many faces of English in Nepal. *Asian Englishes*, 17(2), 94-115.
- Gonzales, W.D.W. (2017). Philippine Englishes. *Asian Englishes*, 19(1), 79-95.
- Gonzalez, A.B. (1997). The history of English in the Philippines. In M.L.S. Bautista (Ed.), *English is an Asian language: The Philippine context* (pp. 25-40). Manila: The Macquarie Library.
- Henry, A. (1995). *Belfast English and standard English: Dialect variation and*

- parameter setting*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Herring, P. (2016). *Complete English grammar rules: Examples, exceptions, exercises & everything you need to master proper grammar*. Ireland: Farlex International.
- Hu, J. (2015). A comparative study of China English and Singapore English: The case of grammatical metaphor in academic discourse. *Journal of World Languages*, 2(1), 50-61.
- Jubilado, R.C. (2016). Where is the CR? A description of Philippine English in Hawaii. *Philippine ESL Journal*, 17, 86-101.
- Kachru, B.B. (1985). Standards, codification, and sociolinguistic realism: The English language in the outer circle. In R. Quirk & H. G. Widdowson (Eds.), *English in the World: Teaching and learning the language and literatures* (pp. 11–30). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Labov, W. (1984). Field methods of the project on linguistic change and variation. In J. Baugh & J. Sherzer (Eds.), *Language in use* (pp. 28-53). Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Lado, R. (1957). *Linguistics across cultures*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Lapira, F. (1988). English of radio-TV? In A.B. Gonzalez (Ed.), *The role of English and its maintenance in the Philippines: The transcript, consensus, and papers of the solidarity seminar on language and development* (pp. 97-100). Manila, Philippines: Solidaridad Publishing House.
- Lipták, A., & Zimmermann, M. (2007). Indirect scope marking again: A case for generalized question formation. *Natural Language Linguist Theory*, 25, 103-155.
- Llamzon, T.A. (1969). *Standard Filipino English*. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press.
- Lockwood, J., Forey, G., & Price, H. (2008). English in Philippine call centers and BPO operations: Issues, opportunities, and research. In K. Bolton & M.L.S. Bautista (Eds.), *Philippine English: Linguistic and literary perspectives* (pp. 219-241). Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.
- Lumbera, B., & Lumbrea, C. (2005). *Philippine literature: A history and anthology* (English Edition). Mandaluyong City, Philippines: Anvil Publishing.
- Mahboob, A. (2010). World Englishes and higher education. *Kritika Kultura*, 15, 5-33.
- Mahboob, A. (2014). Language variation and education. In S. Buschfeld, T. Hoffman, M. Huber, & A. Kautzsch (Eds.), *The evolution of Englishes: The dynamic model and beyond* (pp. 267-281). Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing.
- Mahboob, A., & Elyas, T. (2014). English in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. *World Englishes*, 33(1), 128-142.
- Martin, I.P. (2014). Beyond nativization? Philippine English in Schneider's dynamic model. In S. Buschfeld, T. Hoffman, M. Huber, & A. Kautzsch (Eds.), *The evolution of Englishes: The dynamic model and beyond* (pp.

- 70–85). Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing.
- McFarland, C. D. (2008). Linguistic diversity and English in the Philippines. In K. Bolton & M.L.S. Bautista (Eds.), *Philippine English: Linguistic and literary perspectives* (pp. 131-153). Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.
- Murphy, R. (2004). *English grammar in use: A self-study reference and practice book for intermediate students of English* (3rd ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Pascasio, E.M. (1988). The present role and domains of English in the Philippines. In A.B. Gonzalez (Ed.), *The role of English and its maintenance in the Philippines: The transcript, consensus, and papers of the solidarity seminar on language and development* (pp. 114-124). Manila, Philippines: Solidaridad Publishing House.
- Pozzan, L., & Quirk, E. (2014). Second language acquisition of English questions: An elicited production study. *Applied Psycholinguistics*, 35, 1055-1086.
- Radford, A. (2009). *Analysing English sentences: A minimalist approach*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Santiago, L.Q. (2015). *Philippine Literature during the American Period*. National Commission for Culture and the Arts. Retrieved December 15, 2018, from <http://ncca.gov.ph/subcommissions/subcommission-on-the-arts-sca/literary-arts/philippine-literature-during-the-american-period/>
- Schneider, E.W. (2003). The dynamics of New Englishes: From identity construction to dialect birth. *Language*, 79, 233–281.
- Schneider, E.W. (2007). *Postcolonial English: Varieties of English around the world*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Sibayan, B.P. (1985). Reflections, assertions and speculations on the growth of Pilipino. *Southeast Asian Journal of Social Sciences*, 13(1), 40-51.
- Sibayan, B.P. (1988). Social engineering strategies for the maintenance of English. In A.B. Gonzalez (Ed.), *The role of English and its maintenance in the Philippines: The transcript, consensus, and papers of the solidarity seminar on language and development* (pp. 91-96). Manila, Philippines: Solidaridad Publishing House.
- Smith, J.F. (2018). World Englishes and cross-cultural communication. *Journal of English as an International Language*, 13(1), 91-111.
- Stringer, D. (2015). Embedded Wh-questions in L2 English in India. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition*, 37, 101-133.
- Tayao, M.L.G. (2008). A lectal description of the phonological features of Philippine English. In K. Bolton & M.L.S. Bautista (Eds.), *Philippine English: Linguistic and literary perspectives* (pp. 157-174). Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.
- Tupas, R. (2004). The politics of Philippine English: Neocolonialism, global politics, and the problem of postcolonialism. *World Englishes*, 23(1), 47-58.
- Tupas, R. (2008). World Englishes or worlds of English? Pitfalls of a

- postcolonial discourse in Philippine English. In K. Bolton & M.L.S. Bautista (Eds.), *Philippine English: Linguistic and literary perspectives* (pp. 67-86). Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.
- Tupas, R. (2011). The new challenge of the mother tongues: The future of Philippine postcolonial language politics. *Kritika Kultura*, 16, 108-121.
- Wolfram, W., & Schilling, N. (2015). *American English: Dialects and variation* (3rd ed.). London: Wiley Blackwell.
- Yildiz, M. (2016). Contrastive analysis of Turkish and English in Turkish EFL learners' spoken discourse. *International Journal of English Studies*, 16(1), 57-74.

Note on Contributor

Dr. Leonardo O. Munalim obtained his Ph.D. in Applied Linguistics from Philippine Normal University-Manila. He teaches Spanish and English at Philippine Women's University, Manila. His research interests include reflective pedagogy, corpus linguistics, discourse analysis, conversation analysis and World Englishes. He has published in local and international peer-reviewed and SCOPUS-indexed journals. Email: lomunalim@pwu.edu.ph

Exploring the Filipinization of the English Language in a Digital Age: An Identity Apart from Other World Englishes

Orlyn Joyce D. Esquivel

Central Luzon State University, the Philippines

Abstract

Since the colonization of the Americans, Filipinos have been using English as their second language and have been accustomed to using the language alongside local languages. The centuries of the extensive contact between American English and Filipino language raises questions pertaining language change and language identity. This paper reports the analysis of 60 selected tweets from Twitter individually, with the purpose of highlighting the distinctive features of Philippine English. The tweets were examined for lexical and grammatical features, alongside with the following linguistic features: graphology, syntax, and lexical semantics. The Language Drift Theory was used as a basis to explain the process of Filipinization. In giving light to the discussions, descriptive quantitative-qualitative research was employed. Results revealed the prominent lexical, grammatical, and linguistic features through tables and textual analyses, illustrated from the most to the least dominant linguistic elements. Specified comparative analyses were made to characterize the features of Philippine English as a dialect of International English with graphology, syntax, and lexical semantics as bases for the discussion. The researcher also had a native speaker as a key informant to support the details and provide nativized English translations.

Keywords: English as a global language, world Englishes, Philippine English, language drift, applied linguistics

Introduction

Present-day English is a part of the lives of millions of people, and the multiple crucial roles it now fulfills. According to Morrison (2002), with an estimated 350 million native speakers and 1.9 billion competent speakers, the spread of the English language around the world over the last few decades has been swift and steady. English has become the lingua franca of our time. It is the international language of the airlines, the sea and shipping, computer technology, science, and indeed communication generally. In the course of its spread, English has diversified by adapting to local circumstances and cultures, resulting in different varieties of English in every country.

English speakers are divided into three groups: native speakers, speakers of English as a second language, and speakers of English as a foreign language. Kachru (1994) provided a model to categorize the three concentric circles of World Englishes: “Inner circle”, “Outer circle” and “Expanding circle” (Bauer,

2002). In the Inner circle, English is the language of identity for its native speakers. However, when transferred to countries in the Outer and Expanding circles, English becomes an alien form of expression with different structural properties and a different vocabulary to organize experience (Doms, 2003). Hence, Philippines is one of the largest English-speaking nations that belongs in the Outer circle.

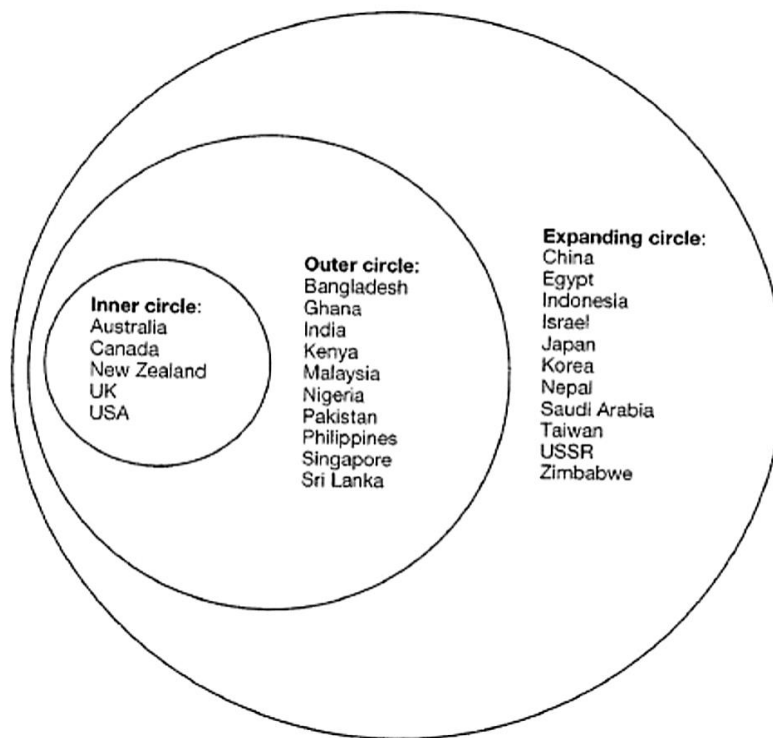


Figure 1. Kachru's concentric circles of English (Bauer, 2002, p.23)

Since the colonization of the Americans, Filipinos have been using English as their second language and have accustomed to using the language alongside local languages. The phonological, morphological, semantic, and syntactic features of the English language, throughout the time of Filipinos' utilization, had undergone a process that executed a series of changes. These "changes" generated by the process of Filipinization gave birth to Philippine English (PE), the variety of English native to the Filipinos. According to Florendo (2012), PE is recognizably English except that it is infused with creative vocabulary, syntax, and intonation that only Filipinos can decipher correctly. Kachru (1992), in his book entitled *The Other Tongue: English Across Cultures*, mentioned that Philippine English has its distinct characteristics, functions, and forms different from the other World Englishes like Singaporean English, Malaysian English, and Thai English. Moreover, its acceptance and legitimacy lie in the fact that English has penetrated the historical, functional, sociocultural as well as the creative processes or contexts

of the Filipinos (Kachru, 2004). English is used in official documents of business, government, the legal system, medicine, the sciences, and as a medium of instruction. Textbooks for subjects like calculus, physics, chemistry, and biology are written in English rather than Filipino. Thus, Filipinos assert English with a sort of “worldly” and “cultured” standing as compared to the local languages. The use of English attempts to give an air of formality in the Philippines, recognizing its importance as the international language.

The presence of English towards Filipino discourse is also felt in social media. With over 80 percent of Filipinos engaged in social networking sites (Camus, 2017), the usage of social media in the Philippines is evidently high. According to Flores (2014), the influence of social media contributes to the acculturation of English into the Filipinos’ psyche and culture. Language does influence social status. For the linguist Edward Sapir (1929), language is not only a vehicle for the expression of thoughts, perceptions, sentiments, and values characteristic of a community; it also represents a fundamental expression of social identity. Being able to utilize English fluently is usually taken as a sign of good education, resulting in a majority of Filipinos interacting in social media using the language. In the modern-day culture, different social networking sites have been popularized among Filipinos. As of year 2018, Twitter has generated an estimated 9.5 million users in the Philippines (Mateo, 2018). With the act of “tweeting”, Filipinos can express their thoughts, ideas, and sentiments. As the findings of Mateo (2018) imply that Twitter is generating a massive use in the Philippines, the researcher chose it as the initial ground for the study.

The extensive contact of American English and Filipino language for centuries raises questions pertaining to linguistic influence and language change. Therefore, leading to the importance of studying Philippine English, it simply defines Filipino’s own culture, history, and the “progress” that has taken place in which could be seen in the way the language is used in the present time.

Research Questions

The main objective of the study was to explore Twitter so as to further expound the features of Philippine English. Thus, to unveil the differences of Philippine English in the context of American English or so-called International English. Specifically, the study sought to answer the following questions:

1. How are the lexical features of Philippine English described with regard to the use of nouns, lexical verbs, adverbs and adjectives?
2. How are the grammatical features of Philippine English described with regard to the use of prepositions, pronouns, auxiliary verbs, articles, and conjunctions?
3. What are the dominant lexical and grammatical features of Philippine English in terms of the frequencies?
4. What are the graphological substances present in each tweets?

5. What are the sentence patterns and sentence structures employed in each tweet?
6. What are the different Filipinized idioms translated in English and lexical innovations present in the selected tweets?
7. What are the distinctive features of Philippine English as a dialect of International English based on graphology, syntax and lexical semantics?

Literature Review

Philippine English

“The linguistic background and colonial history of the Philippines provide an illuminating example of the development of a new variety of English” (Kirkpatrick, 2007, p. 34). The use of English as the primary medium of education in the Philippines started in 1901 together with the arrival of some 540 Thomasites (US Soldiers-Teachers sent by USA). English has understandably developed to be the main language of education and as it has broadened its use, it turned out to be indigenized through the addition of vocabulary from native dialects, the adaptation of English words to local needs, and modifications in pronunciation and grammar (McArthur, 1988).

English has officially become Philippine’s official second language ever since the start of American occupation up on to the recent times as it has preserved its eminence as one of the two official languages of the Philippines (Filipino and English) and been commonly spoken among Filipinos. According to Gonzales (1998), more people use English as a second language than those who speak it as a first language. English is used in teaching Filipino students, together with Philippine’s official and national language, Filipino. Not only is English used for education. “It is also employed in religious affairs, print and broadcast media, and business. English is highly believed to be able to increase the status of one who speaks it including respectability and marketability” (Espinosa, 1997, p. 4). Philippines has a variety of English called Philippine English or Taglish. This variety of English is passed down as the medium of communication of the media and the majority of educated Filipinos. “As in the case for Singlish in Singapore, some educated Filipinos consider Taglish as an inferior form of English while others recommend its promotion, at least as a source of social cohesion” (Lambert, 2005, p. 6).

Philippine English: A case of language drift

A study entitled *Philippine English: A Case of Language Drift*, by Jonathan Malicsi (2007) from University of the Philippines Diliman, found that Philippine English has particular linguistic features that arose out of a gradual drift in language learning away from the native language speaker such that generations of Filipino learners of English have picked up the form and rules of English from Filipino second-language learners trained by other Filipino second

language learners. While international travel and information technology now allow Filipinos to have ample exposure to and easily learn the English of the US, UK, Canada and Australia, the English teaching tradition in the country has persisted in espousing Philippine English. He added that while American sounds and idioms have become the norm for call centers and FM radio, all other language-based institutions have resisted the so-called foreign sound, with some educators ever considering the standardization of Philippine English for academic purposes. He pointed out that Philippine English was identified as the English output of educated Filipino professionals, many of them considered as leaders of Philippine society. This study concludes that some of the forms of Philippine English differ from those expected in International English. He focused on the Inaugural Address of President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo.

Methodology

The research was descriptive in nature, since it aims to identify and describe the variables needed in the study. Descriptive study is primarily concerned with finding out “what is”. Thus, it tries to determine the linguistic features of the selected tweets individually. Moreover, it tries to differentiate the determined linguistic features of Philippine English within the context of American English. The study was a quantitative-qualitative type of research. In conducting the quantitative part, the researcher quantified the collection of results to find out the dominant lexical and grammatical features of Philippine English in terms of the frequencies. On the other hand, in conducting the qualitative part, this study included purposive sampling and content analysis procedures.

