



THE JOURNAL OF ENGLISH AS AN  
INTERNATIONAL LANGUAGE

**VOLUME 14   ISSUE 2   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>**

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

**ISSN: 1718-2298**

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**JOURNAL OF ENGLISH AS AN INTERNATIONAL LANGUAGE**  
**VOLUME 14 , ISSUE 2, DECEMBER 2019**

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## Foreword

Welcome to the December 2019 issue of the Journal of English as an International Language. This issue is yet another declaration of EILJ's unwavering commitment to fostering a plurality of research agenda and interests that are commensurate with our pedagogies and practices in the teaching of EIL. The engaging array of papers presented in this issue demonstrates our authors' determined attempts to propose and disseminate conceptualizations that resonate with EILJ's declared mission of promoting locally appropriate, culturally sensitive and socially attuned methodologies and materials in EIL. It is our fond belief that such on-going endeavours and exercises could add particular impetus to EILJ's democratization and dehegemonization of the use of English across the cultures and continents of the world.

John Baker's paper entitled "Using Joycian Narrative Inquiry to Historically Explore the Language Use of One Community of Practice in S. Korea" sets the tenor and tone for this issue. It draws its impetus from a qualitative narrative analysis of two types/varieties of English language input that the S. Korean community has been exposed to since the arrival of a large number of Western teachers in 1993. He refers to the first variety as Standard American English or General American (GA) and to the second one as British Received Pronunciation (RP). He uses an interesting array of examples of lexical choice and quotes from American and British teachers operating at this time to produce a reflective narrative that is both consistent with and reminiscent of the style illustrated in a story in Joyce's *The Dubliners* (i.e., *The Dead*), where groups are personified into characters, and the events of one day are presented as representative of each groups' people and their language use. This, then characterizes the paper as a Joycian narrative inquiry, which is synonymous with narrative inquiry and an epistemic stance that is gaining currency in research into language education. Needless to say, that the epistemic stance in question is still in its infancy, it can serve as a fertile opportunity for exploring an extensive range of theoretical assumptions and analytical approaches and for creating avenues that abound with opportunities for investigating the dynamics and fallouts of linguistic democracy in regard to English language teaching policy, pedagogy, and testing. The findings yielded by the study offer invaluable insights as to how the historical context can serve as an all-encompassing framework for developing an informed understanding of how other world Englishes have influenced the S. Koreans' use of English. By the same token, the findings which constitute the novelty and vibrancy of this paper, can serve as stimuli for using Joycian narrative inquiry as a research instrument in EIL, TESOL and its affiliate fields.

The paper entitled “Indian English - A National Model” by Daniel Costa assumes particular prominence and substance in this issue in that it signposts the controversial and the conciliatory role that Indian English continues to play within the country and its ramifications farther afield. Doubly aware of the currency and preference that the Standard British English enjoys in India, the author alerts the readership to the emergence of a local variety, commonly referred to as Indian English (IE), which is commensurate with its multicultural and multilingual context-bound characteristics and setting. By the same token, IE, as the author notes, is conditioned by the inclusion of distinct lexical, grammatical, phonological and discourse features, which have come to be seen as the markers of IE’s indigenization. Arguably, IE can then shed its pejorative attributes by acting as a national lingua franca in a country that is marked by linguistic as well as cultural diversity, while at the same time being able to interact internationally in keeping with “English-speaking communities” call for a universally intelligible medium to rely on. Pointing to IE as “a language in its own right”, the paper presents a discussion of IE’s four language systems such as lexis, grammar, phonology and discourse with specific examples to reinforce and reiterate the viability of the use of IE as a national model. Alluding to the five distinct stages inherent in the development of new varieties of English as theorized by Schneider (2007) in his Dynamic Model for World Englishes (WE), the paper appears to support the view that IE is currently at stages 4 and 5 in its developmental trajectory. The paper suggests that while some of the features that permeate IE may cause intelligibility failures overseas, the very same features can act as important identity markers, which are synonymous with India’s multilingual identity and can coexist with those features inherent in the standard native variety. Such a realization can lead to IE being taught in an Indian manner with ample scope in it for its international acceptance as a variety in its own right in the WE framework. The author hopes that issues and insights discussed in the paper can offer new directions for further research into IE, which can help deepen our understanding of the different elements inherent in Indian English that embody its “uncanny adaptability” to both its national and international users.

The joint paper “Improving Student’s Performance in English as Language of Learning and Teaching in Teacher’s Pre-service Education” by Liesel Hibbert and John Wankah Foncha, an EILJ Editor, is a well-orchestrated attempt to signpost the role and prevalence of a good knowledge of the language of teaching and learning (LOLT) in English as an essential prerequisite for student-teachers in the higher education institutions of South Africa. In light of this, the paper is predicated on “defamiliarization” as its research method and focuses mainly on communication skills with a special emphasis on academic reading and writing skills. The authors make a strong case for their method of choice citing its efficacy for

creating a non-threatening space, where students can express themselves freely and unreservedly. Doubly aware of the ambiguities of the LOLT curriculum and its attendant challenges in South Africa, the authors have factored in a research process in the curriculum: an agentive curriculation by their students, which they believe would help students develop conceptual knowledge and understandings around current issues, subject specific knowledge and perspectives, thereby increasing their confidence and competence in the use of English language. Drawing on the invaluable insights and issues that the notion of “trans-literacies” offers, the authors have finessed their theoretical understanding in order to synchronize it with the affiliable and affinitive aspects of trans-language and trans-culturalism evident in their students’ work. In view of this, the research project given to their students was meant to engender/foster their critical thinking skills with which they could reflect on their own academic writing besides being able to challenge one another’s thinking. Based on this, the paper envisaged that students would collaboratively develop problem-solving techniques, build self-confidence which is an important variable to be addressed in language learning situations, where the need for creative management and critical thinking are non-negotiable. The paper argues that, if students explore reflexivity, they will be better placed to look at themselves and the world differently, which is what any community of teacher educators needs to do. Such a realization is in keeping with the community of practice framework based on the social constructivism theory of Vygotsky (1978, p. 79) and its centrality, immediacy and primacy to the study. By the same token, the readership is led to believe that a study of this nature focuses “upon less tangible yet essential skills which develop students into critical and emphatic thinkers [that] ultimately creates social cohesion”, given that it is one of the millennial goals of the South African Education systems. In sum and spirit, this paper is filled with interesting narratives and alternative explanations that chime in with the discursive spaces and discursive practices that EILJ values in its declared mission across the cultures and continents of the world.

The paper entitled “Micro-Level Text Contents of One- to Five-Minute News: American and Philippine English Compared” by Leonardo O. Munalim, an EILJ Editor, in effect serves as a fitting sequel to his paper, “Subject-Auxiliary Inversion in Embedded Questions in Spoken Professional Discourses: A Comparison of Philippine English Between 1999 and 2016-2019” published in the EILJ June 2019 Issue. The paper, which is believed to be the first of its kind in the Philippines, reports on the comparative analyses of text contents of one to five Minute News (MNs) published by one Philippine and one American media outlet in November 2018. Predicated on a quantitatively designed corpus approach, the paper consists of combined 86 one-minute news; 421 two-minute



news; 259 three-minute news; 101 four-minute news; and 77 five-minute news articles, resulting in a total of 944 news articles. The raft of inferential statistics used in the paper infuses/initiates a new angularity for the understanding of both similarities and differences between the two groups' micro-level properties of Minute News, namely, total word count, total unique words, number of sentences, average sentence length, number of paragraphs, hard words, lexical density; and the seven text readability index models such as Flesch, Gunning, Flesch-Kincaid, Coleman, SMOG, Automated and Linsear. Needless to say, that the Inner Circle American media writers have come to be perceived as the staple of MNs in terms of its linguistic and text contents, the Filipino media writers of the Outer Circle do not fully conform to the standards of the American writers' micro-level linguistic properties when producing Minute News. While the inferential statistical analyses can help compare whether or not the Filipino writers, who belong to the Outer Circle show the propensity/proclivity to be native-like in their MNs in terms of the micro-level properties under study, the possible differences or similarities between two cultures can be invaluable to the readers'/students' engagement with the texts and to the development of reading autonomy while engaging with the news contents on the social media. Notwithstanding the cut and thrust of the corpus-centered paper, the author points as to how the overall patterns of the Filipino writers in MNs are not totally independent from the norms of the Inner Circle American writers. However, the author contends that the Filipino writers do not deflect from the native writers' way of writing MNs, as they feel that they need to maintain their grip on the loop of global journalistic styles and strategies in the name of competitive journalistic culture with a view to sustaining their readership. Thus, it is understandable as to why and how this appropriation, adaptation and co-optation with the global linguistic trends tend to perpetuate the hegemony of the Inner Circle discourse, which in itself places the Filipino media writers at the very center of critical sociolinguistic controversies about issues of postcolonial Philippine English (PE). Given the rich pickings of insights and issues that the author has discussed in this paper, the onus of deducing its translatability for EIL pedagogies and practices, especially with regard to reading will rest fully on our readership.

Jirada Suntornsawet's paper entitled "Problematic Phonological Features of Foreign Accented English Pronunciation as Threats to International Intelligibility: Thai EIL Pronunciation Core" explores the contested notion of intelligibility failure with reference to the phonological intelligibility of Thai-accented English. In light of this, the paper attempts a well-informed investigation as to how and why Thai-accented pronunciation of English segmental features perceived by participants from different L1 backgrounds deviated from the production target with phonetic elements being vital in their perception. Pointing to the paucity of systematic,

experiential, and experimental studies on Southeast Asian English including the problematic pronunciation features of Thai English for EIL intelligibility, the author assigns particular primacy and prominence to her study by articulating a justification for its rationale, scope and design. The first part of her design consisted of “Construction of Speech Sample”. This was meant to elicit her participants’ natural L2 continuous speech from a recorded a 10-minute talk in an authentic setting, where there was background noise such as traffic, surrounding noises, and background conversation. Further to this, the author believed that in such an environment the participants would speak more freely without feeling any pressure or the need to monitor their pronunciation frequently in contrast to the controlled recording process in a sound laboratory setting, where they would monitor their pronunciation more frequently. The second part of the design consisted of “Construction of Transcription Task”. In keeping with the aims of this research, the author has used both orthographic and pseudo transcription methods with her sample population of listeners or transcribers, who were general language users in an authentic situation and not informed users of IPA or for that matter, trained phoneticians. The insights/findings of the study point to phonotactic constraints, sound distribution patterns, and the confusion of the spelling system of English sounds in Thai as possible determinants of mispronunciation that eventually contributed to intelligibility failure. Convinced that the majority of the intelligibility issues were due to a nonexistence of those English sounds in Thai phonology, the author underscores the inescapable need for teaching these sound features of Thai English pronunciation with a view to safeguarding the intelligibility of Thai English pronunciation of “EIL intelligibility core” as well as enhancing Thai learners’ use of EIL for international communicative purposes.

The paper entitled “English as an International Language: English/French Language Alternation in Politically Motivated CMC in Congo-Brazzaville” by Jean Mathieu Tsoumou examines the dynamics and fallouts of the increasing use of English alongside other languages in the Facebook communication of Congo-Brazzaville (C-B). Given the limited presence of English in the national education system, where it is taught as a foreign language in the curriculum from middle school to university, the author notes that it is not easy to speculate on the extent to which English is daily used among Congolese in offline(face-to-face) communicative exchanges. Therefore, this paper is meant to fundamentally examine the extent of Congolese Facebook users’ knowledge of the English language as such knowledge can help come to terms with the impact of English as an international language in C-B, especially when a substantial number of Congolese people who use English in their Facebook communication are unable to use it in face-to-face communication. The paper uses a mixture

of qualitative and quantitative approaches to analyse Facebook comments made by Congolese users while discussing national political issues arising from two major national political events, mainly the constitutional referendum of October 25, 2015 and the presidential election of March 20, 2016. The findings, which point to seven (pragmatic) communicative functions: offering advice, astonishment, criticism, anger/cursing/insult, appraisal, hope boost and motivation, jocular mockery, appear to have triggered their use of English in politically motivated Facebook communication. In addition, the findings revealed how the analysed instances achieved multiple communicative goals in English. In light of this, the author feels that it is important to use these instances as a basis for developing those appropriate English pragmatic skills which the Congolese need for using English in an informed way in their computer mediated communication (CMC). By the same token, the findings can serve as a point of departure for any investigation into the extent to which English as an international language has affected Congolese communicative exchanges in offline interactions, as writing on Facebook reveals only one side of the users' competence in the English language. While it is understandable that a total mastery of a language requires discourse competence, linguistic competence, actional competence, sociocultural competence, and strategic competence both in written and spoken discourses, the insights yielded by this paper can help examine students' appropriation of the English language and determine whether there might be a trend that would encourage and sustain a future implementation of English in the national curriculum of C-B.

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

**Dr Sivakumar Sivasubramaniam**  
**Chief Editor**

# **Using Joycean Narrative Inquiry to Historically Explore the Language Use of One Community of Practice in South Korea**

**John R. Baker**

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## **Abstract**

This paper, through the use of Joycean narrative inquiry, offers a qualitative narrative analysis of two types of language input the South Korean community was exposed to when the doors opened to a large number of western teachers in 1993 (i.e., General American and Received Pronunciation). Specifically, this paper provides examples of lexical choice and quotes from two groups of teachers at this time (i.e., American and British). This analysis is accomplished through a reflective narrative drawn from the style found in a story in Joyce's *The Dubliners* (i.e., *The Dead*), where groups are personified into characters, and the events of one day are presented as representative of each groups' people and their language use. Using this technique, this paper reports that the representative of each group held fast to his/her individual varieties to preserve identity. This paper also found that each representative used acts of convergence to reduce social distance. Noting that narrative inquiry is an emerging, recognized, and widely used area in the field but that the use of Joycean narrative inquiry is underrepresented, this reflection provides both a historical perspective and a starting point for future examinations of non-native speaker (NNS) communities' present use of English. Specifically, investigations into what influences such historical examples have had on present language use. Regarding the lack of research using this instrument, this paper is also offered as a starting point for the use of Joycean narrative inquiry as a research instrument in TESOL and its related fields.

**Keywords:** Convergence, identity, Joyce, narrative inquiry, South Korea

## **Introduction**

The formal teaching of English in Korea began over 130 years ago (Kachru & Nelson, 2006), and, since that time, Standard American English (General American, GA) has, at least historically, generally been favored by the South Korean (S. Korean) educational community (e.g., universities, language schools, teachers, and students) as a superstrate language (Ahn, H, 2013; Ahn, K, 2011; Gibb, 1999; Nam, 2005; Shim, 2002; Yook, 2010). The favor historically afforded to GA seems to stem from a combination of two sources: (a) familiarity and (b) prestige. Examining the first source, familiarity, or how much contact Koreans have had with GA, shows that Koreans have

historically had more contact with GA than with other varieties of English. For instance, the first English school was commissioned in the nineteenth century by Korea's King Kojon to train interpreters who would serve him and his high-ranking aristocrats (Kachru & Nelson, 2006). Although the school was set up by a German and run by a British national, two Chinese teachers who were educated in America (and therefore familiar with GA) generally did the teaching. Shortly thereafter, Koreans were further familiarized with the GA variety because American missionaries, who used English as a vehicle for their religious work, began teaching English. Even during the Japanese occupation of Korea, Koreans' familiarization with the GA variety continued. This is because the Japanese taught English as a foreign language in their occupationalist curriculum. During the Korean War (1950-1953), which ended with the separation of two Koreas (i.e., North and South), S. Koreans' familiarity with GA further increased as a result of the locals' contact with American service people.

After the Korean War, S. Koreans' desire to learn the GA variety was fueled by another factor: the prestige associated with the success of post Korean War America. This and S. Korea's late twentieth century push for globalization resulted in S. Koreans' seeing English as linguistic capital that could provide them with access to many economic and social rewards (Canagarajah, 1999), and, more importantly, for the purposes of this paper, a direction to look to for a linguistic model, i.e., America.

Following this, until the early 1990s, S. Koreans generally looked to America as a linguistic model. *Generally looked to*, however, does not mean that other varieties were completely ignored. Several factors have contributed to the attention to and an ever-growing acceptance of different varieties of English on the language teaching scene. One of these was S. Korea's aforementioned push for English to help the country meet its globalization goals. The second was its requirement that English be taught beginning with the third grade. The third was S. Korea's agreement to comply with the World Trade Organization's Uruguay Round Agreement, which stressed that western teachers were needed to teach in the country. And finally, the fourth was the S. Korean Ministry of Education's stipulation that English should be taught through English, which *assumedly* (emphasis added and questioned) could best be done via a native speaker of English (Davies, 2003; Iams, 2016). These factors, one confounding another, opened the doors to a great many English teachers—1,960 by 1994 (Korea Central Daily, 15 November 1995). And, of course, once the doors were opened, many more than just North American guests arrived. These new arrivals, both speakers of GA and other varieties, modeled their own varieties, and a mixture of these varieties, in such abundance that it created an environment where S. Koreans became familiar with other varieties, to include British (RP).

To illustrate the situation that fostered S. Koreans' aforementioned familiarization with varieties of English (e.g., American GA and British RP), this paper provides a reflective and humorous look (i.e., narrative inquiry) at

the time when the doors were first opened, 1993-1994, which encompasses my first year as a language teacher in S. Korea (e.g., August 1, 1993-July 31, 1994).

During this time, some of the British teachers attempted to accommodate their variety of English (RP) to the GA variety their students and language school owners perceived as prestigious in order to command a higher salary (see Jannedy, Polett, & Weldon, 2011). Others, as a matter of national identity, did not (see Yule, 2010). And still others joined their American counterparts in a type of speech accommodation, i.e., acts of convergence where the speaker adopts the speech style of the hearer to reduce social distance (see Yule, 2010). At times, the language bantered about between these groups raised an eyebrow or got confusing. Other times, it was funny. And, at still others, it was downright hilarious. To illustrate each group's language use, I will use a Joycean style narrative reminiscent of Joyce's technique in *The Dubliners* (i.e., *The Dead*).

The purpose of this reflective exploration is three-fold. First, as mentioned above, this work describes two different varieties of English S. Koreans had exposure to in the early 1990s, specifically, (a) lexical examples of GA and RP, (b) examples of how each representative teacher held fast to his/her individual varieties, and (c) acts of convergence each teacher used to reduce social distance. Second, this paper offers a starting point for future examinations into the influence such historical examples have had on present language use, to include language used to preserve identity and social distance when interacting with speakers of different language varieties. This examination is indeed important because, despite the (a) enormous number of teachers who have entered the country over the last 25 plus years, (b) the fact that there has been an increase in the acceptance of and teaching of different varieties of English (Shim, 2002) and (c) there have been evaluations of language use in the region (Jenkins, 2006), studies on the resultant English language use regarding convergence on the Korean Peninsula are limited. And third, the author hopes to offer a starting point for use of the Joycean narrative inquiry with TESOL related narrative explorations.

The third objective, the use of Joycean narrative inquiry, much like narrative inquiry as a whole (Nelson, 2011), has historically required some justification. The use of narrative inquiry in language studies, although used in many other fields in an interdisciplinary nature, e.g., sociology, psychology, health sciences (Barkhuizen, 2011), and listed as a narrative instrument in education research design texts (Creswell, 2012, 2013), is still in its infancy in language studies (Vasquez, 2011); however, this approach is gaining acceptance (Barkhuizen, 2011; Nelson, 2011). On one hand, this early stage of growth is a challenge, as researchers need to continually justify narrative inquiry as "an academically valid research methodology" (Bell, 2011, p. 580). On the other hand, this infancy provides a fertile opportunity for exploration, as narrative inquiry is a broad field that encompasses "a range of theoretical assumptions and analytical approaches" (Taylor, 2003, p. 195). As Stanely

and Temple (2008) point out, there seems to be “little shared sense of core concerns, of approach and even of what narrative is seen as” (p. 276). Barkhuizen (2011) finds such open range opportunity “comforting”, adding that “the field is relatively wide open. ... There is plenty of space to move, plenty of avenues to investigate, plenty of opportunity to muddle around” (p. 410).

Looking at what has been done thus far, we can see that narrative inquiry has been used in a variety of different ways, e.g., life and career histories, digital learning histories, teacher reflective journals, teacher blogs, video recordings of classroom interaction, classroom observation field notes, narratives frames, and memoirs and diaries (Barkhuizen, 2011), and across a variety of fields (Clandinin, 2006). Researchers have used narrative inquiry because of the “light it can shed on research questions” (Menard-Warwick, 2011, p. 541). They have also (as has been done in this paper) gone so far as to group a participant’s experiences as well as participants, in one way or another, to form more unified narratives. Menard-Warwick (2011), in discussing a life history exploration, for example, reported that when writing about her subject, Veronica, she recognized Veronica’s “life history appeared not as one seamless account, but rather in episodes” (p. 568). Similarly, Barkhuizen (2011), when offering the term narrative knowledging to describe the meaning making process narrative researchers go through, explained that when discussing a migrant research project, he found himself grouping the participants together, combining their individual stories, and reporting on their collective experiences.

Despite the work that has been done with narrative inquiry, Joycean narrative “that blends analysis with artistry, in the form of plays, poems, stories, and the like, remains relatively uncommon within language education research” (Nelson, 2011, p. 463). This lack of use in language education research is disappointing, as such “narratives have the potential to make a significant and timely contribution to the field, given the ways in which knowledge is being reconceptualised in this postmodern, transglobal era.” The disappointment stems from the fact that this sort of artistry, which “may be serious or humorous, contemplative or dramatic, other- or self-focused, or some combination” (p. 465), does not just report the facts. “It uses a dialogic process where temporal connections and theoretical evaluations are made out of remembered personal experiences” (Menard-Warwick, 2011, p. 572).

Having identified this gap in the narrative inquiry toolbox, I will, as mentioned earlier, use Joycean narrative inquiry in this study (and term it as such), much as James Joyce did in his work *The Dead*, a short story in his novel *The Dubliners*. In this work, Joyce, in a combination of third-person narrative and first-person exchanges, described Ireland and its language during the early 1900s by personifying Ireland’s people and language into single characters and representing multiple events in the course of one day.

## Method

To illustrate the types of input the S. Korean community was exposed to (i.e., the language use of American and British teachers), I will, in the course of this historical humorous Joycean style narrative, draw on my observations as a participant observer of the western teaching community in 1993. I will use this sort of qualitative thick description to demonstrate three uses of language. First, I will reflectively (a) provide, via third person, textual examples of lexical choice (i.e., GA and RP) that I reflectively recall these two groups using and (b) via first person, provide direct quotes from these groups to show examples of how each group used its individual varieties. Finally, (c) I will provide specific examples of acts of convergence each group used to reduce social distance as a further type of language use that S. Korean locals were exposed to during this time. Each of these uses of language will be identified in italics throughout the narrative. To illustrate these examples, I will, using a Joycean narrative, personify each group into a single pseudonymed character (i.e., American and British characters, Ron and Mary, respectively) and illustrate their language choices during a single day, much as Joyce did in his work *The Dead* from his novel *The Dubliners*.

## Narrative

As English teachers and friendly coworkers, Mary (British) and Ron (American) would start their day by preparing their lessons together. On this particular day, a cold day in December 1993, they wanted to begin their lessons with a mingling activity, or what Mary called *a walkabout*, an activity where the students would move around the classroom, meet other students, and then sit with a new partner in preparation for the next language activity.

Mary and Ron arranged such activities, hoping that the students would become friends or *mates* (not the kind that kissed or got *cheeky* after class, though romantic partnerships did form sometimes). One popular activity included bringing a bag of different colored nice tasting things that they would pass out to their students. Then, they would have the students form pairs according to the color of the nice tasting thing each student received.

Being frugal, Mary and Ron would buy large bags of these goodies together, and this is where things would get interesting. It never turned into an argument or a *row*. Instead, it just raised an eyebrow or two.

Once in the shop, Mary would call out, "Did you find any *sweets*?"

And Ron would reply, "Yes, I found a nice bag of candies."

To which, Mary would ask, "Are they *boiled sweets*?"

And Ron would respond queerly, "Boiled sweets. Who would boil candy? They're just hard candies."

The discussion about the colors of these nice tasting things didn't go much better. Mary would ask if there were any *amber* ones. To which Ron would



reply, “No, but there are some yellows.” An exchange about colors/*colours* similar to this ended up with Mary getting *pinched* one night (and I don’t mean anyone touched her inappropriately). It happened when she tried to explain to the local *bobby* (a Korean policeman trained in English by a North American teacher) that the light was amber and not red when she pulled out of the *car park*. But that’s another story.

Another thing Mary and Ron would do before classes that always produced a little confusion was to create and practice homemade lesson activities. It wasn’t that they couldn’t afford the store-bought variety because they didn’t get good salaries. They both received pretty good *pay packets* each month. It was just that *proper* published activities back then were in limited supply. As a result, Mary and Ron would make a game of tic-tac-toe, or *naughts and crosses*, depending on who was describing the game. At other times, they would create an activity where the students were supposed to find the differences in two pictures. On this day, it was the latter. The picture was about a street scene, and things indeed got confusing. As Mary and Ron practiced the picture game they had made, Ron understood some of the things that Mary described and could respond in kind. For example, when Mary said, “In my picture, I see a bunch of school children *queuing up* at the shop for *lollies*,” Ron could reply that his picture was the same: He saw a bunch of children standing in line at the ice cream shop for frozen ice cream. And they would generally understand each other. Other descriptions, however, were a bit more difficult for the two. When, for example, Mary said, “There is a chap with a *spanner* trying to fix a *tyre* on a *cab* with a cracked *windscreen* and a dented *boot* on the *opposite side* of the *roundabout* from the *chemist*,” Ron indeed looked perplexed. He couldn’t spot the difference in his picture. It wasn’t that Ron was stupid. He wasn’t a *duffer*. He was a smart fellow, and he really *swotted*. I mean he tried hard to understand what Mary was explaining. But it was no use. Mary helped by pointing to a few things in Ron’s picture, so he finally got it and said, “Oh you mean, there is a man with a wrench trying to fix the tire on the taxi—the one with a cracked windshield and dented trunk across the traffic circle from the drugstore.”

