Roby Marlina
Ram Ashish Giri   *Editors*

The Pedagogy of English as an International Language

Perspectives from Scholars, Teachers, and Students

Springer

English Language Education

Roby Marlina • Ram Ashish Giri

Editors

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Foreword

It is widely agreed that effective pedagogy is pedagogy suited to the specific demands of the local context. This is particularly true in the case of the teaching of English as an international language (EIL) where so many variables, including the social and linguistic context, the goals and proficiency of the students, the foreign language requirements of the country, and the proficiency and experience of the teachers, impact the teaching of English. Because of the great diversity of teaching contexts of EIL, no one pedagogy will be suitable for all situations. If, in fact, there is no "one size fits all" EIL pedagogy, what can a book on the pedagogy of English as an international language offer readers?

Clearly any book that attempts to provide simple and universal principles and practices will be ineffective. What there can be, however, are robust examples of how a specific group of teachers, students, and administrators make decisions regarding best practices, decisions that are informed by an awareness of the complexity of the current spread of English, the mobility of people across borders, growing multilingualism on all fronts, and the global exchange goods and information. Fortunately, this book provides such examples.

In a refreshingly new approach to books on the teaching of EIL, the editors of this volume have included not only examples of pedagogical changes that are being implemented in a wide variety of social contexts, but also research on how teachers and students, the major stakeholders in such change, are responding to these changes. These examples are drawn from countries in which English is the sole official language (Australia) or one of the official languages (Malaysia and Hong Kong), as well as countries where English has no official status (Japan, Korea, and Vietnam). In this way, the volume documents how EIL pedagogy is currently being implemented and received in a wide range of social contexts.

Ultimately, as Marlina points out in his introductory chapter, the aim of the book is to "trigger debates about how realistic it is to teach English as a pluricentric language." Such a purpose is particularly timely as English itself, the functions it serves, and the ways it is being used, continue to evolve, as English becomes the

most widely used language in the world. It is with great pleasure then that I introduce
the readers to a book that plays a ground breaking role in the ever-expanding field
of EIL pedagogy.

San Francisco, CA, USA   Sandra Lee McKay
May, 2013

Contents

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The Pedagogy of English as an International Language (EIL): More Reflections and Dialogues

Roby Marlina

Abstract This chapter introduces the conceptual frameworks we adopt in this book project: English as an International Language (EIL) and what it means by the pedagogy of English as an International Language. Then it discusses why it is important to have further discussions and reflections on the pedagogy of EIL. This will be followed by a review of recent literature on teaching EIL and a highlight of what have been over-discussed and/or under-researched – which are the 'gaps' that this edited volume aims to address. Thereafter, it explains how the edited volume is structured and how each chapter addresses the gaps.

Keywords English as an International Language • Pedagogy • TESOL • World Englishes • Pluricentric • Kachruvian circles

1 English 'Going to Strange Shores' and Its Outcomes

Thanks to the colonial and postcolonial expansion of English as well as the help of globalisation, it is widely agreed that the sociolinguistic reality of this language has become far more complex than those of other languages in the world today. This changing reality – envisioned by 1599 minor poet, Samuel Daniel, who fantasised about English going to the 'strange shores' – has led English to acquire the status of an international language, and, thus, prompted a paradigm shift in the field of Applied Linguistics and ELT (Saraceni 2009; Sharifian 2009).

Firstly, as a result of "new technologies bringing new linguistic opportunities, English emerged as a first-rank language in industries which in turn affected all aspects of society – the press, advertising, broadcasting, motion pictures, sound

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recording, transport and communication" (Crystal 1997, p. 111). It became the dominant language in a variety of economic and cultural arenas such as the language of international organisations, of the motion picture industry and popular music, of international travel, of publications, and of education (McKay 2002, 2010, 2012a; Crystal 1997; Graddol 1997). In fact, Fishman (1982) observes that it is the 'non-English-mother-tongue' countries that have been significantly active in using English, and that have enhanced its value in each of the arenas. And, taken together, it is these international roles or functions of English that have given the language the status of an international language.

Secondly, the status of an international language ascribed to English is also a result of the increasing numbers of countries in the world bestowing a special role or priority upon English, either by making it an official language of the country or by requiring its study as a second or foreign language (Crystal 1997; McKay 2002). Statistically, there are over 70 countries in the world that give special status to English. Thus, based on the types of spread, the patterns of acquisition, and the roles of English, Kachru (1986) categorised them into three circles: Inner Circle countries (where English is formally recognised as a national language), Outer Circle countries (former British and American colonies where English is used as an additional institutionalised language and in conjunction with other official local languages), and Expanding Circle countries (where English does not have any official status and yet is often mandated for study as a foreign language). These concentric circles, however, are no longer applicable in today's postmodern globalisation era. For example, the increased human mobility across globe such as mass migration has allowed speakers of different varieties of English to travel across the circles and to settle permanently in other circles (Clyne and Sharifian 2008). Additionally, due to awareness of being competent and proficient in the English language is like "possessing the fabled Aladdin's lamp" (Kachru 1986, p. 1), some Expanding Circle countries have shifted its status and role of English, and are gradually becoming almost similar to the Outer Circle countries (Graddol 1997; Jenkins 2009).

The changing role and status of English in those countries have also suggested changes to the backgrounds of the users of English. This is another increasingly recognised feature that gives English the status of an international language. The 'strange shores' in which English enters are not 'languageless'; the inhabitants of those shores already speak another language or languages, which makes English an additional language to their linguistic repertoire. Today's users of English are predominantly bi-/multilingual users of English. They are fluent in English and in other languages, and they develop and use English in plurilingual contexts (Crystal 1997; McKay 2012a; McKay and Bokhorst-Heng 2008; Graddol 1999). Thirteen years ago, basing his figures on expected population changes, Graddol (1999) envisaged that "the number of people using English as their second/additional language will grow from 235 million to around 462 million during the next 50 years" (p. 62). Although it is difficult to determine the exact numbers of users/speakers of English today, it is clear that "the number of individuals who have some familiarity with the language today is vast and growing" (McKay 2003, p. 11).