The researcher used the purposive sampling technique in getting respondents for this study. A purposive sample is a non-probability sample that is common to studies of particular groups within larger populations. Two tweets from each of the 30 selected respondents were chosen from Twitter. This concludes for a total of 30 respondents that were used as the sample in this research; and a total of 60 tweets that were examined in this study.

According to Anderson and Smith (2018), younger generations tend to stick on using Twitter. Anderson and Smith (2018) added that 36 percent of people around the globe, with ages of 18 to 29 are engaged in Twitter. The researcher limited the age group to 18 to 28 year old for a smaller group of respondents. To become eligible for the inclusion in this study, a respondent should be a natural-born Filipino citizen, a current resident of National Capital Region (NCR) and have an account in Twitter. NCR is the main financial, commercial, and educational center of the Philippines, thus, it was the appropriate locale of the participants to be chosen.

The researcher did not ask for affirmations since the participants’ profiles were public. According to the Terms of Service in Twitter, any content that was submitted, posted, or displayed is public in default; and could be viewed by the other users and through third party services and websites. Therefore, any information tweeted is for public consumption unless the account is private.

The tweets were selected according to the availability, validity; and more importantly, the sentences involved were constructed in plain Philippine English. The structure of the tweets should be close to the entity of academic English. Further, the samples were tweeted during the period of April 2017 to March 2018, thus covering a one-year span.

The 60 selected tweets were examined in terms of the lexical and grammatical features. Pertaining to the lexical features of the texts, only the content words including nouns, lexical verbs, adverbs, and adjectives were analyzed. As for grammatical features of the texts, only the function words such as prepositions, pronouns, auxiliary verbs, articles, and conjunctions were the focus. The frequencies were computed for the lexical and grammatical features. Under graphology, the researcher focused on punctuations and spelling. As for syntax, the researcher only concentrated on the sentence level that includes sentence patterns and sentence structures. Moreover, only idioms and lexical innovations were the focus in terms of lexical semantics. Validations in Language Drift Theory formed the basis of Filipinization of the English language in this study. Figure 2 shows the research paradigm.

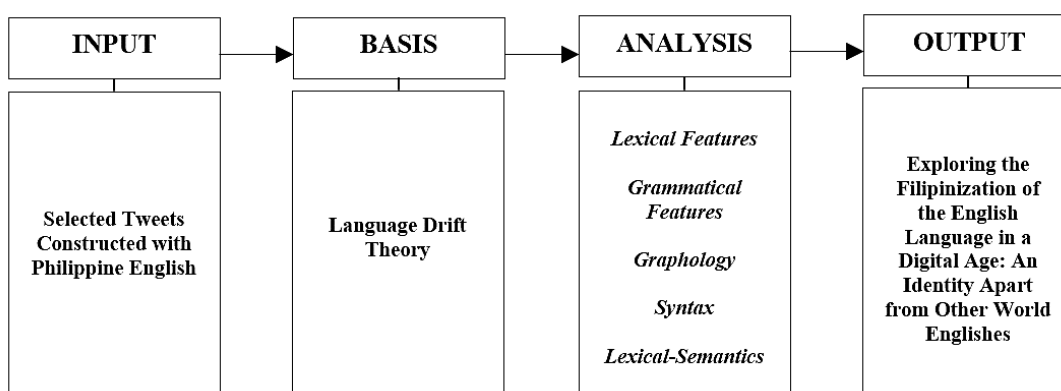


Figure 2. Research paradigm

Results and Discussion

Analysis of lexical features (Content words)

In the noun category, singular noun was more prominent than plural noun, while count noun was the most notable among the other types of nouns mentioned. In the lexical verb category, there were seven classifications present in the samples. These classifications included: base form of lexical v, -s form of lexical verb, -ing form of lexical verb, past participle form of lexical verb, past tense form of lexical verb, infinitive of the verb “BE”, and infinitive of lexical verb. The predominant usage was the base form of lexical verb. In the adverb category, the identified classifications were seven which included: adverbs of time, adverbs of manner, adverbs of place, adverbs of degree, adverbs of

frequency, conjunctive adverbs and adverb particles. Adverb of time had the highest usage among the other types of adverbs mentioned. In the adjective category, the gathered tweets established only three types, which included: descriptive adjective, quantitative adjective and possessive adjective. The dominating type of adjective was descriptive adjective and the most prominent type of degree was positive.

Analysis of grammatical features (Function words)

In the preposition category, there were only four types examined, which involved: simple preposition, compound preposition, participle preposition and double preposition. Simple preposition was the most dominant type employed. In the pronoun category, almost all of the various types were present in the selected tweets. These types exhibited: personal pronoun, possessive pronoun, indefinite pronoun, demonstrative pronoun, reflexive pronoun and relative pronoun. Further, ranking by usage, personal pronoun was the most prominent classification of pronouns found in the samples. In the auxiliary verb category, 14 different forms appeared in the tweets. These forms included: -s form of the auxiliary verb “BE”, “base forms” of the auxiliary verb “BE” except infinitive, past form of the auxiliary verb “BE”, -ing form of the auxiliary verb “BE”, past tense form of the auxiliary verb “HAVE”, past participle of the auxiliary verb “BE”, past participle of the auxiliary verb “DO”, base form of the auxiliary verb “DO” except infinitive, base form of the auxiliary verb “HAVE” except infinitive, past form of the auxiliary verb “DO”, -ing form of the auxiliary verb “HAVE”, -s form of the auxiliary verb “HAVE”, -ing form of the auxiliary verb “DO”, and modal auxiliary verb, whereas the most employed was the -s form of the auxiliary verb “BE”. In the article category, the observed articles present in the samples were definite and indefinite articles and the most prominent type was the indefinite article. In the conjunction category, amongst the three basic types, only two were revealed in the tweets. Further, coordinating conjunction was the most dominant in appearance.

Comparatively, lexical features dominated (total of 464) compared to grammatical features (total of 446). Function words had five classifications while content words only had four. Overall, pronoun was the most prevalent grammatical feature in Philippine English amongst the rest with content and function words combined, with a total of 163 utilizations. See Table 1 and Table 2 for the frequency statistics.

Table 1

Frequency of the total number of lexical features from the 60 selected tweets

TWEETS	NOUNS	LEXICAL VERBS	ADVERBS	ADJECTIVES	TOTAL
Tweets 1 & 2	1	5	3	0	9
Tweets 3 & 4	11	6	2	2	21
Tweets 5 & 6	5	13	5	2	25
Tweets 7 & 8	2	6	5	2	15
Tweets 9 & 10	8	8	3	4	23
Tweets 11 & 12	12	7	2	5	26
Tweets 13 & 14	6	7	5	3	21
Tweets 15 & 16	7	4	2	6	19
Tweets 17 & 18	8	4	3	2	17
Tweets 19 & 20	6	4	3	1	14
Tweets 21 & 22	4	4	7	3	18
Tweets 23 & 24	6	3	2	3	14
Tweets 25 & 26	3	7	3	0	13
Tweets 27 & 28	5	3	1	1	10
Tweets 29 & 30	3	4	7	2	16
Tweets 31 & 32	5	6	2	0	13
Tweets 33 & 34	8	6	4	1	19
Tweets 35 & 36	5	4	7	2	18
Tweets 37 & 38	4	2	1	1	8
Tweets 39 & 40	3	5	4	2	14
Tweets 41 & 42	6	4	4	2	16
Tweets 43 & 44	6	4	1	0	11
Tweets 45 & 46	3	2	4	1	10
Tweets 47 & 48	3	4	3	1	11
Tweets 49 & 50	4	5	1	4	14
Tweets 51 & 52	9	4	1	4	18
Tweets 53 & 54	6	4	3	3	16
Tweets 55 & 56	3	2	0	2	7
Tweets 57 & 58	3	4	3	2	12
Tweets 59 & 60	4	7	3	2	16
TOTAL	159	148	94	63	464

Table 2

Frequency of the total number of grammatical features from the 60 selected tweets

TWEETS	PREP	PRON	AUX	ART	CON	TOTAL
Tweets 1 & 2	2	4	3	2	1	12
Tweets 3 & 4	6	4	4	5	4	23
Tweets 5 & 6	5	11	4	2	4	26
Tweets 7 & 8	4	7	0	0	3	14
Tweets 9 & 10	8	15	6	3	8	40
Tweets 11 & 12	5	9	8	4	5	31
Tweets 13 & 14	3	4	3	1	1	12
Tweets 15 & 16	5	5	2	6	1	19
Tweets 17 & 18	6	4	2	3	2	17
Tweets 19 & 20	1	8	0	0	3	12
Tweets 21 & 22	1	6	2	1	1	11
Tweets 23 & 24	2	6	3	2	2	15
Tweets 25 & 26	2	4	3	2	1	12
Tweets 27 & 28	2	6	1	3	1	13
Tweets 29 & 30	2	7	0	2	1	12
Tweets 31 & 32	4	6	1	1	2	14
Tweets 33 & 34	3	5	1	1	4	14
Tweets 35 & 36	2	8	4	0	3	17
Tweets 37 & 38	3	2	0	1	0	6
Tweets 39 & 40	3	3	1	1	1	9
Tweets 41 & 42	2	2	3	3	1	11
Tweets 43 & 44	6	2	2	3	3	16
Tweets 45 & 46	2	3	1	3	1	10
Tweets 47 & 48	2	5	0	1	1	9
Tweets 49 & 50	3	5	2	1	2	13
Tweets 51 & 52	4	2	1	0	4	11
Tweets 53 & 54	3	6	4	1	1	15
Tweets 55 & 56	0	3	1	1	1	6
Tweets 57 & 58	1	5	1	3	1	11
Tweets 59 & 60	3	6	3	2	1	15
TOTAL	95	163	66	58	64	446

Abbreviations: PREP=prepositions; PRON=pronouns; AUX=auxiliary verbs; ART=articles; CON=conjunctions

Linguistic analysis at the graphological level

Graphologically, specified usages of punctuations and spelling differed on those that were expected in International English. An example is provided below:

Tweet 57: Ashley (pseudonym) December 02, 2017

I am finally learning to throw away the things I've always hoarded (,) but I know I don't need.

Nevertheless, a specified observation for the word “everyday” in terms of spelling was significant in Malicsi’s (2007) study, which is entitled, *Philippine English: A Case of Language Drift*. According to Malicsi (2007), Filipinos tend to use the one-word spelling “everyday” as an adverb, and “everyday” as the adjective. In order to support this, the tweet was shown, as follows:

Tweet 12: ZDS (pseudonym) January 03, 2018

I think it’s because a lot of people are still on holiday in their provinces, so less congestion. If the provinces can create more competitive jobs and higher quality of living, then the Philippines will be like this **everyday** (every day).

On the other hand, it was found that the respondents had the method of clipping and affixing executed in their tweets. These two creative methods led the standard forms of English words in the dictionary to obtain new form of spellings, which were considered coinages. Abdullahi-Idiagbon and Olaniyi (2011) from their study of *Coinages in Nigerian English: A Sociolinguistic Perspective* pointed out that these coinages were created purposely for new experiences, lack of correct standard lexical items to express, or the need to satisfy the communicative purpose of the immediate environment. They also added that such coining could be a result of interference or transfer of traits from a speaker’s first language to the target language. A sample tweet is provided below:

Tweet 34: Jade (pseudonym) May 21, 2017

My **derma** (dermatologist) tried to set me up with her bro.

Linguistic Analysis at the Syntactical Level

A study entitled, *The Philippine Variety of English in Selected Universities in Metro Manila*, by Patricia Garcia-Arañas (1990) from Ateneo de Manila University, stated that in using the L1 syntax, Philippine English is characterized by stringy elements, wordiness, and inverted subjects and predicates. Such characterizations were present in 27 samples, thus, the respondents executed the “Philippine-type” patterning in their tweets. The evidence of the claim was the use of sentence patterns that begin with the predicate, which abounds within the Tagalog canonical word order. This feature was characterized by word arrangement, which would not ordinarily be observed with native speakers. Sample tweets are provided as follows, and to describe the comparisons, Filipino versions were given by the researcher, and the key informant provided the American English versions.

Stringy Elements

Tweet 33: Jade (pseudonym) May 03, 2017

My parents and sibs are in the other room very loudly laughing while watching Kim Bok Joo and I'm here stuck finishing work and to-dos
(Ang aking mga magulang at mga kapatid ay nasa kabilang kwarto, tumatawa nang napaka-lakas habang nanonood ng Kim Bok Joo samantalang ako ay nandito, tinatapos ang trabaho at mga dapat gawin.)

[My family is laughing very loudly at Kim Bok Joo in the other room, while I'm stuck here finishing work and errands.]

Wordiness

Tweet 26: Rai (pseudonym) September 06, 2017
like I want to go back to school. LEGIT

(Parang gusto kong bumalik sa paaralan.)

[I seriously want to go back to school.]

Inverted Order of Subject and Predicate

Tweet 8: Lance (pseudonym) April 21, 2017
Hope I never get to meet someone again who only knew nothing, but to use you and also take advantage of you for their own benefit.

(Umaasa akong hindi na ako makatatagpo ulit ng isang taong walang alam kundi gamitin ka at abusihin ka para sa kanilang ikabubuti.)

[I hope I never have to reencounter somebody that only knows how to survive by leeching off others.]

In terms of sentence structure, there were five classifications observed among the tweets: dependent clause, simple sentence, compound sentence, complex sentence and compound-complex sentence. The wordiness and complexity of the tweets made way for the dependent clause and complex sentence structures to be the most apparent in the respondents' tweets. To support this, below are some examples:

Tweet 12: ZDS (pseudonym) January 03, 2018
I think it's because a lot of people are still on holiday in their provinces, so less congestion. (complex sentence) If the provinces can create more competitive jobs and higher quality of living, then the Philippines will be like this everyday. (complex sentence)

Tweet 37: Jaycee (pseudonym) December 06, 2017

Now a morning person on weekdays. (dependent clause) Feels like HS again. (dependent clause)

Linguistic analysis at the lexical semantic level

In lexical semantic level, Filipinized idioms translated in English, and lexical innovations were identified. These words or phrases resulted from Filipinized modification and revitalization of existing morphological materials and lexical items from International English. This remarked the process of the “transfer” of culture and meaning from the native language, which is Filipino, to International English, producing the identified localized or nativized lexical item. The following tweets constituted the Filipinized idioms translated in English, and lexical innovations that were identified as the researcher had a native speaker as a key informant in order to support the observations. The demonstration of each sample was described, as follows:

Tweet 16: Jai (pseudonym) December 08, 2017

There’s a **thin line** between educating superficial people and making fun of them. Be careful because at the end of the day, you might just be worse. The word “thin” was implied instead of the word “fine”. “Fine line” is the Americanized version of this localized idiom.

Tweet 48: Lain (pseudonym) January 06, 2018

The **parentals** celebrated their 21st anniversary!! Thanks for deciding to make us!!

The word “parents” was semantically localized, resulting in the word “parentals”, which is non-existent in International English.

Tweet 56: Lea (pseudonym) November 05, 2017

Dolores Jane Umbridge **makes my blood boil**.

The idiomatic expression, “makes my blood boil” was derived from the Tagalog idiom, “pinapakulo ang dugo ko”.

Conclusion

Based on the findings, this study has proven that Filipinos paradoxically have restrained themselves from American English, and have taken the language for their “own” purposes. Philippine English establishes its identity apart from other World Englishes. Moreover, the localization of English in Philippines was evident from the data, which was solidified by the occurrences of localized spellings, syntax, translated idioms, and innovated lexical items. Therefore, Philippine English finds its expression in the linguistic perspective of language drift. In addition, as the samples were extracted from a social media service; it can be undeniably assumed that modernization also has implications in

localizing English. Hence, this paper serves both foreign and local academic scholars, a cross-language perspective on how Philippine English varies from its other Asian counterparts: Singaporean English, Indian English, Malaysian English, Chinese English, Japanese English and the like.

In this modern age, as factors such as new technologies, industries, products, and experiences ascend, PE will have a continuous language shifting and develop more innovative features. After all, Hickey (2010) states that there is no such thing as a language, which is not changing, and the rate of change may vary considerably due to both internal and external factors.

From a pedagogical perspective, teachers must consider the innovative features, variations, and uniqueness of Philippine English apart from other World Englishes. Hence, the teachers must not use either the Standard American English or Standard British English as the exclusive basis for the evaluation of their students' outputs. Moreover, the syntactically and semantically individualized characteristics of Philippine English should no longer be seen as errors but as emerging features that distinguish PE from other World Englishes. Thus, active steps must be reckoned by teachers to expose the Filipino students to the actual use of English varieties; using literature in non-native English per se.

Finally, this study can be a resource material and guide for interpreting the descriptive Filipinization of the English language, for both foreign and local future educational researchers on their respective future studies featuring PE.