Trying to describe the position of a bicycle in the street scene didn’t go much better, and in fact, it got a bit funny. Mary explained that she saw two crossings, a *pelican crossing* and a *zebra crossing*. She further explained that there was a *push bike* with *trainers* next to the *pelican crossing* and another *push bike* without trainers next to the *zebra crossing*. Ron replied, “There are no damned animals in the picture, and no gym trainers are pushing any bikes. There’s just a bicycle with training wheels next to the pedestrian crossing with lights and another bicycle without training wheels next to the pedestrian crossing with lights.”

Mary laughed and smiled at Ron’s exclamation. She also realized that she had made quite a mess of her picture because she had been checking off the items as they were going along. Instead of just *chucking* her picture in the *bin*, however, she tried to *tidy things up* and asked Ron for a *rubber*. Ron

smiled with a peculiar pause and pointed to his rain boots, to which Mary, mumbling something about *Wellies*, replied, "Give me an eraser before I throw this thing in the trash, and stop being so damned *cheeky* or I'll send you *legging off* to the *chemist*."

Mary then smiled and gave Ron a *two-finger salute*. To which Ron, replied, "Peace," not understanding that when Mary turned her fingers around, this sign means something entirely different in Britain than it does in the U.S. As you can see, Ron didn't get that Mary's fingers meant that he was to *get on his bike*, or in terms Ron would understand, *piss off*, so he just laughed. He really thought that she was giving him the international peace symbol.

Mary liked Ron and told him not to worry: "She was *just taking the piss out of him*." He didn't get this either, but he knew they were *mates* who would *tease* one another. I mean friends, of course. It wasn't that Ron wasn't *swarmy*. He certainly could talk to the ladies. Nor did it mean Mary wasn't a *totty*. She was certainly a looker. It's just that their relationship was of the platonic variety.

After Mary and Ron prepared their lessons, they would go off separately to teach their classes, but they would often meet up for a *nosh* to talk about their day's classes. Setting up a time to meet to get a bite to eat was difficult though. This is because Ron would say, "Let's meet up for dinner." But there's the rub. Mary was never quite sure if Ron meant noon or six o'clock, as the word for lunch and dinner is often interchanged in Britain.

Ending up in the same spot wasn't much easier. Ron would say, "Let's meet up on the first floor of this or that restaurant," and Mary would often end up one floor above him. This is because the initial floor in Britain is often called the *ground floor* and the next floor is the first floor. Ron wouldn't throw a *wobbler*. He would keep his cool and *give her a bell*. I mean a ring. And no, he wasn't proposing marriage. He'd call her on the phone. Remember, the platonic thing? They were just friends.

When Mary and Ron would finally meet up to have a bite to eat, there were always more laughs. They would look at the menu, which of course had always been translated by, and thus inadvertently catered to, North Americans. Looking at the menu, Ron would want a cheeseburger and potato chips, and Mary would want fish and *chips*. Mary would usually repeat the order before the waiter came to make sure there was no confusion, and this is where things always got down-right hilarious. Mary would say, "You want a cheeseburger and *crisps*, and I'll have fish and *chips*. Is that right?" To which Ron would say, "Uhm, I'll have a cheeseburger and potato chips, and you will have the fish and fries." And so it went.

As you can imagine, ordering a meal always took a long time, and so the laughs continued. Frustrated, Mary would tell Ron to quit *waffling*, to which he would explain that it was dinner time, and waffles were breakfast food. She would counter, "No you *twit*, quit *fannying* around and order."

After a few smiles, Ron would quit procrastinating, but he would always have a little more fun with the language. When ordering, he would say, "I'll

have a burger and crisps, and she would like fish and fries.” The waiters always looked perplexed when Ron did this, and they had a bit of a giggle too, so she would sometimes get a bit *cheesed off*. But that didn’t have anything to do with cheese. Remember, Ron had the cheeseburger. Mary was just getting what Ron would call *pissed*, and no she hadn’t had anything to drink—that came later. She just wanted to throw a *wobbler* because she wanted a *real dog’s dinner*. And no, she wasn’t stumbling because she had too much to drink. Are you following this story? Nobody was drinking. She just wanted to throw a tantrum because she couldn’t get the proper British meal she was hoping for.

After Ron and Mary had a bite to eat, they would go out for drinks. And no, we aren’t going to try and figure out that lunch and dinner thing. Let’s just move on with the story. Sometimes they would go to have *drinks* at a *watering hole* he liked, and sometimes they would go to her favorite *pub* for a few *pints*. They often got a little *squiffy*, and sometimes they got downright *pissed*—but let’s get it straight, nobody got angry. They just had quite a lot to drink.

Once they were feeling a little *tight*, Mary and Ron would inadvertently start talking about the activities they had created together and how the activities had worked in their classes that day. On this occasion, Mary and Ron talked about the picture activity. Mary explained that she had used the activity in two of her classes, her class *year 13s* and her *year 12s*. This story made almost no sense to Ron, so he just smiled. The thing is that the school years in America are held back one year, and that doesn’t mean the kids in the U.S. are any more *daft* than those in the Britain. They are just as smart as their classmates across the seas. It just means that kindergarten in America translates to first year in Britain and so on.

Moving on, Mary and Ron started talking about their classes. Mary explained that the picture activity they had created had really got the kids *full of beans*. In fact, she explained, “The kids were so *wound up* that they couldn’t stop talking.” Ron had only caught the full of beans part of the comment, and, trying his hand at convergence, retorted, “*Bollocks*. It was a fine activity.”

Mary laughed and said, “Yes, it was the *dog’s bollocks*.” He didn’t quite get this either. As a result, he, again attempting convergence, asked what she *was on about*: “Pelicans, zebras, and now dogs. What’s all this about animals?”

Mary laughed, but she didn’t explain what dog’s bollocks meant. Instead, she just smiled and ordered another round.

When the drinks arrived, Ron paid the bartender. To which, Mary replied, “*Ta*,” and the fun was on again.

Ron: “Leaving so soon?”

Mary: “No, I mean thanks for the drink.”

Ron: “Oh, *Cheers*.”

Mary: “Are you leaving?”

Ron: “Uhm, no.”

Mary: “*Cheers* always sounds funny with an American accent.”

Ron: “Are you taking the *piss out* of me again?”

Smiling, Mary joked, “I think you are finally speaking English.”

To which, they both laughed and clinked their glasses.

Mary and Ron then had a few more drinks and even considered *skiving* the next day—but *skipping class* would probably end up with both of them getting *sacked*, and they needed their jobs. And so, their year went on: preparing lessons, learning to respect each other’s varieties of English, introducing their students and the S. Korean community to these varieties, and generally having a good time.

## Results

Looking back on Mary and Ron, I realize that it has been *yonkers* since I last saw this odd couple, more than 25 years. Reflecting on this humorous expatriate pair (that is, the communities they represent) and their teaching preparation, interaction, and jocular exchanges (as described above), I have offered speech examples respective of Ron and Mary’s own language varieties (GA and RP). These are shown as third person, in-text lexical examples of American GA and British RP (Table 1), contrasting speech samples of American GA and British RP (Table 2), and acts of convergence (Table 3).

Table 1 illustrates lexical examples of American GA and British RP used. Thirty-six examples were found.

Table 1

### *In-text lexical examples of American GA and British RP*

General American (Ron)	British RP (Mary)
1. <i>mingling activity</i>	<i>walkabout</i>
2. <i>friends</i>	<i>mates</i>
3. <i>argument</i>	<i>row</i>
4. <i>colors</i>	<i>colours</i>
5. <i>receiving a ticket from a police officer</i>	<i>getting pinched by a bobby</i>
6. <i>yellow traffic light</i>	<i>amber traffic light</i>
7. <i>parking garage</i>	<i>car park</i>
8. <i>salary envelopes</i>	<i>pay packets</i>
9. <i>store bought activities</i>	<i>proper published activities</i>
10. <i>tic tac toe</i>	<i>naughts and crosses</i>
11. <i>Ron was stupid</i>	<i>he wasn’t a duffer</i>
12. <i>he tried hard</i>	<i>he really swotted</i>
13. <i>chucking her picture in the bin</i>	<i>this thing in the trash</i>
14. <i>tidy things</i>	--
15. <i>a two-finger salute</i>	<i>piss off</i>
16. <i>talk to the ladies</i>	<i>swarmy</i>

17. <i>a looker</i>	<i>a totty</i>
18. <i>to meet to get a bite to eat</i>	<i>meet up for a nosh</i>
19. --	<i>there's the rub</i>
20. <i>first floor</i>	<i>ground floor</i>
21. <i>second floor</i>	<i>first floor</i>
22. <i>throw a tantrum</i>	<i>throw a wobbler</i>
23. <i>give her a ring</i>	<i>give her a bell</i>
24. <i>procrastinating, waffling</i>	<i>waffling</i>
25. <i>eraser</i>	<i>Rubber</i>
26. <i>rubber</i>	<i>Wellies</i>
27. <i>pissed off</i>	<i>cheesed off</i>
28. <i>proper British meal</i>	<i>a real dog's dinner</i>
29. <i>a watering hole</i>	<i>a pub</i>
30. <i>tight</i>	<i>squiffy</i>
31. <i>drunk</i>	<i>pissed</i>
32. <i>12<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> grade</i>	<i>year 13s and her year 12s</i>
33. <i>Stupid</i>	<i>daft</i>
34. <i>skipping class</i>	<i>skiving</i>
35. <i>getting fired</i>	<i>getting sacked</i>
36. <i>long time</i>	<i>yonkers</i>

As illustrated in Tables 2 and 3, I have (drawing on the narrative) also shown that by holding fast to their own varieties and then engaging in acts of convergence to reduce social distance, Ron and Mary not only learned quite a lot about each other's language varieties, they also, like the other teachers of the time, were pioneers that helped bring about a different sort of community of practice: one that provided input S. Koreans (i.e., the locals they encountered—customers in candy shops, their students, waiters, and pub personnel) could draw on while becoming familiarized with the English language, a model that demonstrated examples of American GA, British RP, and a mix of the two.

Fourteen contrasting speech samples of American GA and British RP were identified. These are listed in Table 2.

Table 2

*Contrasting speech samples of American GA and British RP*

1	RP	Did you find any <i>sweets</i> ?
	GA	Yes, I found a nice bag of <i>candies</i> .
2	RP	Are they <i>boiled sweets</i> ?
	GA	They're just <i>hard candies</i> .
3	RP	In my picture, I see a bunch of children <i>queuing up</i> at the shop for <i>lollies</i> .
	GA	He saw a bunch of children <i>standing in line</i> at the ice

		cream shop for <i>frozen ice cream</i> .
4	RP	There is a chap with a <i>spanner</i> trying to fix a <i>tyre</i> on a cab with a cracked <i>windscreen</i> and a dented <i>boot</i> on the <i>opposite side</i> of the <i>roundabout</i> from the <i>chemist</i> .
	GA	Oh you mean, there is a man with a <i>wrench</i> trying to fix the <i>tire</i> on the <i>taxi</i> —the one with a cracked <i>windshield</i> and dented <i>trunk</i> across <i>the traffic circle</i> from the <i>drugstore</i>
5	RP	Mary explained that she saw two crossings, a <i>pelican crossing</i> and a <i>zebra crossing</i> . She further explained that there was a <i>push bike</i> with <i>trainers</i> next to the <i>pelican crossing</i> and another <i>push bike</i> without trainers next to the <i>zebra crossing</i> .
	GA	There are no damned animals in the picture, and there are no gym trainers are pushing any bikes. There's just a <i>bicycle</i> with <i>training wheels</i> next to the <i>pedestrian crossing</i> with lights and another <i>bicycle</i> without <i>training wheels</i> next to the <i>pedestrian crossing</i> with lights.
6	RP	<i>legging off</i> to the <i>chemist</i>
	GA	<i>run</i> to the <i>drugstore</i>
7	RP	She was <i>just taking the piss</i> out of him.
	GA	<i>tease</i> one another
8	GA	You want a cheeseburger and <i>crisps</i> .
	RP	I'll have a cheeseburger and <i>potato chips</i> .
9	GA	You will have the <i>fish and fries</i> .
	RP	I'll have <i>fish and chips</i> .
10	GA	quit <i>procrastinating</i>
	RP	No you <i>twit</i> , quit <i>fanny</i> ing around and order.
11	RP	had created had really got the kids <i>full of beans</i>
	GA	The kids were so <i>wound up</i> that they couldn't stop talking.
12	GA	--
	RP	Yes, it was the <i>dog's bollocks</i> .
13	GA	<u><i>Ta</i></u>
	Mary (RP)	<u><i>Leaving so soon?</i></u>
14	RP	--
	GA	Oh, <i>Cheers</i> .

Four acts of convergence were found. These are listed in Table 3.

Table 3

*Acts of convergence*

1	Mary	Give me an eraser before I throw this thing in the trash, and stop being so damned <i>cheeky</i> or I'll send you <i>legging off</i> to the <i>chemist</i> .
2	Ron	<i>Bollocks</i> . It was fine activity.
3	Ron	What she was <i>on about</i> . . .
4	Ron	Are you <i>taking the piss out of me</i> again?

### Discussion, Implications, and Suggestions for Future Research

This paper provides a historical and humorous look (narrative inquiry) at one community of practice, i.e., British and American (personified as an odd pair of expatriate teachers) in North East Asia (i.e., S. Korea). This work shows how these teachers provide examples of different varieties of English S. Koreans might have drawn on in the early 1990s. That is, (a) lexical examples of GA and RP, (b) examples of how each teacher held fast to their individual varieties, and (c) acts of convergence each teacher used to reduce social distance.

By exploring these areas in this historical context, this paper has practical and theoretical implications in that the discussion and data presented here can support the growing dialogue regarding linguistic democracy in English language teaching policy, pedagogy, and testing (see Acar, 2007; Ahn, 2013; Sato & Suzuki, 2007), an approach that embraces the intra-national and international sides of this multifaceted area (Mirshojaei, 2011) to support learners' needs in this globalized era.

As more than 25 years have passed, and S. Korea has seen an influx of a wide variety of teachers, several more research opportunities present themselves. The first opportunity is directly related to the examples illustrated in this paper: An examination of what lexical examples of different Englishes are presently used by Korean speakers of English as a result of contact with these historical examples (i.e., GA and RP).

Taking the discussion further, two other possibilities present themselves: (a) How S. Korean learners of English hold to the varieties they have encountered when interacting with others who speak other varieties (e.g., teachers, expatriates, and Korean speakers of other varieties, and (b) what acts of convergence S. Korean English learners engage in with speakers of different varieties of English. The discussion could, and should, be taken even further by exploring how other world Englishes have influenced S. Koreans use of English.

Another opportunity also exists, and it is one that the author hopes will take seed and grow. It is hoped that this paper will be a starting point for the use of Joycean narrative inquiry as a research instrument in TESOL and its related fields.

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## Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Pat Bizzaro for being a constant inspiration in the area of humor; Resa Bizzaro for her helpful feedback; Jean Niencamp for her liberating thoughts on research methodology; and Sivakumar Sivasubramaniam, Murat Hismanoglu, and the editors of the Journal of English as an International Language for their suggestions and guidance.

This paper was funded by Ton Duc Thang University (TDTU). Questions regarding this research can be sent to Dr. John Baker, Ton Duc Thang University, 19 Nguyen Huu Tho St, Tan Phong Ward, Dist. 7, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam.

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# Indian English - A National Model

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## Abstract

India is currently home to one of the world's largest English-speaking communities, in a context where the language is increasingly seen as a gateway to the world. Given the plurality of the country's social and linguistic landscape, however, a significant amount of the population does not speak or have access to the language. The impact of colonization has traditionally made Standard British English the model to be followed in the educational context, although it does not reflect the local culture. This paper advocates the use of Indian English as the national model, due to a set of unique lexical, grammatical, phonological and discourse features that would allow it to act as both a lingua franca within the country and on the international stage.

**Keywords:** India, Indian English, lingua franca

## Introduction

The English language has increasingly played a significant role in India since the early days of colonization and it currently acts as “its lingua franca and ‘window on the world’” (Mehrotra, 2003, p. 19). In spite of an overreliance on Standard British English as a plausible model, the emergence of a local variety, commonly referred to as Indian English, reflects the impact of its socio-cultural background and setting. It is characterised by the incorporation of distinct lexical, grammatical, phonological and discourse features. This paper argues that such elements, which Indian English has acquired through “indigenization” (Kachru, 1990), has endowed the language variety with a unique nature and the consequent ability to be used as a national model, rather than a set of deviations from a native target model, as it has often been described (Domange, 2015). It would thus be capable of acting as a national lingua franca in a country marked by linguistic diversity (Sirsa & Redford, 2013) while being able to interact internationally, echoing English-speaking communities' call for a universally intelligible medium to rely on (Crystal, 1988).

The paper shall first delve into the historical background of the current topic, by focusing on the nature and role of the English language in India, particularly in the aftermath of the country's independence in 1947. It will then ponder on the claims inherent in the quest for Indian English, whose adoption as a model must be based on the acceptability by its speakers (Kachru, 1982). This will lead to an exploration of its four language systems, namely, lexis, grammar, phonology and discourse, via the provision of

specific examples to further discuss the viability of the use of the variety as a national model, based on the underlying assumption that it is “a language in its own right” (Kachru, 1986, p. 31).

### **The nature of English in India**

English is currently the second most widely spoken language in India (Vijatalakshmi & Babu, 2014), reportedly one of the world’s most multilingual countries (Graddol, 2010). Despite its status as an associate language, alongside Hindi, the official language (Crystal, 2003), the importance of English stems from its use as a tool for intrastate and interstate communication, thereby acting as a bridge with other countries. It is seen as a “route to power, prestige and the riches” (Turner, 1997, p. 159), purportedly representing “better education, better culture and higher intellect” (Vijayalakshmi & Babu, 2014, p. 1). It has provided the country with administrative cohesiveness (Singh & Kumar, 2014) and has acted as a lingua franca between speakers of different local languages, providing “stable linguistic threads for unity” (Kachru, 1986, p. 31). It has also played a major role in a myriad of fields, currently being used in tourism, government administration, education, the armed forces, business and the media (Crystal, 2003), in a context where films were broadcast exclusively in English until the early 1990s (Vijayalakshmi & Babu, 2014).

English, which Kachru (1976) calls a “transplanted language”, was brought to the Indian subcontinent in the 17<sup>th</sup> century by the East India Company, substantiated by the Charter of December 31, 1600, which granted merchants from London a monopoly on trade with India and the East (Crystal, 2003). The linguist distinguishes between three phases in the introduction of bilingualism: the first, initiated around 1614 by Christian missionaries, the second, which involved locals’ willingness to adopt English as an additional means of communication, and the third, involving Indian educational policy which opposed the anglicists and the orientalist (Kachru, 1990). The British Raj, which lasted from 1765 to 1947, ultimately “established English firmly as the medium of instruction and administration” (Kachru, 1990, p. 35).

As Patra (2016) asserts, British English played a significant role in the teaching of English as a foreign language in several countries before the Second World War. In India, British policy entailed a willingness to create a class that mirrored the colonizers’ frame of mind, as substantiated by the saying, “Indians in blood and colour but English in taste, in opinions and morals and intellect” (Macaulay, 1835). This involved the opening of schools and universities based on British models, which embraced the hegemony of British language and culture, in an attempt to fuel employment amongst young Indians (Vijayalakshmi & Babu, 2014; Tully, 1997) as well as to promote English literature and science, as made clear by the Governor General, William Bentinck (Tully, 1997). It was in 1835, in fact, that English education received its final approval, with Lord Macalay advocating the substitution of

Sanskrit and Persian for English as the medium of instruction (Vijayalakshmi & Babu, 2014). The foundation of universities in Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, whose adoption of English as the primary means of instruction, showed the “earliest efforts towards the Englishization of India” (Kachru, 1986, p. 31).

While American English has increasingly become the model in what Kachru (1982) once termed the “expanding circle”, British English as a standard variety for language teaching and use is still unparalleled in Commonwealth countries where it is learned as a second language (Mehrotra, 2003; Patra, 2016). In India, a recent study shows that 70% of respondents think British English is the best for their country and support the claim for a local variety heavily influenced by the so-called Received Pronunciation and by the standards set by Oxford. This mirrors Kachru’s (1983) contention that “Indians normally would not identify themselves as members of the Indian English speech community” (p. 73), opting for British English instead. Interviewees from the survey prefer writers such as Tolkien in a context where colonial English pervades the educational context (Hohenthal, 1998).

Graddol (2010) believes that the English language has “historically been a key part of the mechanism of exclusion” (p. 120), echoing earlier claims made by Mahatma Gandhi (1910), who famously declared that English-speaking Indians are responsible for ‘enslaving’ their country. Often seen as a means of inclusion nowadays (Graddol, 2010), the language still acts as a dividing force in the Indian society (Patra, 2016; Singh & Kumar, 2014), with some people viewing it as a burden and others as a liberation (Graddol, 2010). This appears to be substantiated by Tully’s (1997) earlier claim with regard to the elitist nature of the language, which leaves a large portion of the local population uneducated, thereby purportedly promoting “the snobbery of the English-speaking élite” (p. 162) and causing “social and educational oppression” (Trudgill, 1995, p. 316).

Divisions also pervade the use of the language itself, as suggested by a respondent in the aforementioned survey, according to whom English is used primarily to express ideas inherent in official communication rather than feelings and emotions (Hohenthal, 1998). This contributes to what Turner (1997) calls “the suppression of Indian thought” (p. 157), which in turn echoes Kachru’s (1986) claim that anti-English groups appear to display two types of loyalties, namely an emotional attachment to Hindi or a regional language and a “pragmatic attachment with English” (p. 32). English has thus been referred to as a ‘library language’ (Indira, 2003) owing to the manner in which it has been taught, which have long been based on traditional texts (Turner, 1997), purportedly preventing users from communicating effectively in the workplace. Such findings prompt one to ponder on whether a variety willing to embrace users’ local culture is more appropriate than one that inhibits it, while still maintaining its essence. After all, in spite of its colonial legacy, “English connects Indians less to the past than to the future” (Patra, 2016, p. 256).

## **The quest for Indian English**

With over 23 million users, India was already the third largest English-speaking nation in the 1980s, after the United States and the United Kingdom (Kachru, 1986). Controversial evidence persists with regard to its current number of speakers. While Graddol (2010) asserts that “not enough people in India speak English after all” (p. 9), it has been claimed that it hosts the world’s second largest English-speaking population, owing to its increasingly large population, with Patra (2016) going further and suggesting that the language is being used “by more people in India than in any other country” (p. 256). According to Crystal (2003), evidence suggests that the number of English language users oscillates between a fifth and a third, the latter being at least able to hold a conversation, which would amount to over 330 million speakers, in a country that is home to more than a billion citizens.

Mehortra (2003) asserts that an international language such as English “cannot be bound by a single standard or be loyal to a single culture” (p. 24), particularly when considering the fact that, as Crystal (1988) once pointed out, “British English is now, numerically speaking, a minority dialect, compared with American, or even Indian English” (p. 10). Tully (1997) believes that, in order to cast aside its elitist nature, English “must be taught in an Indian manner and it must be linked to India as well as to international culture, and not to an archaic concept of British culture” (p. 162). This alludes to a process known as “indianization”, which reflects the impact of Indian languages on English, whose innovations occur both consciously and unconsciously to “functionally adapt it to the local milieu” (Kachru, 1986, p. 32) and is particularly important in an educational context where teachers are local speakers whose background often displays an array of linguistic resources. As Patra (2014, p. 3) contends, the language “would not be taught solely by the native speakers of English in many nations”. This would mirror the Portuguese-speaking educational context, where Brazilian Portuguese is taught and used in Brazil, instead of European Portuguese.

The Dynamic Model for word Englishes, introduced by Schneider (2007), distinguishes between five distinct stages inherent in the development of new varieties of English:

- Phase 1 – Foundation
- Phase 2 – Exo-normative stabilization
- Phase 3 – Nativization
- Phase 4 – Endo-normative stabilization
- Phase 5 - Differentiation

The first phase involves the foundation of a mutually understandable variety, entailing phonological adjustments between settlers and the indigenous population. The second one implies morphological, lexical and syntactic changes, whilst the third stage entails significant variation in terms

of lexis, grammar and phonology. The fourth one, marked by increased homogeneity, involves decreased tension owing to the weakening or disappearance of the foreign settlers. The fifth stage, on the other hand, allows for local linguistic diversity (Schneider, 2007). While the author believes that Indian English is at stage 3, Mukherjee (2007) believes it is at stage 4, primarily due to the end of British rule in 1947.