What is also clear is that nearly 80 % of today's communication in English takes place between bi-/multilingual speakers of English (Graddol 2006), meaning

that the so-called monolingual 'native-speakers'[1] of English have more than likely become 'the minority' (Bloch and Starks 1999; Graddol 1999; Jenkins 2009; McKay 2003). The forces of globalisation such as the explosion of advanced information technologies and human mobility across the globe have further led to uncertainty of the lingua-cultural backgrounds of the interlocutors with whom people communicate in English. What is definitely certain is that today's communicative exchanges are plurilingual in nature, characterised by "variation in linguistic and cultural behaviour" (Xu 2002, p. 231), and take place between speakers whose lingua-cultural backgrounds are often diverse and complex.

This global expansion of English and the increase in the numbers of bi-/multilingual speakers of English in the world have further led to emergence of different varieties of world Englishes (Graddol 2001; Kachru 1986). Journals such as World Englishes, English Today, and English World Wide, have been publishing for decade research studies that use a wide range of methodological approaches to document explicitly the newly emerged and emergent Englishes in different parts of the world. These publications collectively and unanimously illustrate and argue that when English is brought into a particular society, the language and its culture are 'appropriated' (Canagarajah 1999a) and 're-nationalised' (McKay 2002) to 'suit the local tastebud' (Marlina 2010) and to project their own cultural and linguistic identities. Therefore, with its pluralised forms, English is a vehicle for users of English to project their cultural identities and to express their cultural conceptualisations (Sharifian 2011) to those outside their local milieu. In today's communicative settings, speakers of English are likely to use the varieties of English they know and other languages they speak (depending on their interlocutors' linguistic backgrounds); and to employ various pragmatic strategies to negotiate with other speakers of English in order to achieve mutual intelligibility.

2 EIL, WE, ELF: A Variety of English? A Perspective? A Function of English?

The above changing contemporary sociolinguistic reality of English language has led a growing number of linguists and/or applied linguists (e.g., Bolton 2005; Brutt-Griffler 2002; Jenkins 2009; Kachru 1986; Kirkpatrick 2010a, 2011; Seidlhofer 2005; Smith 1976, 1978, 1981; Sharifian 2009, to name a few) to develop different frameworks or academic approaches to conceptualising, researching, and

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[1]In this volume, the term 'native-speaker' is used to refer to speakers of the so-called 'Standard' American or British English whose English is often 'glorified' as well as used as the model for teaching, learning, and assessment. We acknowledge the complexity of this label thanks to the global expansion of English, and the political construct behind the dichotomy of 'native' and 'non-native'. By writing the term with 'inverted commas', we indicate our attempt to challenge it, and our awareness that it is a problematic classification.

learning/teaching English – English as an International Language (EIL), World Englishes (WE), English as a Lingua Franca (ELF). In sometimes similar and sometimes different ways, these frameworks have challenged the taken-for-granted or unquestioned superiority of the notions such as 'the Queen's English', 'Received Pronunciation', or 'General American', and they have put forward a more liberal and democratic view, which has led Kubota (2012) to call it as the "anti-normative paradigm". Despite being collectively categorised as the anti-normative paradigm, there have been terminological debates about WE, EIL, and ELF in the literature (Matsuda and Friedrich 2010; Prodromou 2007) and therefore the ways in which they are conceptualised and interpreted have not been consistent. Since it is beyond the scope of this book to highlight these debates and unpack each of these frameworks, I shall explain why I have chosen EIL as the main philosophical approach adopted for this edited volume.

EIL tends to be conceptualised differently by different scholars: 'paradigms or perspectives' (McKay 2002; Sharifian 2009); 'the functions or uses of English in international contexts' (Matsuda and Friedrich 2010); and 'a variety of English' (Tomlinson 2003; Widdowson 1997). For this volume, EIL is conceptualised as a perspective (McKay 2002) or "a paradigm for thinking, research, and practice" (Sharifian 2009, p. 2). In other words, EIL is regarded as a linguistic and epistemological lens for researchers, scholars, and educators to 'put on' in order to critically:

- revisit and reconsider their ways of conceptualising English,
- re-assess their analytical tools and the approaches they adopt in the sociolinguistics of English and TESOL disciplines, and
- revise their pedagogical strategies for English language education in the light of the tremendous changes that English has undergone as a result of its global expansion in recent decades.

EIL, as a paradigm, recognises the international functions of English and its use in a variety of cultural and economic arenas by speakers of English from diverse lingua-cultural backgrounds who do not speak each other's mother tongues. However, this does not mean that there is a particular single variety of English called 'EIL', like ESP – English for Specific Purposes (Widdowson 1997) – that is shared by those speakers and is used specifically for international purposes such as English for International Aviation or International Business English. There are in fact cases in which EIL is confused with or mistakenly referred to as 'International English'. As Sharifian (2009) argues, "the use of an adjective plus 'English' often suggests a particular variety (e.g. Australian English or Singaporean English) and 'International English' can suggest a particular variety of English . . . being selected as a lingua franca for international communication" (p. 2). Agreeing with Sharifian (2009), the EIL paradigm "rejects the notion of a single variety of English which serves as the medium for international communication. English, with its pluralised forms, is a language of international and intercultural communication" (p. 2). In international communicative encounters, for example in a putatively English communicative exchange between a Chinese Indonesian, a Maldivian, a Chinese Mauritian, and an Italian New Zealander at a train-station in Singapore, they are

likely bring to their use of English a variety or varieties they are most familiar with; and are likely to employ various strategies from their multilingual and perhaps multidialectal repertoire to negotiate linguistic and other differences to ensure and achieve successful communication and mutual intelligibility.