References

- Abdullahi-Idiagbon, M. S., & Olaniyi, O.K. (2011). Coinages in Nigerian English: A sociolinguistic perspective. *African Nebula*, 3, 78-85. Retrieved November 5, 2017, from: <http://nobleworld.biz/>
- Anderson, M., & Smith, A. (2018, March 1). Social media use 2018: Demographics and statistics. Retrieved March 19, 2018, from: <http://www.pewinternet.org/>
- Bauer, L. (2002). *An introduction to international varieties of English*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. Retrieved November 17, 2017, from: <http://perpus.stkipkusumanegara.ac.id/>
- Camus, M. R. (2017, January 24). PH world's no. 1 in terms of time spent on social media. *Philippine Daily Inquirer*. Retrieved October 8, 2017, from: <https://technology.inquirer.net/>
- Doms, D. (2003). Roles and impact of English as global language. *Applied Psycholinguistics*, 2, 217-239. Retrieved October 10, 2017, from: <https://www.birmingham.ac.uk/>
- Espinosa, D. (1997). English in the Philippines. *Global Issues in Language Education*, 26, 9. Retrieved October 10, 2017, from: <http://gilesig.org/>
- Florendo, M. R. (2012). Initial study of emerging features of academic Philippine English among freshmen in the university of the Philippines

- Baguio. *Educational Research*, 3(7), 566-571. Retrieved November 3, 2017, from: <https://www.interesjournals.org/ER>
- Flores, E. (2014). Phonological features of basilectal Philippine English: An explanatory study. *International Journal of Language and Literature*, 6(5), 128-140. Retrieved October 10, 2017, from: <https://academicjournals.org/>
- Garcia-Arañas, P. (1990). The Philippine variety of English in selected universities in Metro Manila. *Philippine Studies* 38(4), 563-567. Retrieved October 10, 2017, from: <https://www.jstor.org/>
- Gonzales, A. (1998). The language planning situation in the Philippines. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 19(5), 487-525. Retrieved October 12, 2017, from: <https://www.tandfonline.com/>
- Hickey, R. (2010). Language change. *Handbook of Pragmatics*, 14, 1-38. Retrieved November 16, 2017, from: <https://benjamins.com/>
- Kachru, B. (1992). *The other tongue: English across cultures*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. Retrieved October 11, 2017, from: <https://journals.sagepub.com/>
- Kachru, B. (1994). *World Englishes: Approaches, issues, and resources*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Retrieved October 21, 2017, from: <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/>
- Kachru, B. (2004). *Asian Englishes beyond the canon*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Retrieved October 21, 2017, from: onlinelibrary.wiley.com/
- Kirkpatrick, A. (2007). World Englishes: Implications for international communication and English language teaching. *English World-Wide*, 30(1), 99-102. Retrieved October 10, 2017, from: <https://benjamins.com/>
- Lambert, T. (2005). *Language nation and development*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies. Retrieved October 15, 2017, from: www.nlb.gov.sg/
- Malicsi, J. (2007). Philippine English: A case of language drift. *Ritsumei*, 22(1), 29-58. Retrieved November 14, 2017, from: <http://www.ritsumei.ac.jp/>
- Mateo, J. (2018, February 03). Philippines still world's social media capital. *Philstar Global*. Retrieved February 18, 2018 from: <https://www.philstar.com/>
- McArthur, T. (1988). The English languages. *English Today*, 3(3), 9-13. Retrieved October 10, 2017, from: <https://www.cambridge.org/core/>
- Morrison, B. (2002). Mind, world and language: McDowell and Kovesi. *Ratio*, 15, 293-308. Retrieved October 28, 2017, from: <https://www.jstor.org/>
- Sapir, E. (1929). The status of Linguistics as a science. *Language*, 5, 207-214. Retrieved November 17, 2017, from: <https://philpapers.org/>

Note on Contributor

Orlyn Joyce D. Esquivel is a lifetime member of the Linguistic Society of the Philippines. She obtained a B. A. degree in Language and Literature from

Central Luzon State University, the Philippines. Her research interests are dialectology, language contact, multilingualism, language documentation, sociolinguistics, language variation and language change. Email: orlynesquivel@live.com.ph

Macau or Macao? – A case study in the fluidity of how languages interact in Macau SAR

John Wheeler

Macao Polytechnic Institute, Macau

Abstract

Macau is a small Special Autonomous Region (SAR) of China, located on the Pearl River Delta, adjacent to Hong Kong. Unlike Hong Kong, its colonial heritage is Portuguese, rather than British. Macau's official languages are Portuguese and Standard Chinese and the most widely spoken local language is Cantonese. With the influx of gaming finance into the city, English has also come to a role of increasing prominence. There are also substantial number of Filipinos working in the city who speak Tagalog as a first language in many cases. As a small state with a highly fluid linguistic situation, Macau can provide insights into how languages rise and fall in use and status. Macau can also be a useful tool for re-evaluating such concepts as linguistic imperialism and the concentric circles model of World Englishes. As well as evaluating the existing literature, this paper presents the results of a questionnaire survey into language attitudes amongst students at Macau Polytechnic Institute. The results reveal that students attach a higher status to English than Portuguese, despite the latter being the former colonial and current official language. Evidence, however, indicates that Portuguese is likely to continue to be important as a distinguishing feature of Macau SAR.

Keywords: Macau, World Englishes, Portuguese, Chinese

Introduction – the Macau context

This paper describes the existing language situation in Macau in the light of some of the existing debates within World Englishes. It will examine where, and if Macau fits into Kachru's (1985) concentric circles model and discuss Macau's possible connection with notions of linguistic imperialism. It will describe how languages mix in Macau, as well as touching upon ideas of translanguaging, and present attitudes towards four of the principal languages (English, Portuguese, Cantonese and Putonghua/Mandarin), which are in play in the territory. Throughout this paper, the name Putonghua, rather than Mandarin will be used, except in direct quotations. An exception to this is in the primary research, where students expected the term Mandarin to be employed.

Macau is a Special Administrative Region (SAR) of China, located in the South East of the country, at the mouth of the Pearl River Delta (Yee & Young, 2009, p. 480). Like a very close neighbour, Hong Kong, Macau is governed under the “one country 2 systems” concept which was instituted after the return of the territory to the People’s Republic in 1999 (Lam, 2010, p. 660). A detailed analysis of “One country two systems” is outside the scope of this work, but the local government has autonomy, under the control of the People’s Republic of China. The official government factsheet (www.gcs.gov.mo) lists the population as approximately 648,500, of whom 88.4% were Chinese, with 1.4% Portuguese. In addition immigrant Filipinos made up 4.6%, other immigrant groups include Vietnamese and those from Myanmar and Nepal. Lee and Li (2013, p. 819) describe a small grouping known as the Macanese, often of mixed Portuguese and Asian heritage. Formerly, this grouping spoke the creole known as Patua, though this is now an endangered language, with just “a handful of fluent speakers” despite attempts to keep it alive (Simpson, 2013, p. 32). Due to the fact that this creole has very few speakers in Macau, it is not a subject of this paper because this work is concerned with describing the contemporary situation in the SAR. According to Lee and Li (2013, p. 819), the grouping known as Macanese are chiefly bilingual in Portuguese and Cantonese, also with some knowledge of English. Unlike Hong Kong, the colonial power in Macau was Portugal, hence the influence of Portuguese.

Bray and Koo (2004, p. 229) describe the language situation succinctly, saying that “[t]he complexities of language policy in Macao have all the ingredients of Hong Kong, that is, Cantonese, Putonghua and English, plus the additional ingredient of Portuguese.” Jeong (2002, p. 76) concretises this in two ways. First of all, nobody is sure how Macau (or Macao) should be spelt. Macau is from the Portuguese tradition and Macao is supposedly the Anglicised version. They are used almost interchangeably and I am most likely using Macau because I spent a long time in Portugal. Jeong (2002, p. 76) also describes how her own name has four different variations, according to which of the language is being used. Zhang (2013) mentions that Chinese and Portuguese are the official languages of the territory, but this itself is problematic. What does the writer mean by “Chinese”? Hok-Shing Chan (2015, p. 284) quotes official census figures from 2012, which state that 85% of people in Macau use Cantonese as their “normal language” with only 5% using Putonghua (Mandarin). Several other Chinese dialects are also used amongst other languages. Yet it is common to hear the term Chinese used in Macau even though Cantonese and Putonghua can be mutually unintelligible. Standard Chinese in its written form will be discussed below in the section on Cantonese and Putonghua. A separate government factsheet (www.gcs.gov.mo) lists English as being spoken by 2.8% and Filipino at 3.0% (Filipino does not exist, the most widely spoken language is Tagalog amongst Filipinos in Macau but there are speakers of several other Phillipine languages).

Botha (2013, p. 462) describes English as a “de facto working language” in Macau. Bray and Koo (2004, p. 216) state that English is more influential

than Portuguese in the territory, and likely to remain so. Noronha and Chaplin (2011, p. 421) also point out that many local Chinese employ full-time Filipina helpers, who communicate with their children in English on a daily basis, implying a generational shift towards English.

All of these themes will be returned to, later in the paper, in more detail, after a discussion of some key themes in World Englishes. Moody (2008, p.14) makes the point that “Macau’s small size offers unique insights into how languages can grow in status and functions in a very short time, insights that are difficult to examine in larger communities”. This is why there is value in a descriptive paper of Macau’s language situation. It is Macau’s highly dynamic and constantly shifting situation which I wish to explore in this paper.

Concentric circles/language imperialism and English as a lingua franca

Kachru (1985), in describing the spread of English worldwide, created a model of three concentric circles. Kachru (1990, p. 3) describes the Inner Circle as L1 countries, such as the United States and the United Kingdom. The outer circle are described as “ESL varieties” (often former British colonies) and the expanding circle as “EFL varieties” (countries such as Germany, Thailand or Brazil, where neither Britain nor America has ever been a colonial power). In his 1985 article, perhaps unsurprisingly, Macau does not feature anywhere on the list. Its size alone might account for that. Possibly more surprisingly, Hong Kong also does not feature. Groves (2009, p. 56) notes that a British imperialist presence is a feature of Outer Circle countries, but suggests that the lack of agreement about whether Hong Kong English exists, might be the reason for the territory’s absence. Even critics of Kachru’s (1985) three-circle model such as Rajudarai (2005, p. 113) acknowledge that it has played a valuable role in legitimising versions of English, such as Indian English. Nevertheless, Rajudarai (2005, p. 113) also points out that this model leaves many “fuzzy areas”. Kachru (1990, p. 4) mentions the difficulty in placing Jamaica and South Africa within the framework and it is possible that Hong Kong is another “fuzzy” area. This is worth mentioning because Hong Kong certainly has some elements of an outer circle territory, and Macau would certainly be expanding circle, yet Moody (2008, p.10) argues that “it is not clear whether or not there are any clearly identifiable differences between English in Macau and Hong Kong English”. Modiano (1999, p. 24) a proponent of the lingua franca model, in his critique of Kachru takes issue with what he sees as the Kachrovian model’s tendency to see the spread of English as resulting from “the historic exploits of specific peoples”. If there are indeed more similarities than differences between Hong Kong and Macau in their adoption of English, then it calls into question the usefulness of the three circles model for this region.

Melchers and Shaw (2011, p. 10) highlight the role of the British and American empires in the spread of English. Phillipson (1992) in his book “Linguistic Imperialism” describes how, in his view, English was used systematically as a tool to dominate local populations. In this work and others he sees English as a tool of oppression, controlling local populations and a way of fostering elites at the expense of indigenous people (Phillipson, 2009, p. 336). Phillipson (2009) argues that spreading English is a way of consolidating power in the hands of the Americans, and to a lesser extent the British, to the detriment of local cultures and linguistic traditions. For Phillipson (2009), languages spread very much as a result of conscious actions. It is interesting, at this point, to briefly return to the context of this paper, namely, Macau. Macau has no lasting tradition of British colonialism but was a former Portuguese dependency. It is instructive to evaluate the relative statuses of English and Portuguese in modern day Macau, and relevant literature will be reviewed later in this paper, alongside the presentation of some small-scale primary research. Pennycook (1998, p. 114), while valuing some of Phillipson’s analysis, criticises the linguistic imperialism model for negating the role of individual choice in whether to learn or use English. Any attempt to fit Macau into a notion of linguistic imperialism with regards to English would also be complicated by two other factors. Firstly, Bray and Koo’s (2004, p. 217) bold statement that Macau is “almost a colony” of Hong Kong (owing to the larger SAR’s economic dominance) holds some sway. Phillipson (1992) seems to over-emphasise one Empire (the British Empire) but there are winds blowing from different directions in Macau, particularly since the handover of the territory to the People’s Republic of China. The second is the dynamic at work between Putonghua and Cantonese, other Chinese dialects and the use of standard and simplified Chinese characters (Chan, 2015, p. 291). All these factors ensure that Macau does not fit well into the linguistic imperialism model as advocated by Phillipson (1992).

House (2003, p. 560) takes a very different view of the spread of English and sees the language as a useful tool, rather than a symbol of ideology, or something designed to deliberately create elites. In supporting the concept of English as a lingua franca she does not see the language as an identity marker and describes it as “bereft of cultural capital”. Seidlhofer (2009, p. 242), cites empirical studies which demonstrate that “ELF is a vibrant, powerful, and versatile shared resource the enables communication across linguistic and geographic boundaries”. This is a view that contrasts sharply with Phillipson’s (1992). Returning to the context of this paper, student motivations for learning English will be discussed later in this piece of work. However, if one accepts Seto’s (2004, p. 49) point that Portuguese is of diminished importance compared to English in Macau, it is challenging to support the notion of linguistic imperialism applying in the SAR. Portuguese and Lusophone (Portuguese speaking countries including Brasil, Mozambique, Cape Verde, Angola).culture is still very present in Macau in the form of food, street names, a cultural centre, and yearly cultural festivals (Morais, 2009, p. 7). It is indeed,

far more visible than British or American culture. This raises the question of why, if Portuguese culture is still present in Macau, is the day-to-day use of the Portuguese language declining in relation to English? (Lee & Lok, 2010, p. 449).

Language policies in Macau and Laissez-faire education policies

Botha (2013, p. 462) notes that Chinese and Portuguese are the official languages of Macau SAR. When the term “Chinese” is used, it refers to standard Chinese written characters. DSEC (2011) official statistics put Cantonese firmly in first place as the most used L1 (83%), with Putonghua trailing at 5%. The same census figures show a higher proportion of English first language speakers (2.3%) than Portuguese (0.7%).

Beyond what is theoretically “official” Moody (2008, p.4-5) provides a language analysis of official websites of the Macau government. While all provide information in Chinese script, some provide information in English, others in Portuguese and some in all three languages, sometimes as a result of a seemingly random decision. While Portuguese was far more prevalent in the legal area (all legal proceedings in the SAR must be conducted in Chinese and Portuguese), for most other areas, including culture and transport information there was near parity between the use of English and Portuguese. On an anecdotal level, it is also common to hear non-Portuguese speakers using Portuguese acronyms, such as DSEJ (the local government education department) without knowing what the letters stand for.

To add to this very fluid situation there is the debate about what constitutes standard written Chinese. Chan (2015, p. 291) describes how simplified characters are the standard in mainland China whereas in Macau traditional characters are still used. Chan (2015, p. 292) in his study of social media in Macau suggests that this is still an important identity marker in Macau, used to distinguish locals from mainland Chinese. Later in this paper, I will briefly look at the attitudes of students in my own institution (Macau Polytechnic Institute or IPM to give it its Portuguese acronym) towards Cantonese and Putonghua.

This non-standardised attitude to languages extends to the local education system – an education system which is described by many as laissez-faire (Bray & Koo, 2004, pp. 223-225; Zhang, 2015, p.55; Leong, 2002, p. 4; Moody, 2008, p. 8; Morrison & Tang, 2002, p. 290). Young and Yee (2006, p. 479) speaks of a clear lack of direction in education policy. Leong and Li (2012, p. 68) mention the lack of a uniform approach to teaching in Macau, which extends to each school choosing its own materials, often from Hong Kong and non-standardised assessment material. As Li and Bray (2007, p. 806) remark, tertiary institutions have had no standard English level entry requirements, even though some courses use an English medium of instruction. Currently, there is an effort to move in the direction of a standardised test.

Li and Bray (2007, p. 806) point out that one reason for the lack of

standardised English tests is that the medium of instruction in Universities is often Cantonese and/or Putonghua. Tertiary institutions lack a standardised language of instruction policy when it comes to their courses (Botha, 2013, p. 466). Botha's (2013) research was conducted at Macau University of Science and Technology (MUST). It is interesting that only by questioning the students themselves could he determine what language was used to deliver content. Incidentally, at least officially MUST "emphasise the use of English as the medium of instruction" (Young & Yee, 2006, p. 482). Li and Bray 2007, p. 800) suggest that the reality is a little different, and describe MUST as "dominated by Putonghua" At my own workplace, Macau Polytechnic Institute the same situation applies. In order to find out which languages were used as the means of instruction by students in their majors in my own workplace it was necessary to ask for the information from students. That information will be presented in the research section later in this paper. One of my students Rose (not her real name) is a speaker of Putonghua, who describes her Cantonese as poor. Despite here limitations with the language her design major is delivered in Cantonese. Incidentally, she did not consider this to me much of a problem. As Li and Bray (2007, p. 800) also mention there are also a smattering of courses in Macau, which use Portuguese as their main medium of instruction.