In this context, Indian English has been described as a ‘substratum-laden deviant variety’ (Singh, 2007), which is generally considered a second language variety yet many users currently view it as their first language (Sailaja, 2012). The following lines by Patra (2016, p. 237) reflect the nature of the quest for Indian English:

“Don’t write in English, they said,  
English is not your mother-tongue. Why not leave  
Me alone, critics, friends, visiting cousins,  
Every one of you? Why not let me speak in  
Any language I like? The language I speak  
Becomes mine, its distortions, its queerness’s,  
All mine, mine alone. It is half English, half  
Indian, funny perhaps, but it is honest  
It is as human as I am human, don’t  
You see? It voices my joys, my longings, my  
Hopes and it is useful to me . . .”

The nature of the language portrayed by the writer suggests an adequate solution to the previously mentioned issues inherent in self-expression, which British English was accused of lacking. This echoes the claim made by Rao (1963), according to which Indians can neither write exclusively as Indians nor as Brits, and would thus welcome the idea of being associated with a means of expression that would be as colourful and distinctive as American or Irish as it would embody the local pace and lifestyle. One of the respondents in the previously mentioned survey adamantly asserts, in fact, that non-native varieties such as Indian English are not deviant, owing to the fact that they add richness to the language and are thus very natural, with another respondent highlighting the dynamic nature of the evolution of languages (Hohenthal, 1998).

In 2005, a change in policy by the National Council of Education Research and Training (NCERT) involving revisions of the curriculum framework appeared to embrace users’ fondness for Indian English, as it was defined as a distinct variety with its own status and identity, able to serve as an educational model (NCF, 2005). Sailaja (2012) calls for the implementation of a prescriptive standard of the variety which, he feels, the education system still lacks. Indian citizens’ identification with the variety was confirmed by Saghal (1991), who claim that it has become increasingly respectable, and by Trudgill (1995), who contended that “speakers of the model variety are close at hand”

(p. 316). According to Balasubramanian (Sailaja, 2011), Indian English is currently at Schneider's phases 4 (endonormative stabilization) and 5 (differentiation) in its developmental process.

Kachru (1986, p. 31) contended that "educated Indian English provides a regulative norm", at that time already substantiated by the presence of this language variety on the radio – namely on Akashwani – and on the TV channel Doordarshan – as well as printed press, such as *The Hindu*, *The Times of India* and *Indian Express*. Authors have also made use of the variety, as exemplified by Rao's *Kanthapura* and *The Serpent and the Rope* or by Mulk Raj Anand's *Coolie* and *Untouchable*, whose display of Indian English features have, however, led some to question the "linguistic exhibitionism" that pervades these literary works (Kachru, 1986).

Kachru (1986) asserted that the "indianization" of English was likely to raise questions of intelligibility, later echoed by Crystal (1988), who believed that the "cultural inappropriacy" inherent in a nativized model may lead its speakers to struggle when communicating with other users of the language, particularly in the context of English as a Lingua Franca (i.e. communication in English between users with different first languages; Crystal, 2003). Moreover, when pondering on the plurality inherent in his country's linguistic landscape, Kachru (1986) metaphorically used the term "elephantness", and thus went as far as contending that, in reality, there are several Indian Englishes, echoed by Dasgupta (1993). This appears to further support the claim for a national variety of Indian English, able to act as an internal Lingua Franca, whose main features shall now be explored.

### **Lexical Features**

Jenkins (2009) argues that there are three types of lexical variation in Outer and Expanding Circle countries, India being a case in point of the former:

- 1) locally coined words and expressions
- 2) borrowings from indigenous languages
- 3) idioms

King (2010) claims that more has been written about Indian English than other varieties, suggesting "it is Exhibit A in the Outer Circle of world Englishes" (p. 319), yet a number of its features remain unknown to speakers of other varieties. A survey was conducted by Mehrotra (2003) in order to answer the underlying question "Is Indian English usage significantly opaque to outsiders?" (p. 19). As such, British respondents were asked to share their views with regard to 20 words and phrases by stating whether they understood them and what the inferred meanings were. These words were chosen based on their frequency of occurrence, pan-India intelligibility and suitability to the given socio-cultural context. In line with Jenkins' contribution, some of these were locally coined, such as "weightage", "votebank", "eve teasing", "tiffin",



“topper”, “prepone”, “airdash”, “timepass”, “convent-educated”, “face-cut”, or “foreign-retained”, some of which exemplify the pervasion of hybrid constructions in Indian English. Others, however, have undergone changes in meaning, as exemplified by “keep”, meaning “put”, and “stay”, meaning “live” (Balasubramanian, 2009), or “pass out”, meaning “graduate”. Similarly, the word “too” is often used as a synonym of “very”, as occurs in the utterance “he is too good” (Nidhi & Chawla, 2018)

Code-switching plays a significant role and occurs via the borrowings from local languages, such as *bandh* for “strike”, *lathi* for “baton” and *thali* for “plate”, which come from Hindi (Sailaja, 2012), or *yaar* for “buddy”, *tamasha* for “scene”, *panga* for “mess” and *pucca* for “complete”. These terms are used as in the following examples:

He is creating a *tamasha*  
 Let’s do it, *yaar*  
 You have taken a major *panga*!  
 He is a *pucca* idiot

(Nidhi & Chawla, 2018)

Certain phrases are made popular via their inclusion in Bollywood songs, such as “*Golmaal, Golmaal*, everything’s gonna be *Golmaal*”, where the repeated word means “chaos”, as well as in advertising slogans, such as:

- Taste *bhi* health *bhi* (taste also, health also), used by Maggie
- No *chinta* only money (no tension, only money), used by ICICI banks
- Think *hatke* (think different), used by Virgin mobiles

(Nidhi & Chawla, 2018)

Borrowings in compound nouns, which Kachru (1965) once referred to as “hybrid Indianisms”, exemplified by *congress-pandal* and *police-jamadar*, are also significant, bearing in mind that compound formation is reportedly a unique feature of Indian English (Trudgill & Hannah, 2002). The extent to which code-switching occurs depends largely on context, as suggested by Balasubramaniam (2016) who shows that most borrowings occur in religion, such as *ahimsa* (“non-violence”), and in art, exemplified by *shehnai*, an instrument, and *gharana*, meaning “house of music”. Titles such as *shri* and *saheb* are also worth of mention (Balasubramaniam, 2016), as well as the coinages based on the terminology of indigenous languages, such as “cousin brother” and “cousin sister” as well as the direct translation of certain expressions, which have given rise to “what is your good name?”, “today morning” or “yesterday night” (Singh & Kumar, 2014).

The strength of Indian English as a model cannot solely be supported by the incorporation of linguistic features that pervade local languages. The “transfer of context” implies the inclusion of significant aspects of Indian culture such as “the caste system, social attitudes, social and religious taboos, superstitions, notions of superiority and inferiority” (Kachru, 1965, p. 399), exemplified by the use of “see” (Mehrotra, 2013), or idioms such as “to eat

someone's head" (Kachru, 1986), or "to eat money" which may be unintelligible to foreigners but play an important role in interaction amongst locals. Such lexical deviations from native varieties appear to respond to Rao's (1963) earlier contention that one's own spirit has to be conveyed in a language that is not one's own, thereby further questioning the role that Standard British English would continue to play as a model for the Indian nation.

### **Grammatical and Discourse Features**

It has been claimed that Indian English is "syntactically close to the native varieties" (Salles Bernal, 2015, p. 93), while displaying greater formality and features that have endowed it with a distinctive character that reflects the impact of Indian languages, especially Hindi, supporting the call for a model that embodies users' background. As occurs with the previously explored lexical features, grammatical features undeniably reflect the impact of the linguistic setting in which the new variety emerges, a process referred to as "substrate influence" (Sharma, 2009), although these are less likely to trigger unintelligibility.

When pondering on the oft-claimed frequent use of the progressive aspect with stative verbs (Kachru, 1986; Trudgill & Hannah, 2002), exemplified by "I am having three books with me" (Sailaja, 2009, p. 49), or "I'm believing you" (Nidhi & Chawla, 2018). Balasubramanian (2011) shows that in reality this occurs on certain occasions and with few stative verbs. He also provides the following example to illustrate how usage may differ:

- Indian: I am weighing 90 lbs.
- Non-Indian: The butcher is weighing the meat.

Similarly, the arbitrary use of articles, namely "a" and "the", mirror the lack thereof in Hindi (Kachru, 1986), whereas the frequent use of "also" at the end of sentences, as well as "only" and "itself" to underline place and time signals the interference of the local word "hi" (Singh & Kumar, 2014). Superfluity by means of additional prepositions is a common feature, exemplified by "discuss about", "order for" and "reply back" (Nidhi & Chawla, 2018).

Negation is another feature which shows how the variety exudes a distinctive character without preventing its users from being intelligible when interacting abroad, supporting the claim to its acceptance as a national model. It has been argued that Indian English users display a preference for explicit negation, as opposed to the implicit negation favoured by British speakers, purportedly for cultural and linguistic reasons inherent in the Hindi setting (Aitchison & Agnihotri, 1994). This is exemplified below:

British speaker:

I don't think I'm capable of working all night.

Indian speaker:

I think I'm not capable of working all night.

(Aitchison & Agnihotri, 1994)

The impact of Hindi is also noticeable in the change in word order (Singh & Kumar, 2014), exemplified by “when you will begin?” (Sailaja, 2009), which displays the absence of the typical subject-verb inversion that characterises English interrogative forms. Nonetheless, the irregularity inherent in the use of such particles in the syntactical context has led Sailaja (2009) to call for more research and documentation as regards the definition of Indian English, particularly as they represent a challenge when assessing its role as a national model.

To add to its distinctiveness, the use of additional prepositions has also been noted by Trudgill and Hannah (2002), who mention “to accompany with” and “to combat against” as examples. Singh and Kumar (2014) note that Sailaja (2012) goes further by distinguishing between standard and non-standard Indian English, the latter making extensive use of “isn't it?” and “no?” as question tags regardless of the preceding phrase, as opposed to the former, which mirrors the conventions inherent in Standard British English. Such a distinction may be pivotal as one would have to opt for one variety to fulfil its role as a national model.

Furthermore, Jenkins (2009) points out that the influence of indigenous cultures has prompted the introduction of new discourse styles that are absent from English as a Native Language (ENL) use. In India, this consists of expressions of thanks and deferential vocabulary, as well as the use of blessings. Phrases such as “respected sir” and “yours most obediently” are reportedly common amongst Indian users, in spite of their absence amongst British or American speakers (Sailaja, 2009). This appears to be counteracted by an array of discourse features which bear resemblance to native varieties, such as *I think*, *the thing is*, *I mean*, and the abundance of *and* as a discourse linker (Sailaja, 2012), which are likely to account for increased intelligibility.

### **Phonological Features**

It has been claimed that Indian English “is best identified through its phonological features” (Patra, 2016, p. 248), which include a reduced vowel inventory, the absence of certain fricative sounds and the substitution of retroflex stops for alveolar stops (Bansal, 1976; Wells, 1982). According to Jenkins (2009), /θ/ and /ð/ sounds in “thin” and “this” would be pronounced like /t/ and /d/, respectively. Indian English is a syllable-timed variety, in contrast with Standard British English, which is stress-timed (Gargesh, 2004). Kachru (1986) claimed that Indian identity is expressed not only “in the pronunciation of some vowels or consonants, or in the stressing of words, but

is deeper than that: it is in the rhythm and the pauses” (p. 32).

While such features undeniably reflect the impact of local languages, the adoption of one variety as a national model may be challenged by findings which substantiate the phonological diversity that pervades the country. A recent study conducted by Sirsa and Redford (2013) to assess whether such features account for an L1-influenced variety of English or a pan-Indic variety, this instability stems from the fact that “speakers are nearly always exposed to the language after they have acquired one or more indigenous Indian languages” (p. 14), in contrast with what occurs with other varieties of English.

## **Conclusion**

English has increasingly played a major role in the social lives of Indians (Hohenthal, 1998) and still provides a linguistic tool in terms of administrative cohesiveness (Patra, 2016, p. 241) in a country marked by linguistic and ethnic diversity. In this context, Crystal (1988) pointed out that English-speaking communities have expressed their fondness for a language variety that is capable of reflecting their experiences and emotions while at the same time embracing the universality and intelligibility that is needed in the dialogue with other countries. Such a consideration appears to play an essential role in educational contexts, where learners should be exposed to such a variety from a young age, preparing them for the future while respecting their past.

While some of the features that pervade Indian English may cause unintelligibility overseas, it can be concluded that they act as important identity markers which reflect the impact of local languages, particularly of Hindi (Mehrotra, 2003). These appear to strengthen the distinctiveness of this language variety and coexist with features inherent in the standard native variety. It can therefore be concluded that Indian English can provide the conditions and resources to act as a national model for the Indian nation, although further standardization and codification are likely to be needed (Ahlu, 1997), especially as far as the educational context is concerned (Sailaja, 2012).

Further research is needed in order to understand the nature of the different elements inherent in Indian English, as well as the role it plays in the social and educational contexts that pervade the nation, and the manner in which this is affected by varying degrees of access to education. It shall also provide insight into the input from the different languages within India and the extent to which Indian English can differ with relation to its region of use, while maintaining a national identity. Ultimately, the role that the language plays in the country’s linguistic landscape is therefore one that embodies what has been referred to as the uncanny adaptability of English (Narayan, 1989), which has made Indian English “culture-bound in the socio-cultural setting of India” (Kachru, 1965, p. 410).

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**Note on Contributor**

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# **Improving student's Performance in English as Language of Learning and Teaching in Teacher Pre-service Education**

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## **Abstract**

This paper explores the necessity of a good knowledge of the language of teaching and learning (LOLT) in English for student-teachers in South Africa. The study reported in the paper focuses on communication skills and academic reading and writing skills: with defamiliarization as a research method. Defamiliarization creates a space free from fear and anxiety in which students can express themselves. Third-year students were asked to write a report based on their experiences in their major teaching subjects which form the data in this study. Students were also asked to write a needs analysis and state what they learnt during the report writing project. Multilingual glossing was a compulsory component in order to match the realities of school classrooms which had various language groups. The results showed that students engaged and participated; leading to conscious critical awareness and development. Student performance improved in English as language of learning and teaching (LOLT) in teacher pre-service education, and in their specialised teaching subjects. The study concludes that defamiliarization did create a space for student's ability for reading and responding to texts as well as building self-confidence in their ability to synthesise information. It is therefore envisaged that through a community of inquiry framework (Garrison et al., 2000), students can collaboratively develop problem-solving techniques.

**Keywords:** discipline-specific knowledge, English as language of learning and teaching, teacher education, defamiliarization as a research and a pedagogy, community of inquiry

## **Introduction**

The subject Language of Learning and Teaching (LOLT) is a compulsory subject for all senior phase and further education training (FET) students from year 1-3. There are 2 periods (1 and a half hours) per week allocated to the subject at Faculty of Education in CPUT. The purpose of the subject is to enhance the expertise of the students to be able to teach through the medium of English. LOLT has poor status in the eyes of the students: most of them do not take the subject seriously and as such have a negative attitude toward it and tend not to attend classes. Boughey and McKenna (2016) show that



student understanding of, and ability to adapt to academic literacy is an important factor for a smooth transition into higher educational institutions (HEI). Current matriculants' standard of writing is not where it should be after 12 years of basic schooling. This factor becomes problematic when students cannot cope with the standard of reading/writing expected at a HEI.

The diverse nature of classrooms leads to the use of many languages simultaneously; known as translanguageing which in this case is the process where multilingual users employ languages in an integrated way. Prominent among the official languages used in the Western Cape classrooms are English, Afrikaans and IsiXhosa. Translanguageing can be defined as "the ability of multilingual speakers to shuttle between languages, treating the diverse languages that form their repertoire as an integrated system" (Canagarajah, 2011: 401). Translanguageing is the use of a complete language repertoire in order to:

- make oneself understood
- convey a certain nuance of meaning – creativity, criticality (Wei, 2018)
- make sure one is understood
- contrast and compare different language phenomena
- mix all their languages freely according to the situation and your current needs
- come up with cultural hybridity
- create a "new whole" by using the different languages simultaneously

Translanguageing is the process of meaning-making and sense-making drawing from different repertoires, semiotic and cognitive resources. It challenges boundaries between language and human cognitive abilities (Wei, 2018). Translanguageing, according to Garcia and Wei, differs from the notion of code-switching in that it refers not simply to a shift or a shuttle between two languages, but to speakers' construction and use of original and complex interrelated discursive practices that cannot be easily assigned to one or another traditional definition of language, but that make up the speakers' complete language repertoire.

The intention of the particular version of LoLT as offered by the researchers is to create a classroom atmosphere where translanguageing is accepted as the norm. LoLT was meant to create a translanguageing space (Wei, 2018) and to invite students to participate in metalinguistic discussions by contrasting and comparing other languages. Translanguageing helps to develop the four language skills that are required by every teacher: it can be argued that:

to make the language learners sustainably multilingual, the present time foresees: a) teaching language by linking it to its cultural context; b)

teaching the 21st century skills, such as ways of thinking (creativity and innovation, critical thinking, decision making), ways of working (communication, collaboration), tools for working (ICT literacy), and living in the world (citizenship: local and global, cultural empathy) ... It is generally accepted that functioning of every language system is based on a potential of the multilingual competence, thus, current theoretical contributions relate the notion multilingualism to the notion multicompetence. Assuming that multilingualism conveys the language users' ability to demonstrate regular use of several languages in day-to-day interactions, multicompetent individuals or social groups of language users are expected to possess the knowledge of an extended linguistic repertoire, which enables them to apply an appropriate language variety for an appropriate purpose and in a relevant context. (Rozina, 2015: 96)

Developing a third space through defamiliarization is possible; one void of anxiety and fear. This practice is in line with the constructivist perspective of learning where knowledge is a co-construction of the interlocutor (Sivasubramaniam, 2015).

As part of the teaching material for LOLT, a book designed for Business English was used with the students, but this has now been phased out because it was inappropriate. In the absence of a perfect alternative at present, and the reality that students do not purchase books, we were presented the opportunity to design a process that students can work through which addresses both the often-thin content knowledge of students, as well as their language performance in writing. Among the chances created is an important learning trajectory, the introduction to research skills as well as an enhanced awareness of how knowledge is created, perpetuated, and may be questioned in specific tools which were made available to students.

Questions which the teaching of this subject has raised for us over the last two years, since the prescribed curriculum outline is vague, include:

- What should the subject called LOLT teach to pre-service teachers?
- What general knowledge of current issue in the SA context should all pre-service teachers be familiar with?
- What specialist subject knowledge do students struggle to master/understand?
- How does one prompt students to produce nothing less than 'informed' responses and opinions?
- Is the ability to critically interpret what they read, a challenge for them and how can that be addressed in this experiment?
- How does one turn deficit model around, in terms of student confidence, agency, and voice?

To enable us to address the above challenges, we initiated a research process in the curriculum, designed for students to build conceptual knowledge and understandings around current issues and subject specific knowledge and perspectives which might build confidence and English language competence.

### **Literature Review**

The principal focus of this literature review is defamilairization which is in favour of the transliteracies framework for English language teacher language awareness (Hibbert, 2018: 81). Transliteracies refer to a “pedagogy which takes as is given and addresses overtly, the complexity of social codeswitching, code mixing and code meshing” which is a reality in all higher institutions. Based on its social affinity, a discursive space is created in the classroom as a learning space of enquiry. The intention is to create a strategic classroom organisation that may facilitate or create collaborative learning in the form of group work (Freedman, 2007). When third-year students were given the task to write a report, the main aim was for them to first understand what was required from them based on the rubric before actually translating this action into words. Through this defamiliarization process, students grew curious about varieties of discourses in English concerning their areas of specialisation (Hibbert, 2018). Recognising transliteracies framework includes translanguaging and transculturalism which was evident in the student works. While familiarity is an enemy, defamiliarization forces us to look afresh at a certain phenomenon.

### ***Enhancing Teaching Language Across the Curriculum***

In South Africa the minimum requirement to pass the National Senior Certificate (NSC) in home language is 40%, while the minimum requirement for higher education in home language is 50%. Results from the Benchmark Test Project National Report of 2016 showed that the academic literacy levels of students intending to study teaching were low and that these students attained only basic levels of reading and writing due to their poor literacy skills. A major concern highlighted in this report was that these learners who envisage studying teaching were ultimately confronted with numerous challenges; one being their lack of preparedness for the rigorous demands of higher education. This is echoed strongly in Jansen’s lamentation as follows:

If I had a choice with my own children today, I would seriously consider not sending my child to school in South Africa for one reason: I do not trust a system that makes it possible for a child to pass grade 12 with 30% in some subjects and 40% in others subjects. I would be filled with fear when I discover that you can get 32% in Mathematics and 27% in Physical Science and still get an official document that says you can continue to study towards a Bachelor Degree at University. I would

worry myself senseless when I enrol my child in Grade 1 knowing that she could be among the half a million children who would not make it through to Grade 12. I would be horrified at the possibility that the principal might force her to Mathematical Literacy because someone decided she could not do pure Mathematics, because it would make the school pass average to look bad. And I would be angry when I find that she is guaranteed to be among the 76% pass rate for Life Orientation when all the other subjects in the Senior Certificate have pass rates way below this number. (Jansen, 2012,: 1)

Based on this quotation, Jansen (2012) goes further to say that it is extremely difficult to fail Grade 12 in South Africa today. For one to fail Grade 12, that person has to put in a special effort to bunk classes, deliberately provide wrong answers to questions or hand in a paper very early during an examination session and then that person will fail. This gives us an image of the kind of students that we receive in the universities who are not properly prepared for HEI. This poor preparedness is hardly acknowledged in the major newspapers because of the questionable 70% pass rate from the Department of Basic Education (DBE). It is needful to stress that South Africa has never had the kind of distinctions produced today (quantity with no quality). Jansen asserts that the evidence of poor formation lies in the fact that most of the Grade 12 students with distinctions struggle to pass in the first year of the University. While the matric results get stronger, students over the years have become weaker; leading to poor throughput at the universities.

When we ask students how long they will spend on our assignment, they normally say 2-3 hours, where we are expecting 6-8. This is always a good eye-opener for them and when they do it, it brings in good marks, which empowers and motivates them. This meta-text or meta-conversation alongside the teaching of content, we find, most valuable. The “Reading to Learn” initiative led in South Africa and elsewhere in Africa by Mike Hart, is spreading like wild-fire. Its impact has been positively assessed in many African countries as well as in South Africa. Mike Hart quotes David Rose as follows: “You can’t write what you can’t read.” He explains: ‘Being able to write something which you have understood in your own words, must be extremely satisfying to the learner. Praise needs to follow, so that learners are shifted to a more intense level of engagement (Foncha, Abongdia & Kepe, 2018).

In order to refocus on pointing out positive progress that is being made, postcolonial texts, particularly those produced by young African and South African authors, are currently being reviewed and being selected for inclusion as prescribed literature alongside similar, or traditional literatures from other continents. This selection will presumably have positive spin-offs for literature eventually prescribed in schools. Secondly, most South African universities are appointing teaching and learning specialists. Thirdly, students are increasingly exposed to academic readings and interpretive techniques and

raising pertinent questions regarding the current status quo in education. Critical views can come up, if the prompts are presented. It only takes one round of teaching for this to be understood by students. Often they don't know that they are allowed to question us, or that it is indeed required that they do. Fourthly, discourse analysis principles for analysing discourse patterns are being woven into the curriculum, to demonstrate to students that each text you may read is structured differently, but according to conventions of a particular genre. Fifthly, translanguaging (interlanguage), the spectrum between regulated and mediated texts (such as academic essays, and unregulated spaces (newspaper articles, comics and graffiti) are being overtly addressed. Mike Hart related how he used a surfing magazine to get his high school learners interested in features of genre differentiation.

Another point of progress is that tutorial support staff is being considered in order to enlarge the feedback cycle for students and to provide more individual scaffolding for the reading writing processes students are asked to participate in.

According to Piller (2016), what we see is always influenced by our expectations and by what we believe and already know. In light of this, English monolingualism tends to blindfold our modern ways of seeing multilingualism even in contemporary research. Multilingualism from Piller's viewpoint appears to be generic and context-free. This is meant to suggest that non-language specific linguistics that only engages in teaching and research practices tacitly equate language to English. This is resonant in the following quotation:

Not only do academic linguists in the English-language tradition subscribe to the assumption that they do not need to know specific languages in order to conduct research on 'language,' they frequently even take pride in NOT knowing languages and lampoon the idea that an academic linguist should know a number of languages as silly and misguided ... Asking a linguist how many languages they speak is like asking a doctor how many diseases they have.(Piller , 2016, 28)

Multilingualism is therefore being obscured in language research as highlighted by Pavlenko (2014, xi) in the following quotation:

In reality, there is no such thing as the bilingual mind: bilinguals vary greatly in linguistic repertoires, histories, and abilities, and the bilingual mind appears here as an umbrella term to refer to a variety of speakers, including multilinguals.

This way of seeing multilingualism is perceptually flawed because in academia, citations are usually in the English language only, which is LOLT in most South African Higher Education institutions. It is in this light that Piller and Takahashi (2011) argue that social inclusion policies fail to embrace

multilingualism in the real sense but in the sense of Monolingual Multilingualism which promotes language ideologies and practices that speak to diversity.

Although multilingualism may be an asset in education generally, Haukas (2015, 12) states that it could be a deficit for students. This may be true in situations where students are illiterate in their home language or in the case where students are not aware of the benefits of multilingualism or in a situation when they are not encouraged in school to rely upon their different language repertoires as resources (Moore, 2006). In view of the benefits of multilingualism, Cook (1992) argues that the different languages in our brains are interconnected in a way that they influence one another.