In conceptualising and discussing EIL as a paradigm, it does not mean that WE and ELF are entirely irrelevant. In fact, I believe and would like to argue that the EIL paradigm cannot be separated from WE and ELF. Because the EIL paradigm acknowledges the diversification of English as a result of the global spread of the language, EIL recognises Kachruvian World Englishes, and emphasises the relevance of world Englishes in the teaching, learning, and thinking about English today (Matsuda 2002, 2009; Matsuda and Friedrich 2010; Sharifian 2009). However, the notion of 'world Englishes' is also diversely interpreted and inconsistently used by researchers and scholars who have studied various aspects of different varieties of English in the world. Bolton (2005) has found different ways in which this notion is used. On one hand, Kachruvian school of thought conceptualises World Englishes (with capital letters) as a paradigm that "captures the dynamic nature of world-wide spread of the language" (Matsuda and Friedrich 2010, p. 3). They call for the equal recognition of the varieties of English from Outer and Expanding circle countries, and argue for "the importance of inclusivity and pluricentricity in approaches to the linguistics of English worldwide" (Bolton 2005, p. 204). On the other hand, World Englishes, as varieties of English, are often referred to either *all* varieties of English in the world or only the 'new Englishes' in the Outer Circle countries where English arrived as a colonial language and later became established as an additional language (Bolton 2005). One of the criticisms that Saraceni (2009) offers about the WE paradigm is that it overlooks the diversity of English spoken within a single nation, i.e. regional varieties of English, sociolects, and idiolects. He argues that "the evolution of English is progressing in a complex manner which cuts across borders . . . it evolves in ways that escape academic description . . . and young users of English mix global and local norms freely" (Saraceni 2009, p. 183). Canagarajah (1999a) adds that Kachruvian WE tends to:

> ignore the ideological implications of the legitimating periphery Englishes. In his attempt to systematise the periphery variants, he has to standardise the language [which then valorises] the educated versions of local English and leaving out many eccentric, hybrid forms of local English as unsystematic (p. 180)

As a paradigm that promotes a pluricentric view of English, I advocate that the EIL paradigm embraces/recognises all varieties of English at national, regional, social, and idiolectal levels in all circles as equal.

Since EIL gives legitimate recognition of varieties of English spoken by the so-called 'non-native' speakers, the EIL paradigm also views the need to take into consideration a new branch of research, English as a Lingua Franca (ELF), and the works of its proponents (such as Jenkins 2000, 2006a, 2007; Kirkpatrick 2010b, 2011, 2012; Seidlhofer 2006). ELF scholars explore and describe the use of English used by the so-called 'non-native' speakers from countries where English does not have an historically-established presence and where the so-called 'native-speakers' are absent or excluded. This can be observed in their newly-discovered

varieties of English such as the Lingua Franca Core (Jenkins 2000), ASEAN English (Kirkpatrick 2010b), Euro-English (Seidlhofer 2006), ELFA or English as a Lingua Franca in Academic Settings (Mauranen 2006; Mauranen and Ranta 2008). Although I, as an EIL paradigm advocate, believe and recognise the relevance and importance of these works, the underlying ontological assumptions that "ELF and EIL are one and the same phenomenon, and that both refer to lingua franca uses of English primarily along its non-mother-tongue-speakers" (Jenkins 2007, p. xi) runs counter to those of the EIL paradigm. Firstly, although the EIL paradigm acknowledges the fact that 80 % of communication in English takes place between 'non-native' speakers, it does not claim that communication in English or varieties of English encountered in international contexts excludes 'native-speakers'. Second, as mentioned before, the EIL paradigm rejects the idea of having a single variety of English as the chosen form of English for global communication. Although the view of English promoted by ELF scholars is somewhat liberating, to a large extent, it still promotes a particular variety of English or a predetermined set of several varieties (ASEAN English or Euro-English) as 'the core' and gives other varieties less equal recognition. As Matsuda and Friedrich (2012) strongly assert,

> Proposing and teaching a 'standard' or 'core' variety of English in international contexts would create an additional layer in the English language hierarchy to which different people would have different degrees of access, and that, as a result would generate inequity among speakers of different Englishes (p. 19)

If there needs to be a 'core' or a 'base' to a variety of English, then one should look toward the diversity and complexity of the form, user, and culture of the language as some sort of dynamic and mutable core of the EIL paradigm.

I acknowledge and am aware of the fact that it is virtually impossible to expect all scholars and, specifically, the contributors of this volume to share and adopt the same perspective because all of us have our own ideological standpoint and therefore have our own preferred paradigm and its ontological assumptions. Despite the different perspectives some of our contributors adopt, there is one view that we all unanimously advocate for and that ties the whole volume together. We believe in and emphasise the importance of recognising the pluricentricity of English and the equal treatment given to all varieties of English and its speakers. Differences in English are neither viewed as fossil-ridden examples of interlanguages nor inferior examples of incorrect speech or 'half-baked quackery' (Quirk 1990). However, they are recognised as "sociolinguistically normal, necessary, and intrinsic to language varieties" (Tollefson 2007, p. 30).