Attitudes to different languages in Macau

This section will focus on English, Portuguese, Putonghua and Cantonese, which are the main languages at play in Macau. It will not examine Patua, which was a creolised version of Portuguese, spoken by some local Macanese in the past. This language is barely relevant in Macau today (Chan, 2015, p. 282, p. 286), except for historical and cultural reasons. The interplay of the four languages is highly dynamic and constantly shifting (Jeong, 2002, p. 77), as will be seen in the following section.

Portuguese, along with standard Chinese is one of the two official languages of Macau. Bodomo (2012, p. 72) quoting official census figures, mentions that only 5% of people who live in Macau are able to speak Portuguese. Bodomo (2012, p. 86) also projects that this figure is likely to go down in the future. Seto (2004, p. 49) already spoke of the "diminished importance" of Portuguese following the handing back of the territory to China in 1999. Panell (2008, p. 365) describes vestiges of Macau's colonial past as anachronistic and Lee and Lok (2010, p. 449) argue that the Portuguese language has been replaced by English. If true, that would be an interesting development, as it is Portugal, and not Britain or America which was the colonial force in Macau. However, things are perhaps not quite so clear-cut as to support the idea of a steady decline into oblivion for Portuguese. It continues to be the case that street signage in Macau is bilingual (Chinese and Portuguese) and sometimes tri-lingual (English in addition to the aforementioned). Buses have pre-recorded announcements in English, Cantonese and Portuguese. Yan and Lee (2014, p. 434), in their tourism study found that visitors enjoyed this,

as it added to Macau's unique flavour. Bray and Koo (2004, p.2 35) make a similar point that the presence of the Portuguese language is bound up with Macau's identity. It is what makes Macau what it is (and not Hong Kong). As the geopolitical situation shifts, Macau has once again found itself in an interesting position. The People's Republic of China, keen to develop markets and exploit natural resources in Lusophone Africa (Mozambique, Angola and Cape Verde for example) and Brazil now see Macau as a valuable tool in promoting contacts with those territories (Bray & Koo, 2004, p. 231; Lam, 2010, p. 672). Silva (2016, p. 91) states that Portuguese is increasing in daily use in Macau (we may have to wait for the next census to confirm or refute this assertion) and also points out that it is an increasingly attractive language for mainland Chinese to learn, and he cites the same geopolitical reasons as above. A final point, which is instructive about the complexity of the interaction between different languages in Macau, Morais (2009, pp.7-10) makes the point that, for Africans resident in Macau the Portuguese speakers (from Mozambique, Cape Verde, Angola and Guinea-Bissau) have much higher prestige than the English speakers (principally from Nigeria). This development is well-illustrated by the fact that in my own institution about one hundred students of Brazilian and Luso-African origin are enrolled to study Putonghua and are somewhat disappointed that when they go out on the streets of Macau, everybody speaks Cantonese.

The other official language in Macau is Chinese, but as with many of the factors described in this paper, this is not a straightforward concept. Poon (2010, p. 7) describes "Chinese" as "ill-defined" but is taken to mean Modern Standard Chinese. Written Cantonese is not accepted in formal writing. Though Mak (2015, p. 258) feels able to describe Cantonese as a minor dialect (albeit one with more L1 speakers than Italian), Moody describes it as the language of preference for those resident in Macau (2008, p. 6). Lai (2011, pp. 257-261) describes how the Cantonese language is strongly bound up with local identity in Hong Kong. On an anecdotal level, in my University in Macau an official celebration for two visiting mainland teachers who only spoke Putonghua was entirely conducted in Cantonese, which lends credence to the idea that Cantonese is also bound tightly with Macau's local identity. The Putonghua speaking teachers could not understand any of it. Luo (2013, p. 62), in a study of foreign academics and staff working at a Macau University found that for this group Putonghua was considered to be the high prestige form of Chinese. Yan (2015, p. 568) describes the backlash against McDonalds, when they put up a sign in Macau which used simplified Chinese characters. Traditional Chinese characters are seen as an identity marker in both Hong Kong and Macau. In his study of web-based responses to this occurrence he made the following observation. "It is interesting to note that many netizens seem to turn a blind eye to the wide use of English, Portuguese, and other foreign languages in the Macao linguistic landscape" (Yan, 2015, p. 568). He makes the point that local people are more emotionally invested in Chinese, but it is also interesting that one of Macau's official languages (Portuguese) is dismissed as a foreign

language.

Turning to English, Yeung, Lee and Kee (2008, p. 314) describe a key event in Macau history, in 2001, when the casino franchises in Macau were opened up to large foreign gambling corporations, such as Wynn and Sands. (Moody, 2008, p. 9). This raised the profile of English in the SAR, leading to some describing English as the “de facto working language” in Macau (Botha, 2013, p. 462). Jeong (2002, p. 82) argues that attitudes to English are positive in Macau and suggests that it should be more important than Portuguese. Yee and Young’s (2006, p. 488) extensive study of Macau university students also found that students’ attitudes to English were much more positive than their attitudes to Portuguese. Talking about Hong Kong Lai (2001, p. 115) suggests that in the other SAR the burgeoning popularity of English is for reasons of pragmatism, in effect greater study and work opportunities. Yee and Young’s (2006) study of Macau students seems to suggest that this also applies to Macau. This would lend weight to Feng’s (2012, p. 366) assertion that “the need to use and learn English in Macao (note spelling variation) is purely driven by its economy”. Moody (2008, p. 10) also ascribes an increased demand for English to increased international investment in the territory. Reporting on studies of students language use at MUST Botha (2014, p. 9) concludes that English is an “inextricable part” of Macau students’ lives.

Another possible reason why English is developing in Macau is, as mentioned earlier in this text many local Chinese parents in Macau also employ Filipina helpers, who communicate with their children exclusively in English, and local kindergartens frequently employ Filipina staff. Both these phenomena may have been factors in any increased in the use of English in the SAR (Noronha and Chaplin, 2011, p. 421). Shi (2017, p. 468) points out that the number of migrant domestic workers in Macau has increased from 4800 in 2002 to 25,086 in 2016, a very significant rise in a small territory such as Macau. Tse et al. (2009, p. 57) in their study of nearby Hong Kong found significantly higher attainment in reading for those school children whose families employed English speaking domestic helpers. This suggests that the increased prevalence of Filipina domestic helpers may be a contributing factor to the spread of English in Macau.

As to whether there is any “variety” of English in Macau, as some argue there is for Hong Kong English (Hung, 2000; Groves, 2009; Moody, 2008, p. 10) points out that there has been very little research into this question in the Macau SAR. The same lack of research made it impossible at that time to judge whether there were any discernible differences between Macau English and Hong Kong English. I believe that is still the case at the time of writing so there is a gap here for future research.

Later in this paper, attitudes of undergraduate students at Macau Polytechnic Institute (MPI or IPM depending on which of the two interchangeably used acronyms you select) will be presented, based on the results of a questionnaire based small scale study. While acknowledging the limitations of generalising from a small scale study, the results support Lee and

Lok's (2010, p. 449) assertion that "the gradual replacement of Portuguese by English as the most popular foreign language is no longer a threat but a reality", yet to write Portuguese off completely would not correspond to the current socio-political reality in Macau (Bray & Koo, 2004; Silva, 2010; Lam, 2010).

How languages mix in Macau

In Macau there is a very pleasant apartment building. The name of the building is Edificio Pik Tou Garden. Edificio is the Portuguese word for building and a colleague translated Pik Tou for me as jade wave. Three different language in four words is quite striking and one of the things which makes Macau unique. While this is anecdotal, Noronha and Chaplin (2011) present a detailed analytical study of the interplay between English, Portuguese, Cantonese, and, in a few cases, even Patua in local speech. One example extracted from the study is the following sentence:

*hai-loh..playstation, game boy..daan ngo **sobrinha** waan **mais de bonecas-loh***

In the above extract (Noronha & Chaplin, 2011, p. 422) a lady is talking about her nieces preference for playing with electronic gadgets. Portuguese words are in bold, Cantonese in italics and English fairly easy to establish. Is this an example of diglossia (or triglossia?) which Lewis, Jones, and Baker (2012, p. 656) define as "where two languages of a bilingual have different uses and functions? Not so, as elements of various languages are mixed within the same utterance and the speaker is probably unaware of which language they are using at each moment. Wei (2017, pp. 10-11), supporting the idea of translanguaging raise the question in another context (Singapore) of "which language is this person thinking in?). In the example they discuss, they suggest that it is impossible to determine. Lewis, Jones, and Baker (2012, p. 667) are talking about the Welsh minority language context when they explain that a translanguaging perspective moves from "considering languages as separate to integration, from a diglossic to a heteroglossic view". Heteroglossic does seem a concept which has some resonance in the Macau context.

Wei (2017, p. 11) defines translanguaging as "using one's idiolect, that is one's linguistic repertoire, without regard for socially and politically defined language names and labels". Cangarajah (2011, p. 1), in his article on translanguaging in the classroom asserts that in the case of multilinguals "languages are not discrete and separated, but form an integrated system for them; multilingual competence emerges out of local practices where multiple languages are negotiated for communication". Cangarajah (2011, p. 5) cites Khubchadani (1997), describing translanguaging as "creative improvisation according to the needs of the context and local situation", which would seem a good description of the short sample presented above.

Chan (2011, pp. 290-291), in his study of social media use amongst University of Macau students, found what he framed as hybridity of language use in postings, with them mixing Standard Chinese, written Cantonese and English. Below is a sample post:

佢有電話,有MAIL, 可以問下佢

Interestingly, Chan (2011, p. 302) found that none of the students in his sample mixed Portuguese words into their postings. However, it is also doubtful that students see the English and Chinese words as “discrete codes” (Creese & Blackledge, 2015, p. 26). Lacking the time and resources to do a large scale study of social media posts, I included a question on whether students mixed languages in their social media postings in my small scale study, which is presented in the next section.

Yan and Lee (2014, pp. 434-435) detail the origins of Macau street names, some of which had their origins in Portuguese, and some in Chinese. Street signs in Macau are bilingual and in some cases tri-lingual, with English adopted as the third language (Yan & Lee, 2014, p. 435). Romanized versions of Chinese origin street names follow Portuguese, rather than English spelling conventions. Anecdotally, it can be said that Portuguese street names are not known by the local Chinese population, even the names of main streets. A more recent phenomena has been that some building developments, such as Fishermen’s Wharf (a local entertainment and gambling area) (Clarke, 2007, p. 400) have been given English names directly, which are then translated into Chinese, leaving out Portuguese entirely. A study by Neves (2016, pp. 59-60) of four locales in Macau found the Portuguese language was still very prominent in those areas, and in her interpretation of her data, unaffected by any encroachment of English.

Zhang and Chan (2017, p. 42) studied translanguaging in multi-modal posters in Macau. In their study of 300 posters they divided the posters into two categories, namely separate multilingualism (where there was clear delineation between the languages used on a poster and flexible multilingualism (where there was no clear dividing line between the languages. They found that 73% of the posters had clearly defined boundaries between the languages and 27% had the languages mixed within the same columns or items of the poster. As with much of the prevailing language situation in Macau they remark that there is “more room” for further investigation (Zhang & Chan, 2017, p. 54). Further research is required in this area, to see whether the situation is static or evolving. Ansaldo (2010, p. 622), in his paper on Macau and Malaysia, speculates that “it may be the case that the natural state of human communication is to be found in multilingual, creative negotiations, in which different codes are used simultaneously”, yet Zhang and Chan’s (2017) study (though not without its limitations as the posters were chosen randomly) would appear to indicate that the ideology of separating languages still persists.

A small scale study of undergraduates at Macau Polytechnic Institute

Macau Polytechnic Institute (MPI or IPM) was founded in 1991 and provides a range of courses, including social work, computer studies, visual arts and design (Tang & Bray, 2000, p. 481). The main questions I wanted to investigate were as follows:

1. What are students' attitudes towards the importance of the four most significant languages in Macau? (Putonghua, Cantonese, Portuguese and English)?
2. How do the students rate their own ability in the same four languages?
3. What do students think should be the official language policy in Macau?

Additionally, students were asked to self-report about whether they mixed languages in social media posts and their ability to practice their English outside class.

While realizing that the results of such a small scale study are not generalizable, I was interested to see how the status of English and the colonial and still official language of Portuguese compared. Also interesting would be attitudes to Putonghua and Cantonese. Finally, on a professional note I felt that it was important to know what languages students' majors were instructed in, finding it somewhat surprising that this needed to be researched.

A total of 62 students were given a 19-item questionnaire, based on a 4-point Likert scale, written in English but with the researcher present as they were completed. All were undergraduates, some from Mainland China originally, and some from Macau. I considered it might be of interest to see if attitudes were different. As a sample of convenience, drawn from visual arts and design students was used these two populations were somewhat asymmetrical. A total of 45 students were from Macau and only 17 from mainland China. From the total sample, 49 of the students spoke Cantonese as their main language at home and 13 spoke Putonghua. Of the Macau students only two spoke Putonghua as their main language at home.

Further, 35 of the students reported that their majors were delivered in Cantonese, 14 reported that they studied in Putonghua, three said that the medium of instruction was English and six reported a mixture of two to three of the languages. Four of the students seemed quite unclear about which language their course content was delivered in, perhaps reflective of the general "anything goes" attitude.

Results and Discussion

Modal scores were calculated for all data as it was felt that mean scores were inappropriate for calculating ordinal data. Koustalis (2013) points out that a flaw of using means is that extreme scores at a high and low end result in an “average”, which lies in the middle. Raw figures will be presented in the Appendix but for the results section modal scores will be presented for Strongly Agree (SA) Agree (A) Disagree (D) Strongly Disagree (SD).

Table 1
Attitudes to the four languages (N=62)

1. Being able to speak English well is important for my future	SA
2. Being able to speak Mandarin well is important for my future	SA
3. Being able to speak Cantonese well is important for my future.	A
4. Being able to speak Portuguese well is important for my future	A

According to this small sample English takes priority over the former colonial language (Table 1). Perhaps interestingly, Putonghua also takes precedence over Cantonese. However, when the sample was divided into Macau students and Mainland Chinese students there were some differences. Macau students gave greater emphasis to Cantonese than mainland students, and gave slightly less emphasis to Putonghua (Table 2).

Table 2
Macau and Mainland China respondents' attitudes to the four languages

	Macau (N=45)	Mainland China (N=17)
1. Being able to speak English well is important for my future	SA	SA
2. Being able to speak Mandarin well is important for my future	A	SA
3. Being able to speak Cantonese well is important for my future.	SA/A	A
4. Being able to speak Portuguese well is important for my future	A	D

Table 3

Attitudes to language of instruction on degree courses (N=62)

5. English should be the language of instruction in my major	A
6. Mandarin should be the language of instruction in my major	A
7. Cantonese should be the language of instruction in my major	A
8. Portuguese should be the language of instruction in my major	D

Table 3 shows that there were no reported differences between Mainland Chinese and Macau students. It is not clear from the results whether the students were happy mixing languages on instructions or whether the questions were poorly designed. Another limitation of this small-scale study is that as it relies exclusively on quantitative data the information gathered is lacking in depth. Richer data could in future be collected by conducting focus groups and/or individual interviews with some of the respondents. However, one interesting point which emerges is that English again is placed in front of the ex-colonial language, Portuguese.

Table 4

Students' self-reported communicative ability in the four languages (N=62)

9. I can communicate well in English	D
10. I can communicate well in Mandarin	A
11. I can communicate well in Cantonese	SA
12. I can communicate well in Portuguese	SD

As the majority of the respondents were from Cantonese speaking homes it is not surprising that communicative ability was rated more highly in Cantonese. Mainland Chinese answered SA to question 10 (Table 4). Though the respondents did not feel confident in English there self-reported Portuguese levels were even lower. Once again the traditional colonial language ranked below English. However, it may be interesting to note that students thought English was important for their future but did not feel able to communicate well in the language.

Table 5

Macau and Mainland China respondents' attitudes to which languages should be official languages of Macau

	Macau (N=45)	Mainland China (N=17)
16. English should be an official language of Macau	A	A
17. Cantonese should be an official language of Macau	SA	A
18. Mandarin should be an official language of Macau	A	SA
19. Portuguese should be an official language of Macau	A	A

As might be expected, mainland students seemed to value Putonghua more highly and Macau students gave more support to Cantonese, in terms of official language policy (Table 5). Again, this question might be more fully answered in future with a face to face interview or focus group follow-up.