The rationale for introducing monolingual multilingualism and its association with translanguaging is to examine their affiliative aspects in light of this paper. Any conceptualization of students' competence accruing via the normative route of teaching is minimally informative and maximally redundant (Sivasubramaniam, 2004). Based on this, an alternate framework can facilitate and foster student agency and voice as manifestations of competence.

The study is premised in Hibbert and Dippenaar's (2018) community of practice framework based on the social constructivism theory of Vygotsky (1978, 1979). In light of this, Hibbert (2018, 18) argues that a study of this nature focuses "upon less tangible yet essential skills which develop students into critical and emphatic thinkers [that] ultimately creates social cohesion", one of the millennial goals of South African Education systems. Discursive spaces are created to ease collaborative learning in resonance with defamiliarization. According to Hibbert and Dippenaar (2018):

The community of practice framework views any communicative situation in an institutionalised learning context as a coming together of multiple discourses around a specific task. According to the framework, learning communities are communities in which certain practices originate, and are developed, perpetuated and discarded, or adapted with the intention of moving them forward. ... This implies that the aim of language education for enhanced equity in South Africa would be that of meaningful connections of individuals to each other in loosely formed communities. Within the classroom, these communities are ideally created with a life-long aim of carry-over into community-building in civil society and schools. (p. 64)

The community of practice in this case is LOLT 3 consisting of the lecturers and the students who form part of a larger community, CPUT. In line with constructivism, Garrison, Anderson and Archer's (2000) Community of Inquiry framework integrates three elements, overlapping "presences", to reach successful educational experiences in HEIs. These elements are:

- 1) cognitive presence,
- 2) social presence and
- 3) teaching presence.

Garrison et al. (2001) view the cognitive presence within the Community of Inquiry framework as the degree to which learners can construct and confirm meaning through sustained reflection and dialogue with one another, and the course content. Garrison et al. (2001) categorised the cognitive presence into a four-phase process of practical inquiry that constitute:

- a triggering event, which refers to when an issue or problem is identified and needs to be resolved
- exploration, which is when students explore the issue both individually and corporately through critical thinking and dialogue;
- integration, where learners move from a higher level critical thinking to developing own ideas; and
- resolution, in which case learners apply the knowledge gained in an educational context.

The study is based on our experience with third year Senior Phase and Further Education and Training (SP&FET) students in the Faculty of Education. Given the interpretive nature of the study:

We imagine, therefore, that in the construction of narratives of experience there is a reflexive relationship between living a life story, telling a life story, retelling a life story and reliving a life story. As researchers, we are always engaged in living, telling, reliving and retelling our own stories. Our narratives of experience as Jean and Michael are always ongoing ones. We live our stories in our experiences and tell stories of those experiences and modify them through retelling and reliving them. The research participants with whom we engage also live tell, relive and retell their stories. (Denzin & Lincoln 1998, 160)

## **Methodology**

Sivasubramaniam (2004) debunks the temporal, objective, context-free popular beliefs that traditional SLA theorists rely on in teaching English. In view of this, maximizing students' competence in LOLT would be contingent on our using socially-informed and socially-attuned approaches for fostering their voice and agency which this paper seeks to explore.

### ***Teaching research process***

All first, second- and third-year students of SP/FET Department of the Faculty of Education, CPUT have to do LOLT. That requirement indicates large groups which is why group projects are introduced to minimize marking. The subject is largely taught by part-time staff, who have no real buy-in to student progress or institutional connections. They are disconnected in that they do not have offices, do not have computer access on a regular basis and are not specialists in any subject, but rather ex-school teachers.

There were two steps in the process which we introduced at third year level. The teacher pre-service curriculum indicates that research skills are essential but it is not overtly taught in any mainstream subject area, which prompted us to experiment with it in the LOLT course, specifically introduced to develop English language competence across the curriculum. This does not however mean that students are automatically highly motivated. On the whole, the value of the research component to them could be assessed only in retrospect and on final reflection and course feedback.

First, a six-week process introduced students to the basic theory of searching and synthesising information and perspective. The topics were current general knowledge issues. The students chose one of the topics generated by the lecturer/researcher but were allowed to choose their own, with lecturer approval. Each group of four students then presented their research in the format of a PowerPoint presentation, with all four students participating. As a penultimate step in this first round, they handed in a ten-page group project based on a marking rubric as the criteria. Finally, each group had to decide in what way they were going to carry out their research project steps (gathering information individually and putting it together collaboratively for presentation) was beneficial to them. Students were asked to group themselves into groups of four according to an overlapping specialization subject they were currently studying. Again, an element of choice was introduced in terms of focus sub-topic within a specific discipline in which they were majoring as teaching subjects. The topic had to be curriculum compliant. The students then produced first an oral presentation of their ideas and proposals, and then submitted a written completed project which indicates how, and at what level, the unit/sub-topic would be taught. The outcome of the project was a set of teaching materials, with theoretical motivations for the content and pedagogy in which it was to be conveyed. The student group's reflective comments were handed in together with the project, as an addendum in order for the lecturer/researcher to measure the impact, or perceived impact on student agency, voice, confidence and power. In the second cycle, in August and September, data were collected and there were five sets of data.

Set 1 Student feedback in the Addendums to the projects in Cycle 2

Set 2 student feedback in the Addendums to the projects Cycle 3.

Questions: How and to what extent did you benefit from conducting a



- collaborative research project in Cycle 2/Cycle3?
  - Set 3 Transcribed follow-up focus interviews (optional)
  - Set 4 Question: Test results on research theory, concepts and processes
  - Set 5 Student group marks for the materials developed
- Questions: Do these deal with in depth expanded knowledge in relation to the basic minimum requirements/ textbook versions?
- Are the materials infused with multiple alternative perspectives on the topic?
- Do the materials prompt ethical action, social justice and awareness of the importance of communities of practice, socially and in the classroom?

## Results

There was no set curriculum for teaching of LOLT. Therefore, we were obliged to do a needs analysis of the course where the students were asked to say what they learnt in the past two years and what they felt they needed to be taught in writing. Among other things, they were anxious to be taught CV writing, letter of motivation, formal letters, report writing and presentation skills because they said they would need these skills once they graduate from the university. At the end of the report, students were asked to say what they learnt from the project and a good number of responses reflected the following:

**Group 2:** *We were able to work with very little supervision and managing the whole project by ourselves. We were also able to evaluate our work and that of others and making judgements about the value of information and drawing conclusions from data. We did not have the right answers but were forced to devise strategies to work towards solutions. We also presented our work to our peers and received critiques which boosted our confidence. This confidence motivated us to use our initiative to make decisions instead of waiting for approval to do basic tasks but we also made sure we reported back to the lecturers at the appropriate times.*

**Group 1:** *The skills we learnt as a group was to listen and accommodate each person's opinion. When in disagreement, we would solve it together as a group. We also learnt how to interact with the people who responded to the questionnaires.*

**Group 3:** *We honestly learnt from each other who participated in this project. We also learnt that the key of your future is in your hands and everyone has his own opinion to anything which boil down to choices. In addition, this project taught me how to manage time appropriately. We found that it is not easy to do research because people are not always willing to participate and it takes a great deal of persuasion to get a particular individual to take part.*

**Group 4:** *We discovered ... music inspires and most certainly have a positive impact on the greater amount of people that we interviewed. We learnt that music is not only an art, it is a 'go to' to get the day going. It is the sound that gets certain listeners hyped up, it is the lyric they can relate to. We learnt data analysis skills and to connect the ideas of different people to one another.*

**Group 5:** *We learnt Communication skills and found that it is illegal to ask someone's age and name to publish it in our report ... We developed critical thinking skills through analysing and interpreting our results. The report raised awareness in our own personal lives because it puts society's attitude into perspective for us.*

### **Benefits of the research projects to all the participants**

Throughout the research project, students were offered the opportunity to assimilate and integrate various skills and subject area knowledge. Students could choose their own tasks, set their goals, choose their own resources and produce an independently formally written text. This openness suggests that students experienced themselves as truly in control of their own learning. It should be noted that students who ventured into statistical data design and analysis successfully, did so under good guidance.

Common sense notions of how companies are structured and run were questioned. The knowledge and culture students brought with them into the LOLT course, and into the school were acknowledged and mobilized through the research project. Students presented their findings to the class. Hard copies of the project were made available to all students as a resource. The students gained a voice in the academic life of pre-service teaching by presenting their research findings to their peers. In this forum a shift in identity took place from LOLT. Through involvement in the research project, lecturers could examine their own teaching methodologies. Lecturers gained insights into what students achieved in terms of integrating the types of skills they had been encouraged to acquire in the LOLT. They could see evidence of how each student had fared in internalizing those skills in a task of advanced complexity. The overall level of the academic standards traditionally expected from LOLT students was raised. The purpose of a LOLT course became more explicit to all participants through the project work. The course itself, which was one of the courses previously viewed as peripheral within a teaching context, gained considerable status. Although the research project requirement might indicate that LOLT is becoming more demanding and potentially more excluding, this is not so. The spirit in which the projects are handled is that each student works within his/her area of specialization.

It was mentioned, correctly, that literacy foundations need to be set before the age of six. Global statistics confirm this observation. But we as teacher educators are situated in higher education and can break the cycle right here, by making students aware of how they are situated in terms of their own language performance in a variety of official languages and how this compares globally, and what it might take to participate in the ‘real world’. It would take a strong ‘buy-in’ and commitment to themselves and their learners. If confidence is an issue, full participation and commitment from students will take some time to set in. Students will learn how to learn and that ‘being in class, listening passively and handing in assignments’ is not enough in terms of ‘taking responsibility for your own education’. A commitment to oneself requires considerable reading and writing, much time set aside to do this, and great individual effort. This kind of turn around requires re-curriculation and a new kind of web-integrated pedagogy.

### **Implications for discipline-specific English language development**

One of the most useful ways in which students can make an impact on curricula is by producing their own texts and projects of enquiry. By generating original texts and presenting them orally or in written form to fellow learners and members of faculty they are engaging in the creation and dissemination of new knowledge and presenting this knowledge to different audiences in a variety of different ways.

Singh and Heiman (2019) discuss the merits of what they refer to as research as a basis for curriculum development. This innovation is meant to suggest that defamiliarisation gives room to students to co-construct knowledge (Rozina, 2015). By giving students the opportunity to interact with their lecturers as fellow-academics, a context for teachers thinking together with their students (community of practice) comes to the fore; in line with constructivism and defamiliarisation (Hibbert 2018). The nature of the research described by both Singh and Heiman (2019) is essentially inward-looking research, with academic activity as a theme around which participants engage with each other. “Outward-looking” student-generated topics and initiatives such as the one we have described here present valuable opportunities for academic and language development.

In this regard, academic development for the purposes of this article can be defined as the provision of “scaffolding” (Singh & Heiman, 2019) or the systematic provision of an induction process into academic discourse, as well as the establishment of an instructiveness with that discourse. The term academic development as it is used here therefore does not refer to the making up of shortfalls which students might have, but means rather: enabling a learner to solve a problem or carry out a task which she/he would be unable to do unassisted, and gradually removing the scaffolding in a process of moving towards independent

learning (Singh & Heiman, 2019).

We highlight the importance of careful task-design as a central factor in presenting meaningful academic development courses. The following questions from Schoor, Bennert, and Brünken (2012, p. 761) are useful guidelines:

- What exactly do I want to teach students?
- Does the content act as a vehicle for any other skill or knowledge?
- Is it possible to grade tasks sequentially in such a way that each student builds up a bank of skills with which to tackle tasks of increasing complexity? If the task is theoretical, how does it relate to professional practice?
- How can the demands of a specific task explore the relationship between theory and practice?
- To what degree is it possible to make the task or topic negotiable?
- How can tasks be mediated more clearly by lecturers?
- How can questions be phrased in order to elicit original responses?
- Is it useful to give an exact breakdown of marks allocated in order to enable students to improve their self-monitoring practices?

Finally, initiating students into research processes such as this, seems to help in developing a consciousness in different ways of thinking critically and responding to what has been read (Foncha, Abongdia, & Kepe, 2018).

## **Conclusion**

Apart from the advantages of students reflecting on their own academic writing, the research project given to the students was meant to provoke their critical thinking skills as described in Hibbert (2018) by creating an opportunity for them to deliberate upon, and challenge one another's thinking. Based on this strategy, it was envisaged that students would collaboratively develop problem-solving techniques and build self-confidence which is an important variable to be addressed in language learning situations where creative management and critical thinking are central. Thus, if students explore reflexivity, they will learn to look at themselves and the world differently, which is what we, as teacher educators, need to do.

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## **Micro-Level Text Contents of One- to Five-Minute News: American and Philippine English Compared**

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### **Abstract**

The number of minutes appended in headlines serves as a signpost for readers regarding the reading time. Being the first on Minute News, this present quantitative study reports the results from comparative analyses of text contents of one-to-five Minute News published by one Philippine and one American media outlet in November 2018. Selected corpus comprised the combined 86 one-minute news; 421 two-minute news; 259 three-minute news; 101 four-minute news; and 77 five-minute news articles, resulting in 944 news articles. Inferential statistics reveals that there are both similarities and differences between the two groups' micro-level properties of Minute News: total word count, total unique words, number of sentences, average sentence length, number of paragraphs, hard words, lexical density; and the seven text readability index models such as Flesch, Gunning, Flesch-Kincaid, Coleman, SMOG, Automated and Linsear. Overall, if we argue that the American writers from the Inner Circle are the model of linguistic and text contents of Minute News, then the Philippine media writers who belong to the Outer Circle do not fully benchmark the standards of the American writers' micro-level linguistic properties when producing Minute News. Universal implications for literacy in second or foreign language classes, including recommendations are offered.

**Keywords:** American English, headlines, Minute News (MNs), Philippine English, reading time.

### **Research lacuna**

To my knowledge, no research on Minute News (MNs) has been done lately. This present study reports the quantitative findings from content analyses of news articles with reading time appended in headlines. It compares statistically whether or not the Filipino writers who belong to the Outer Circle show the propensity to be native-like in their MNs in terms of the micro-level properties under study: (1) total word count, (2) total unique words, (3) number of sentences, (4) average sentence length, (5) number of paragraphs, (6) number of hard words, (7) lexical density; and the (8) seven text readability index models such as Flesch, Gunning, Flesch-Kincaid, Coleman, SMOG, Automated and Linsear. Cognizance of the linguistic features of MNs and the possible difference or similarity between two cultures is crucial not

only to the readers' and students' engagement with the texts, but also in the development of reading autonomy when engaging with the news contents on social media.

### On headlines and reading time/minute news

According to Blake (2013), headlines are a “summary and advertisement for a broader flow of news content” (p. 455). Blake further claims that “headlines or stories are often the primary unit of analysis” (p. 457). As a micro-genre, the headlines posted on social media have now morphed into another strategic journalistic style. Figure 1 illustrates the sample appended number of reading minutes in a headline. Arguably, the inclusion of reading time appended in the headlines is one of these strategies, which are meant to persuade social media users to read the actual news contents. The reading time serves as a signpost regarding the approximate time readers are expected to finish. The inclusion of the reading time may also relate to Trimble and Sampert's (2004) assertion that the crafting of headlines is a long-standing journalistic practice that may “quickly earn a preferential place in conscious awareness” (Schmeichel & Baumeister, 2010, p. 29) among the users.



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Figure 1. Number of reading minutes appended

Blake (2013) maintains that sensational headlines may precipitate political engagement such as interests, discussion and debate. I argue that the inclusion of reading time can precipitate readers' attention, interest and possible actual visit of the news articles. MNs may sit well with the “law of



attraction” especially when the actual site visits exact economic cost on media outlets (cf. Blake, 2013; Richardson, 2007). In fact, inherent in these headlines are economic advantages and incentives (Iyengar et al., 2010; Richardson, 2007) in the form of the number of engagement and visits that are reflected in Facebook analytics. Blake (2013) further claims that the economic incentives between “hard” and “soft” news “may also influence the micro-level relationship between news headlines and stories” (p. 459). To date, the rise of internet use (Aalberg et al., 2010) will continue to encourage media outlets to attract wide-scale audiences.

In the realm of psychology, the indication of reading time may sit well with the concepts of “demand-based decision making” (McGuire & Botvinick, 2010, p. 103) and the “pay attention” signal (Schmeichel & Baumeister, 2010). “Attention must be controlled when the stimulus the person is attending to is a stimulus the person is not otherwise inclined to attend to” (Schmeichel & Baumeister, 2010, p. 30) because it is given that reading involves mental activities and enough time for engagement. This is because “information-processing tasks vary in their associated levels of cognitive demand. Highly demanding tasks require strong input from cognitive or executive control, input typically associated with a subjective sense of mental effort” (McGuire & Botvinick, 2010, p. 103). Thus, informing readers of the possible reading time may entice and compel them to commit to engaging in close and critical readings.

Historically, Holland (2014) reviews that the trend of Minute News may have started on Twitter due to its default limited space. She reports that “in April 2009, journalist Mark Armstrong started using a #longreads hashtag on Twitter. He wanted a way for people to find and recommend long-form, “magazine-length: stories online” (para. 8). Holland further reports that “Time To Read” feature on its new Kindle Touch was appended in November 2011 and October 2012. To date, Medium.com still indicates reading time like “4 min read” and so on.

### **Philippine vis-à-vis American English**

Philippine English is obviously anchored on American English. Tayao (2008) reports that “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). English as the medium of instruction was institutionalized through US President William McKinley’s Letter of Instruction in 1900 (Bernardo, 2008). American teachers called the “Thomasites” arrived in 1901, the same year when Philippine Normal School (*now* Philippine Normal University-Manila) was opened to take care of the elementary education in the country (Bolton & Bautista, 2008).

Since then, Philippine English has experienced a fair share of improvements and stumbling blocks. The first modern short story titled, “Dead Stars” written by Paz Marquez-Benitez, one of the founders of

Philippine Women's College (*now* Philippine Women's University), which was published in 1925, "landmarked the maturity of the Filipino writer in English" (Santiago, 2015, para. 7). Toward the end of U.S. colonialism, Lumbera and Lumbera (2005) maintain that the "growth of English writing signalled the assertiveness of the Americanized intellectuals turned out by the universities" (p. 103). Babst-Vokey (1988), however, mentions three phases of English in print media in the Philippines. The first and the third phases were considered "elegant, Europeanized," characterized by correct grammar. By contrast, the second phase:

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 discourse of world Englishes (cf. Kachru, 1985) is situated at the sociolinguistic processes of nativization, hybridization, localization, acculturation and/or indigenization (Tupas, 2004). Philippine English was first conceptualized by Llamzon (1969) in what he asserted as 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" (p. 46, as cited in Bautista, 2008, p. 219), characterized with a lack of (or faulty) subject-verb concord, inappropriate use of articles, faulty preposition usage, the incorrect pluralization of nouns, the lack of (or faulty) agreement of pronoun and its antecedent, faulty tense-aspect usage combinations (Bautista, 2000), verb-subject-object pattern; the fronting or topicalization; object deletion; and copula deletion; SV-(dis)agreement (Jubilado, 2016). Furthermore, Philippine English lexicon comes from English newspapers in the Philippines, which are the rich source of words and expressions (Dayag, 2008). According to Bautista (1997), the Philippine English lexicon can be characterized in terms of words with expanded meanings; infrequent lexical items; coinages; and borrowings. Recently, Munalim (2019) shares 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" (p. 40). Further, he initially argued that Philippine English in terms of embedded questions may have reached the endonormative stabilization stage. Such an inversion may be considered another emerging feature of Philippine English.

What all these findings indicate is that the Philippine writers may or may not deflect from the norms of the standard (American/British) English. Such

an impressive linguistic dispersion result in the spread, status and functions (Bhatia & Baumgardner, 2008; Kachru & Smith, 2008) because of the different sphere-based functions of English. Functions include “access code, advertising, corporate trade, development, government, linguistic impact, literary creativity, literary renaissance, news broadcasting, newspapers, scientific higher education, scientific research and social interaction” (Kachru, 2001, p. 46, as cited in Kachru & Smith, 2008, p. 7). Seen from this backdrop, this paper is an attempt to see how the Filipino news story writers exhibit linguistic leanings on the Inner Circle if we argue that American English remains the global standard, at least in the micro-level properties of Minute News.

## Methodology

The sources of headlines are the two media outlets which publish news articles on their Facebook pages. One local news outlet, ABS-CBN News, to represent the Philippines, is the news cluster of ABS-CBN, the undisputed number one TV network in the Philippines ([www.facebook.com/abscbnNEWS/](http://www.facebook.com/abscbnNEWS/)). The international news outlet, CNN, to represent the American group, is a division of Turner Broadcasting System ([www.facebook.com/cnn](http://www.facebook.com/cnn)). The personal decision for their choice is based on the massive reach through likes and followers on their Facebook pages. As of 8 February 2019, ABS-CBN News amassed 16,061,182 likers and 15,932,838 followers; CNN with 31,093,906 likers and 31,058,732 followers. As of 12 December 2019, ABS-CBN News has 17,321,574 likers and 17,595,996 followers; CNN with 31,512,738 likers and 32,149,403 followers. Likewise, the choice of these local news outlets is that among the top news media organizations in the Philippines with Facebook pages, only ABS-CBN News indicates reading time (as of the date of corpus collection). Other leading media outlet competitors in the Philippines have not employed this journalistic style on their Facebook page posts. Selected news articles with indicated reading time in the headlines were all culled in November 2018. News articles published on ABS-CBN News, but were written by native speakers (from Reuters and Agence France-Presse) were intentionally excluded. Table 1 shows that there are 944 news articles culled from these two media outlets.

The news articles were fed into UsingEnglish.com to generate total word count, total unique words, number of sentences, average sentence length, number of paragraphs, hard words and lexical density. On the one hand, *Readability Formulas* website was used to generate the aspects of Flesch, Gunning, Flesch-Kincaid, Coleman, SMOG, Automated and Linsear. The choice of these readability tests were solely based upon their availability on this online tool. Nevertheless, these readability formulas were considered for their merit, soundness and trustworthiness of the micro-level features of MNs. Meanwhile, there were sets of 1-Minute News which were originally part of the analysis, but were eventually excluded because they were not read by these

online tools due to the allowed word limits. No inter-raters/coders or external experts were invited because the analysis was rather quantitative, and the online tools could handle the analysis much more accurately. Finally, One-way ANOVA through SPSS (Sedlack & Stanley, 1992) was used with the help of the statistician to report the significant differences of features under study.

Table 1  
*Selected corpus from two media outlets*

1-Minute News		2-Minute News		3-Minute News		4-Minute News		5-Minute News		Total
ABS-CBN News	CNN	ABS-CBN News	CNN	ABS-CBN News	CNN	ABS-CBN News	CNN	ABS-CBN News	CNN	
36	50	209	212	106	153	25	76	16	61	
86		421		259		101		77		944

## Results

### *Level one features*

The ensuing sub-sections present the two levels of content analysis. Level 1 analysis includes the total word count, total unique words, number of sentences, average sentence length, number of paragraph, hard words and lexical density. Word-discussions are presented in this section due to space constraints. Readers are advised to see Appendices A and B for accurate statistical figures.

### *Total word count*

Total word count from two Englishes increases from 200+ words base up to 1,000+ words. From both groups, 1-Minute News and 5-Minute News are consistent with their least and most number of total words. The differences only lie in 3- and 4-Minute News. Lastly, 5-Minute News from two cohorts are both significantly higher than 1- to 4-Minute News. When two groups were compared, 1-Minute, 2-Minute, and 3-Minute News show no significant differences. They only differ significantly in the cohorts of 4-Minute News and 5-Minute News. This may convey that as the reading time increases, there is tendency that both Englishes diverge in terms of the number of total words.

From these significant differences from 3-Minute and 4-Minute News, the Philippine group has lesser total word count than the American group, but the standard deviations from the Philippine group still remain almost twice than the variability of the American counterpart. This may mean that the American writers tend to be more amenable with one another than the Filipino writers in terms of the total word count.

### ***Total unique words***

Results show that the total unique words increases from 100+ words base up to 400+ words. Looking at the variability, the Philippine group is consistent with its higher variability than the American group. That is to say that across all numbers of reading time, the American writers (editors) tend to be more homogeneous, thus, are more amenable with one another than those of the Filipino writers. From the two groups, overall, 5-Minute News is significantly higher than 1- to 4- Minute News. When these sets of reading time from two cohorts were collapsed, it was found out that only 4-Minute News has significant differences in terms of the total unique words. From this difference, the American writers tend to use more unique words than the Filipino writers, but at the same time the American writers tend to be more amenable with these words. As indicated, the variability of the total unique words from the Philippine group is almost twice higher than the Americans. The significant difference from the 4-Minute News may be predictable in nature because each event may demand choices of words in order to report the news appropriately. The presence of Tagalog/Filipino words must have also affected the counting of the total unique words. Overall, the pattern shows that both groups are statistically identical in terms of the total unique words.

Table 2 shows that the average number of sentences increases from 11 words up to 54 words. Looking at the variability, the Philippine group is consistent with its higher variability than the American group. That is to say that across all numbers of reading time, the American writers (editors) tend to be more homogeneous, thus, are more amenable with one another than those of the Filipino writers. From the two groups, overall, 5-Minute News is significantly higher than 1- to 4- Minute News. When the number of sentences was compared across types of Minute News, the same Table 2 shows no significant differences. That is to say, both groups seem to have agreed on the number of sentences. However, the Filipino writers tend to show more variability, starting from 3-Minute News up to 5-Minute News. The variability of the number of sentences from the Philippine group is in fact twice higher than that of the American group.