3 The Pedagogy of EIL

The changing sociolinguistic reality of English and the paradigm shift in the field discussed above have led many prolific scholars in the field (to name a few, Alsagoff et al. 2012; Matsuda 2012a; McKay 2002; Smith 1983; Sharifian 2009) to rigorously

promote the significance of teaching English as a heterogeneous language with multiple grammars, vocabulary, accents, and pragmatic discourse conventions. English language practitioners and teacher-educators have been urged to challenge the view of adopting a 'monomodel' (Kachru 1992) or 'a native-speaker' model (Kirkpatrick 2006) to teaching English. Since "no one can avoid being part of the current of linguistic change or variation, and avoid bathing in the sea of linguistic variety" (Crystal 1999, p. 19), English language educators have been encouraged to re-visit and re-examine their *teaching methodology* (Brown 2006; Kumaravadivelu 2003), *instructional variety and model* (Kirkpatrick 2006; Matsuda and Friedrich 2012), *curriculum and syllabus materials* (Brown 2012; Gray 2002; Marlina and Giri 2013; Matsuda 2005, 2012b; McKay 2003, 2012b), *language testing* (Canagarajah 2006; Hu 2012; Jenkins 2006b; Lowenberg 2012), and *TESOL teacher-education program* (Dogancay-Aktuna 2006; Dogancay-Aktuna and Hardman 2012; Manara 2012; Sifakis 2007) in the light of the changing nature of English. Informed by the EIL paradigm, teaching EIL or EIL pedagogy means the act of professionally guiding students from all Kachruvian circles to (1) gain knowledge and awareness of the pluricentricity of English and the plurilingual nature of today's communication; (2) inspire students to give equal and legitimate recognition of all varieties of English; and (3) develop the ability to negotiate and communicate respectfully across cultures and Englishes in today's communicative settings that are international, intercultural, and multilingual in nature. The following table provides a summary of what specific knowledge, attitudes, and skills that are crucial attributes expected in today's employment (Briguglio 2005), and that EIL scholars advise language teachers to inspire their students to develop (Table 1).

4 Another Book on Teaching EIL – Still Not Enough?

The editors' response to that question is 'yes, another book! And no, it's still not enough!' because of the following reasons.

It is, without doubt, that (teaching) EIL is no longer an unfamiliar concept or term in the current discourses on English Language Teaching (ELT). As Matsuda (2012a) observes in her recently edited book, there have been a large number of TESOL journals and conferences that include works that discuss issues in teaching and learning of EIL. Sharing a similar observation with her, we have also observed that there has been a growth in a number of books dedicated specifically to the topic on teaching EIL (Alsagoff et al. 2012; McKay 2002; McKay and Bokhorst-Heng 2008; Matsuda 2012a; Sharifian 2009; Smith 1983). Jenkins (2006a), however, brings to our attention that these works are still "the exception rather than the rule" (p. 158). My experience in presenting at a number of national and international TESOL conferences in the Asia-Pacific region and the responses that I have received

Table 1 EIL-inspired knowledge, attitudes, and skills

Knowledge and awareness	Knowledge of the spread of English and its implications Knowledge of other varieties of English Knowledge of the nature of language diversification and changes Awareness of the values of cultural and linguistic diversity Awareness of the sociopolitical awareness of the spread of English and its impact on other languages	Briguglio (2006), Crystal (1999), Kubota (2001a, b, 2012), Matsuda (2002, 2005, 2009, 2012b), and McKay (2002, 2003)
Attitudes	Having a view of English as a heterogeneous language with multiple norms Sensitivity toward the unprecedented spread and diversification of English Recognising the legitimacy of other varieties of English International understanding Acceptance towards different cultures Confidence in facing up to linguistically intransigent elements in the world Attitudinal resources: i.e., patience and humility to negotiate differences	Baumgardner (2006), Briguglio (2006), Canagarajah (2006), Crystal (1999), Higgins (2003), Li (2007), Shim (2002), Shin (2004), and Matsuda (2002, 2005, 2009)
Skills	Negotiation skills – such as speech accommodation – for shuttling between English varieties and speech communities Interpersonal strategies: i.e., repair, rephrase, clarification, gestures, topic change, consensus-orientation, mutual support Multidialectal competence – involving passive competence to understand new varieties of English and the capacity to negotiate diverse varieties of English Listening skills Analytical and reflective skills	Briguglio (2006), Canagarajah (2006), Crystal (1999), Firth (1996), and Matsuda (2009)

from the attendees about my presentations that predominantly advocate for the importance of teaching English as a pluricentric language echo Jenkins' (2006a) view:

> *EIL again! heard and read about it! It's very confusing. I still don't know what it is. And I think it's not really practical to teach different types of English*

> *Yeah, I know what you guys are saying! Our non-native English students speak their own English, but that's just not Standard English. We just have to be parochial! They need to speak the correct English which is our Standard native English*

> *I'm not sure if my students like to be confused. When I want to learn, for example, Arabic, I don't want to know Arabic spoken in different countries. That's just a waste of time! I would expect my teacher to keep things simple for me.*

> *I think it's enough for us to hear about scholars like yourself telling us to teach EIL, but has anyone really implemented what you have just presented? And how do they feel?*

> *I've taught one lesson using EIL as a framework and I just can't see how it could work*[2]

Even though those conferences had EIL as either a main theme or sub-theme, the above comments indicate that there is still a hunger for, what I prefer to call, 'PESTS', which stands for '**P**racticality' (*not practical to teach different types of English*), '**E**fficiency' (*just a waste of time*), '**St**andards' (*need to learn standard native English*), and '**S**implicity' (*don't like to be confused, keep things simple*). Some of the above comments are also often heard from the students from the undergraduate EIL program, as well as in the postgraduate TESOL teacher-education program in which I have taught. Therefore, what messages have my co-editor and I received from here?

Though the above comments reflect a minimal understanding of the dynamic nature of language using/learning/teaching, they also indicate that the discourses on teaching EIL are still not solid and convincing enough. We are aware that there is a wealth of writing that offers theoretical principles of how to teach EIL. However, the responses from the conference attendees and our 6-year-experience of inspiring our very own students to learn about the principles offered by those writings have prompted us to realise that some of them seem to be relatively vague and are not representative of the voices of the stakeholders such as educators, students, and so on. This vagueness has prompted our students to feel confused and to describe this perspective as 'utopian'. Occasionally, we even struggled to respond to our students when they asked us how to implement these theoretical principles into an actual learning context. In the light of this, we argue that it is important to have more writings on the theoretical principles of teaching English as a pluricentric language, which are based on and developed from thorough observations of the sociolinguistic reality of English within an actual socio-cultural context. Using several countries in the Asia-Pacific region as illustrative exemplars, a number of contributors in this

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[2]All of these quotes were not necessarily the exact words of the conference attendees, but a re-creation based on the notes that I wrote (after the conference) in my reflective journals. There are some other comments which I deliberately excluded as they were largely xenophobic.

volume offer a number of principles of teaching EIL or food-for-thought that educators can consider implementing into their own lessons, curricula, or study programs. This is not to suggest that these principles serve as a 'blanket' for other socio-cultural contexts, but it can help motivate EIL researchers, educators, or students to reflect on or to conduct further research on the extent to which these principles can be applied to other contexts, and to propose further principles of teaching EIL.