Table 6

Macau and Mainland China respondents' self-reported mixing of languages

	Macau (N=45)	Mainland China (N=17)
13. I sometimes mix different languages when I am speaking	A	A
14. I sometimes mix different languages in my social media posts	A	A

It is questionable this self-report about the mixing of languages is, firstly as the classification is fairly arbitrary, and secondly because it would be more interesting to analyse what the students actually do, rather than what they report doing (Table 6).

Conclusion

Macau holds interest for those interested in World languages because of the ever-evolving interplay between four (at least) languages. As we have seen above it is Macau is not a location which fits neatly into Kachru's (1985) three concentric circles model. McArthur (2001) talked of this model as belonging to a "tidier world" and, for this reason, one which might not apply as neatly as when it was conceived. It could certainly be argued that the world has got untidier since 2001, with the spread of the internet and globalisation. It is not clear what the three circles model can assist us with in understanding the spread of English in Macau.

Phillipson (1992) polemically denounces “linguistic imperialism”, yet in Macau, the colonial language appears to be declining for daily use, relative to English. In criticising proponents of the English as lingua franca model, Phillipson (2009, p. 338) suggests that language spread is tied up with “agendas of the powerful”. However, the powerful in Macau are the Chinese government. If empires were the decisive factor in determining the spread and influence of a language then it might be expected that the spread of English in Macau and Hong Kong would vary considerably, but this does not appear to be the case, as we have seen above. As Kirkpatrick (2007, p. 343) points out “even in the context of Hong Kong, a place which was a British colony from 1842-1997, scholars have argued that demand for English has been more pragmatic than the result of colonial language policy”. For Macau, a territory which has never been a British colony, the argument for pragmatism as the cause of the spread and increased use of English must be even more readily accepted.

English does indeed seem to have increased in daily use in Macau for pragmatic, rather than ideological reasons. Vong and Wong (2014, p. 350) describe English as “the language of trade and commerce in Macao” (original spelling). In a territory with English speaking Filipina helpers (Noronha & Chaplin, 2011; Shi, 2017), and casino staff, Cantonese speaking locals and Putonghua speaking tourists English does to a limited extent perhaps, function as a lingua franca and the evidence is that locals want to use it as a lingua franca. As previously mentioned, the large influx of foreign domestic workers may also have contributed to the spread of English in the SAR.

Languages are often mixed and blended in Macau, but sufficient research has not been done on whether there is a Macau variety of English. Education policy still seems to be *laissez faire* and personally speaking, as a Macau parent I would like to know the main language of instruction before enrolling my children on a University course. However, what and how Universities and school in Macau teach still appears to be somewhat “ad hoc”.

Turning to the future, Bray and Koo (2004, p. 231) confidently state the following “It seems likely in the future the role of Portuguese will diminish further, despite its ongoing official status. The roles of Putonghua and English are likely to expand, and the role of Cantonese will remain fairly constant or diminish”. Those predictions were made 13 years ago and were not totally outlandish. However, Macau is subject to quite sudden political shifts – as seen above Portuguese is once again gaining political backing from regional and national governments – seriously enough for my own University English department to have an item on a meeting agenda about whether we were all likely to lose our jobs to Portuguese teachers and for our University President to e-mail staff re-affirming his commitment to English language teaching. It seems likely that the four main languages present in Macau will continue to blend for the immediate future, assisting to give Macau (SAR) its unique linguistic flavour.

References

- Ansaldo, U. (2010). Identity alignment and language creation in multilingual communities. *Language Sciences*, 32(6), 615-623.
- Botha, W. (2013). English-medium instruction at a university in Macau: Policy and realities. *World Englishes*, 32(4), 461-475.
- Botha, W. (2014). English in China's universities today. *English Today*, 30(01), 3-10.
- Bray, M., & Koo, R. (2004). Postcolonial patterns and paradoxes: language and education in Hong Kong and Macao. *Comparative Education*, 40(2), 215-239.
- Cangarajah, S. (2011). Translanguaging in the classroom: Emerging issues for research and pedagogy. *Applied Linguistics Review*, 2, 1-28.
- Chan, B. H. S. (2015). A local voice of Macau: Traditional Characters, code-switching and written Cantonese in an internet forum. *Global Chinese*, 1(2), 281-310.
- Clarke, D. (2007). Illuminating Façades: Looking at Post-Colonial Macau. *Journal of Visual Culture*, 6(3), 395-418.
- Creese, A., & Blackledge, A. (2015). Translanguaging and Identity in Educational Settings. *Annual Review Of Applied Linguistics*, 35, 20-35.
- Groves, J. (2009). Hong Kong English - Does it exist?. *HKBU Papers In Applied Language Studies*, 13, 54-79.
- House, J. (2003). English as a lingua franca: A threat to multilingualism?. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 7(4), 556-578.
- Hung, T. (2000). Towards a phonology of Hong Kong English. *World Englishes*, 19(3), 337-356.
- Ieong, S. (2002). Teaching and Learning English in Macao. *Asian Englishes*, 5(1), 76-83.
- Kachru, B. (1985). Standard, Codification and Sociolinguistic Realism: The English language in the outer circle. In R. Quirk & H. Widdowson (Eds.), *English in the world: Teaching and learning the language and literatures* (pp. 11-31). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kachru, B. (1990). World Englishes and applied linguistics. *World Englishes*, 9(1), 3-20.
- Kirkpatrick, A. (2007). *World Englishes - Implications for international communication and English language teaching* (1st ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Koustalis, A. (2013). *On Likert scales, ordinal data and mean values*. Achilleas Kostoulas. Retrieved January 12, 2018, from <https://achilleaskostoulas.com/2013/02/13/on-likert-scales-ordinal-data-and-mean-values/>
- Lai, M. (2011). Cultural identity and language attitudes – into the second decade of postcolonial Hong Kong. *Journal of Multilingual And Multicultural Development*, 32(3), 249-264.
- Lam, W. (2010). Promoting Hybridity: The Politics of the New Macau Identity.

- The China Quarterly*, 203, 656-674.
- Lee, J., & Lok, B. (2010). A tale of two Special Administrative Regions (SARs) of China: an overview of English language teaching developments in Hong Kong and Macau. In D Wyse, R. Andrews, & J. Hoffman (Eds.), *The Routledge International Handbook of English, Language and Literacy Teaching* (pp. 448-460). Abingdon, United Kingdom: Routledge.
- Lee, S., & Li, D. (2013). Multilingualism in greater China and the Chinese. In T. Bhatia & W. Ritchie (Eds.), *The handbook of bilingualism and multilingualism* (2nd ed., pp. 813-842). Oxford: Blackwell.
- Leong, A., & Li, J. (2012). A study on English teaching improvement based on stakeholders' needs and wants: The case of the Faculty of International Tourism of the Macau University of Science and Technology (MUST). *Journal Of Hospitality, Leisure, Sport & Tourism Education*, 11(1), 67-78.
- Lewis, G., Jones, B., & Baker, C. (2012). Translanguaging: developing its conceptualisation and contextualisation. *Educational Research and Evaluation*, 18(7), 655-670.
- Li, M., & Bray, M. (2007). Cross-border flows of students for higher education: Push-pull factors and motivations of mainland Chinese students in Hong Kong and Macau. *Higher Education*, 53(6), 791-818.
- Li, W. (2017). Translanguaging as a practical theory of language. *Applied Linguistics*, 39(1), 1-23.
- Luo, L. (2013). *Needs Analysis and Implications: A Case Study of non-Chinese speaking staff at the University of Macau* (Masters). University of Macau.
- Macau geography and population. (2018). *Gcs.gov.mo*. Retrieved January 12, 2018, from <http://www.gcs.gov.mo/>
- Mak, N. (2015). An Investigation of L1 Effects on Macao Cantonese English Learners in Their English Writings. *Journal of Modern Education Review*, 5(3), 253-260.
- McArthur, T. (2001). World English and world Englishes: Trends, tensions, varieties, and standards. *Language Teaching*, 34(1), 1.
- Modiano, M. (1999). International English in the global village. *English Today*, 15(2), 22-28.
- Moody, A. (2008). Macau English: status, functions and forms. *English Today*, 24(3), 3-15.
- Morais, I. (2009). "China Wahala": The tribulations of Nigerian "Bushfallers" in a Chinese Territory. *Journal Of Global Cultural Studies*, 5, 1-21.
- Morrison, K., & Tang, J. (2002). Testing to destruction: A problem in a small state. *Assessment In Education: Principles, Policy & Practice*, 9(3), 289-317.
- Neves, A. (2016). Linguistic landscape of Macau: A quantitative analysis. In L. Sciriha (Ed.), *International perspectives on bilingualism* (1st ed., pp. 43-62). Newcastle, United Kingdom: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Noronha, M., & Chaplin, I. (2011). Researching Changing Language Learning

- Identities for Ethnic Minority Education Policy Formulation: A Case Study of Macau S.A.R., China. *Filologia E Linguística Portuguesa*, 13(2), 409-440.
- Pennycook, A. (1998). *English and the discourses of colonialism*. London: Routledge.
- Phillipson, R. (1992). *Linguistic imperialism* (1st ed.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Phillipson, R. (2009). English in Globalisation, a Lingua Franca or a Lingua Frankensteinia?. *TESOL Quarterly*, 43(2), 335-339.
- Poon, A. (2010). Language use, and language policy and planning in Hong Kong. *Current Issues In Language Planning*, 11(1), 1-66.
- Seto, M. (2004). *Relationships among language, schooling and ethnic identity of the Macanese in Macau: implications for education policy* (Ph.D.). Durham University.
- Shaw, P. (2011). *World Englishes* (2nd ed.). London: Hodder Education.
- Shi, W. (2017). Cultural politics of emotions in households: migrant domestic workers in Macau. *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies*, 18(4), 464-481.
- Silva, R. (2016). Silence and Silencing in the Classroom of Portuguese as a Foreign Language in Macau: Identity and Interculturality. *Interface: Journal of European Languages And Literature*, 1(1), 87-118.
- Simpson, T. (2013). The ongoing story of Macao. *The Focus: Newsletter*, 64, 21-23.
- Vong, T., & Wong, M. (2014). Lost in Translation? A Case Study of Macao in Fabricating a European Education Space in Asia. *European Educational Research Journal*, 13(3), 350-359.
- Yan, L., & Lee, M. (2014). Tourist perceptions of the multi-linguistic landscape in Macau. *Journal of China Tourism Research*, 10(4), 432-447.
- Yan, X. (2015). 'Macao has died, traditional Chinese characters have died': a study of netizens' comments on the choice of Chinese scripts in Macao. *Journal of Multilingual And Multicultural Development*, 37(6), 564-575.
- Yeung, Y., Lee, J., & Kee, G. (2008). Hong Kong and Macao under Chinese Sovereignty. *Eurasian Geography And Economics*, 49(3), 304-325.
- Young, C., & Yee, M. (2006). Macao students' attitudes toward English: a post-1999 survey. *World Englishes*, 25(3-4), 479-490.
- Zhang, H., & Chan, B. (2017). Translanguaging in multimodal Macao posters: Flexible versus separate multilingualism. *International Journal Of Bilingualism*, 21(1), 34-56.
- Zhang, K. (2013). Mainland Chinese students' English use in Macao. *English Today*, 29(2), 54-59.

Note on Contributor

John Wheeler has an M.A. in Applied Linguistics and TESOL from the University of Portsmouth UK. He is currently employed as an ESP trainer and teacher educator at Macao Polytechnic Institute, having previously taught in Vietnam, Portugal and Italy. He has presented at conferences in Malaysia, Korea, Cambodia, Thailand and Japan. Email: johnw@ipm.edu.mo

Problematizing the Commodification of ESL Teaching in the Philippines: Mediating Expectations, Norms and Identity(ies)

Aiden Yeh

Wenzao Ursuline University of Languages, Taiwan

Abstract

As the third largest nation of English speakers, the Philippines has become a popular destination for English language learning, especially for people in South East Asia. Yet, however you dress up popularity, we have to look beyond the headlines and see what kind of narrative is being constructed. A closer examination of detailed empirical evidence from published research studies highlights issues that are often glossed over in newspaper headlines. This paper discusses the problems concerning the commodification of English language teaching in the Philippines, that is, cost factors, learner expectations and satisfaction on the courses and quality of teaching, Filipino teachers' (FTs) pronunciation and the Philippine English (PhE) accent vis-a-vis the native speaker norms, and their ramifications on pedagogy and other users of wider sociolinguistic significance. Recommendations for stakeholders will be provided.

Keywords: ESL in the Philippines, problematization, commodification, Philippine English

Introduction

Some may argue that the dominance of the English language is a result of Western imperialism (cf. Phillipson, 1992) and/or globalization (cf. Crystal, 2003), but it is undeniable that English has become a global tool of communication and international trade. The UK and the US, being the main alleged culprits of this pervasive linguistic spread, are also the instigators of foreign influence throughout the globe. In today's world, proficiency in English is the pinnacle of academic and professional achievement and, for some, this may also lead to personal happiness. As the third most spoken language in the world (Ethnologue, 2018) and as "the language of diplomacy, business and popular culture", it is undeniable that English is the "world's language" (World Economic Forum, 2017, para. 1). Hence, it is not surprising that the English language teaching (ELT) industry has become a multi-billion dollar business (British Council, 2006; Reuters, 2018), and the market for English as a commodified language continues to grow.

According to Baker (2017), the ELT industry has "to a large extent been based around the centrality of Anglophone, mainly UK and US, versions of "standard" English, and this "idealized model of the native speaker" is often

perceived “as the benchmark for all language learners” (p. 54). This makes the UK and the US the “major ELT destinations” followed by Australia and Canada (ICEF Monitor, 2015; International Association of Language Centers (IALC), 2016). Language Centers promoting the UK, for instance, claim that the best way to learn English is “in its native country” (gostudylink.net, n.d.) as it is “the home of English” (vivamundo.com, 2018) where international students will be surrounded by native speakers. Being immersed in the language and culture is also one of the reasons why students prefer to go to the US to study. Although the UK and US still have the biggest market share in terms of learner preference as study destinations, the UK, in particular, has suffered a slight setback in recent years. This loss in market share can be attributed to rising costs and shorter course length (ICEF Monitor, 2016a). For the same fee, or even lower, international students can have longer study periods in other study destinations such as the Philippines; thereby stretching their dollar a little bit more.

Why the Philippines? Aside from the fact that English is an official language of the country, it is widely spoken by the majority, and it is used in business, education, media, and government communications (Bernardo, 2004; Friginal, 2007). According to the ICEF Monitor (2016b), with roughly 100 million speakers (more than the UK and 93.5% of Filipinos can speak and understand English), the Philippines “is positioning itself as a reputable education centre for English language learners” (para. 2). The ICEF Monitor (2015) adds that Korean and Japanese students are drawn to study in the Philippines due to the geographical “proximity and exceptional value relative to traditional ELT destinations” (para. 2). Claiming to be the world’s third largest English-speaking country, after the US and the UK, the Philippines’ Department of Tourism (DOT) is heavily tapping into the ELT market and building the country’s niche as the place-to-go for ESL learning. As shown in one of their 2017 press releases promoting Philippine ESL and its fine beaches to the Koreans, the DOT proudly claims that “ESL training is more fun in the PHL” (DOT, 2017).

The large number of English speakers and the use of English as a medium of instruction in various courses and programs in the Philippines are key factors, and as UNESCO in a report on student mobility in Asia states (UNESCO, 2013), “the relatively low cost of living and affordable tuition and other school fees” is also “one of the strongest drivers of inbound mobility”; thus making the Philippines a popular destination for English language learning.

A search about learning English as a Second Language (ESL) in the Philippines on Google reveals a long list of media coverage-related results that seem to suggest a common sales pitch used to describe the country as an increasingly popular destination for English language learning, especially for people in/from South East Asia. Yet, however you dress up popularity, one has to look beyond the headlines to see what kind of narrative is being constructed. These are examples of the labels used to frame EFL/ESL/ELT in the Philippines as a “cheap” alternative: The world’s budget English teacher; bargain for high quality and affordable education; less expensive, low-cost English teacher to

the world? The connotations suggest that the Philippines is offering something that is poorly made, second-best, perhaps even an imitation of the real thing; something better. Focusing on the benefits without any reference to (the low) financial costs, the Philippines can and does provide high quality education/learning, albeit with an “American accent”; indeed, the country offers a place/context where English is spoken almost everywhere, in a variety of surroundings where EFL learners are widely exposed to the target language, and where they can use it in meaningful, real-world situations. This means that they are able to converse with genuine “native” speakers, watch films and television shows, read authentic English materials, learn English through art, music, and other cultural forms; thereby enhancing their proficiency as they are provided with an array of opportunities to both learn and to practice English in a 'natural' (cf. Krashen & Terrell, 1983) setting. Does all this sound too good to be true?