Table 2  
Average number of sentences per group

Features/ Minute News	ABS-CBN News		CNN		p- value	Conclusion
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD		
Number of Sentences						
1 Minute	11.9	6.1	13.2	7.0	0.3795	Not Significant
2 Minutes	20.3	7.7	20.1	6.5	0.7651	Not Significant
3 Minutes	30.0	12.3	28.7	8.0	0.3063	Not Significant
4 Minutes	35.2	15.8	38.7	10.7	0.2149	Not Significant
5 Minutes	54.4	31.1	52.7	13.8	0.7363	Not Significant

*Average sentence length*

Sentence length increases from 13 up to 52. Looking at the variability, the American group is almost consistent with its higher variability than the Philippine group. That is to say that across all numbers of reading time, the Filipino writers (editors) tend to be more homogeneous, thus, are more amenable with one another than those of the American writers. Surprisingly, the Philippine group in all types of Minute News shows no significant differences in terms of sentence length. That is to say, there is some distinction between and among the types of Minute News in terms of the sentence length from the Philippine group. On the contrary from the American group, the sentence length of 5-Minute News is significantly higher than 1- to 4-Minute News. When significant differences were computed, it turned out that the differences of sentence length only lie in 4-Minute News and 5-Minute News, as presented in Appendix B. That is to say, as the news increases in reading time, the sentence length varies significantly. From these differences, American writers tend to be more heterogeneous in 5-Minute News while Filipino writers tend to be heterogeneous in 4-Minute News.

### *Number of paragraphs*

The average number of paragraph increases from 7 to 31. The Philippine group seems to show higher variability than the American group. From the two groups, different types of Minute News show significant differences in terms of the number of paragraphs, with 1-Minute News as the lowest, and 5-Minute News is the highest. When compared as a whole, the difference of the number of paragraphs only lies in 5-Minute News. It means that the longer the news becomes, the higher the tendency that the two varieties of English diverge in terms of the number of paragraphs. In this case, the Filipino writers use more paragraphs than the American writers.

### *Hard words*

The average number of hard words increases from 15 to 16, wherein the Philippine group shows the highest variability in 2- Minute News. From the two groups, different types of Minute News show no significant differences in terms of hard words. That is to say, all Minute News from two groups tend to be more identical. When compared as a whole, the differences of the number of paragraphs between the two groups lie in 1-Minute News and 5-Minute News, not in 2-, 3- and 4-Minute News.

### *Lexical density*

The average lexical density ranges from 40 to 64, where the Philippine group shows higher variability than the American group. From both groups, there are significant differences between and among the types of Minute News in terms of lexical density. When two groups were compared, the differences of lexical density are noticed only 4-Minute News and 5-Minute News. It may mean that the longer the news becomes, the denser the lexical items become.

### *Level 2 features*

Level 2 analysis, on the one hand, divulges the average performance of the seven different readability tests such as Flesch, Gunning, Flesch-Kincaid, Coleman, SMOG, Automated and Linsear to arrive at the overall consensus for the average and level of difficulty.

Table 3  
*Readability consensus from seven readability statistics*

Features	1-Minute News		2-Minute News		3-Minute News		4-Minute News		5-Minute News	
	ABS-CBN	CNN	ABS-CBN	CNN	ABS-CBN	CNN	ABS-CBN	CNN	ABS-CBN	CNN
Flesch	48.89	55.89	52.41	54.00	52.33	51.78	55.06	51.08	57.46	50.45
Gunning	12.27	11.36	12.61	12.38	12.45	13.02	11.97	13.34	11.28	13.36
Flesch-Kincaid	11.26	9.98	10.99	10.71	11.03	11.31	10.53	11.62	10.06	11.62
Coleman	10.42	9.82	9.15	9.80	8.95	10.08	9.16	10.20	8.81	10.30
SMOG	10.83	9.42	10.17	9.97	10.04	10.41	9.79	10.55	9.32	10.68
Automated	10.87	9.72	10.35	10.60	10.51	11.47	10.18	12.05	9.58	11.92
Linsear	13.04	11.47	13.37	12.83	13.55	13.81	12.91	14.32	18.26	14.23
Average	11.31	10.08	10.85	10.80	10.90	11.40	10.60	11.70	10.00	11.77
Level of difficulty	Fairly difficult	Fairly difficult	Fairly difficult	Fairly difficult	Fairly difficult	Fairly difficult	Fairly difficult	Fairly difficult	Fairly difficult	Fairly difficult

Table 3 reveals the readability consensus from seven readability statistics. By averaging from seven readability tests, although news differ from reading time, it was found out that that the level of difficulty of these new articles is all fairly difficult. Meanwhile, from the Philippine group, Table 4 shows that there are no significant differences between and among the types of Minute News, which means that the reading difficulty is identical across these types of Minute News. By contrast, the American group shows significant differences between and among the types of Minute News. That is to say, the indicated number of reading time differs from one type of Minute News to another.



Table 4  
*Significant differences per group*

Groups	Types	Mean	SD	p-value	Conclusion
ABS-CBN News	1-Minute	16.8	0.7	0.461	No significant differences
	2-Minute	17.0	2.0		
	3-Minute	17.0	1.6		
	4-Minute	17.1	0.7		
	5-Minute	17.8	3.7		
CNN	1-Minute	16.8	0.8	0.001	1 min is sig lower than 2-5 min
	2-Minute	17.2	0.8		2 min is sig higher than 1, sig lower than 4 min
	3-Minute	17.4	0.7		3 min is sig higher than 1 min
	4-Minute	17.6	0.8		4 min is sig higher than 1-2 min
	5-Minute	17.5	0.7		5 min is sig higher than 1 min

When statistical treatment was sought, the Philippine group shows no significant differences between and among the types of Minute News as presented in Table 5. It means that the readabilities of all five types of Minute News are identical, which are considered fairly difficulty. On the contrary, the American group shows that there are significant differences of readability between and among the types of Minute News. When both groups were compared, Table 4 shows that the differences of readabilities lie only in 3-Minute News and 4-Minute News. Under 3-Minute News, the Philippine group is higher than the American group in terms of variability while under 4-Minute News, the American group is higher than the Filipino group in terms of variability.

Table 5  
*Significant difference between two groups*

Minute News	ABS-CBN News		CNN		P-value	Conclusion
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD		
1-Minute	16.8	0.7	16.8	0.8	0.9849	Not Significant
2-Minute	17.0	2.0	17.2	0.8	0.2355	Not Significant
3-Minute	17.0	1.6	17.4	0.7	0.0042	Significant

4-Minute	17.1	0.7	17.6	0.8	0.0025	Significant
5-Minute	17.8	3.7	17.5	0.7	0.5121	Not Significant

### Overall patterns

If we argue that the American writers are the model of Minute News with indicated reading time, then the following patterns emerge from the statistical computations:

1. In terms of the total word count, the Filipino writers tend to pattern the Americans when writing 1-Minute, 2-Minute and 3-Minute News, but not in 4-Minute and 5-Minute News. In 4- and 5-Minute News, Filipino writers have fewer total word count than the Americans.
2. In terms of total unique words, the Filipino writers show the tendency to follow the American standard, with only one significant difference in 4-Minute News.
3. In terms of the number of sentences, the Filipino writers follow the American standard across five types of Minute News.
4. In terms of sentence length, the Filipino writers follow the American standard only in 1-, 2-, and 3-Minute News, but not in 4- and 5-Minute News. The Filipino writers' average sentence length from 4- and 5-Minute News is fewer than those of the American writers'.
5. In terms of the number of paragraphs, the Filipino writers follow the American standard in 1-, 2-, 3-, and 4-Minute News, but not in 5-Minute News. The Filipino writers use fewer paragraphs than the American writers in 5-Minute News.
6. In terms of hard words, the Filipino writers follow the American standard in 2-, 3-, and 4-Minute News, but not in 1- and 5-Minute News. For 1- Minute News, the Filipino writers use more number of hard words than the American writers. For 5-Minute News, the Filipino writers use fewer hard words than the Americans.
7. In terms of lexical density, the Filipino writers follow the American standard only in 1-, 2-, and 3-Minute News, but not in 4- and 5-Minute News. For 4- and 5-Minute News, the Filipino writers have higher lexical density than the Americans.
8. For readability tests, the Filipino writers follow the American standards only in 1-, 2- and 5-Minute News, but not in 3- and 4-Minute News. The Filipino writers' 3- and 4-Minute News have lower readability than the American counterpart.
9. The overall patterns of differences tested statistically show that the Filipino writers do not fully benchmark the standard of the American writers' micro-level linguistic properties of Minute News.

One caveat should be noted, however. As I breezed through the articles from the Philippine cluster, there were inevitable inclusions of Tagalog/Filipino words. This might have affected, small or big, this comparative undertaking. At the same time, because the writers labeled them with appropriate reading time, we could also assume that they approximated the features regardless of the Tagalog/Filipino terms embedded in these news articles. Nevertheless, researchers are encouraged to employ isotextual (equal texts) comparative studies (cf. Oakey, 2009) in future studies to establish greater accuracy through compatibility (Friginal & Hardy, 2014). Lastly, Fog-Index Readability was not part of the computation because it is not reflected on the online readability tool. It would be intuitively helpful and compelling to explore this test in future studies.

## **Conclusion**

Whether or not the final versions of these Minutes News (MNs) were those of the writers' or the editors' (Blake, 2013), the overall pattern shows that the Filipino writers do not exhibit a total independence from the norms of the Inner Circle when writing MNs. The cases of similarity are an indication of the Filipino writers' attempt not to deflect from the native writers' way of writing MNs. Understandably, the Filipino media writers may feel the need to keep a grip on and in the loop of global journalistic styles and strategies in the name of "competition culture and journalistic culture" (Popescu & Toka, 2009, p. 4) for readership. Inevitably, this appropriation, adaptation and co-optation (cf. Moeller & Lellis, 2002; cf. Sanders, 2006) with the global linguistic trends have tended to perpetuate the discourse of hegemonic power of the natives, which in itself puts the Filipino media writers at the center of critical sociolinguistic controversies about issues of postcolonial Philippines.

Implications of the results in terms of literacy in second or foreign language classes may be straightforward (cf. Aisha & Ramadhani, 2018; Maming, 2018). Media outlets which employ reading time in their headlines may believe that such an inclusion may have deleterious effect on the readers – either to read or not to read the actual news articles, in what Wagner (2009) posits that making choices is made either consciously and unconsciously. This feature may also limit the readers to visit the sites, especially when the indicated minutes reach 10 minutes and beyond. Schmeichel and Baumeister (2010) believe that the person attending to the stimulus may either shift his or her attention to it or maintain focus elsewhere. Secondly, local and international readers may expect differences and similarities of text features. Such similarities and differences will guide them as to how they will consume and engage themselves with these contents with such "prevailing external circumstances" (cf. Blais, 2010, p. 141) of MNs. For instance, students may become much more conscious of their choices and decisions when consuming these Minute News that are essential in the cultivation of the passion for reading.

There may be a mismatch between the headlines and the actual news stories. Blake (2013) has noted that public media headlines were more positive than the actual stories, while commercial headlines were more negative than the actual stories. Caulfield and Bubela (2004) also caution that although headlines can provide a glimpse of first impression, they may be inaccurate or “hyped”, thus deviating from story-level depictions. With the help of the reading time appended in headlines, readers may be encouraged to read the actual articles and validate possible (mis)match. It will encourage them to view and consume media information with circumspection (Caulfield & Bubela, 2004; cf. Hancock, 2015). Finally, reading teachers may assign students some news articles with indicated and estimated reading time to downplay students’ possible mental burden. In due time, reading teachers can eventually add up the number of reading time of the reading materials once the learners have demonstrated an improved reading stamina.

## Acknowledgment

I would like to thank the Chief Editor of EILJ and the blind expert-reviewers for looking at my paper. I would like to thank UsingEnglish.com and Readability Formulas <[www.readabilityformulas.com/free-readability-formula-tests.php](http://www.readabilityformulas.com/free-readability-formula-tests.php)> for their useful tools.

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## Appendices

Media Outlets	Level 1 Features	1 Min		2 Min		3 Min		4 Min		5 Min		p value	Conclusion
		Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD		
ABS-CBN News	Total Word Count												1 Min sig lowest
													2 Min is sig lower than 3-5 in, higher than 1 min
		209.4	93.1	370.1	118.5	576.7	189.5	653.5	281.3	905.6	427.6	0.001	3 Min higher than 1-2, lower on 5 Min
													4 Min higher than 1-2, lower on 5 Min
													5 Min sig Higher than 1-4 min
CNN		220.6	91	368.6	98.7	564.8	123	791.1	165.9	1074	243.9	0.001	1 Min sig lowest
													2 Min



													is sig lower than 3-5 in, highe r than 1 min
													3 Min highe r than 1-2, lower on 4- 5 Min
													4 Min highe r than 1,2,3 lower on 5 Min
													5 Min sig highe r than 1-4 min
AB S- CB N Ne ws	Total Uniq ue Word s	13 1. 9	4 5. 1	20 2. 8	52 .5	28 6. 2	76 .8	31 7. 8	10 7. 9	42 9. 8	16 6. 6	0. 00 1	1 Min sig lowes t
													2 Min is sig lower than 3-5 in, highe r than 1 min
													3 Min highe r than 1-2,

												lower on 5 Min
												4 Min highe r than 1-2, lower on 5 Min
												5 Min sig Highe r than 1-4 min
CN N												1 Min sig lowes t
												2 Min is sig lower than 3-5 in, highe r than 1 min
		12 8. 6	3 9. 2	20 1. 5	42 .3	28 1. 9	49 .9	36 4. 5	62 .8	47 1. 3	96 .9	3 Min highe r than 1-2, lower on 4- 5 Min
												4 Min highe r than 1,2,3 Min lower on 5 Min

													5 Min sig high er than 1-4 min
AB S- CB N Ne w	No. of Sente nces	11 .9	6. 1	20 .3	7. 7	30	12 .3	35 .2	15 .8	54 .4	31 .1	0. 00 1	1 Min sig lowes t
													2 Min is sig lower than 3-5 in, high er than 1 min
													3 Min high er than 1-2, lower on 5 Min
													4 Min high er than 1-2, lower on 5 Min
													5 Min sig High er than 1-4 min
													1 Min sig lowes t
		13 .2	7	20 .1	6. 5	28 .7	8	38 .7	10 .7	52 .7	13 .8	0. 00 1	2 Min is sig

CN N													lower than 3-5 in, higher than 1 min
													3 Min higher than 1-2, lower on 4-5 Min
													4 Min higher than 1-3, lower on 5 Min
													5 Min sig higher than 1-4 min
AB S- CB N Ne ws	Aver age Sente nce Lengt h	18 .8	4. 4	19 .5	8. 2	20 .3	4. 4	19 .2	3. 5	18 .5	4. 4	0. 69 6	No Signif icant Differ ence
CN N		17 .4	3. 7	19 .2	4. 6	20 .4	4. 2	21 .2	4. 1	21	4. 1	0. 00 1	1 Min sig lower than 3-5 Min 2 Min sig lower than 4 min

												3 Min is sig high er than 1 min
												4 min is sig high er than 1-2 min
												5 min is sig high er than 1 min
AB S- CB N Ne ws	No. of Parag raphs	7. 5	4. 1	12 .7	8. 1	17 .3	6. 4	19 .6	11 .3	20	12 .5	0. 00 1
												1 Min sig lowes t
												2 Min is sig lower than 3-5 in, high er than 1 min
												3 Min sig high er than 1 and 2 min
												4 Min sig high er than 1 and 2 min
												5 Min sig high er than

													1 and 2 min
CN N													1 Min sig lower than
													2 Min is sig lower than 3-5 in, higher than 1 min
													3 Min sig higher than 1 and 2, sig lower than 4-5 min
													4 Min sig higher than 1-3 min, sig lower than 5 min
													5 Min sig higher than 1 to 4 min
AB S- CB N	Hard Words	19	4. 6	23 .4	97 .1	15 .8	4. 4	15 .5	3. 4	14 .4	3. 3	0. 90 3	No Signif icant Differ

News													ence
CNN		15 .3	4. 1	15 .6	4. 2	16 .1	3. 7	15 .8	3. 6	16 .5	3. 2	0. 32 9	No Signif icant Differ ence
ABS-CBN News	Lexical Densi ty												1 Min sig lowes t
													2 Min is sig lower than 1 min, highe r than 3 min
		64 .7	5. 8	56 .4	8. 2	51 .7	7. 6	52 .1	9. 6	51	8. 6	0. 00 1	3 Min sig lower than 1 and 2 min
													4 min sig lower than 1 min
													4 min sig lower than 1 min
													1 Min sig lowes t
CNN		62 .2	6. 6	55 .6	5	50 .5	4. 6	46 .4	5. 1	44 .4	3. 8	0. 00 1	2 sig lower than 1 min,

													but sig high er than 3-5 min
													3 min sig lower than 1-2 min, sig high er than 4-5 min
													4 min sig lower than 1-3 min
													5 min sig lower than 1-3 min



## Appendix B

Features/ Minute News	ABS-CBN News		CNN		p- value	Conclusion
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD		
<b>Total Word Count</b>						
1 Minute	209.4	93.1	220.6	91.0	0.5772	Not Significant
2 Minutes	370.1	118.5	368.6	98.7	0.8863	Not Significant
3 Minutes	576.7	189.5	564.8	123.0	0.5401	Not Significant
4 Minutes	653.5	281.3	791.1	165.9	0.0036	Significant
5 Minutes	905.6	427.6	1074.0	243.9	0.0422	Significant
<b>Total Unique Words</b>						
1 Minute	131.9	45.1	128.6	39.2	0.7200	Not Significant
2 Minutes	202.8	52.5	201.5	42.3	0.7823	Not Significant
3 Minutes	286.2	76.8	281.9	49.9	0.5876	Not Significant
4 Minutes	317.8	107.9	364.5	62.8	0.0092	Significant
5 Minutes	429.8	166.6	471.3	96.9	0.1990	Not Significant
<b>Number of Sentences</b>						
1 Minute	11.9	6.1	13.2	7.0	0.3795	Not Significant
2 Minutes	20.3	7.7	20.1	6.5	0.7651	Not Significant
3 Minutes	30.0	12.3	28.7	8.0	0.3063	Not Significant
4 Minutes	35.2	15.8	38.7	10.7	0.2149	Not Significant
5 Minutes	54.4	31.1	52.7	13.8	0.7363	Not Significant
<b>Average Sentence</b>						

<b>Length</b>						
1 Minute	18.8	4.4	17.4	3.7	0.1037	Not Significant
2 Minutes	19.5	8.2	19.2	4.6	0.6578	Not Significant
3 Minutes	20.3	4.4	20.4	4.2	0.7964	Not Significant
4 Minutes	19.2	3.5	21.2	4.1	0.0334	Significant
5 Minutes	18.5	4.4	21.0	4.1	0.0386	Significant
<b>Number of Paragraphs</b>						
1 Minute	7.5	4.1	7.9	3.0	0.5411	Not Significant
2 Minutes	12.7	8.1	12.2	3.7	0.4427	Not Significant
3 Minutes	17.3	6.4	18.2	8.7	0.3661	Not Significant
4 Minutes	19.6	11.3	22.9	6.3	0.0690	Not Significant
5 Minutes	20.0	12.5	31.8	8.8	0.0001	Significant
<b>Hard Words</b>						
1 Minute	19.0	4.6	15.3	4.1	0.0002	Significant
2 Minutes	23.4	97.1	15.6	4.2	0.2430	Not Significant
3 Minutes	15.8	4.4	16.1	3.7	0.5368	Not Significant
4 Minutes	15.5	3.4	15.8	3.6	0.6793	Not Significant
5 Minutes	14.4	3.3	16.5	3.2	0.0212	Significant
<b>Lexical Density</b>						
1 Minute	64.7	5.8	62.2	6.6	0.0682	Not Significant
2 Minutes	56.4	8.2	55.6	5.0	0.2465	Not Significant
3 Minutes	51.7	7.6	50.5	4.6	0.1251	Not Significant
4 Minutes	52.1	9.6	46.4	5.1	0.0002	Significant
5 Minutes	51.0	8.6	44.4	3.8	0.0001	Significant

# **Problematic Phonological Features of Foreign Accented English Pronunciation as Threats to International Intelligibility: Thai EIL Pronunciation Core**

**Jirada Suntornsawet**

## **Abstract**

English as an International Language (EIL) is grounded in the concept of multiplicity. Such proliferation of non-native varieties of English leads to several controversies including the intelligibility of its speakers to listeners from various language backgrounds. Although this concern has been continuously addressed in EIL research, the focus was mainly on major ESL accents. English language educators from English periphery accents know very little about the scenario of their own English in relation to its use in international settings. This study explored the Thai-accented English pronunciation features that result in intelligibility failure. It employed the innovative and comprehensible intelligibility measurement of which the results can be applied to other English accents with the similar phonology patterns such as tonal and syllabic-timing languages as most of languages in Asian mainland continent. Thai-accented English spontaneous speech was measured for overall intelligibility using a transcription task performed by the listeners from a variety of different L1 backgrounds. The errors in transcription were phonetically analysed to ascertain which phonological features of Thai English pronunciation which led to a detriment in intelligibility. These features; hence, must be the focus in teaching English for international communicative purposes. Analysis of the results revealed that the salient features identified as posing the highest threat to international intelligibility were cluster simplification, consonant devoicing, lack of final consonant released, and fully stressed unstressed vowels.

**Keywords:** intelligibility, Thai English, pronunciation, accent, non-native speakers

## **Introduction**

The global proliferation of English has resulted in the rapid diversification of English use throughout worldwide nations as an international language, which drives its status as the world's dominant language. The diversification of English into numerous varieties underpins the concept known as World Englishes (WE), and furthermore resulted in the ascendancy of English as an International Language (EIL). In the context of Thailand, despite her lack of direct colonial experience and the scarcity of an intra-functional role of English in the country, the significance of English use is becoming more

prevalent due to globalization. Importantly, in the international use of English those from different L1s manifest indigenous sounds in their production of English. Non Native Speakers (NNSs) Englishes are considered to show the most divergence in terms of pronunciation (Jenkins, 2000, 2002) due to the pervasive patterns of the speakers L1. Such foreign accent is the result of the assimilation of characteristic L1 phonological features into the articulation and pronunciation of L2 speech. These non-pathological speech patterns acquired in English as L2 have been demonstrated as problematic for international communication (Gorlach, 1999; Jenkins, 2000, 2007; Kirkpatrick, 2010; Major, 2001). This highlights a pivotal concern in EIL communication, as English has taken on many sociocultural forms and is no longer primarily used for communication with English native speakers (NSs) but between NSs and English NNSs as well as between NNSs themselves; how can the disintegration of English into unintelligible dialects be avoided (Trudgill, 1998, as cited in Jenkins, 2002)? Consequently, one of the overarching issues on the EIL stage is intelligibility. Although the construct of intelligibility has various conceptualizations in research, fundamentally, it refers to the idea of how easily speech can be recognized as targeted by the speakers and is influenced by various factors such as the proficiency of language users and linguistic elements (Nelson, 2011). Regarding the latter, there is consensus among EIL academics (e.g. Jenkins, 2000; Kirkpatrick, 2010; McKay, 2002; Seidlhofer, 2004) that differences in pronunciation are the most prominent factor affecting mutual intelligibility. In the forum of EIL diverging pronunciation, the challenge relates to what level of intelligibility can be considered acceptable across different varieties of English (McKay & Bokhorst-Heng, 2008). The effect of differences in L1 background on English pronunciation led to international intelligibility failure and communication failure as elucidated by numerous studies in the field such as the Interlanguage Talk Data (ILT) in Jenkins (2000) and the investigation of ASEAN community English talk of Kirkpatrick (2010).

Additionally, more specifically to English language teaching, McKay (2009) notes that English language teaching direction has dramatically changed in the past forty years – from English as a foreign language (EFL) to EIL. Educators and researchers are now obliged to carefully examine the implicit goal of learners within their specific context as a basis for determining learning goals. As English is now an international language, it should not be shackled to the model of native speaking countries and thus a reformulation of ELT is required which recognizes the pluralistic nature of English.

Previous research in EIL intelligibility and pronunciation has been conducted from a variety of perspectives which has led to a disparity in definitions of the key meaning of intelligibility. The current study explored intelligibility in terms of phonological intelligibility of Thai-accented English. That is, how Thai-accented English segmental features pronunciation was perceived by participants from different L1 backgrounds, how their perception deviated from the production target, and which phonetic elements were vital in

their perception. How participants understood (semantic function: comprehensibility) or interpreted (pragmatic function: interpretability) the speech was omitted from the scope of the study. Using participants' feedback through transcription tasks, the current intelligibility research makes predictions regarding which sound features are communicative threats to phonological intelligibility and should, therefore, be prioritized in pronunciation teaching within the EIL community. Additionally, results will be used to inform the basis of a Thai EIL pronunciation core for implementation both in EIL and ELT frames.

## **Literature Review**

### ***Thai – English pronunciation***

Although EIL celebrates the value of diversity and variety of English usage including pronunciation, a minimum standard of proficiency should be established to safeguard intelligibility allowing for the use of some L1 pronunciation features provided they are not a threat to intelligibility. Jenkins' (2000) Lingua Franca Core (LFC) fostered major accents to establish a pronunciation core for such purposes. However, the data collected did not include minor accents. Though there are sporadic reports on comparative studies of Thai and English phonology (Kruatrachue, 1960; Luksaneeyanawin, 2005; Smyth, 1987), there has been very little systematic, experiential, and experimental study on Southeast Asian English including Thai English problematic pronunciation features for EIL intelligibility.