In addition, we believe and argue that the discourses of teaching EIL may also need to move forward. There still need to be more writings and critical reflections that focus specifically on the pragmatic dimension of teaching EIL, which is still lacking in the current discourses on teaching EIL. Though it is important for scholars to propose theoretical principles of teaching EIL, we also need to be realistic about the application of these principles. In other words, we need to move from the phase of '*let's consider change*' to '*let's see if change is already taking place*'. As Wee (2013) argues in his review on one of the recently published edited book on teaching EIL, a set of proposals about teaching EIL would be more effective if they include or "trigger debates about just how realistic it might be to try to implement particular suggestions" (p. 203) as opposed to just informing teachers what/how to teach EIL. Therefore, in this volume, we include writings that include voices of teachers who have already implemented change or incorporated the principles underpinning the EIL paradigm into existing course, program, policy, or educational system, and their reflections on their experiences of doing so. Not only do these writings solely aim to showcase 'how-to-do-it', but they also aim to demonstrate that there is already a change in orientation and attitudes towards the teaching of English in reality.

Hence, to further address how realistic it might be to translate the EIL paradigm into practice, we also need to include voices or critical reflections from teachers and students about their views on the implementability of EIL paradigm; and from teachers who are teaching/have already taught EIL, as well as students who are studying/have already studied EIL. As suggested by Li (2009), it is high time that researchers in the field to include voices, views, or reactions of both 'native' and 'non-native' speakers on a range of delicate and contentious issues that the fields of study have raised, promoted, and advocated. Therefore, after reading about or seeing '*if change is already taking place or can take place*', it is also important to '*see how people react to this change*' and '*critically reflect on this change*', which are sorely missing in the literature. Through projects that adopt a wide range of methodological approaches, from a quantitative study to a narrative-based study, a number of contributors of this edited volume explore how the principles or mindsets advocated by the EIL paradigm are received by English language teachers, teacher-educators, and/or students. These writings aim to highlight the fact that incorporating EIL into classrooms and changing students and/or teachers' (or perhaps a community/society) beliefs are not a simple journey – what the tensions, conflicts, struggle, and challenges EIL teachers and/or students may experience in becoming advocates of or advocating for the EIL paradigm. The use of narratives, by some of our contributors to present their experiences, is powerful in a sense that it allows people to understand experience and the impact of the experience itself; to develop a different way of understanding teaching (Bell 2002; Carter 1993; Doecke

and Parr 2009) EIL; and to bring forward some deeply hidden assumptions to surface, such as any assumptions about the goals, purposes, and methods of teaching that are taken for granted (Bell 2002; Holliday 2007; Simons 2009). The aim of these discussions is not to argue that teaching EIL is impossible. Rather, it may serve as a springboard for further discussions on what else EIL-inspired educators can do more in order to enhance the teaching and learning of EIL or to further develop solid EIL-oriented programs, curriculum, or lessons.

This edited book attempts to address the gap outlined above, which contributes to the current discourses on teaching EIL. Specifically, it also attempts to showcase and/or trigger debates about how realistic it is to teach English as a pluricentric language.

5 Overview of the Book

This book is divided into two sections, which I will elaborate in the following. In the first section, scholars draw readers' attention to the changing sociolinguistic reality of English, and encourage them to consider a change in the way they teach English or conceptualise English language teaching based on the suggested principles. The second section addresses the experiences and dimensions of change. In order to inspire readers to consider change, some scholars in this section inform their readers that there is already a change taking place in an actual teaching and learning context; and that attempts have already been made to translate the principles or beliefs advocated by the EIL paradigm into practice. However, other scholars also in the second section would like to acknowledge and address that sometimes when change is demanded, there are occasions where we may overlook the fact that changing one's thinking and practice is (1) not a simple task; (2) a time-consuming process; and (3) often filled with tensions and conflicts. Therefore, voices, views, experiences, and critical reflections from teachers and students in relation to the change or specifically about the change need to be included and made audible.

The three chapters in the first section act as calls for change by offering theoretical principles for teaching English as an International Language which are developed on the basis of thorough observations of the sociolinguistic and sociocultural reality of English in a particular region, country, or city in which the communicative exchanges are often international and intercultural in nature. Based on the contemporary sociolinguistic reality of English in ASEAN region and on the Asian Corpus English (ACE) corpora, Kirkpatrick, in Chapter "Teaching English in Asia in Non-Anglo Cultural Contexts: Principles of the 'Lingua Franca Approach'", outlines six principles of the Lingua Franca Approach that collectively aim at developing intercultural ASEAN communicative competence, which can be realistically used to inform the teaching and learning of English in the ASEAN contexts. Focussing on a multilingual and multicultural inner circle country (Australia) in which communication in English continues to become more intercultural and multi-varietal in nature, Sharifian in Chapter "Teaching English as an

International Language in Multicultural Contexts: Focus on Australia" advocates for the development of two important competencies – multi-varietal and metacultural competence – that Australian English language educators are encouraged to view as the teaching/learning goals in order to realise teaching EIL in Australia. Witnessing the interest in fostering intercultural speakers of English in the South Korean national curriculum as a result of globalisation and the internationalisation of English, Park and Kim in Chapter "Teaching and Learning of EIL in Korean Culture and Context" discuss ways in which English language educators in South Korea can realistically implement an EIL paradigm in order to achieve the national curriculum objective, and at the same time to problematise the view of 'native-speaker-supremacy' embedded within the current characteristics of ELT in South Korea.