A brief look at academic research studies may or may not tell us a different story. While some of these studies discussed in the following section seem to confirm a few of the informal/subjective conclusions (economical, geographical proximity, etc.) presented by journalists, a closer examination of detailed empirical evidence from published research studies highlights issues that are often glossed over in newspaper headlines

This paper will present and discuss these issues viz., cost factors, learner expectations, course satisfaction, quality of teaching, Filipino teachers' (FTs) pronunciation, the Philippine English (PhE) accent vis-à-vis native speaker norms, and their ramifications on pedagogy and other users of wider sociolinguistic significance. Finally, recommendations for teachers, learners, EFL/ESL stakeholders, and the Philippine government will be provided.

Cost factors

Labeled as “the world’s low-cost English language teacher” (McGeown, 2012, para. 1), the Philippines wholeheartedly embraces this title with pride and enthusiasm. Capitalizing on a low-price strategy, the Philippines markets its EFL industry at a competitive price, this has undoubtedly enhanced the demand among potential consumers - mainly Koreans, Japanese, Taiwanese, and many others who come from the expanding circle (cf. Kachru, 1992) countries.

But how affordable are these ESL programs and where are they offered? In 2012, tuition fee rates were approximately US \$500 per course - based on about 60 hours class contact (McGeown, 2012). By 2016, a similar course cost between US \$800 to \$1,600 inclusive of accommodation and meals (ICEF, 2016b). Despite the increase in fees, these courses are still relatively economical in comparison to what they would cost for a similar course in America. In addition to lower course fees, the modest cost of living in the Philippines is also a significant factor that lures foreign students. For price conscious students, the ability to stretch a dollar can be a deal breaker when choosing their study destination. Geographical proximity to their home country and low-priced travel costs are also important considerations. A direct flight from Korea or

Japan to Manila is less than 4 hours, and Taiwan is even nearer taking only two hours. So, return flights are around US \$250 to 400.

The motivation to learn English can be attributed to a desire to have better future career prospects to gaining social status in their home country (Mackey, 2014; Johnson, 2009). However, affordability of ESL programs is often the key determinant for choosing the Philippines over traditional study destinations (ICEF, 2016a; McGeown, 2012, Satake, 2015; WENR, 2018). Kobayashi's (2008) qualitative study, using an open-ended survey questionnaire, which looked at foreign (Taiwanese) students' impressions about their learning experiences in the Philippines, and the results he gathered, reinforce the fact that costs are largely influential in their decision to study in the Philippines. Kobayashi states that students "regarded the Philippines as a cheap substitute for such study destinations as Canada or the US" (p. 86).

A similar investigation conducted by Ozaki (2011) also obtained comparable results, and pointed out that lower travel costs and tuition fees in the Philippines did encourage foreign students to "take more lessons or study for a longer period of time" (p. 54). Ozaki added that "the average cost for an hour one-to-one lesson...was only US \$7.25" compared with the US\$ 87.93 demanded in Sydney, Australia (Ozaki, 2011). He also surmised that "the low rates for private lessons enable students to learn English intensively and efficiently even when they remain in the country for only a short period" (p. 54).

Choe and Son (2017) also came up with the same findings from semi-structured interviews with Korean parents' reasons for sending their children to Southeast Asian ESL countries, viz. the Philippines, Singapore, and Malaysia. Aside from the low cost of living and affordable education as the primary reasons, they also reported that the Philippines was also "considered by the parents to be the best place for both emotional and academic adjustment" (p. 66)

Pedagogical factors

While EFL course fees in the Philippines are considered more economical, some English language providers in the country are not shy from claiming that they are offering top quality learning facilities as they provide small group instruction which lasts from 8 to 12 hours per week (Cabrera, 2012; Taipei Times, 2017). The adoption of English as the medium of instruction (EMI) and an English-only learning environment are also used as part of their marketing pitch (Ozaki, 2011).

The findings of Ozaki's (2017) small-scale (n=19) pilot study using a survey questionnaire on learners' views of Filipino EFL teachers' expertise (i.e., language abilities, instructional skills, and knowledge of English), also reveals a favorable response which suggests that the Filipino teachers (FTs) from a private university were perceived to be exceptionally competent EFL teachers. Ozaki (2017) noted that the FTs' language skills were evaluated "highly", and

he surmised that the Philippines being in the outer circle (cf. Kachru, 1992), “where English is used as an official, second, and/or educational language on a daily basis” (n.p.), explains why the FTs have a good grasp of English language skills. However, merely possessing good grammatical skills does not often equate to excellent pronunciation skills. Ozaki posits that students’ low ratings on FTs’ pronunciation and speaking skills can be attributed to their view that good pronunciation is having a native-like (sic.) pronunciation, which he argues is similar to Butler’s findings (2007 in Ozaki, 2017) that Korean students’ notion of exceptional English pronunciation is akin to American-accented English. The FTs’ heavy Philippine-English (PhE) accent and their use of local idiomatic expressions, were both given a low evaluation. This can be attributed to the learners’ familiarity with native English teachers’ use of colloquialisms and their lack of exposure to PhE linguistic features and phrasal expressions (Dita & De Leon, 2017; Ozaki, 2017).

Kobayashi’s (2008) research participants also voiced the same concerns that “Filipino teachers are good, but not their accent” and that they “would have preferred that teachers had an L1 accent” (p. 90). The learners also viewed the disparity in accent negatively and commented on the differences in pronunciation, for example rolled “r” sounds and the unaspirated /p/ which sounded like a /b/ to them, sometimes caused communication breakdown and misunderstanding. In spite of the learners’ criticisms about PhE, FTs still received positive evaluation on their “pedagogical qualities such as willingness to adjust the pace to the learners’ level” (p. 93) and they fared well when compared with native teachers from the “inner circle”.

The qualitative study of de Guzman, Albela, Nieto, Ferrer and Santos (2006), using semi-structured interviews on the English language learning difficulties of Korean students, that examined the sociolinguistic competence, motivation and cultural factors that affected their learning, found a number of pedagogical factors that made class discussions difficult to understand for the Koreans. For example, they pointed out the following: FTs’ constant code-switching, the use of difficult words and vocabulary, inaccurate pronunciation, lack of fluency in English, fast pace in teaching, and use of topics Koreans cannot relate to (cf. Rosario & Narag-Maguddayao, 2017). They also noted some of the FTs’ teaching methodologies that the Koreans found problematic: no hand-outs, no group activities, and the emphasis on lecture-based learning (p. 155). De Guzman et al. (2006) posit that these pedagogical flaws in the classroom “complicate the subjects’ understanding of the lessons” (p. 155). One student was quoted saying:

... teachers can’t fully use the English and sometimes they sometimes speak English, sometimes speak Tagalog...ahh...they speak mix the language so, yeah, it makes me uh...understand hard...it makes me hard to understand. (p. 155).

Sociolinguistic factors

The research findings of Cruz and Pariña (2017) where they examined the implicit and explicit knowledge of Korean learners in the Philippines using a free written task and a grammaticality judgement test indicate that although the students found writing to be a daunting task, there was a positive influence on tapping into their background knowledge of grammar learned in their ESL classes. They concluded that this can be highly attributed to the ESL learning environment and its positive effect on the learning experiences of foreign students. Their findings share comparative results with the studies conducted by Cruz (2013) and Mamhot, Martin, and Masangya (2013). Cruz and Pariña (2017) also claim that the country's English speaking context is one that "the Philippines can offer", and that "apart from its English speaking culture, it is equipped with mechanisms that help develop the language skills of foreign students." (p. 83).

However, the subjects in Kobayashi's (2008) study noted the constant use of the Filipino language by the locals which made them feel that the learning environment was not entirely an English speaking one. Nonetheless, they still found the Philippines a good place to learn and use English because that is the only means of communicating with others; thus enhancing their sociolinguistic competence i.e. their ability to communicate using the target language (cf. Bayley & Regan, 2004; Holmes & Brown, 1976; Regan, Howard, & Lemée, 2009). The study conducted by de Guzman et al. (2006) also suggests that the Korean students used English "almost everywhere in the Philippines" (p. 154). One student was quoted as saying that there were more opportunities to speak English in the Philippines compared to Korea, while another student commented on the possibility to use all the four language skills – a far cry from the grammar-based style of learning in Korea. The participants in this study also remarked on the FTs' and Filipino classmates' pronunciation and accent that caused difficulties.

Unlike Ozaki's (2011, 2017) and Kobayashi's (2008) research participants, the Korean students in de Guzman et al.'s (2006) study recognized that both the Filipinos and Koreans have the same issues with accents and the constant use of code-switching pointed out that it was the primary reason why they were there (in the Philippines) in the first place—viz. to improve their English. The authors also posit that the Filipino students conversing in their vernacular in front of the Korean students are "instances when Filipinos commit language alternation" (p. 157) or code-switching - the shifting or switching from one language to another (cf. Auer, 1988; Bullock & Turibio, 2009), which they argued is common among bilingual speakers, and is predominant in bilingual societies such as the Philippines (Viduya, 2018).

According to Bautista (2004), the code-switching between Filipino/Tagalog and English is a kind of informal discourse among college-educated, middle/upper-class Filipinos living in urban areas. Sibayan (1985) argues that, "No discussion on the language situation in the Philippines today is

complete without a note on the mixing (mix-mix), or code-switching, from English to Filipino now becoming popularly known as Taglish” (p. 49), which has largely become fossilized in the Philippine conversational language. Some linguists view Fil-English code-switching as a form of additive bilingualism since it is regarded as a positive linguistic resource (Bautista, 2004), while others criticize it as a kind of subtractive bilingualism (cf. Lambert, 1975, cited in Landry & Allard, 1993, p. 4) whereby learning English has negative consequences on the first language, i.e. interference in successful learning of the Filipino language and culture (cf. Gonzalez & Sibayan, 1988). Sibayan (1985) speculated that Taglish will be modernized and intellectualized while lamenting the fact that “the development of Taglish is irreversible” (p. 50). More than 35 years later, this mix-mix (Taglish) used by bilingual Filipinos is still “deemed a *sine qua non* for effective communication” (Marasigan, 1986, pp. 340-341), and is considered the language of the youth (Nolasco, 2008).

For foreigners, however, Taglish is hard to comprehend, and for students learning English in the Philippines, the constant alternation can be overwhelmingly/seriously problematic (McGeown, 2012). Nevertheless, foreign students are lured to the Philippines by the low costs of education and the other perks the country has to offer. Although US and UK are still the preferred study destinations, the ICEF Monitor (2016b) reports, without providing justifications, that the “Philippines appears particularly well-placed to attract beginner ELT students” (p. 7). Perhaps if it is immersion in the target language students are after, and the chance to use the language in real life contexts, then the Philippines is good enough as it can genuinely deliver what this particular ELT market wants and needs.

Discussion

Based on the information presented above, the basic premise is that the Philippines has positioned itself as a low cost destination for English language learning. The main narrative is simple: the English courses the country offers are cheap; teaching and learning quality seems to follow second; the other study-holiday perquisites come in third. The rhetoric found in research studies, educational organizations’ marketing/propaganda and information released on government websites, through interviews of public figures and government representatives in the Philippines and abroad, newspaper publications, editorials, etc. all suggest a broader media discourse of ‘hybridity’ in the way ESL in the Philippines is promoted, practiced, and internalized/embodied. Drawing on Bhabha’s (1990) paradigm of postcolonial hybridity of cultures and the notion of “third space”, the following binaries can be challenged and deconstructed: low cost/quality ESL, authentic English/quasi-American English accent, Fil-Eng (Taglish)/standard English/PhE, and Filipino ESL teachers’ identity(ies) as (near) native speaker/ non-native speaker of English.

The problematization of the commodification of ESL in the Philippines is bounded by cultural and linguistic hybrid identities as perpetuated by media

exposure and representations. In the (re)construction of the national identity as an ESL provider, and in attempting to make sense of what it is about plus what it stands for, the Philippines needs to look at and reflect upon the media discourse as an identity mirror - bouncing back reflections of external interpretations as images of the country (Straus, 2017). It further needs to understand how it projects/promotes itself as a (re)source for ESL learning. In the end, the government, together with ESL providers, still needs to decide on how best it can deliver and satisfy the learning needs of the overseas ESL students.

The notion of low cost and quality ESL is a classic business marketing strategy that changes the nature of competition (Porter, 1989; Teece, 2010). The ESL sector has seen a growth in market share which suggests that the institutions involved are making a profit; something made possible by keeping the labor costs low with a ready supply of cheap labor and the ability to recruit teaching staff on a lower salary scheme. The economic strategy of the country as the supplier of a “large pool of cheap, English-speaking workers (McKay, 2004, p. 27)” is marked in its history (cf. Tupas & Salonga, 2016). While the Philippines can claim the legitimacy of “low cost”, how can it justify “quality ESL”? Can the country ever match the top quality standards that foreign students are clamoring for?

The studies cited in this paper expound on the issues concerning the quality of teaching/learning experienced by foreign students while pursuing ESL courses in the Philippines. Since data from the studies mostly come from foreign students enrolled on reputable university-based programs, it is not surprising that the overall feedback on FTs’ instructional skills is positive. However, the factors that received low ratings and negative comments given by the students are telltale signs of dissatisfaction. Foreign students are the consumer/clients - they are the ESL/EFL market, and any business book will contend the fact that as consumers they are “the ultimate arbiter of trade” (Johnson, 1988, p. 286). Curry (1985, p. 112), in his research study, maintains that “consumers clearly recognize differences in value” and therefore by “defining quality as value, allows one to compare widely disparate objects and experiences”. Grönroos (1990, p. 37) asserts that “it should always be remembered that what counts is quality as it is perceived by the customers”. Therefore, it is perceived value that counts, “where value equals perceived service quality relative to price” (Hallowell, 1996, p. 29). Thus, in (re)considering where the Philippines’ ESL market is at present and where it is heading, it would be highly sensible and pragmatic to keep these words in mind:

Quality is whatever the customers say it is, and the quality of a particular product or service is whatever the customer perceives it to be. (Buzzell, Gale, & Gale, 1987, p. 111)

The by-product of combining cheap and best is referred to as “a hybrid-‘affordable excellence’” (Garvin, 1988, p. 46). This value for money approach

seems to be the Philippines' ESL sales pitch. To capture the complicated relation between price and quality, imagine the kind of experience one would get from staying one night in a 5-star hotel in New York, or spending it at a youth hostel somewhere in Asia. Another similar comparison one can make out of the Philippines ESL industry's low cost sales pitch is with the kind of services one can get from budget airlines. They are cheap, no frills airlines that can actually get you from point A to B without the hefty price of a full service airlines. For foreign students on a shoe-string budget wanting to spend their dollars on travel to their short-term ESL courses, this value-for-money appeal is clearly enticing. In other words, they get what they pay for.

Authentic Standard English/PhE

The Philippines ESL pitch boasts of its "American English accent" while the results of the research studies presented in this paper reveal a discontent in the FTs' quasi-American English accent. Others have criticized PhE and pointed out a few of its linguistic features, i.e. pronunciation and accent, which caused communication breakdown and led to learning difficulties. These issues concerning the comprehensibility of PhE to foreign students, all from Kachru's outside circle, are similar to the findings of Dita and De Leon (2017) which suggest that PhE is 60% less intelligible to speakers of English from the expanding circle (cf. Dayag, 2007). They attribute the lack of intelligibility (recognition of individual words or utterances) to the students' inadequate exposure to PhE. Dita and De Leon (2017) believe this can be remedied by raising the students' awareness of the different varieties of English and their phonological features (p.111). They also argue that English teachers in the Philippines should resist from using the native speaker model as the "performance target in the classrooms" (p. 111), citing Smith and Rafiqzad's (1979) view that the phonology of native speakers are not more intelligible than non-native speakers. This was proven to be true in Deterding's (2005) research investigation of undergraduate Singaporean listeners and the intelligibility of a non-standard British English variety (Estuary English- large regional dialect of lower middle-class accents, cf. Trudgill, 2001). His findings suggest that segmental issues i.e. 'th fronting,' glottalization of medial /t/, and fronting of the high, back, rounded vowel, are impediments to intelligibility. The subjects were unaccustomed to hearing this 'inner circle' variety, and a few of them conveyed their annoyance, with one complaining that "he almost made my blood boil because I could hardly understand his words" (2005, p. 435).

EFL students (and others such as their parents) must be made aware that native speakers of English also have different accents, and that these language/pronunciation variations can be so extreme that even other native speakers may find them incomprehensible. Clearly, these will prove to be more challenging for non-native speakers. It is worth remembering, for instance, that speakers of Britain's Standard English, usually referred to as Received Pronunciation (RP), comprise only 3% of the population (Trudgill, 1974).