In Asian mainland, the languages of the continent are predominantly governed by three major language families: Austro-Asiatic (Khmer, and Vietnamese), Tai Kadai (Thai and Lao), and Tibeto-Burman (Burmese). As such, the significant linguistic characteristics shared among each family can be reported as; monosyllabic (with some exceptions), lexical tone (except Khmer), large inventory of consonants, very limited in consonant clusters, and syllable-timed. In addition, among consonants in the languages of this region, voicing quality is not a distinctive feature but rather aspiration; i.e. there are often two series of stops: aspirated versus unaspirated. On the contrary, English is an alphabetic, reflexive, disyllabic, stressed-timed, and non-tonal language. Such typological distance between Thai and English leads to the common and well-known pronunciation of Thai English such as the lack of vowel reduction and stress are all resulted by these phonological discrepancies. For example, Thai speakers are generally unaware that vowel reduction and stress are the distinctive features of the English language (Goddard, 2005). Phonological characteristics of both Thai and English is evident that they possess a relatively different phonology, and the interference of Thai L1 phonological characteristics on English pronunciation clearly results in the unique pronunciation of Thai-accented English. The overall picture of this phenomenon is illustrated in Table 1.

Table 1

*Comparison of phonological features between English, Thai-English, and Thai*

Aspects	English sound system	Thai – English	Thai sound system
Devoicing	/z/, /dʒ/, /ʒ/, /g/	/k/, /k <sup>h</sup> / used instead of /g/ /s/ used instead of /z/ /tɛ/ used instead of /dʒ/ /tɛ <sup>h</sup> / used instead of /ʒ/	No /z/, /dʒ/, /ʒ/, /g/ in Thai (systematic gap)
Shift in terms of place and/or manner of articulation	Interdental fricatives /ð, θ/ and voiced labio-dental fricative /v/	/t/, /d/, /f/ used instead of /ð, θ, v/	No /ð, θ, v/ sounds.
Reduced initial aspiration	Aspiration occurs in the ONSET; unaspirated consonants only occur after /s/	Aspiration is used interchangeably.	Contrast between aspirated and unaspirated sounds
Deletion of final consonants	Final consonants can be in a cluster form.	A cluster is pronounced as a single consonant.	Final consonant is not in a cluster form but in a single form and fricatives do not occur.
Cluster reduction	Clusters in the ONSET and CODA vary.	Deletion of cluster	Clusters in the ONSET occur only /l, r, w/, no CODA cluster
Stress in words	Stress patterns are fixed.	Variation in use of stress	No stress patterns
Heavy-end stress: tone groups as intonation patterns	Utterances are divided into tone groups and marked by unit-final intonation patterns.	Tone groups in pronunciation are not used - intonation is not clear.	Not intonation language but tone language
Lack of reduced vowels	Vowels in unstressed syllable are reduced to schwa (Weak form).	No reduced vowels or weak forms – all vowels are pronounced equally.	No stress distinction by terms of tones
Monophthongization	Glides	Glides omission - diphthongs with glides are pronounced as plain vowel	No glides

Given the high frequency of phonological differences between Thai and English, it is unreasonable to presume that all emerging discrepancies will result in international intelligibility failure and therefore an experimental study is required.

### ***Intelligibility measurement***

Regarding the instruments chosen for intelligibility measurement, there is still no universally accepted way of assessing intelligibility (Munro & Derwing, 1995). Moreover, among the existing works investigating intelligibility, various methods have been employed. For instance, Lane (1963) measured intelligibility by counting the total numbers of words listeners transcribed correctly, Brodkey (1972) used paraphrasing, and Smith and Rafiqzad (1979) used cloze tests. Furthermore, Smith and Bisazza (1982) employed picture selection in response to a stimulus, Anderson-Hsieh and Koehler's (1988) research consisted of comprehension questions whereas Barefoot, Bochner, Johnson, and von Eigen (1993) counted percentages of key words recognised. Munro and Derwing (1995) asked participants to determine truth value, Fayer and Krasinski (1987), Win (1998) and Lu (2007) asked listeners to directly rate intelligibility on a questionnaire using a Likert scale. Each of the approaches mentioned has strengths and limitations. The question of which method to employ is considered a result of the purposes of the research.

Regarding the current intelligibility research, the transcription task was considered the most direct and reliable method to investigate intelligibility that was specific to phonology, and where semantic and pragmatic functions were not involved. From the review of literature into EIL intelligibility and the methods used, it is clear that any works using a transcription task to measure intelligibility were measuring phonological intelligibility, and the use of transcription tasks has become a widely-accepted approach in research of this type (Derwing & Munro, 1997, 2001; Munro & Derwing, 1995).

The type of speech for measuring intelligibility is another challenging issue for intelligibility researcher. Unlike isolated words, in connected speech, vowel and consonant segments can have different phonetic realizations. They undergo a process where reduction and articulatory simplification are found because of the need to speak faster. The factors that can affect connected speech are, speed of the utterances and accent of the language (Low, 2015). In addition, the process of isolated word speech construction is conducted in a sound recording laboratory where the speaker is fully aware of their pronunciation, resulting in a lack of ecological validity and where there is doubt regarding whether or not it is their real communicative production in an authentic situation. Again, this substantiates the points mentioned above in EIL intelligibility, that measuring connected speech is considered more beneficial than isolated words especially in the context of authentic communication.

Furthermore, the topic of spontaneous speech used in speech intelligibility tests can generally be classified into two main types, namely text dependent, that the text to be spoken is known by or in the familiar field of the listener, and text independent, that the listener does not know or have any clues about the topics and words in the speech to be tested (Holmes & Holmes, 2001). Though some EIL scholars such as Kirkpatrick, Deterding, and Wong (2008), Pongpairat (2011), and Walt (2000) used as general and vague a topic as possible for intelligibility measurement to avoid any confusion of words that might occur, it is supposed that to elicit the phonological features affecting intelligibility the speech samples should have as narrow a topic as possible to avoid the chances of predictability and context guessing. Topics such as talking about vacations and self-introductions are considered too predictable in content and pose difficulty for ascertaining whether accuracy in transcription was resulted by phonological intelligibility or a consequence of guessing from context clues. Hawley (1977) asserts that the characteristics of a good speech intelligibility test should have some level of difficulty to reduce the ease with which content can be predicted which was applied to the current study.

## **Methodology**

### ***Construction of speech sample***

In the construction of Thai-accented English speech for intelligibility measurement, there were a total of 11 Thai English speakers, studying at tertiary level in the UK, asked to give a spontaneous speech regarding a controlled topic as their dissertation or term project. All participants were deemed to have attained a competent level of English proficiency as NNS students require IELTS of at least 5.5 to study at a UK tertiary institution. To elicit natural L2 continuous speech, each speaker recorded a 10-minute talk in an authentic setting where there was background noise such as traffic, surrounding noises, and background conversation. In such an environment, the speakers were believed to speak more freely and without pressure as opposed to the controlled recording process in a sound laboratory setting, and therefore would monitor their pronunciation less. However, after the initial recordings were finished, all speech samples were auditorily edited for clarity and volume by the Pro Tool programme in a professional sound editing laboratory, where background noise was eliminated to increase effectiveness of the intelligibility listening test. Speech samples were then assessed for quality, clarity and perception of sounds by 20 judges.

After that, the 11 speech samples with the approved voice quality were sent to five linguistic experts (trained phoneticians) and 20 non-linguistic experts (English NSs). They were asked to rate their perception regarding the level of foreign accentedness of the speech samples on the 3-point Likert scale from weak, moderate to strong. The results from both non-linguistic experts



and linguistic experts were in consensus regarding which samples were representative of each level of accent and therefore inter-rater reliability was confirmed. There were finally three speech samples selected for the representation of each accent level. Following identification of the speech samples to be tested, the location to assign the internal pause (where to pause the recording), in which the participants were to perform the transcription in the one-minute speech, was determined. The orthographic transcription of the selected speech sample was processed by the researcher and validated and checked for the authenticity by a Thai TESOL teacher, an English NS TESOL teacher who has taught in Thailand for more than five years, and the speaker of that speech sample to ensure that the speech transcription was accurate.

### ***Construction of Transcription Task: Innovatively Designed “Pseudo Transcription”***

A transcription task *per se* is the orthographic record of spoken language performed by the transcriber, and transcription performance is dependent on the level of speech intelligibility possessed by the individual language user. Nevertheless, transcription in an experimental setting is not simply writing down whatever you heard. Unlike other forms of transcription that employ the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) as the means for transcribing, spelling pronunciation or orthographic transcription is the only form of transcription that uses alphabets or orthography to transcribe how the utterance is pronounced. Subsequently, there is a sub-type of transcription in the sphere of spelling pronunciation called pseudo- or proto- transcription. This form of transcription uses orthography for the transcription (spelling the sound) but is only used when the transcriber is not aware of the written form of the word.

According to the aims of the research which is the investigation of problematic sound features for intelligibility, both transcription methods: orthographic and pseudo transcription, were considered appropriate and thus were selected for use. Underpinning this selection was the sample population (listeners or transcribers) who lacked the technical knowledge for IPA. English NS and NNS participants who transcribed the utterances (Thai-accented English speech) in this research were general language users in an authentic situation, not trained phoneticians. Therefore, it was understood that they were not IPA expert users. After careful consideration of all the compounding factors, the transcription tasks chosen for the present study were Orthographic Transcription and Pseudo Transcription with the use of a specially designed Pronunciation Respelling System to aid the sound spelling which was adapted from Scholastic Dictionary. It is free of non-alphabetic symbols and diacritics and very comprehensive for listeners who lack a phonetic background and require minimal time for training.

Using the mentioned methods and instruments, the participants were instructed to perform the transcription tasks as follows: based on their judgment, for words participants were certain were heard clearly, recognized,

and that they knew how to spell, they were required to use the form of common orthographic transcription to allow for a critical analysis of the intelligibility of the speech. However, participants were advised to use the pronunciation respelling system; pseudo-transcription, for those words not heard clearly or that they did not know how to spell. This method was to elicit which sound features of the speech samples resulted in problems for the listeners.

### ***Listeners (Participants)***

According to the context of Thai-accented English communication, similar to many other accents of English, the interlocutors can be classified into three groups as English native speakers, English non-native speakers who do not share L1, and those sharing L1. In this study, there were three groups of participants involved in measuring Thai English intelligibility; English NSs, English NNSs who were non-Thai, and Thai speakers. Each group consisted of 15 participants. Regarding the group of English NNSs who were not Thai, the selection of participants was based on their L1 using information from UNESCO (<http://www.bbc.co.uk/languages/guide/languages/>) which listed the most commonly used L1s in the world and the availability of the listeners source. Consequently, there were five different L1s selected; Arabic, Spanish, Portuguese Chinese, and Japanese. Three participants from each of these L1s were included in the study. In total, the sample for the current study consisted of 45 participants ( $n = 45$ ). Aside from L1, which was the main criteria in selecting the NNS participants, participants were only considered if they had attained a bachelor degree to ensure they had sufficient academic skill to ascertain academic language in general. NNSs were postgraduate students in the UK, and similar to the Thai speakers that recorded the samples, must have scored at least IELTS 5.5 to study at a UK institution.

### ***Data Collection Procedures***

The total 45 participants were sub-grouped as the group of three for each data collection session (for the more effective way of data collection) based on their first language and time convenience. Therefore, there were 15 data collection sessions took place with the exactly same process details. After explaining the purposes of the research and asking for the participants consent, 30 minutes were allowed for the participants to be familiar with transcription form, pronunciation respelling system, and process trial. Then, the three speech samples of Thai English pronunciation with different levels of Thai accent were played to the participants in a randomized order. Participants were asked to transcribe what they acoustically perceived. The recording was paused at the location of natural pause allowing for participants to transcribe the chunk of speech just heard. There was no time restriction imposed on the

participants. Once all participants had completed the transcription task the next chunk of speech was played.

## Results

The errors chosen for the phonetic analysis for the intelligibility threads were the words that more than 50% of the participants incorrectly transcribed using orthographic and pseudo transcription. Of the entire 157 mistranscribed words, there were eight words determined as problematic from more than 50% of the listeners which was 5.1% of the total words. Of these eight words, two words were found phonetically unintelligible for all groups of listeners and were probably from the weak accent condition and “lesbianism” from the moderate accent condition. Five words were found unintelligible specifically for NSs and NNSs; namely, “genre” from the moderate accent condition and “hypothesis”, “environmental”, “management”, and “design” from the strong accent condition. Only one word was identified as unintelligible for NNSs and Thais which was *dressing* from the moderate accent condition. The relatively low amount of mistranscribed words from the current study indicates that, in general, Thai-English pronunciation can be considered intelligible for global listeners. However, even though the number of errors found was minimal, the problematic sound features which comprised those words leading to intelligibility failure were consistent and the trend is drawn out and analyzed.

The eight problematic words were phonetically transcribed by the researcher and a trained phonetician. With the use of PRAAT 6.0.21 software for spectral analysis and segmenting features in the syllables of these words, a careful examination of the single sound, transition and whole word was conducted for the most precise documentation of the phonetic transcription. All transcriptions of the problematic words were then analyzed for the non-standard pronunciation features which led to intelligibility failure by comparison to the standard pronunciation reference from Carnegie Mellon Pronouncing Dictionary (American English: Am E): CMU, and Longman Pronunciation Dictionary (British English: Br E and American English: Am E). This investigation was to determine the Thai-accented English pronunciation features that were pronounced differently from the standard pronunciation. Whether these features should be claimed as variants or errors when compared with the selected guidelines of NS pronunciation, led to the development of the list of non-standard sound features used by Thai speakers in the study. The rationale for selecting the CMU dictionary for the pronunciation reference was that the pronunciation data provided in the dictionary was collected from authentic speech (Kominek & Black, 2004). However, using one finite dictionary was not considered sufficient for reliability in assessment of whether a sound feature was, in fact, pronounced the same across English L1. Therefore, the use of the Longman Pronunciation Dictionary which includes both American (Am E) and British (Br E)

pronunciation was implemented alongside the CMU to increase the reliability of pronunciation assessments. This does not imply that the researcher considered the pronunciation presented in the selected dictionaries the best or most accurate way of pronouncing English, but rather, a NS reference was required to ascertain the non-standard sound features which led to intelligibility failure. Through the analysis explained, list of non-standard pronunciation instances of Thai English speakers reported as threat of intelligibility by different groups of international listeners (as marked ✓) was produced as illustrated in Table 2.

Table 2

*List of non-standard pronunciation features from the problematic words through each group of listeners*

Sound Features	Unintelligible for		
	NSs	NNSs	Thais
<b>Syllables</b>			
The reduction of number of syllables in the word: the combination of two median unstressed syllables [vaɪ] and [rən] of the word as one syllable as [wə] in “ <u>envi</u> ronmental”	✓	✓	×
The reduction of number of syllables in the word: the omission of median unstressed syllable [bə] in “ <u>pro</u> bably”, and [nə] in “ <u>cin</u> ematic”	✓	✓	✓
The reduction of number of syllables in the word: the omission of final unstressed syllable [rə] in “ <u>gen</u> re”	✓	✓	×
<b>Vowels</b>			
Vowel Heightening: The pronunciation of open back vowel [ɒ] as open-mid back vowel [ɔ] in “ <u>pro</u> bably”, “ <u>gen</u> re”, “ <u>envi</u> ronmental”	✓	✓	✓
Vowel Heightening: The pronunciation of open front vowel [æ] as close-mid front [e] in “ <u>ma</u> nagement”	✓	✓	×
The pronunciation of diphthong [əɪ] as [aɪ]: pronouncing schwa [ə] as open front [a] in “ <u>h</u> ypothesis”	✓	✓	×
The pronunciation of schwa [ə] as close front vowel [i] in “ <u>les</u> bianism”, “ <u>h</u> ypothesis”, and “ <u>ma</u> nagement”, close-mid front [e] in “ <u>ma</u> nagement”,	✓	✓	×
Monophthongization: the pronunciation of [iə] as open front vowel [æ] in “ <u>les</u> bianism”	✓	✓	✓
<b>Consonants</b>			
Voiced as voiceless: voiced fricative alveolar [ʒ] as voiceless fricative alveolar counterpart [ʃ] at the onset position in “ <u>gen</u> re”	✓	✓	×
Voiced as voiceless: voiced labiodental fricative [v] as voiceless bilabial glide [w] in “ <u>envi</u> ronmental”	✓	✓	×

Voiced as voiceless: voiced alveolar lateral [l] as voiceless bilabial glide [w] at the coda position of the final syllable in “environmental”	✓	✓	×
Voiced as voiceless: voiced alveolar fricative [z] as voiceless alveolar fricative [s] in “design”	✓	✓	×

Sound Features	Unintelligible for		
	NSs	NNSs	Thais
Voiced as voiceless: voiced dental fricative [ð] as voiceless alveolar stop [t]	✓	✓	×
Velar nasal [ŋ] as alveolar nasal [n] at the coda position in “genre”	✓	✓	×
Stop bilabial [b] in [bə] as nasal bilabial [m] in “probably”	✓	✓	✓
Wrong consonant cluster production: [dr] at the initial position of the word as [dʷ] in “dressing”	×	✓	✓
Consonant cluster deletion: [bl] as [l] in “probably”	✓	✓	✓
Consonant cluster deletion: [nt] as [n] in “management”	✓	✓	×
Lack of final consonant released: voiced alveo-palatal affricate [dʒ] as voiceless fricative alveolar [s] in “management”	✓	✓	×

*Notes: Mark ✓ for listeners with problems, cross mark × for listeners without problems*

## Discussion

With the empirical data obtained in this study, the pattern of Thai non-standard English segmental features pronunciation leading to international intelligibility failure can be summed up and reported as shown in Table 3.

Evidenced from the critical analyses, the majority of intelligibility issues arose due to an inexistence of those English sounds in Thai phonology. However, this discrepancy was not the only contributing factor. Though both Thai and English share certain phonological sounds, instead of facilitating Thai pronunciation of English, they resulted in greater disparity. In other words, the sounds that are closely mapped between Thai and English, such as /n/ and /d/, are not identical, for example, /n/ in English is more alveolar whereas /n/ in Thai is dental. Additionally, /t/ and /d/ which are more dental in Thai are alveolar in English (Kruatrachue, 1960). The results obtained provided further insight into other possible causes of mispronunciation that led to intelligibility failure, such as phonotactic constraints, sound distribution patterns, and the confusion of the spelling system of English sounds in Thai.

Table 3  
*Thai EIL pronunciation core*

Segmentals	Features	Examples
<u>Consonants</u>	Clusters: Final Cluster: lack of final release  Initial Consonant Insertion Initial Consonant Deletion	Dropping of the final segment such as [t] in “man <u>age</u> ment” and [n] in “des <u>ign</u> ”, etc [dr] as [dʷ] in “ <u>d</u> ressing”  [bl] as [l] in “prob <u>ab</u> ly”
<u>Consonants</u>	Substitution of sounds in final syllable position	[l] is substituted by [w] in “env <u>iron</u> mental” [b] is substituted by [m] in “prob <u>ab</u> ly” [dʒ] is substituted by [s] in “man <u>age</u> ment”
<u>Consonants</u>	Voiced pronounced as voiceless	[z] is substituted by [s] in “des <u>ign</u> ” [ʒ] is substituted by [ʃ] in “ <u>g</u> enre” [v] is substituted by [w] in “env <u>ir</u> onmental”
<u>Vowels</u>	Full stress is produced on unstressed vowel (schwa) Vowel Heightening	[mənt] as [men] in “man <u>age</u> ment”  [æ] as [e] in “ <u>ma</u> nagement” [ɑ] as [ɔ] in “ <u>g</u> enre” [ɑ] as [o] in “hyp <u>o</u> thesis”
Segmentals	Features	Examples
	Monophthongization	[iə] as [æ] in “ləm <u>ə</u> nɪsɪm”
<u>Syllable Structure</u>	Reduction/omission of unstressed syllables	[rə] in “ <u>g</u> enre” [bə] in “prob <u>ab</u> ly” [vai] and [rən] in “env <u>ir</u> onmental”

Interestingly, the problematic features identified in the current study did not completely substantiate either Jenkins (2000) or Kirkpatrick (2010) which are the significant research of the area. The current research echoes Jenkins (2000) in the feature of cluster simplification as a threat to intelligibility only, and concurs with Kirkpatrick (2010) in the features of cluster simplification, lack of reduced vowels, and monophthongization. Also, additional features were found in the current study but never mentioned in the

cited works, such as the omission of an unstressed syllable. However, it is worth noting that these three studies collected pronunciation production and perception data from different groups of language users and employed a different methodology. Several methodological inconsistencies make comparisons among studies difficult and, therefore, it is not surprising that the results of sound features found are not identical.

The Thai-accented English features from the current research can be explained through features that caused intelligibility failure among international users as follows.

***Lack of final release consonant:*** A recognised characteristic of Thai English pronunciation occurs when the initial consonants in stressed syllables are aspirated voiceless plosives: /p<sup>h</sup>/, /t<sup>h</sup>/, /k<sup>h</sup>/. Thais tend to pronounce them with an inaudible released resulting /p̚/, /t̚/, /k̚/. In addition, when final positions are consonant clusters, the Thai speaker omitted the final segment of sound with such phonological behaviour resulting in intelligibility failure to the listeners. In addition, in this case, content words were not considered as critical as function words when speakers fail to pronounce /t/ for {-ed} past tense morpheme as in “picked”. Therefore, the ability to pronounce final consonants accurately is considered crucial for EIL intelligibility.

***Failure to produce certain initial clusters:*** The insertion of a short vowel after the first segment of the cluster in an attempt to create the new fully stressed syllable in initial clusters that do not exist in Thai such as /dr/, /sw/, /fl/ further confounded intelligibility.

***Sound substitution:*** For English initial sounds, when there are no equivalent sounds in Thai including voiced sounds, the following substitution occurs - /w/ for /v/, /t/ or /s/ for /θ/, /s/, /d/ or /t/ for /ð/, /tʃ/ for /ʃ/ and /s/ for /z/. Similarly, when English final consonants are /d/ /θ/ /ð/ /s/ /z/ /ʃ/ /ʒ/ /tʃ/ /dʒ/, they are substituted by Thais with /t/. These patterns of sound substitution led to intelligibility failure in listeners.

***Monophthongization:*** As Thai does not have glide, when diphthong with glide occurs, Thais tend to drop the second element of the vowel and pronounce the plain vowel. This resulted in intelligibility failure in the present study. The problem is highlighted in centering sequence diphthong such as /iə/, that it may be pronounced either as two syllables separately or pronounced in a way that the second segment is less prominent than the first one. Simplification of diphthongs is widely found in East Asian English.

***Lack of reduced vowels:*** Differences in language timing results in discrepancies in vowel production. The syllable-based timing of Thai requires equal weight on every syllable. This transfer to English pronunciation, in which there is a natural use of unstressed vowels in speech results in an

impediment to speaker intelligibility. Generally speaking, English weak vowels are not as weak as they should be when pronounced by Thais.

***Heightening vowels:*** Thais tend to heighten the position of a vowel from the accurate pronunciation in English. Though not reported in the literature reviewed, this study found that this feature occurred consistently across the data and led to a failure in phonological intelligibility among participants.

***Omission/reduction of unstressed syllable:*** As stress is not in Thai phonology, both unstressed vowels and unstressed syllables are a source of difficulty for Thais in their production of English. The current study revealed that when encountering unstressed syllables, Thai speakers have two strategies: first to make it fully stressed or to drop it completely. Both cases led to intelligibility failure.

## **Conclusion**

While these features were identified as problematic, the occurrence of a single feature was not regarded as significant enough to result in unintelligibility of the word. Rather, it was the combination of multiple features that led to the failure in comprehension of whole words. For example, in the pronunciation of design as /dɪsaɪ/ instead of /dɪzain/, the errors in pronunciation were the substitution of voiced /z/ as voiceless /s/ and lack of final consonant cluster release: dropping /n/. Moreover, from the analysis, mispronunciation in vowels was shown to cause more problems than in consonants. This finding supports previous results, such as Cunningham (2010) who stated that error in consonant articulations was less salient than vowel quality. Munro, Derwing, and Morton (2006) also said that intelligibility was higher in words with more vowels. The position mispronunciation error was also demonstrated to have a critical effect on intelligibility. From the analysis, it was found that in a word with more than two syllables such as “environmental”, “hypothesis”, and “management”, if errors occurred consecutively in the first two syllables, the proceeding syllables were not mapped to the targeted word regardless of how it was pronounced. The case was even more prominent in words with one or two syllables such as *dress*ing, [dr] pronounced as [d<sup>w</sup>r]. Although the rest of the sounds were pronounced accurately to the standard pronunciation of English in all sources; failure in pronouncing the initial sound was critical and resulted in a mismatch to the targeted word. These sound features of Thai English pronunciation are therefore a necessity in teaching EIL pronunciation in Thailand and for Thai learners for international communicative purposes. They are also the features that should be included as the minimum standard of Thai English pronunciation for safeguarding international intelligibility so-called the Thai English pronunciation of EIL intelligibility core.