Now that there are already calls for change, the following six chapters serve to show how English language educators in different parts of Asia respond to Wee's (2013) concern by demonstrating and arguing that change is already taking place. In Chapter "English as an International Language and Three Challenging Issues in English Language Teaching in Japan", Honna and Takeshita showcase (1) how the American English Speaker Model (that has been practised for a long time) is now being challenged and is beginning to lose its 'prestige' in Japan; and that (2) ELT specialists in Japan are now heading towards the adoption and the implementation of Japanese English Speaker Model. Doan in Chapter "Teaching the Target Culture in English Teacher Education Programs: Issues of EIL in Vietnam" also reports similar observations. The results of the interviews that he conducted with a number of English language educators from different universities in different parts of Vietnam reveal that there is a sign that English language teacher-education in Vietnam is shifting its paradigm from the teaching of culture based on a monocentric to a pluricentric approach to teaching that places an emphasis on the pluricentricity of English, its user, and therefore its culture. This sign is also felt and observed in the neighbouring country, Malaysia in Chapter "Implementing EIL Paradigm in ELT Classrooms: Voices of Experienced and Pre-Service English Language Educators in Malaysia". Ali's interview results with experienced English language educators and initial TESL teacher-educators have also demonstrated a positive attitude towards the beliefs advocated by the EIL paradigm, and a belief in the bright prospect for the teaching of English based on the EIL paradigm in Malaysia. Even though some participants in her study are aware of the challenges in the implementation, they are aware of and even propose ways to initiate change. In an attempt to show that change is also already taking place and being implemented, van den Hoven, in Chapter "Teaching Teachers to Teach English as an International Language: A Korean Case", reflects on the way she uses the principles of teaching EIL to re-design culture course for in-service teachers in a Korean TESOL certificate program. Similarly, Xu, in Chapter "Teaching and Assessing EIL Vocabulary in Hong Kong", also presents his reflections on the way he uses the principles of teaching EIL to develop his teaching approaches and assessment strategies in teaching a 'Vocabulary Studies' course to English language and English language teaching majored students at a university in Hong Kong. While Chapters "Teaching Teachers to Teach English as an International Language: A Korean Case" and "The Relocation of Culture

in the Teaching of English as an International Language" showcase attempts by university educators to 'EIL-ise' their courses, Chapter "Teaching and Assessing EIL Vocabulary in Hong Kong" presents an attempt by initial English teacher-education students to integrate the principles advocated by the EIL paradigm into their mini-lessons on 'teaching culture' in a Micro-teaching course at a university in Indonesia. Based on her analyses of their reflective journals, lesson plans, and teaching materials, Zacharias have found out that Inner-Circle cultures are used in their mini-lessons, but are taught (not predominantly) in conjunction with global cultures as well as local Indonesian cultures which the students feel more enthusiastic and comfortable to use.

However, in response to the numerous pedagogical implications of EIL offered in the literature of teaching EIL, Tupas in Chapter "The Unequal Production of Knowledge in the Sociolinguistics of Englishes", argues that those implications seem to have overlooked the need to recognise and treat teachers as co-constructors of knowledge as opposed to passive recipients; and classrooms as sites for intellectual inquiry as opposed to premises for implementing a theoretical proposition. Based on the narratives of three English language teachers from Indonesia, Vietnam, and the Philippine, he argues that the pedagogical implications need to be products of dialogues between scholars and teachers, and need to consider a myriad of issues or challenges that English language teachers face in language teaching. Therefore, Chapters "The Cosmetics of Teaching English as an International Language in Japan: A Critical Reflection" and ""So What Do You Want Us to Do?": A Critical Reflection of Teaching English as an International Language in an Australian Context" provide readers with voices of EIL-inspired educators who share their critical reflections on and inquiry into the pedagogical implications of the plurality of English. Based on his observations of ELT in Japan and critical reflections on his experiences as an EIL-inspired educator, Toh in Chapter "The Cosmetics of Teaching English as an International Language in Japan: A Critical Reflection" uncovers the prevailing native-speaker-supremacy ideology embedded within the discourse and practice of ELT in Japan, and the contradicting views of English as a language for the nation's internationalisation initiatives and as a threat to local culture. These factors have prompted EIL-inspired educators to experience uncertainty about or challenges in applying the pedagogical implications that encourage language teachers in Japan to teach Japanese English. In Chapter ""So What Do You Want Us to Do?": A Critical Reflection of Teaching English as an International Language in an Australian Context", Manara takes the readers into an actual scenario of teaching in an EIL-oriented program in an Australian university. A critical inquiry into her practice of implementing the EIL paradigm has prompted her to become aware and critical of a utopian view of diversity embedded in her practice of teaching EIL, and also to claim the need to recognise the struggles and tensions that both EIL-inspired educators and students are likely to experience in teaching and learning EIL. There needs to be a space for students to voice and inquire into the tensions and struggles they experience as a result of a clash between anti-normative discourses promoted by an EIL-curriculum, lesson, or program; and the native-speaker-supremacy ideology embedded within the discursive practices outside classrooms.