However, the British Library (n.d.) notes that “recent estimates suggest only 2% of the UK population speak it.” (para. 3). The British library also adds that:

Like any other accent, RP has also changed over the course of time. The voices we associate with early BBC broadcasts, for instance, now sound extremely old-fashioned to most. Just as RP is constantly evolving, so our attitudes towards the accent are changing. (para. 6)

Even the BBC now comprises an international team of professional broadcasters with diverse backgrounds. One of their daily presenters for Asia Business Report is a multi-award-winning broadcast journalist, Rico Hizon, born, raised and educated in the Philippines. He joined BBC World News in 2002 in Singapore (BBC, 2018). He is still the only Filipino face in international network news, and admitted in an interview that he occasionally receives racist comments from people “who expect the British Broadcasting Corporation to be more, well, British, even as the media giant aspires to extend its reach beyond the borders of the old empire” (Caruncho, 2017.) Hizon, however, remains steadfast and professional about his work and in the same interview says:

Whenever I sit in my anchor’s chair, I’m proud to be a Filipino and raise the Philippine flag... I just wanted to maintain my own identity. I didn’t want to change. Other people have branded my accent—which is neither British nor American—as the pan-Asian English accent. It’s right there in the middle: it’s clear, it’s understandable and I get my message across. (Caruncho, 2017, para. 10)

Stories like the one above should be shared with EFL students (and others stake holders in the ESL industry) to broaden their minds about the changing nature of cultural and linguistic differences, as well as redefining what it means to be a skilled professional in today’s inter-connected world. This could be a good opportunity for the students to reflect on their own future career prospects where learning English (and learning it well) is just one of the many steps they need to take to achieve their dreams. But the most important lesson students can glean from Hizon’s story is how to deal with discrimination and differences. Hizon has learned from these experiences, and believes that:

... it all boils down to flexibility and communication...You will always have critics, but you just have to continue doing what you do ... Just be passionate about your work and do it to the best of your ability every show.

The English language has changed over the years and so has the BBC. Society has also changed, and it will continue to. However, has the attitude of EFL learners changed towards their perceived standard of English? It is quite evident that there is still a lot of work that needs to be done to dethrone the

hegemony of “standard English” and the perceived superiority of native-speaker accents. Students in the research mentioned in this paper expressed a preference for an L1, i.e. British/American English. This is another example where students are ill-informed and easily persuaded by stereotypes reinforced by the mainstream media. EFL/ESL teachers need to ask which variety of American English, for instance, they prefer to learn, imitate, and teach. Americans living in the Bronx or Long Island New York sound different from those living in Texas. Which of the 50 States should they choose from? This also applies to British English varieties, and to all the “inner circle” English varieties. As Martin (2010), Borlongan (2016) and many others have pointed out, there are sub-circles within the inner circles. All EFL/ESL students need to be exposed to different forms of English, and PhE is just one of the many varieties out there. In addition, the EFL teacher should also stress that the language changes from one geographical place to another.

The Philippines as an ESL/EFL environment

The Philippines claims to provide an English-speaking environment where the majority of the population speaks English. However, one of the comments made by the EFL/ESL students in the research cited above is that many/most Filipinos speak Fil/Tag-lish and that the language spoken in the streets is Filipino. EFL/ESL students’ complaints about feeling disgruntled with their learning experiences deserve to be heard and understood. They are promised an ESL environment, and rightly so. On arrival, however, they realize that this is not entirely true! This could all be different if they were told from the outset that they would be immersing themselves in a Philippine ESL environment.

Let us consider, how different the Philippine ESL environment (in the Greater Manila Area or Cebu City) is from that of, let us say, the city of London, UK? ESL learners who studied in the Philippines lamented the lack of ESL presence in the city where they studied English. They complained about people constantly speaking Filipino. If they were told prior to going to the Philippines about the basic population statistics in Manila i.e. number of local Filipinos, ethnic, education, demographic profile, then they should assume that Filipinos speak Filipino as well as their own variety of English. Speaking their own vernacular should not be a surprise for them then. How different would it be if they went to London, UK? It would not be surprising to hear people in the streets of London speaking languages other than English, and to hear people speaking English with various accents, and not (necessarily) British English. For ESL students, this variety should, in the long run, be beneficial and even desirable because they will in their future careers be communicating with people from different backgrounds. This is the reality, and that is how they are going to deal with living in the real world.

FTs' identity(ies) as (near) native speaker/ non-native speaker of English

Choe's (2016) qualitative research on the identity formation of Filipino ESL teachers teaching Korean students in the Philippines examined their perceived image and status as non-native teachers. These teachers, who had not received any TESOL teaching certificate or Bachelor's/ MA degrees in TESOL and related fields, were all affiliated with two different language academies in Manila. All 12 described themselves as non-native teachers because of their Filipino English accent. They openly discussed the discrimination they had experienced because of their accented English; some had previously not been accepted for teaching posts because they did not sound American enough, while others were strongly recommended to hone their American English. A few had undertaken a pronunciation and "accent-reduction" training sponsored by the hiring institution. In comparison to native speakers of English, they perceived themselves as "deficient" or even inferior. Some felt that they would never be as good as native speakers in spite of the number of years in service as English teachers. The lack of knowledge of the target culture (American culture) and historical facts about US history also made them feel less competent. Nonetheless, they considered themselves to be qualified ELT professionals despite the lack of ESL teaching training qualifications and regardless of their perceived inferiority issues brought about by their non-nativeness. It is through this lack of ESL teaching qualifications on the part of FTs that TESOL and/or ESL teacher training organizations found a marketing niche (Lorente and Tupas, 2002). They capitalize on the FTs' insecurities as non-native speakers with strong PhE accent vis a vis the desired-American-native-speaker accent. The native-speakerism ideology is still prevalent throughout the world and sends out a clear message that American English is something to be desired, and that having a PhE accent is simply unsatisfactory and will not help them get the highly coveted ESL teaching jobs.

Choe's (2016) study has touched on valid issues relating to the lack of regulations on teaching standards. Teachers' qualifications are not regulated by the government; thus Filipino ESL teachers are vulnerable to becoming victims of fraudulent organizations. Hicap (2009) points out that there are numerous online job and classified ads aimed at recruiting ESL teachers that do not require qualifications. The key to getting these jobs, he adds, is having an American accent. He posits that, "Some online English teachers have noted that ESL centers in the Philippines offer below-standard wages despite the fact that they charge hefty fees for Korean students" (Hicap, para. 33). Unfortunately, at the time of writing this paper, there has been little research done on this issue, particularly on the plight of Filipino ESL teachers in private language academies.

Conclusion and Recommendations for the stakeholders

The following are recommendations for all the stakeholders: Filipino teachers, ESL/EFL students, ESL providers, and the Philippine government.

ESL/EFL students wishing to go to the Philippines to study/learn English should be first made aware of the intricacies of the English language varieties along with their pronunciations and accents. Teachers should expose them to recordings of various inner circle varieties, and make them see and understand that other varieties of English spoken by native speakers can also be difficult; indeed, sometimes more onerous than trying to comprehend “non-native speakers” from the Philippines. EFL students need to be aware of their own misinformed ideologies concerning their views on native speakerism and their prejudices toward other less popular varieties of English. They are likely to be less informed about the facts and realities of the status of their favored inner-circle English varieties. Much of this prejudice stems from prejudging other people and this may be due to the lack of information, support, and direction that would help them to understand prejudice and learning about how stereotypes affect us. Education has a significant role in preventing linguistic prejudice and prejudice in general. It is clear that prejudices are present among young people. The students who go to the Philippines are generally young high schoolers and undergraduate students; It would be helpful to educate them and produce trusted information, and hopefully eradicate, if not minimize, their linguistic prejudice and attitudes toward other varieties of English. It is now more important than ever to embrace variety. As Crystal (2000) aptly puts it:

We are already living in a world where most of the varieties we encounter are something other than traditional British or American English. We do our students a disservice if they leave our care unprepared for the brave new linguistic world which awaits them. (p. 6)

The aim of teaching ESL to foreign students in the Philippines is to enable them to use English to communicate with people in a world where English has become the most widely used international language. So it is critical that their pronunciation is intelligible enough for them to be understood by a wide variety of interlocutors. Learning English in the Philippines already puts them in an ideally authentic language learning environment as they will have to use English as a lingua franca (Jenkins, 2000) to communicate with Filipinos and other foreign students who are more like themselves than native speakers. It is worth reiterating the fact that “...about 80 per cent of verbal exchanges in which English is used as a second or foreign language do not involve native speakers of English” (Beneke, 1991, as cited in Gnutzmann, 2000, p. 357). ESL/EFL students must realize that one of the best ways to learn a language is through socialization and to socialize through language (Och, 1993). Many of these students learn a foreign language in their school, travel to the Philippines for a short English intensive course program, and yet they do not retain the skill they

have learned for very long due to a lack of practice outside the classroom and through not enough socialization with the locals during their stay in the Philippines. It is a lost opportunity, as one of the greatest joys of learning a language is being able to speak it with the locals. The course providers should also make arrangements for social gatherings with the locals or student clubs, go to places where people do speak English, thus giving them the opportunity to mingle with other speakers of English.

While teaching conversation and grammar are essential, it is equally important to teach learners to make themselves understood and to understand what is said to them in a variety of contexts. Jenkins (2000) suggests that teachers must be aware of the learners' pronunciation problems that affect their intelligibility and prioritize pronunciation teaching rather than "shoot in all directions" aimlessly (p. 104) to try and achieve after a perfect, native-like pronunciation. According to Walker (2002) "whilst it is perfectly legitimate for a student to aspire to a native speaker accent, it is surely wrong for a teacher, explicitly or otherwise, to push students to feel that anything other than this is an imperfection" (p. 9). The teaching of pronunciation is often a challenge for Filipino teachers, but as English language teachers, it is one of skills that they need to practice and be good at.

Another issue noted in the research studies cited above was that of foreign students' complaints about FTs' constant code-switching or the use of Fil-Taglish in class. FTs have a professional duty not to code-switch with their students. Koreans, Chinese, Taiwanese, etc. choose to learn English in the Philippines; they want to learn how to speak English properly, and they want to learn it in an ESL context. Students do not have external control outside the classroom but in the classroom, it is the teachers' responsibility to provide the kind of language these students have paid for.

The issue of teacher training, qualifications, and professional development need to be underscored. FTs ought to get recognized qualifications such as Certificate in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (CELTA), Diploma in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (DELTA), TESOL Core-Certificate Program, and other teaching qualifications and courses endorsed by the British Council, IATEFL, and TESOL International Association. The country needs to recognize the training and qualification needs of Filipino ESL teachers and managers, particularly those directly involved in delivering language courses to foreign students, and to ensure strict quality guidelines in improving the teaching and learning of English. The government needs to partner with established academic schools, top universities in the country, and acclaimed and renowned local scholars who can establish regular training programs and workshops for continuous professional development in major cities and areas.

The Philippines needs to establish a governing body solely for the ESL industry to ensure the quality of ESL institutions and teacher training centers that will raise teacher quality, which in turn will raise student outcomes and success in ESL learning. The accreditation process must be transparent, less-

bureaucratic, and efficient. This body shall guarantee an effective way to standardize and improve ESL education being provided by individual schools and ensure that they are effectively managed and deliver world class ESL curriculum standards, provide continuous teacher professional development for ESL teachers and staff, and ensure that the language schools/centers in the Philippines meet the demands and quality standards of the ESL industry.

It has been established in this paper that the ESL in the Philippines is a booming industry, and the future prospects are indeed promising. Even the Department of Tourism (DOT) and other government agencies and foreign representatives have shown support in promoting the country as an ESL destination emphasizing the 'low cost and fun' factors. The DOT (2015) has also "showcased the programs and facilities of Philippine ESL schools" in international education exhibitions and ESL fairs. While these international promotional efforts are significant, the government has to pull all these resources together and place them under one ESL umbrella agency, and organize an ESL education trade exhibition where all ESL stakeholders in the Philippines can participate. The aim is to bring together all registered ESL schools in the Philippines for them to showcase their wares, i.e. facilities and programs, ESL teachers and managers can share ideas, practices, and technologies via workshops and symposiums. In this way, there is transparency as to who's who in the industry. There is a dire need for the government to release an ESL directory for information on school services, training and accreditation accessible to anyone and anytime. In this way, teachers, learners, and suppliers are assured of standardized quality of services and accountability of the stakeholders.

Implications for future research

This paper discusses the issues concerning the Philippines as the study destination for English learners. Accordingly, the practical contribution of the present research is that it provides much needed background data on some of the perceived flaws and shortcomings identified by various research studies. It was also argued that in spite of these weaknesses, the Philippines is an ideal destination for ESL learners not only because it is economical and culturally appropriate, it is actually better from a pedagogic point of view. However, the shortcomings mentioned in this paper must first be addressed. This study, being of an exploratory and interpretive nature, raises a number of opportunities for future research, both in terms of theory development and concept validation. Empirical research will in fact be necessary to validate the concepts and constructs that emerged from the inductive analysis given in this study.

References

Auer, P. (1988). A conversation analytic approach to code-switching and transfer. *Codeswitching: Anthropological and sociolinguistic*

- perspectives*, 48, 187-213.
- Baker, W. (2017). English as a Global Lingua Franca: Lingua Frankensteinia or Intercultural Opportunity? In Julie Mathews-Aydinli (Ed). *International Education Exchanges and Intercultural Understanding. Promoting Peace and Global Relations* (pp. 41-58). Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Bautista, M.L.S. (2004). Tagalog-English code- switching as a mode of discourse. *Asia Pacific Education Review*, 5, 226-233.
- Bayley, R., & Regan, V. (2004). Introduction: The acquisition of sociolinguistic competence. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 8(3), 323-338.
- British Library. (n.d.). *Received Pronunciation*. Retrieved July 8, 2018, from <http://www.bl.uk/learning/langlit/sounds/find-out-more/received-pronunciation/>
- BBC. (2018). *Asia Business Report*. Retrieved December 12, 2018 from <https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/profiles/1vRz4SWYHHNw5HCcCl54HtQ/rico-hizon>
- Bernardo, A. B. (2004). McKinley's questionable bequest: Over 100 years of English in Philippine education. *World Englishes*, 23(1), 17-31.
- Bhabha, H. (1990). *DissemiNation: Time, Narrative, and the Margins of the Modern Nation*. In H. Bhabha (Ed.), *Nation and narration* (pp. 291-322). London, UK: Routledge.
- Borlongan, A. M. (2016). Relocating Philippine English in Schneider's dynamic model. *Asian Englishes*, 18(3), 232-241.
- Bullock, B. E., & Toribio, A. J. (2009). *Themes in the study of code-switching*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Butler, Y. G. (2007). How are non-native English speaking teachers perceived by young learners? *TESOL Quarterly*, 41(4), 731-755.
- Buzzell, R. D., Gale, B. T., & Gale, B. T. (1987). *The PIMS principles: Linking strategy to performance*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- British Council. (2006). *A review of the global market for English language courses*. Retrieved September 20, 2018, from <https://www.britishcouncil.org/sites/default/files/a-review-of-the-global-market-for-english-language-courses.pdf>
- Cabrera, M. (2012). *Textbooks in the tropics as the Philippines lures students*. Retrieved September 20, 2018, from <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-philippines-english/textbooks-in-the-tropics-as-the-philippines-lures-students-idUSBRE86G06A20120717>
- Caruncho, E. (2017). *Thank God Rico Hizon gave up on 'Camelot'!* Retrieved September 20, 2018, from <https://lifestyle.inquirer.net/268816/thank-god-rico-hizon-gave-camelot/>
- Choe, H. (2016). Identity formation of Filipino ESL teachers teaching Korean students in the Philippines: How negative and positive identities shape ELT in the Outer Circle. *English Today*, 32(1), 5-11.
- Choe, H. & Son, E. (2017). Why Did They Choose There? Korean Parents' Reasons for Sending Their Children to Southeast Asian ESL Countries.