Regardless of how the pronunciation core; either LFC or Asian phonology core or Thai EIL pronunciation core, is analysed and established,



this study suggests that any pronunciation core should be developed by English educators, researchers and authorities in the local area who are exposed to the socio-cultural context instead of being governed by NS scholars based in Anglophone speaking countries. As the local authorities of English pedagogy, their experiences of learning English as an additional language and shared L1 can enable them to develop language awareness and provide adequate linguistic information about the language to learners, anticipate their difficulties, and set realistic goals. In addition, this research suggests that the established core should be utilised in the assessment of communication skills of L2 learners, rather than used as a teaching model. In other words, during pronunciation teaching in class, especially in a formal education system, the focus should be on accent reduction because, as explained by standard English authorities such as Trudgill, standard English can warrant all contexts of English usage. Under no circumstances will having a more native-like or weaker foreign accent negatively affect the users.

The case is when errors are identified during assessment of English L2 learners' communicative skills, consideration must be given to their impact on intelligibility prior to standard model. If the errors are established as part of the core, it is imperative to advise and correct the pronunciation. This does not negate the necessity for assessment of non-core features; it simply transfers the onus onto attaining proficient communicative competency within one's own endonormative variety of English. Additionally, errors made outside the core should not be judged as failures as they are shown to have no salient effect on intelligibility. The core should inform teaching practices by providing data and guidelines on local features that impede intelligibility over providing a standard model of teaching. Whilst non-core features are regarded as less vital for intelligibility. Furthermore, even if cluster simplification was not identified as an intelligibility threat, it would be extremely misguided if a teacher encouraged the students to produce English with cluster simplification on the basis that it is their L1 influence and is not identified as threat to intelligibility.

It is absolutely agreed that for international communicative purposes there should be a minimum standard pronunciation set to safeguard intelligibility, additionally it is agreed that the attainment of native like proficiency for L2 learners is unrealistic as stated in LFC (Jenkins, 2000). However, this study suggests that the established core would be best utilised in assessing learners' communication skills in an authentic setting, rather than as a base from which to teach pronunciation. Regardless, within the concept of WE and EIL, it is the responsibility of language teachers to drive learners to acquire the targeted language to their highest potential and under no circumstances should the standard be lowered (Liu, 1999). However, there are several limitations in language teaching that must be considered such as the unrealistic approximating of native-like fluency, including the load and burden for learners especially in classroom context teaching (Jenkins, 2000). Moreover, the pronunciation core would be a further concern in the mind of

the teachers. It is undeniable that judging or assessing L2 learners against native-like competency is unfair, and learners should be respected as genuine users of the language. Learners must be encouraged to reach their full potential which may well exceed the minimum required basic intelligibility.

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### **Note on Contributor**

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## Appendix

Summaries of the identified problematic features are shown in Tables 4 – 11. In the rows of “Standard Pronunciation”, the phonetic data is the pronunciation of the word as described in the Carnegie Mellon Pronunciation Dictionary (CMU: American English only) and the Longman Pronunciation Dictionary (British English: BrE and American English: AmE). The Thai English pronunciation of the speaker is referenced in the row titled “Speech Sample Transcription” and is represented as T-E in the Tables. To explicate, in their connected spontaneous speech, the pronunciation of the problematic words as reflected from the transcription task of the listeners was further phonetically transcribed by the researcher and another two phoneticians in order to compare it with the pronunciation described in the references and the transcription from the listeners. Lastly, per each group of listeners, the transcription is provided in the rows of “Trend of Transcription”. The phonetic data provided in these rows was the main trend of the transcription data obtained through each listener group, from both orthographic and pseudo-transcription, that were phonetically compatible to the targeted words. These sound features were converted to IPA symbols by the researcher as illustrated in the Tables for the systematic phonetic analysis. Those features perceived accurately as targeted by the speakers are marked with ✓ and the features that deviated too far from the pronunciation, were too inconsistent for a trend to be identified, or the features were left blank in the transcription are marked with ✕. The annotation T-E corresponds to the pronunciation of Thai English by the speaker employed in the experiment. As demonstrated, the conversion of all pronunciation production and reception data to IPA, allowed for a more thorough and systematic phonetic analysis.

All symbols and colours in Tables 4 - 11 can be represented as follows:

-  Different pronunciation between standard pronunciation and Thai-English pronunciation that led to unintelligibility.
-  Same pronunciation between standard and stimulus pronunciation that led to unintelligibility.
- ✓ Intelligible sound features perceived as the standard pronunciation by most of the participants.
- ✕ Too inconsistent or empty data among the participants.

According to the theoretical framework of the LFC (Jenkins, 2000), that communication breakdown is the main and ultimate focus, the problematic non-standard pronunciation features to be included in the Thai EIL pronunciation core must be the sound features that were not only deviated from the reference pronunciation but also failed to be perceived accurately from the targeted word of the speaker by participants. If the sound feature was pronounced differently from the reference pronunciation but did not negatively affect comprehension, the feature was excluded from the core.

Table 4

*Phonetic transcription of “probably”*

Standard Pronunciation	CMU	pr	ɒ	b	ə	b l	i
	BrE	pr	ɒ	b	ə	bl	i
	AmE	pr	ɑ:	b	ə	bl	i
Speech Sample Pronunciation	T-E	pr	ɔ	m	-	- l	i
Trend of Transcription	NSs	✓	ɔ	m	✗	- l	i
	NNSs	✓	ɔ	✗	✗	✗	✗
	Thai	✓	ɔ	✗	l/ i	✗	✗

Table 5

*Phonetic transcription of “dressing”*

Standard Pronunciation	CMU	dr	ε	s	ɪ	ŋ
	BrE - AmE	dr	e	s	ɪ	ŋ
Speech Sample Pronunciation	T-E	d <sup>w</sup>	ε	s	ɪ	ŋ
Trend of Transcription	NSs	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
	NNSs	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗
	Thai	✗	eɪ	✓	✓	k

Table 6

*Phonetic transcription of “genre”*

Standard Pronunciation	CMU	ʒ	ɑ	n	r	ə
	BrE	ʒ/dʒ	ɒ/ ɑ: /ɔ̃	n	r	ə
	AmE	ʒ	ɑ:	n	r	ə
Speech Sample Pronunciation	T-E	ʃ	ɔ	n	-	-
Trend of Transcription	NSs	ʃ	ɔ	n	✗	✗
	NNSs	ʃ	ɑ:/ ɔ	ŋ/n/m	✗	✗
	Thai	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

Table 7  
*Phonetic Transcription of “lesbianism”*

Standard Pronunciation	CMU	l	ε	z	b	iə	N	ɪ	z	ə	m
	BrE–AmE	l	e	z	b	iə	N	ɪ	z	ə	m
Speech Sample Pronunciation	T-E	l	ε	s	m	æ	N	ɪ	s	i	m
Trend of Transcription	NSs	✓	e/ε/æ	s	m	ε	✓	i	s	✗	n
	NNSs	✓	e	s	m	æ	✓	i	s	✗	✓
	Thai	✗	ε	s	p/m	æ	✓	✓	s	ə	✓

Table 8  
*Phonetic Transcription of “hypothesis”*

Standard Pronunciation	CMU	H	əɪ	p	ɑ	θ	ə	s	ə	s
	BrE-AmE	H	əɪ	p	ɒ	θ	ə	s	ɪ	s
Speech Sample Pronunciation	T-E	H	aɪ	p	o	T	i	s	i	s
Trend of Transcription	NSs	✓	a/əɪ	p/b/k <sup>w</sup>	o	L	i	✗	eɪ/ɪ	✗
	NNSs	✗	✗	g/b/p/k/ k <sup>w</sup>	o	L	ɪ	s	ɪ	✗
	Thai	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

Table 9  
*Phonetic transcription of “environmental”*

Standard Pronunciation	CMU	ɪ	N	v	aɪ	r	ə	n	m	ε	n	t	ə	l
	BrE	ɪ/e/ə	N	v	aɪ <sup>ə</sup>	r	ə	n	m	e	n	t	ə	l
	AmE	ɪ	N	v	aɪ	r	ə	n	m	e	n	t	ə	l
Speech Sample Pronunciation	T-E	ɪ	N	wa			-	-	-	t	ə	w	-	-
Trend of Transcription	NSs	ε	M	✗	✗	h	e <sub>u</sub>	m	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗
	NNSs	✗	✗	✗	✗	h	e <sub>u</sub>	m	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗
	Thai	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

**Table 10***Phonetic transcription of “management”*

Standard	CMU	M	æ	n	ə	dʒ	m	ə	n	t
Pronunciation	BrE-AmE	M	æ	n	ɪ/ə	dʒ	m	ə	n	t
Speech Sample Pronunciation	T-E	M	e	n	e	S	m	ɪ	n	-
Trend of Transcription	NSs	✓	ɪ	✓	ɪ	T	✓	✗	✓	✗
	NNSs	✓	ɪ	✓	✗	✗	✓	aɪ	✓	✗
	Thai	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

**Table 11***Phonetic transcription of “design”*

Standard	CMU	d	ɪ	Z	aɪ	n
Pronunciation	BrE-AmE	d	ɪ/ə	Z	aɪ	n
Speech Sample Pronunciation	T-E	d	ɪ	S	aɪ	-
Trend of Transcription	NSs	✓	✓	S	✓	d
	NNSs	✓	✓	S	✓	d
	Thai	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓



## **English as an International Language: English/French Language Alternation in Politically Motivated CMC in Congo-Brazzaville**

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### **Abstract**

The world is witnessing an unprecedented growth of the English language worldwide. Now more than at any time in linguistic history people are powerlessly assisting the expansion of one global language, English, dominating other languages even in countries, such as Congo-Brazzaville, where its presence was not long ago barely observed. There has been a growing interest in studying the sociolinguistic change brought about by the lingua franca nature of English. English is increasingly used along other languages in Facebook communication. It is therefore important to thoroughly examine the main pragmatic functions of English/French alternation in a politically motivated Facebook interaction among Congolese users. In this study, a corpus of 265,147 words, including 9,330 comments were collected from October 2015 to July 2016, the time period highlighted by two major national political events, mainly the constitutional referendum (October 25, 2015) and the presidential election (March 20, 2016). The analysis revealed seven communicative functions (e.g., offering advice, astonishment, criticism, anger/cursing/insult, appraisal, hope boost and motivation, jocular mockery) trigger the use of English in politically motivated Facebook communication. The lingua franca function of the English language worldwide is on the top of the factors influencing and motivating Congolese Facebook users to resource to this language in Facebook interaction. The users tend to be driven by the mere idea that in order to put the communication on international scale, a global language is needed regardless of whether all fellow users understand it.

**Keywords:** Congo-Brazzaville, computer-mediated communication, English as an international language, language alternation, Markedness model.

### **Introduction**

Congo-Brazzaville is a non-English multilingual country in which over fifty languages are spoken within the national borders, and of all these languages, French is the only national official language.

Kituba and Lingala, two widespread indigenous lingua francas in Congo-Brazzaville, are both well-known across the country and overused daily in communicative transactions in major cities such as Brazzaville and Pointe-Noire. Still, it is mostly the linguistic systems of both languages that have generated studies carried out by missionaries and (local) language experts (Ndamba, 2011; Nkeket Ndabiza, 2012; Samarin, 2013; Tsoumou,

2018). They have described the phonological, morphological, derivational, lexical, syntactic, and semantic systems of the two languages. Technically both languages are relatively codified – as shown by the availability of dictionaries, textbooks, etc. – and can be used both in written and spoken means of communication, but they are still hardly recognised institutionally. For example, neither is taught at school nor institutionally implemented despite the fairly elaborated written forms available.

The offline sociolinguistic landscape in Congo-Brazzaville, therefore, includes French on the one hand, and Kituba, Lingala and ethnic languages, on the other hand. Most Congolese people, for instance in Brazzaville, are relatively fluent in French, Kituba and Lingala. While French is mostly used in official transactions, it is no surprise to unofficially use Kituba and Lingala at work, in shops and restaurants. They are heard in songs, at church, and in clubs, to name a few places. Tsoumou (2018, p. 192) explains that interactions among Congolese people mix languages, and language alternation is in fact a real communicative strategy in Congo-Brazzaville.

Historically, the English language has not been part of the sociolinguistic environment in Congo-Brazzaville, except for its limited presence observed in the national education system where it is taught as a foreign language in the curriculum from middle school to university. In the distinct absence of studies, it is not easy to speculate on the extent to which English is daily used among Congolese in offline communicative exchanges. The driven goal of this paper is, nevertheless, an examination of the extent of Congolese Facebook users' knowledge of the English language on Facebook. Such knowledge is important as it will be taken as an indication of the impact of English as an international language in Congo-Brazzaville. The major issue to bear in mind is the absence of a substantial number of Congolese people who are able to speak English in face-to-face communication. In view of this, the use of the English language online can lead to miscommunication, misinterpretation and linguistic ambiguity given the distance factor and constraint imposed by computer-mediated communication (CMC hereafter). It will certainly require some appropriate English pragmatic skills as to make good use of English instance in CMC.

It is also important to point out before moving forward that greater attention devoted to the nature of English as an international language has massively been directed to teaching and learning English by foreign learners (Acar, 2010; Dewi, 2012; El-Saghir, 2010; McKay, 2010, 2018; Nunn, 2010; Savignon, 1983). This one-sided intellectual devotion misleads if one seeks an exhaustive understanding of the English language worldwide since scholars seem to put the entire focus on how and what to teach non-English speaker learners of English in this era of English as an international language. Investigations on multiple facets of pedagogical aspects of the English language as well as intercultural competences of foreign learners have thus been the center of interests, leaving aside thorough examination of actual communicative competence of English users in settings other than classroom

in countries where it has limited presence (McKay, 2018). This weakness in the literature obstructs any possibility to grasp an understanding of the English use and the degree to which it has challenged other languages in completely non-English countries. This paper not only intends to redress this imbalance through an analysis of political discourse, but more importantly it grapples with Facebook users' competence of the English language in widely open communicative setting where high language skills are required. The study enhances a comprehension of the extent to which non-English speakers who happen to be Facebook users are mindful of both linguistic and pragmatic rules and norms.

Literature on language alternation usually points out three main categories of language alternation, put forward based on the two parallel research tracks (e.g., purely linguistic and sociolinguistic). These categories involve conversational, intersentential and intrasentential. On the one hand, there are scholars interested in determining social functions of language alternation who have mainly examined sociolinguistic, pragmatic as well as sociopsychological patterns of this phenomenon through an analysis of conversational and intersentential language alternation (Androutsopoulos, 2011; Auer, 1984, 1995; 1998; Lowi, 2005; Wei, 2002, 2005; Zentella, 1997). On the other hand, there are scholars advocating for the belief that language alternation is constrained by purely linguistic/grammatical rules. The main focus of this line of research has been an examination of intrasentential language alternation (Myers-Scotton, 1992, 1993b, 1999c, 1997c, 1998a, 1998b, 2002, 2016; Myers-Scotton & Jake, 1998; Paolillo, 2011; Poplack, 1981; WardHough, 2010). Since the present paper is mainly focused on pragmatic functions of English/French alternation, only conversational language alternation will be overviewed.

### **Conversational language alternation**

Conversational language alternation encompasses (a) how pragmatic meanings are produced by the alternation of more than two languages in a conversation are communicated; (b) how these meanings are simply specific to a given social or conversational context (Tsoumou, 2018). In other words, conversational language alternation can be described in terms of social and pragmatic functions – such as quotation, repetition, emphasis, and so on – emerging from the use of more than one language in a conversation. Gumperz (1982a) distinguishes two subtypes of language alternation within conversational language alternation: situational language alternation which depends on the situation in which the interaction occurs, and metaphorical language alternation which is a topic-based form of alternation. Both terms were first introduced and discussed by Blom and Gumperz in the 1970s. In earlier days, the emphasis of the two concepts was merely on the analysis of homogenous groups who share the same experience of the two languages or linguistic varieties. According to Heller (1988) the two concepts are now

equally applicable to inter-group interactions as well. Auer (1984) explains that:

at the heart of the distinction between situational and metaphorical language alternation lies the assumption that there are situational parameters (i.e. participants constellation, topic, mode of interaction, etc.) that allow one to predict language choice; [and] there is a simple almost one-to-one relationship between extralinguistic parameters and the appropriate language for this situation. (p. 88)

In other words, the social meaning of an interaction results in both social factors and the appropriate use of the language for a particular situation. Situational and metaphorical language alternations are both connected to the verbal behaviour that multilingual speakers exhibit whether in a particular situation or because of the constraints underlying some topics in any given society. The realization of either lies exclusively in certain social cues (or rules and norms) governing a given setting, topic, event, activity and so on. Auer (1984, p. 90) argues that the “distinction between situational and metaphorical language alternations amounts to a distinction between extralinguistic parameters defining components of the speech situation, and the linguistic (ones), each of which may be related to conversational language alternation”. This author further explains that parameters such as time, place, and topic are supposed to define the situation, whereas other parameters such as shifts between sequential units (story/comment, ongoing sequence/side sequence), different “keys” (e.g. joking versus seriousness) or shifts in intimacy or cooperativeness apparently leave the situation unchanged.

However, it is essential to point out that Auer is critical of Gumperz’s (1982a) view of both situational and metaphorical language alternations. Firstly, Auer (1984) explains that it is absurd to regard the situation as responsible for language alternation, since any situation is accomplished by co-participants rather than chosen by them. The situation of interaction is barely stable: it is constantly created by language speakers as they communicate. In Androupotsoulos’ (2013) words (p. 669), language alternation is viewed as a “device in the internal organisation of conversational turn”. Similarly, Auer (1984) argues that speakers’ turns, and utterances are responsible for changing, maintaining, and /or re-establishing features of the situation.

Furthermore, Auer (1995) introduces two analytical concepts to determine the role an interaction plays in the process of language alternation. The first is termed “preference- (or participant-) related” language alternation, which comprises switches that suit the speaker’s or addressee’s preference, as well as instances of language negotiation between the interlocutors. The second is termed “discourse-related” language alternation, which Auer (1995) regards as a contribution to the organization of discourse in a particular conversational episode (see also Androupotsoulos, 2013; Shin & Milroy,

2000; Supamit & Shin, 2009). According to Martin-Jones (1995), to speakers:

discourse-related language alternation serves as a resource for accomplishing different communicative acts at specific points within interactional sequence, e.g. changing footing, moving in and out of different frames, doing a side sequence, representing the voices of different characters in a narrative, making topic changes. (p. 99)

Shin (2009) summarizes preference-related and discourse-related language alternations as tools to negotiate the language of the interaction and accommodate the language competences and preferences of conversational participants, as well as to organize conversational tasks.

Multiple taxonomies have been proposed in the literature on language alternation depending on the viewpoints from which language alternation has been approached. Gumperz (1982a) identifies six types of functions, namely, quotation, addressee specification, interjection, reiteration, message qualification, and personalisation versus objectivation. Flyman-Mattsson and Burenhult (2009) find five functions of language alternation in second language acquisition contexts, mainly linguistic insecurity, topic switch, affective functions, socialising functions, repetitive functions. Finally, Gulzar (2010) identifies eleven functions of language alternation, including: clarification, giving instruction effectively, translation, socialising, linguistic competence, topic shift, ease of expression, emphasis, checking understanding, repetition function, end creating a sense of belonging.

Language alternation online has also received a substantial amount of attention throughout the years (Tsoumou, 2018), especially on Facebook as a result of claims pointing out that Facebook tends to be a multilingual environment (Bukhari et al., 2015; Inuwa et al., 2014; Sukyadi, et al. 2012).

The functions of language alternation thus vary depending on the context of the study, since multilingual speakers mix languages in order to fulfil specific pragmatic, sociolinguistic, and discursive functions.

However, despite all attempts to investigate language alternation, the attention paid to this phenomenon in Congo-Brazzaville remains scarce, given the number of languages spoken within the national borders and the unstoppable expansion of English as an international language. The present paper bases on Tsoumou (2018) findings on the increasing use of English along with other languages in Facebook communication. It is therefore important to examine the main pragmatic functions of English/French alternation in Facebook interaction among Congolese users. The paper provides empirical answers to the following research question:

What triggers the use of English in political communicative exchanges, given that Congo-Brazzaville is a non-English speaking country? In other words, what are the pragmatic functions displayed through the use of English on Facebook?

The departure point is the assumption that Congolese Facebook users do not just embrace English as a result of the international nature of this language, but they are to some extent pragmatically competent in how and when to make use of English.

### **Theoretical Framework**

A socio-psychological theoretical model, named Markedness Model, is applied in an effort to offer an exhaustive understanding of both the interactional as well as socio-cultural meanings surrounding multilingualism on Facebook.

The Markedness Model attempts to establish a principled procedure that both speakers and listeners (or writers and readers) use to judge any linguistic choice that they might make or hear as more or less marked, given the interaction in which it occurs. Two concepts are fundamental within the markedness mainstream, namely, marked and unmarked choices. The former is the unexpected choice people bring into the interaction under certain circumstances. The latter is the expected choice made by speakers in conformity with norms governing the context of the interaction.

Myers-Scotton (2006) indicates that using the concept of markedness implies that a code choice is viewed as a system of oppositions. Such oppositions are partly understood as indexing right-and-obligations sets between participants in each interaction type. Within the markedness mainstream, unmarked choice (as opposed to marked choice) is crucial. According to Myers-Scotton (2006), unmarked choices are those that are more or less expected, given the ingredients of the interaction (participant, topic, setting and so on). In other words, the unmarked choice refers to some way of communicating that is less likely to cause a social ripple (Myers-Scotton, 1993a, 1993b, 2006).

Markedness is thus a productive way to gain insight into language use and language alternation in the interaction involving Congolese people where French is a potential unmarked code when it comes to written interaction. Theoretically, French is expectedly viewed as an unmarked choice since it is, within the Congolese Facebook community, the only language dedicated to written discourse, especially on Facebook, where the interactions are mostly written-based. Any other language used beside French appears as a marked choice given the highly official status of French in the country. The marked choices, on the other hand, are those that are unexpected, given the right and obligation set that is in effect (Myers-Scotton, 2006). The use of English in Congolese-based Facebook communication is a perfect example of the marked choice.

Furthermore, the Markedness Model relies on the negotiation of principles and the maxims informing these principles. In other words, the model is pragmatic based, considering the speakers' language choice as a negotiation of the rights and obligations (RO henceforth) set underlying the

context of the interaction. Thomas (1995) considers RO to be the dimensions needed in order to explain any situation in which a speech act involving a major imposition is performed with a minimal degree of indirectness.

Myers-Scotton (1993a) argues that speaking one's ethnic language in the same interaction types indexes a different RO set, one in which the speaker's rights and obligations are based on ethnic solidarity, and perhaps specifically, on the socio-culture values and accomplishments of that ethnic group. Principles underlying all code choices can ultimately be explained in terms of such speaker motives.

Markedness Model thus accounts for the idea that code choice can be both indexical and symbolic in a couple of different ways given various social attributes governing any given linguistic community. Both indexicality and language alternation symbolic side are the subject of change because they are dynamic. Myers-Scotton (1993a, p. 86) provides an example of English in Nairobi, where the author reports that "speaking English fluently in Nairobi may be indexical of any of a set of attributes, including most prominently 'plus high educational level/ socio-economic status', 'plus authority', 'plus formality', and 'plus official'".

## **Method of study**

### ***Research design***

The present paper, which adopts both qualitative and quantitative approaches, analyses Facebook comments made by Congolese users while discussing national political issues from October 2015 to July 2016, the time period highlighted by two major national political events, mainly the constitutional referendum (October 25, 2015) and the presidential election (March 20, 2016). The data collection process was relatively straightforward as the researcher was constantly connected to Facebook as to closely observe the ongoing interactions as they appear on the personal newsfeeds. Overall, a corpus of 265,147 words including 9,330 comments were therefore collected. It is important to point out that previous studies have also used this method in the data collection procedures as it falls within netnographic mainstream and its applications in Maíz-Arévalo (2015) and Tsoumou (2018).

While reviewing methodological issues regarding online research, Bolander & Locher (2014) contend that:

scholars wishing to use online data for sociolinguistic research will all, at one point, need to make ethical decisions; they all will also have to characterize their data with respect to modality and to reflect upon the implications of their data's mono- or multimodality for the research design, to consider the suitability of mixing methods and focusing on online and/or offline contexts in light of their research question, and to face the challenge of annotating their data when using the web as a

corpus, or as a pool of data from which to create a corpus. (p.15)

Online research has been subject to criticisms with respect to ethic concerning computer-mediated communication, owing to the fact that most research conducted online usually allows no contact (or limited contact) between researcher and participants. Critics such as Villi and Matikainen (2016) point out that face-to-face contact between an ethnographer and participants guarantees a safe environment for many participants to provide the researcher in most cases with both consent and support. The argument often put forward is that online research method fails to provide nonverbal behavior of the participants, albeit recent research has found that online users have developed alternative ways of expressing nonverbal communication (Maíz-Arévalo, 2017). Finally, because many online users often act anonymously, netnography<sup>1</sup> has also been seen as a method failing to provide researchers with accurate information related to variables such as age, social class and so on, which variables may appear important to carry out, for example, a transgenerational investigation of online culture.

Although the nature of online data (public or private) as well as participants' consent are therefore main concerns of CMC research (Villi & Matikainen, 2016), online social interactions are sometimes viewed as if they took place in either a public or private space. Walther (2002, as cited in Kozinets, 2015, p. 138) reports that “people who post material on a publicly available communication system on the Internet should understand that it is public, not private or confidential”. However, Kozinets (2015, p. 139) advises that the netnographer has choices when it comes to ethic procedures, but there are certain requirements that are well established, such as informed consent and risks versus benefits. Even though most online researchers consider messages posted online to be public acts, gaining the consent of participants is usually the best-reported advice and the safest practice within the netnographical tradition.