In order to further explore responses to change and how realistic it might to implement the pedagogical implications of EIL, there also needs to be an inclusion of voices from "the treasure in our very own backyards: our students" (Soo Hoo 1993, p. 390) who I argue, are also co-constructors of knowledge as opposed to passive recipients. Educators can lose a powerful opportunity to learn about their own pedagogical practices if students' perceptions and experiences are not involved in their critical reflections on their teaching (Nieto 1999). Therefore, the following scholars critically discuss the pedagogical implications of EIL from students' perspectives. Based on his in-depth interviews with Korean learners of English in Australia, Pollard, in Chapter "The Realities of Real English: Voices from Those Exposed", claims that the ideology of native-speakerism is still very much alive in the mind of these learners. He argues that this mindset tends to have been prompted by the reality of English communication in Australia: (1) the view of communication in English as a one-way-street which is reflected in the assimilationist discursive practices in Australia; and (2) linguistic discrimination or divide. In addition to teaching different varieties of English, ELT community may need to be critical of the above reality in order to contribute to the appreciation of EIL in Australia. While students in Pollard's chapter have not had any exposure to an EIL-oriented curriculum, students in Chapter "The WEs/EIL Paradigm and Japan's NS Propensity: Going Beyond the 'Friendly Face' of West-Based TESOL" have already engaged in learning about the diversity of English in a department of World Englishes at a university in Japan. Despite of the exposure, D'Angelo's quantitative analysis of the students' attitudes towards their ELT experience still indicates (1) a predilection for a native-speaker model; (2) minimal understanding of World Englishes; and (3) a potential challenge in developing metacultural competence and a competence in Japanese English. Though D'Angelo mentions the reasons underlying those attitudes in a brief manner, a discussion on the narrative of an EIL graduate from Australia who taught English in Japan in the following chapter extends those reasons. Also confirming the experiences of Toh in Chapter The Cosmetics of Teaching English as an International Language in Japan: A Critical Reflection, Giri and Foo, in Chapter "On Teaching EIL in a Japanese Context: The Power Within and Power Without", have presented the struggles and challenges that Foo experienced when teaching English in Japan with a perspective offered by his EIL lecturer (Giri). While Foo enthusiastically intended to advocate the works of EIL scholars and his lecturer in his own teaching, he was met with resistance, powerful discourses, and practices from his surroundings that were indicative of a support for the ideology of native-speakerism. Not only has this narrative imply that some theoretical propositions offered by EIL scholars may sound far-fetched, but it has also prompted Giri, as an EIL lecturer, to re-think his pedagogical practices.

Although the last few chapters in this edited volume may sound 'negative', they are not aimed to suggest that the teaching of EIL is infeasible and has no prospect. Instead, it is feasible and has a bright future if EIL-inspired educators are ready to employ a different way of conceptualising these struggles, tensions, and conflicts. Inspired by Bakhtinian perspective, I would not regard or view struggles, tensions, and conflicts in learning EIL as negative or signs of rebellion against the paradigm,

but as *natural* reactions or responses to a different way of seeing the world, especially one that encourages its followers to 'swim against the current' that has been flowing in one direction for a very long time. When people engage in learning or understanding a particular subject matter, they are, at the same time, cognitively engaging in dialogues with many other voices or discourses on that particular subject matter to which they have previously been exposed, and into which they have previously been socialised. As Canagarajah (1993) concurs, students/teachers do not leave behind them at the classroom door voices and discourses that they have heard and developed from their social relations, their rural upbringings, or their relationships to their parents; instead, they bring them in with them. As they encounter different words/discourses or different ways of understanding the world, "words from the past that echo in our minds as we converse with one another, the routines that we follow in order to participate in institutional settings, the communities or social networks to which we belong" (Doecke and Kostogriz 2008, p. 82) are used as referential frameworks to evaluate the extent to which these new discourses make sense. In social environments where individuals encounter interactions of competing and clashing multiple discourses or voices, "humans inherently experience [tension and] struggle to assimilate discourses that they feel make sense" (Assaf and Dooley 2006, p. 5). These struggles and tensions that learners experience in understanding their own and other's ideological beliefs are the stepping stone for individuals to develop their own ideological standpoint. Therefore, in a context of teaching and learning, "the social interactions that are most effective in promoting learning are those that are filled with tension and conflict" (Freedman and Ball 2004, p. 6). Specifically, language teaching in general or programs that specialise in teaching linguistic and cultural pluralism should not isolate themselves from sociopolitical questions (Pennycook 1990, 1999, 2000) or "buries our eyes ostrich-like to the political evils and ideological temptations outside" (Canagarajah 1999b, p. 201), but to provide a space for students and teachers to problematise or inquire into those questions, political evils, and temptations; and to envisage versions of a world that is 'not yet', or alternative possibilities for organising social life. By suggesting this, I am not intending to provide solution, but to further trigger debates or open up further conversations on how realistic it might be to teach EIL. It is because, as Bakhtin (1981, cited in Manara, in this volume) states, dialogues and learning about the pedagogy of EIL are dynamic, ongoing, and 'unfinalised'.

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Part I
Consider Change

Teaching English in Asia in Non-Anglo Cultural Contexts: Principles of the 'Lingua Franca Approach'

Andy Kirkpatrick

Abstract The major role that English plays throughout Asia is as a lingua franca. That is to say people throughout Asia primarily use English as a means of communication with each other, rather than with native speakers of English from inner circle countries. This means that multilingual Asians from diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds are using English to communicate with each other.

In this chapter, it will be argued that the increasingly important role of English as a lingua franca in the Asian region provides an opportune moment to review radically traditional English language teaching policy, practice and pedagogy. For example, is the native speaker an appropriate teacher in these contexts or is a multilingual teacher with knowledge of Asian cultures a more appropriate teacher? In debating this issue, the following sub-questions will be debated.

If English is being used primarily among Asian multilinguals:

  (i) what might be sensible and appropriate language learning goals?
 (ii) should linguistic benchmarks be derived from idealised native speaker norms or from Asian multilinguals?
(iii) should a monolingual or multilingual classroom pedagogy be adopted?
(iv) which and whose cultures and pragmatic norms should be taught?
 (v) whose literatures should be introduced and taught?
(vi) who might make appropriate English language teachers and what skills/ knowledge would such teachers need?

The chapter will conclude by proposing that a new approach to the teaching of English as a lingua franca will help promote more successful English language teaching and learning, while also promoting the status of Asian cultures and languages.