- In *The New Studies of English Language & Literature* 66, 33-54.
- Cruz, S. A. (2013). Rule or feel? The application of implicit and explicit knowledge of Filipino and Korean college students in responding to English tests. *AJELS*, 61-85.
- Cruz, S. A., & Pariña, J. C. M. (2017). Implicit and Explicit Knowledge of Korean Learners in the Philippines across Contextual Shift. *Online Submission*, 18, 73-85.
- Crystal, D. (2000). Emerging Englishes. *English Teaching Professional*, 14(1), 3-6.
- Crystal, D. (2003). *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the English Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Curry, D. J. (1985). Measuring price and quality competition. *Journal of Marketing*, 49(2), 106-117.
- Dayag, D. T. (2007). Exploring the intelligibility of Philippine English. *Asian Englishes*, 10(1), 4-23.
- Department of Tourism (DOT). (2015). *Philippine Tourism 2015*. Retrieved September 20, 2018, from <http://www.tourism.gov.ph/files/2015%20DOT%20YEAR%20END%20as%20of%202011%20August%202016.pdf>
- Department of Tourism (DOT). (2017). *DOT to Koreans: 'ESL training is more fun in PHL'*. Retrieved September 11, 2018, from http://web.tourism.gov.ph/news_features/dot_koreans.aspx
- de Guzman, A. B., Albela, E. J. A., Nieto, D. R. D., Ferrer, J. B. F., & Santos, R. N. (2006). English language learning difficulty of Korean students in a Philippine multidisciplinary university. *Asia Pacific Education Review*, 7(2), 152-161.
- Dita, S. N., & De Leon, K. D. (2017). The intelligibility and comprehensibility of Philippine English to EFL speakers. *The Philippine ESL Journal*, 19, 100-116.
- Ethnologue. (2018). *Summary by Language Size*. Retrieved September 15, 2018, from <https://www.ethnologue.com/statistics/size>
- Friginal, E. (2007). Outsourced call centers and English in the Philippines. *World Englishes*, 26(3), 331-345.
- Garvin, D. A. (1988). *Managing quality: The strategic and competitive edge*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Gnutzmann, C. (2000). Lingua franca. *The Routledge encyclopedia of language teaching and learning*, 356-359.
- Grönroos, C. (1990). *Service management and marketing: Managing the moments of truth in service competition*. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books.
- Gonzalez, A., FSC and Sibayan, B.P. (Eds.) (1988) *Evaluating bilingual education in the Philippines* (1974–1985). Manila: Linguistic Society of the Philippines.
- Gostudylink. (n.d.). *6 Reasons to Study English in the UK*. Retrieved September 15, 2018, from <http://gostudylink.net/en/blog/6-reasons-to-study-english->

in-the-uk

- ICEF Monitor. (2015). *UK losing share in global ELT market*. Retrieved September 15, 2018 from <http://monitor.icef.com/2015/08/uk-losing-share-in-global-elt-market/>
- ICEF Monitor. (2016a). *Australia's ELICOS enrolment grew in 2015 but source markets are shifting*. Retrieved September 15, 2018, from <http://sb-monitor-1.icef.com/2016/08/australias-elicos-enrolment-grew-2015-source-markets-shifting/>
- ICEF Monitor. (2016b). *ELT enrolment in the Philippines on the rise*. Retrieved September 15, 2018, from <http://monitor.icef.com/2016/03/elt-enrolment-in-the-philippines-on-the-rise/>
- International Association of Language Centres. (2016). *Trends in the demand for foreign languages*. Retrieved September 10, 2018, from https://www.ialc.org/fileadmin/uploads/ialc/Documents/Study_Travel_Research_Reports/ialc-2016-research-trends-in-demand-for-foreign-languages.pdf
- Hallowell, R. (1996). The relationships of customer satisfaction, customer loyalty, and profitability: an empirical study. *International Journal of Service Industry Management*, 7(4), 27-42.
- Hicap, J. (2009). Koreans flock to the Philippines to learn English. *Korea Times*. Retrieved September 15, 2018, from https://www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/news/nation/2009/09/117_51729.html
- Holmes, J., & Brown, D. F. (1976). Developing sociolinguistic competence in a second language. *TESOL Quarterly*, 423-431.
- Johnson, A. (2009). The Rise of English: The Language of globalization in China and the European Union, *Macalester International*, 22, Article 12. Retrieved September 15, 2018, from <https://digitalcommons.macalester.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?referer=https://www.google.com.tw/&httpsredir=1&article=1447&context=macintl>
- Kachru, B. B. (1992). World Englishes: Approaches, issues and resources. *Language Teaching*, 25(1), 1-14.
- Krashen, S. D., & Terrell, T. D. (1983). *The natural approach: Language acquisition in the classroom*. Hayward, Calif: Alemany Press
- Kobayashi, I. (2008). They speak 'incorrect' English. understanding Taiwanese learners' views on L2 varieties of English. *Philippine Journal of Linguistics* 39, 81-98.
- Lambert, W. (1975). Culture and language as factors in learning and education. In A. Wolfgang (Ed.), *Education of immigrant students* (pp. 55 - 83). Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education.
- Landry, R., & Allard, R. (1993) 'Beyond socially naive bilingual education: the effects of schooling and ethnolinguistic vitality of the community on additive and subtractive bilingualism', *Annual Conference Journal* (NABE '90-'91): 1-30.
- Lorente, B. P., & Tupas, T. R. F. (2002). Demythologizing English as an

- economic asset: The case of Filipina domestic workers in Singapore. *ACELT Journal*, 6(2), 20-32.
- Mackey, A. (2014). *Wanting it enough: Why motivation is the key to language learning*. Retrieved September 15, 2018, from <https://www.theguardian.com/education/2014/jun/26/motivation-key-language-learning>
- Marasigan, E. M. (1986). A note on Philippine mix-mix. *Philippine Studies*, 338-359.
- Martin, I. P. (2010). Periphery ELT: The politics and practice of teaching English in the Philippines. In *The Routledge handbook of world Englishes* (pp. 269-286). London: Routledge.
- Mamhot, A. M., Martin, M. H., & Masangya, E. M. (2013). A comparative study on the language anxiety of ESL and EFL learners. *Philippine ESL Journal*, 10, 200-231.
- McGeown, K. (2012). The Philippines: Low-cost English teacher to the world. In *BBC News Business*. Retrieved September 10, 2018, from <https://www.bbc.com/news/business-20221155>
- McKay, S. C. (2004). Zones of regulation: restructuring labor control in privatized export zones. *Politics & Society*, 32(2), 171-202.
- Nolasco, R. M. (2008, July 1-3). The prospects of multilingual education and literacy in the Philippines. Paper presented at *The 2nd International Conference on Language Development, Language Revitalization, and Multilingual Education in Ethnolinguistic Communities, Bangkok, Thailand*.
- Ochs, E. (1993). Constructing social identity: A language socialization perspective. *Research on language and social interaction*, 26(3), 287-306.
- Ozaki, S. (2011). Learning English as an international lingua franca in a semi-English-speaking country: The Philippines. *Asian EFL Journal*, 53(3), 51-60.
- Ozaki, S. (2017). Learners' perceptions of Filipino EFL Teacher Expertise. *Journal of Education and Social Sciences*, 7(1), 123-128.
- Phillipson, R. (1992). ELT: the native speaker's burden? *ELT journal*, 46(1), 12-18.
- Porter M. E. (1989) How Competitive Forces Shape Strategy. In D. Asch & C. Bowman (Eds.), *Readings in Strategic Management* (pp. 133-143). Palgrave, London.
- Regan, V., Howard, M., & Lemée, I. (2009). *The acquisition of sociolinguistic competence in a study abroad context* (Vol. 40). Multilingual Matters.
- Reuters. (2018). *Business English Language training market 2018: High demands, key market plans, learning developments, business opportunities & future investments to 2022*. Retrieved October 1, 2018, from <https://www.reuters.com/brandfeatures/venture-capital/article?id=35150>
- Rosario, O., & Narag-Magundayao, R. (2017). Code-switching of English

- language teachers and students in an ESL c lassroom. In *The Asian EFL Journal's International Conference on Research & Publication*, August 24-26, 2018, Clark, Philippines. Retrieved September 20, 2018. from <https://www.asian-efl-journal.com/pubcon2018/breakout-sessions-schedule/code-switching-of-english-language-teachers-and-students-in-an-esl-classroom/>
- Satake, M. (2015). English students flock to Philippines for low cost, sunshine. In *Nikkei Asian Review*. Retrieved September 15, 2018, from <https://asia.nikkei.com/Business/English-students-flock-to-Philippines-for-low-cost-sunshine>
- Sibayan, B. P. (1985). Reflections, assertions and speculations on the growth of Pilipino. *Southeast Asian Journal of Social Science*, 13(1), 40-51.
- Smith, L. E., & Rafiqzad, K. (1979). English for cross-cultural communication: The question of intelligibility. *TESOL Quarterly*, 13(3), 371–80.
- Strauss, A. L. (2017). *Mirrors and masks: The search for identity*. London: Routledge.
- Taipei Times 2017, More Taiwanese flock to Philippines to study English. *Taipei Times*. Retrieved September 22, 2018, from <http://www.taipeitimes.com/News/taiwan/archives/2017/12/16/2003684071>
- Teece, D. J. (2010). Business models, business strategy and innovation. *Long Range Planning*, 43(2-3), 172-194.
- Tupas, R., & Salonga, A. (2016). Unequal Englishes in the Philippines. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 20(3), 367-381.
- Trudgill, P. (1974). Linguistic change and diffusion: Description and explanation in sociolinguistic dialect geography. *Language in Society*, 3(2), 215-246.
- United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). (2013). *The international mobility of students in Asia and the Pacific*. Retrieved September 22, 2018, from <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0022/002262/226219E.pdf>
- Viduya, M. (2018). Strands of tongue: Code-switching in ESL classes. *The Asian EFL Journal's International Conference on Research & Publication*, August 24-26, 2018, Clark, Philippines. Retrieved November 20, 2018, from <https://www.asian-efl-journal.com/pubcon2018/breakout-sessions-schedule/strands-of-tongue-code-switching-in-esl-classes/>
- Vivamundo. (2018). 10 Reasons to study English in the UK. Retrieved September 15, 2018, from <https://viva-mundo.com/en/noticia/post/10-reasons-to-study-english-in-the-uk>
- Walker, R. (2002). Choosing a Model for Pronunciation – Accent Not Accident'. *TESOL Spain Newsletter*, 25, 8-9
- World Economic Forum. (2017). *This 5 languages will help you stand out the most*. Retrieved September 15, 2018, from <https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2017/03/these-5-languages-will-help-you-stand-out-the-most>

World Education News Reviews (WENR). (2018). *Education in the Philippines*. Retrieved September 15, 2018, from <https://wenr.wes.org/2018/03/education-in-the-philippines>

Note on Contributor

Dr. Aiden Yeh is an Assistant Professor and Director of Academic Cooperation & Exchange Section of the Office of International & Cross-Strait Cooperation (OICC) at Wenzao Ursuline University of Languages, Taiwan. She received her PhD from the University of Birmingham, UK, and her MSc from the University of Surrey, UK. Email: aidenyeh@gmail.com

Appendix – Full results of student survey conducted at Macau Polytechnic Institute in December 2017. Students surveyed from Design and Visual Arts Departments.

Note, in the statistical section Putonghua is referred to as Mandarin, for ease of presentation

Figures for Macau students (n=45)

Which language do you speak in your family home? (Mandarin, Cantonese, etc?) C=43 M=2

What language is your major taught in? (English, Mandarin, Cantonese?) M=8 CME=5 C=32

Please answer the following statements

1=Strongly Agree 2=Agree 3=Disagree 4= Strongly Disagree

The information you give will be anonymous and is to be used for research purposes.

	1	2	3	4
1. Being able to speak English well is important for my future	29	16		
2. Being able to speak Mandarin well is important for my future	19	24	2	
3. Being able to speak Cantonese well is important for my future.	20	20	4	2
4. Being able to speak Portuguese well is important for my future	5	24	14	3
5. English should be the language of instruction in my major	10	26	9	
6. Mandarin should be the language of instruction in my major	6	21	16	2
7. Cantonese should be the language of instruction in my major	15	18	9	3
8. Portuguese should be the language of instruction in my major		13	22	10
9. I can communicate well in English	3	14	25	3
10. I can communicate well in Mandarin	15	26	3	1
11. I can communicate well in Cantonese	34	10		1
12. I can communicate well in Portuguese	2	2	7	34
13. I sometimes mix different languages when I am speaking	10	26	9	
14. I sometimes mix different languages in my social media posts	7	29	9	
15. I am able to practice my English outside MPI	3	26	13	3
16. English should be an official language of	9	22	13	1

Macau				
17. Cantonese should be an official language of Macau	32	12	1	
18. Mandarin should be an official language of Macau	11	18	11	5
19. Portuguese should be an official language of Macau	7	22	10	6

Figures for Mainland China Students (n=17)

Which language do you speak in your family home? (Mandarin, Cantonese, etc?) C=6 M=11

What language is your major taught in? (English, Mandarin, Cantonese?) M=6 C=3 E=3 P=1 MP=1

1=Strongly Agree 2=Agree 3=Disagree 4= Strongly Disagree

	1	2	3	4
1. Being able to speak English well is important for my future	13	4		
2. Being able to speak Mandarin well is important for my future	13	3		
3. Being able to speak Cantonese well is important for my future.	4	9	3	1
4. Being able to speak Portuguese well is important for my future	5	3	6	3
5. English should be the language of instruction in my major	7	9	1	
6. Mandarin should be the language of instruction in my major	6	10	1	
7. Cantonese should be the language of instruction in my major	6	7	3	1
8. Portuguese should be the language of instruction in my major	3	5	8	1
9. I can communicate well in English	4	6	7	
10. I can communicate well in Mandarin	13	3	1	
11. I can communicate well in Cantonese	10	3	1	3
12. I can communicate well in Portuguese	2	3	4	8
13. I sometimes mix different languages when I am speaking	4	8	4	
14. I sometimes mix different languages in my social media posts	3	9	3	2
15. I am able to practice my English outside MPI	4	9	4	
16. English should be an official language of Macau	4	7	6	
17. Cantonese should be an official language of Macau	7	8	2	
18. Mandarin should be an official language of Macau	9	6	2	
19. Portuguese should be an official language of Macau	4	8	5	

Figures for all students surveyed (n=62)

Which language do you speak in your family home: C=49. M=13

Which language is your major taught in? C=35, M=14 E=3 CME=5 P=1

1=Strongly Agree 2=Agree 3=Disagree 4= Strongly Disagree

	1	2	3	4
1. Being able to speak English well is important for my future	42	20		
2. Being able to speak Mandarin well is important for my future	32	27	4	2
3. Being able to speak Cantonese well is important for my future.	24	29	7	3
4. Being able to speak Portuguese well is important for my future	10	27	20	6
5. English should be the language of instruction in my major	17	35	10	
6. Mandarin should be the language of instruction in my major	12	31	17	2
7. Cantonese should be the language of instruction in my major	21	25	12	4
8. Portuguese should be the language of instruction in my major	3	18	30	11
9. I can communicate well in English	7	20	32	3
10. I can communicate well in Mandarin	28	29	4	1
11. I can communicate well in Cantonese	44	13	1	4
12. I can communicate well in Portuguese	4	5	11	42
13. I sometimes mix different languages when I am speaking	14	35	13	
14. I sometimes mix different languages in my social media posts	10	38	12	2
15. I am able to practice my English outside MPI	7	35	17	
16. English should be an official language of Macau	13	29	19	
17. Cantonese should be an official language of Macau	39	20	3	
18. Mandarin should be an official language of Macau	20	30	13	
19. Portuguese should be an official language of Macau	11	30	15	6

Comparison of modal values for Macau and Mainland Chinese students
*Macau and Mainland China (Macau students in the left-hand column,
Mainland China students in the right-hand column)*

1. Being able to speak English well is important for my future	SA	SA
2. Being able to speak Mandarin well is important for my future	A	SA
3. Being able to speak Cantonese well is important for my future.	SA/A	A
4. Being able to speak Portuguese well is important for my future	A	D
5. English should be the language of instruction in my major	A	A
6. Mandarin should be the language of instruction in my major	A	A
7. Cantonese should be the language of instruction in my major	A	A
8. Portuguese should be the language of instruction in my major	D	D
9. I can communicate well in English	D	D
10. I can communicate well in Mandarin	A	SA
11. I can communicate well in Cantonese	SA	SA
12. I can communicate well in Portuguese	SD	SD
13. I sometimes mix different languages when I am speaking	A	A
14. I sometimes mix different languages in my social media posts	A	A
15. I am able to practice my English outside MPI	A	A
16. English should be an official language of Macau	A	A
17. Cantonese should be an official language of Macau	SA	A
18. Mandarin should be an official language of Macau	A	SA
19. Portuguese should be an official language of Macau	A	A

Modal values for all students surveyed

1=Strongly Agree 2=Agree 3=Disagree 4= Strongly Disagree

1. Being able to speak English well is important for my future	SA
2. Being able to speak Mandarin well is important for my future	SA
3. Being able to speak Cantonese well is important for my future.	A
4. Being able to speak Portuguese well is important for my future	A
5. English should be the language of instruction in my major	A
6. Mandarin should be the language of instruction in my major	A
7. Cantonese should be the language of instruction in my major	A
8. Portuguese should be the language of instruction in my major	D
9. I can communicate well in English	D
10. I can communicate well in Mandarin	A
11. I can communicate well in Cantonese	SA
12. I can communicate well in Portuguese	SD
13. I sometimes mix different languages when I am speaking	A
14. I sometimes mix different languages in my social media posts	A
15. I am able to practice my English outside MPI	A
16. English should be an official language of Macau	A
17. Cantonese should be an official language of Macau	SA
18. Mandarin should be an official language of Macau	A
19. Portuguese should be an official language of Macau	A