In the present study this advice was carefully followed, taking into account both risks and benefits. The collection of the data was therefore carried out in line with the protocol used in Maíz-Arévalo (2015) which advises the gathering of data without informing participants so as not to prejudice their behavior. Bolander and Locher (2014, p.16) likewise advise that methodology in empirical research (both qualitative and quantitative) co-evolves in connection with the research question. Nevertheless, in January 2017, once all the data had been collected, hundreds of people who left their comments were informed of the investigation via the researcher's own personal Facebook page. Fortunately, none of them expressed any disagreement.

Preceding problems also prevented the researcher from revealing his identity while the data collection was in process. The presence of the researcher was thus not disclosed to participants because it appeared that exposure to the participants was highly risky for the researcher for two major

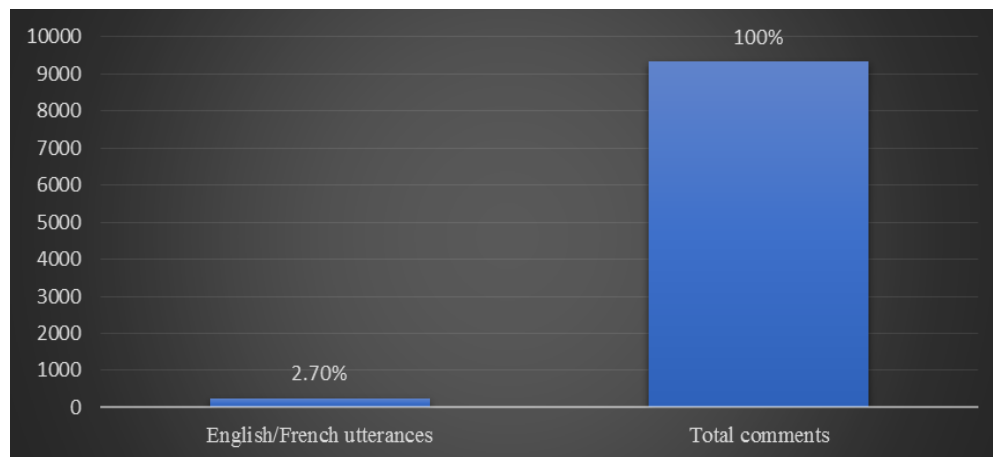


reasons. Firstly, in a country such as Congo-Brazzaville where politics can at time be a serious and dangerous issue, searching for information regarding politics throughout the period when the current data were collected could have generated suspicion. Multiple subjective intentions could have been formulated as to which political side the researcher supported.

Another point is that, the languages Congolese people speak usually say much about their origins. On the other hand, politics and languages are strongly connected in that most political ideologies are based on the linguistic division of the country. Exposing the nature as well as the purpose of the study could have influenced the way people interacted online, potentially drawing the researcher away from observing naturally occurring data.

Data for this study were derived from text-based Facebook interactions carried out by Congolese users. After the collection of the data, it was decided to clear up the data by carefully deleting long-length videos which were beyond the scope of the study as they seem to open an avenue for future research, more focused on multimodal elements. Language alternation is a verbal linguistic phenomenon. Text-like Facebook comments are therefore easy to categorize in terms of the languages involved in the corpus.

A statistical description in terms of the languages involved in the corpus shows (Figure 1) the presence of the English language among the languages Facebook users resort to in the back and forth politically motivated Facebook-based interactions. English is in fact present in the online sociolinguistic landscape of Congolese Facebook users.



*Figure 1.* Overall comments versus English/French utterances

At a first glance, English/French comments appear as a tiny number with only 2.70%. However, a closer examination of Figure 1 reveals that English is clearly in use amongst Congolese people, especially among Facebook users who are engaged in politically motivated interactions.

## Results

The choice of a language of an interactional exchange is predetermined by multiple extralinguistic driven factors that stand and reflect on interlocutors' background as well as the degree to which a society has integrated or appropriated a particular language. Factors such as prior language acquisition, sharing cultural and linguistic backgrounds are indeed key in the process of enhancing a mutual linguistic engagement.

In the previous section it was revealed that Congolese Facebook users resort to English in communicative exchanges. This section examines pragmatic purposes for which English is used in Facebook interaction. Figure 2 reveals that the use of English is pragmatically a goal-oriented communicative act by which Facebook users employ this language to freely express feelings and emotions.

A statistical examination of the English presence in the dataset indicates not just seven different pragmatic functions, but more importantly, expressions related to making fun and jocular appear to be the most used of all categories of English instances as shown in Figure 2. An analysis of the excerpts will certainly point to the reasons for this fact.

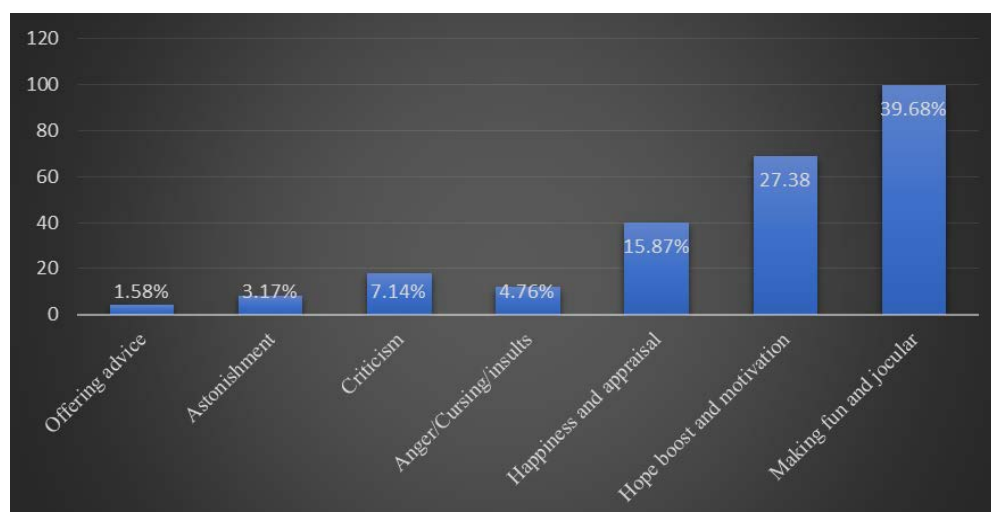


Figure 2. Pragmatic purposes of English/French alternation

Figure 2 shows several pragmatic functions pursued by Facebook users in variable rates, ranging from the least to the most frequent. English/French alternation is, in other words, a multifunctional linguistic phenomenon adopted on Facebook. One after the other, these functions will be examined.

### A. *Advice offering*

The category of offering advice includes Facebook comments written in English with the intent of offering a guidance or recommendation with regard

to prudent actions. Advising in the context of politics consists in offering suggestions about the best course of action to take amid political turmoil in the country. This category of comments accounts for 1.58%, making it the least used class of pragmatic purposes pursued by Facebook users while employing English. Example 1 shows how the user calls upon fellow citizens to accept the fact that Sassou is the president of the country in the meantime persuading them to believe that the only force for change left would come from the change they can make to their own individual behavior.

1. Brothers and sisters no matter your statement,he remain the president of congo unless you can change the fact that he is the first Congolese worldwide the best to do right now and this year 2016 is our mentality

Interestingly, the user refers to fellow citizens as sisters and brothers implying certain proximity and closeness between him/her and others. Within the markedness mainstream, the use of English here can be assimilated with the user's desire to index a new right and obligation set under which English is as an important communicative tool as other languages used in Congo-Brazzaville. In example 2, the user recommends fellow Facebook users to consider the fact that he/she is a serious journalist, and as such, there is no need for him/her to be tempted by corrupt behavior which can compromise trust and reliability.

2. Please Brazza News , tu est un journaliste serieux , reste toujours proffessionnel , ne tombe pas dans la betise mon frere , ne gache pas tout , il en va de ta credibilite . sassou va partir mais ta credibilite doit rester. Thank you my brother. God bless you and your family  
*[Brazza News, you are a serious journalist and you should keep up your professionalism. Do not get tempted by foolishness my brother. Do not mess all up as your reliability is at stake. One day Sassou will leave but your reliability should remain. Thank you, my brother. God bless you and your family]*

The comment starts in the unmarked language French and closes by a good wish uttered in the marked language, English, indicating to some extent certain closeness between the user and the new outlet owner. The use of words such as brothers and sisters in example 1 and 2 convey interpersonal and affective stances important in solidarity and social rapport building among users.

## ***B. Astonishment***

Astonishment is an expression of extreme surprise which can be taken as an indication of the mood of the user. In example 3, the user resorts to the use of astonishing linguistic device. By expressing their surprise through the use of the popular (especially among English speaking communities) astonishment expression *Oh my God!!* accompanied by two heady exclamation marks, this Facebook user shows sign of their communicative ability to use the English language in an appropriate context.

### **3. Oh my God!!**

This category accounts for 3.17%, making it the second least used in the dataset. One may argue that expressing an astonishment via the use of *Oh my God!!* would index how communicative competent the user might be, since this expression implies some pragmatic knowledge which, in turn, indicates the ability to employ such an expression in an appropriate communicative context.

In example 4, the user also resorts to the English language as he/she opens his/her astonishment utterance by employing *what?* as an indicator of amazement about someone or something.

### **4. What? Ceux sont vraiment des enfoirés! [What? They are all disgraceful]**

Language is not just a simple means of communication; it is also a key to social norms governing a given society. As mentioned earlier, rights and obligations set norms under which language users can resort to whatever tool available while being mindful that social norms are worth being cautiously followed and respected. Using any linguistic item implies that the user understands the importance of the relevance of their utterance in the process of meaning making in the interaction.

## ***C. Criticism***

Criticisms stand for the expression of disapproval of someone or something on the basis of perceived faults or mistakes. It is no surprise that political discourse is known for being a contentious communicative exchange of criticisms between interlocutors involved. In example 5, the user expresses a critical observation of the African politicians' attitudes towards their political engagement, implying that African leaders have some patterns of not willingly wanting or accepting to peacefully pass down the power as prescribed in the constitutions.

5. All that because they don't want to step down i don't know what's going on with African leaders seriously they're crazy

French/English comments related to political criticism account for 7.14% utterances. In example 6, the user opens the criticism in the unmarked language, French, but resorts to the marked language, English, in the second half of the comment. The user believes that the opposition leaders in the country are nothing more than a bunch of complicit disruptors who are serving just as badly as the sitting administration.

6. Les opposants arrêtés de distraire le peuple. Vous êtes tous du pouvoir en place. You think that Congolese people are stupid? We all know what you guys are doing. You will all go to hell.  
***[Political opposition leaders need to stop fooling people. You are all allies to the sitting administration. Do not even think that the Congolese people are stupid. We all know what you guys are doing. You will all go to hell]***

While the criticism in example 5 is entirely written in English, aimed at African leaders entitled to power of life, the criticism in example 6 targets the political opposition in Cong-Brazzaville who, according to the user, is inactive.

The use of the personal pronoun *we* in example 6 reveals some facework the user displays as a way to reduce social distance with fellow citizens. Park (2008, p. 936) points out that positive face desire relates to creating positive interpersonal relationships by reducing social distance between speech participants. In example 6 the user refers to fellow citizens as family members he/she knows well on the basis of sharing common ground, interest and knowledge.

#### ***D. Expressing anger/curse/insults***

The category of comments in which Facebook users utter anger, curse and insult accounts for 4.76%, making this group the third least used in the dataset. Anger is usually expressed through comments showing strong feeling of displeasure, hostility or antagonism towards someone or something. In example 7, the user does not hide the displeasure by making an overt request and an order to terminate a fellow citizen.

7. Whoever sees this man please let us know, or if you can, kill him on my behalf. le pays te sera reconnaissant.  
***[Whoever sees this man please let us know, or if you can, kill him on my behalf. The country will be grateful to you.]***

On Facebook, as in face-to-face interaction, users resort to multiple linguistic devices at their disposal in the process of verbally bringing up their inside feelings. They can wish others well or misfortune. Communication is not just a pleasure-delivered means amongst interlocutors, rather it is also a frustration-expressed process through which people freely speak out their mind, sometimes without any fear of repercussion. In example 8 below, the user resorts to offensive or morally inappropriate language as he/she overtly utters his/her anger.

8. FUCK YOU

Being insensitive, insolent, or rude to somebody is one way people sometimes express themselves in situations they feel attacked or demeaned. In both examples 7 and 8 one can witness anger and frustration through the use of outrageous language.

*E. Happiness and appraisal*

Appraisal stands for the act or process of developing an opinion of value usually expressed in a happy state of mind. In other words, joy and positive emotions can lead to a development of good judgment about someone or something. In example 9, the user praises an online news outlet for delivering good news to them. The example is a case of language alternation in that the user starts the comment in the unmarked language, French, and ends up switching to the marked language, English, by importing the English word *news*.

9. Actuellement brazzanews est au top,rien ne peut l'échapper merci des news  
*[BrazzaNews is currently at the top. Thanks for delivering good and fresh news to us.]*

The category of happiness and appraisal accounts for 15.87%, making it the third most used group of comments in the dataset. In example 10, the user alternates three languages at once in the same utterance while praising the news outlet. Firstly, the Kituba word *ba* is used as an opener; then the user resorts to the English language by employing the second personal pronoun, *you*, before finally closing the comment using the unmarked language, French.

10. Ba laisse you brazzanews avec toi toujours informer en temp réel  
*[They should leave you alone, BrazzaNews. You are doing a good job at delivering real time news]*

This over alternation of languages certainly requires advanced linguistic and pragmatic knowledge which substantially enables the process of meaning making. Conversation on Facebook is an open-ended implying that any

communicative act uttered is exposed to a wider audience. In order to guarantee the success of communication, all comments should be written in a way that allows others a fair understanding of the utterance. Employing such an over alternation may indicate how self-assured one can be as they post comments because without confidence the utterance can fail in the process of understanding.

#### ***F. Hope boost and motivation***

The belief and expectation of prosperous life conditions are frequent in any country undergoing a political crisis. In most cases, such an expectation becomes a daily wish, as encouraging people to expect positive political changes to the effect of a fairer society becomes a substantial force and power to keep the motivation going. In example 11, the use expresses a boost, as he/she tends to believe that people still have the power to overcome the dictatorship. Interestingly enough, this user employs the inclusive personal pronoun *we the people*, implying that he/she is part of the people willing to fight until the last breath.

11. Qui a dit a monsieur 8% qu'il etait detenteur du permis d'occuper du Congo? En dehors de ses nombreux enfants, neveux et godillots qui d'autre a du respect pour lui? We, the.people of Congo shall overcome the Nguessoler dictatorship once for all! Vive le Congo Libre, Fier et Debout!  
***[You gave Mr. 8% the right to own the Congo. Who else respects him beyond his close family members? We the people shall overcome the Nguesso dictatorship once for all! Long live free Congo, Proud and standing up]***

Hope boost and motivation comments account for 27.38%. This category is the second most frequently used in the dataset. In example 12, the comment is entirely written in English. The user encourages fellow users not to live under fear, to be positive and expect a bright future. This user shows self-determination as well as self-assurance as a way to convey to fellow citizens that no matter how long oppression may take, the victory will come, and people will find back their freedom.

12. Do not worry guys they are just like beheaded snakes which their bodies are waiting for the heart to stop pounding. The reign of Mr 8% ended long ago. Like I previously said the heart of a beheaded snake takes time to stop. No matter how long is going to last, literally speaking things are over for this group of criminals.

While in example 11, the comment is made up of the unmarked language, French and the marked language, English, the user in example 12 employs English in the entire comment.

### ***G. Making fun/jocular mockery/banter***

The majority of English/French comments posted by users fall within the category comprising contemptuous, humorous and playful utterances. This category accounts for 39.68%. In example 13, the user teases the situation by using the English expression *time over*.

#### 13. Time over

Using English expressions, such as *time over*, as a way to utter banter is an indication of language competence which is the knowledge of the language and the ability to use that knowledge to interpret and produce meaningful texts appropriate to the situation in which they are used (Fauziati, 2015). In example 14, the user opts for derision as he/she describes fellow Congolese as a bunch of cowards before closing the comment with laughter LoL.

#### 14. C'est tous cowards lol *[They are all coward, LOL]*

In example 14 the use of *LOL* is a way of making fun and teasing the nature of the inactive political opposition. Maíz-Arévalo (2015, p. 297) defines jocular mockery on Facebook as involving an explicit diminishment of someone of relevance to self or some other Facebook users within a non-serious or jocular frame. Jocular can be seen as an indicator of solidarity and social rapport building among interlocutors through the reduction of social distance constrained by the nature of computer-mediated communication.

### **Discussion**

It goes without saying that English is truly an international language. It has transcended borders and boundaries and is now a language even observable in completely remote non-English speaking such as Congo-Brazzaville. Many factors can be identified from the presence of English in Cong-Brazzaville, especially in terms of computer-mediated communication. To begin with, the expansion of the English language worldwide correlates with the advancement the new technologies, and particularly, of computer-mediated communication. From the earlier days, it was already argued that English was the main language of the internet (Androutopoulos, 2013; Herring, 2007) even though such an argument later became flexible due to studies counterarguing that online communication constitutes an increasingly multilingual communicative environment (Alothman & Alhakbani, 2012). It is safe to argue that



technologies are a substantial contribution to the development and strength of English as an international language, because, with its ubiquitous nature, computer-mediated communication allows many non-English speaking communities to be exposed to the language daily. As Clyne and Sharifian (2008, p. 283) contend “the widespread use of international technologies for communication, for example the use of internet, has made it increasingly difficult to distinguish between local and international interactions for people using their computers at home”.

Secondly, another factor behind the use of English in Congo-Brazzaville might be the political one in that, as argued elsewhere (Tsoumou, 2018), Congo-Brazzaville may be tempted by the idea to put their national political issue in the international context so as to (a) attract the attention and compassion of other countries as well as international institutions, such as the UN, and the EU, (b) associate the use of English with certain identities such as modern or a social elite identity, (c) consider English as another practical medium of communication. The last two communicative purposes fall within Clyne and Sharifian’s (2008) argument that any language fulfils two main functions: it is the main medium of human communication, but it is also a symbol of identity. Like any other language, pragmatic functions revealed in the analysis (e.g. offering advice, criticism, etc.) point to the argument that Congolese Facebook users employ English not just for sole drive to communicate their thought, but also they engage in complex interactive strategies that prove to a certain extent the awareness of both pragmatic and linguistic standards of English use.

Congolese Facebook users are not just knowledgeable of the importance of English as an international language, they are also pragmatically competent on the ground of their ability to communicate competently but not on the ground of their ability to use English exactly as native speakers do. One thing is to make use of a widely popular English expression such as LOL, and another thing is to be able to express deep emotions and feelings in a language that is neither a L1, L2 nor L3 in an open-ended Facebook interaction. It certainly requires substantial linguistic confidence and self-assurance for any user to engage a language such as English in Congo-Brazzaville. It would be interesting to investigate the extent of pragmatic success and failure through an analysis of the conversational organization of the interaction in order to rationally determine whether or not reactive acts to previous comments made in English meet success or failure.

Another point is the discursive competence displayed in the examples analyzed. Discourse competence is defined by Canale (1983, p. 9) as a “mastery of how to combine grammatical forms and meanings to achieve a unified spoken or written text in different genres”. In spite of being written in more than one language, the English utterances tend to be well-written in a clear way that can be well interpreted by any user with a relatively good knowledge of the English language. In other words, discourse competence is to some extent mastered by Congolese Facebook users employing English in

their comments online. As for pragmatic and linguistic competences, discourse competence is a relevant way to avoid the occurrence of misinterpretation in a given interaction.

In resourcing to English, Congolese Facebook users, involved in the national political discourse, pursue different interactive goals as they perform various interaction activities, such as offering advice, astonishment, criticism, expressing anger, appraising, hope boost and making fun, in various tones. Bolander and Locher (2014, p. 17) already predicted that the “people interacting online can perform various interactional activities (e.g., debate, praise one another, give advice) when they engage in communication (“activity”); the “tone” of these activities can vary (e.g. friendly, contentious, formal, casual)”.

English/French alternation, as has been analyzed in this paper, has certainly reshaped the Congolese sociolinguistic landscape in such a way as the use of English is adding upon several different existing linguistic communities (e.g., the French linguistic community, the Lingala linguistic community, the Kituba linguistic community) a new linguistic community comprising of Congolese English speakers. As mentioned previously, language alternation is a linguistic phenomenon through which group boundaries are marked. Congolese Facebook users who speak English may find themselves building up a sociolinguistic community within which only fellow Congolese with ability to understand English can integrate. As Crystal (2003, p.22) explains “language is a major means (...) of showing where we belong, and of distinguishing one social group from another (...)”. Likewise, Clyne and Shaifian (2008, p. 284) point out that through language, group boundaries are marked between *us* and *them* and group relations are expressed. The question as to whether English is challenging French and local languages in Congo-Brazzaville, however, remains to be seen as it requires collecting and analyzing major datasets from both on- and offline settings. What holds true about the data examined in this paper is, however, that there seems to be a clear turning point in language choice in Congo-Brazzaville where English, as a global lingua franca, becomes an essential part of spontaneously thoughtfully produced communicative activities.

As pointed out earlier, a statistical description of English instances in the dataset demonstrate that making fun and jocular-related expressions were the most produced of all the seven categories identified in the dataset. As most of the expressions analyzed consist of internationally well-known and overused internet-based words and phrases (such as *Lol*, *time over*, etc.), the basic explanation of this statistical discrepancy is certainly the desire and enthusiasm of Congolese Facebook users to frequently use laughter as a remedy as well as an escape from the ongoing national political turmoil, since a state of enjoyable exuberance can be a curative measure to effectively deal with dark and tough times as well as political standoff in the country. In addition, one may also argue that the use of these internationally well-known expressions is connected to what Yashima (2009, as cited in Chevasco, 2019)

describes as “a willingness to feel connected to a global community, regardless of language, and to interact with citizens from other countries” (p. 5).

Finally, there are certainly norms guiding online interactions as, for instance the use of English in this paper, is an indication that participants are guided by norms for social practice and language use certainly determined top-down through the outside influence of both globalization and English as an international language. This goes along with Androutsopoulos’ (2006, p. 421) argument according to which the interplay of technological, social, and contextual factors contributes in the shaping of computer-mediated language practices. This determinism has to be acknowledged (Bolander & Locher, 2014) since in the particular context of Congo-Brazzaville, one can contend that computer-mediated communication has shaped a new sociolinguistic landscape which can be referred to as online sociolinguistic configuration (Tsoumou, 2018).

## **Conclusion**

This paper set out to examine communicative purposes in the English/French alternation among Congolese Facebook users engaging in politically motivated Facebook interactional exchanges. One main research question was therefore posed at the outset (e.g., what triggers the use of English in political communicative exchanges, given that Congo-Brazzaville is a non-English speaking country? In other words, what are the pragmatic functions displayed through the use of English on Facebook?). The findings not only revealed that English is in fact used, but more importantly the instances analyzed show multiple communicative goals achieved using English.

The lingua franca function of the English language worldwide is on the top of the factors influencing and motivating Congolese Facebook users to resource to this language in Facebook interaction. The users tend to be driven by the mere idea that in order to convey the communication on an international scale, a global language is needed regardless of whether all fellow users understand it.

Proficiency in the use of English among Congolese Facebook users is not easy to determine, especially when the interaction occurs online. This is an avenue for future research. Nevertheless, based on the data analyzed, there is a pattern indicating to some extent the pragmatic appropriacy in the use of English on Facebook. In other words, it may be difficult to determine the proficiency of users based on Facebook interactions, but it seems to be clear that Congolese Facebook users are discursively competent as they make use of English words, sentences or phrases with explicit intents. Pragmatic functions found in the analysis point to the argument that Congolese users are pragmatically competent in the use of English since they seem to be knowledgeable of how and when to curse, give advice, or express anger.

Finally, the findings in this paper open avenues to investigation on the extent to which English, as an international language, has affected Congolese communicative exchanges in offline interactions as well, because writing on Facebook shows only one side of the users' competence in the English language. It goes without saying that full mastery of a language requires an assembly of discourse competence, linguistic competence, actional competence, sociocultural competence, and strategic competence, well displayed both in written and spoken discourses. Very specifically, it would be interesting to examine students' appropriation of this language and determine whether there might be a trend to the effect of encouraging and enabling an implementation of English in the national curriculum in the future.

## Notes

The findings reported in this paper are an extension of the findings of my PhD dissertation which aimed to examine codeswitching in computer-mediated communication amongst Congolese people in 2018. The dissertation reported, among many other things, several categories of languages involved in CMC amongst Congolese people. These categories include the unmarked language French, the marked languages involving English, Kituba, Lingala, and ethnic languages. The presence of English came up as a surprise since Congo-Brazzaville is historically a French-speaking country. In the present paper I intend to thoroughly determine specific pragmatic functions of the use of English in politically motivated computer-mediated communication in Congo using the same dataset.

<sup>1</sup>Nethnography is a participant-observation and human based research method which observes and explains online values, cultures, groups and social rituals. Kozinets (2015, p. 18) explains that netnography is a means of obtaining a cultural understanding of human experience from online social interaction and content and presenting them as a form of research.

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