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Keywords Pedagogy and practice • Multilingual pedagogy • Cultures in language teaching • Multilingual teachers

1 Introduction

In this chapter I shall propose a number of principles for what I have called the lingua franca approach to English language teaching (Kirkpatrick 2012a). As the context for this will be East and Southeast Asia, I shall first briefly describe how English is being used as a lingua franca in this region. For a full description, please see Kirkpatrick 2010.

In 2009, the Charter of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) made English the sole working language of the Association. This had been the de facto position for many years (Krasnick 1995), but the ASEAN Charter formalised the use of English as ASEAN's sole working language. All discussion and negotiation among the ten nations of Southeast Asia which make up ASEAN is in English and all documents are in English. As far as I am aware, this represents the first time an organisation which has no official members from traditionally Anglophone countries has decided to make English the *sole* working language.

This means that people whose first language will be one of several possible Asian languages, use English as the official means of communication. In this sense, then, English functions as a lingua franca in a situation where no-one is necessarily advantaged by speaking English as their first language. This provides a striking contrast with the use of English as a lingua franca in other situations, such as the European Union, for example.

The linguistic situation is not quite as clear cut as it may appear, however, as many of the chapters in this volume illustrate. Here I simply note three basic points. First, delegates from countries where English has played an institutional role for many years, typically countries that were colonies of either Britain or the United States, may enjoy a linguistic advantage. In the ASEAN group, these nations include Brunei, Malaysia, the Philippines and Singapore. The second related point is that the level of English proficiency, generally speaking, in countries such as Cambodia, Laos, Thailand and Vietnam is not as high as in the postcolonial countries and this creates inequalities. Third, some ASEAN organisations employ first language speakers of English, although these never hold the most senior positions. Generally speaking, however, the great majority of people who are engaged in ASEAN business are first language speakers of Asian languages who use English as their lingua franca.

ASEAN therefore provides an international context which is both non Anglophone and non-Anglo-cultural but where English is routinely used. This post Anglophone post Anglo-cultural situation has been identified by Cambodian government officials in the following ways.

> We need to know English so that we can defend our interests. You know, ASEAN is not some kissy-kissy brotherhood. The countries are fiercely competitive, and a strong knowledge of English will help us protect Cambodian interests (Clayton 2006: 230–1).

And, more succinctly, 'You know, when we use English, we don't think about the United States or England. We only think about the need to communicate' (Clayton 2006: 233).

In addition, therefore, to the usual motivations for learning English – to be able to participate in globalisation and modernisation, for example – ASEAN's language policy offers a further powerful motivation for the learning of English. It is not surprising, therefore, that nine of the ten ASEAN nations have English as a compulsory subject in primary school. Some even have it as a medium of instruction (Brunei and the Philippines). In Singapore it is *the* medium of instruction. In the other countries, English is typically introduced from Primary 3. Indonesia is the only ASEAN country where English is not a compulsory subject in primary school. But, even in Indonesia, English is far and away the most common language taught in schools, other than Indonesian itself (Hadisantosa 2010).

To sum up this brief introduction, English plays an unusual, if not unique, role as a lingua franca in ASEAN. It has sole official status among a group of ten nations which are way beyond the so-called Anglo-sphere, and where first language speakers of English are, if not irrelevant, at least in a very small minority. It is against this background and within this context that the lingua franca approach to English language teaching is proposed. While I believe this has particular relevance for ASEAN, it may be that it is also relevant in other contexts. To name two, the grouping informally known as ASEAN+3 comprises the ten nations of ASEAN, plus China, Japan and Korea. The second example is the BRICS group, made up of Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa. Although there are first language speakers of English in South Africa, the overwhelming majority of people in the group are multilinguals who have learned English as an additional language and who are far removed from Anglocultural centres. It is worth noting that the nations of the BRICS group comprise well over half of the world's current population. It is with these contexts in mind that the principles of the lingua franca approach to English language teaching should be evaluated.

2   Principles of the Lingua Franca Approach

Principle#1 The native speaker of English is not the linguistic target. Mutual intelligibility is the goal.

The role of English as a lingua franca in ASEAN means that English is primarily used between multilinguals whose first languages comprise a variety of Asian languages and who have learned English as an additional language. There is no need for such people to approximate native speaker norms.

First, there is no need for such people to *sound* like native speakers of English (Walker 2010). Apart from the obvious point that there are many varieties of native speaker English, all of which are distinguished by different accents and pronunciation so that the notion of a native speaker pronunciation is fuzzy at best, the development of new varieties of English across the world has added to the range of pronunciation and accents. In addition to the Englishes of Britain and the United States, for example, we have the Englishes of the Indian sub-continent, and of many countries in Africa and Asia. The increasing role of English as an international lingua franca also means that more and more multilinguals who have learned English as an additional language are using English internationally. This inevitably means that the number of different accents and pronunciations of English are legion. In such circumstances, it is not sounding like a native speaker which is important, it is mutual intelligibility. Mutual intelligibility means that the interactants in any communicative activity are able to understand each other. And being a native speaker is no guarantee of mutual intelligibility. Indeed there is a growing body of research spanning several decades that indicates that speakers of new varieties of English can be more intelligible than native speakers of certain native speaker varieties (e.g., Smith and Rafiqzad 1979; Kirkpatrick et al. 2008). Pedagogically speaking, the adoption of a 'lingua franca core' into the curriculum may be useful. As Jenkins has illustrated, the lingua franca core comprises phonological features which have been empirically shown to be important for intelligibility when English is being used as a lingua franca. Non-standard phonological features which do not cause problems of intelligibility are 'non-core' and do not therefore need to be an essential part of the curriculum. What the lingua franca core does is 'reduce the number of pronunciation features to be learnt' and this reduces 'the size of the task while increasing teachability' (Jenkins 2007: 27). The lingua franca approach also includes the teaching of communicative strategies to negotiate meaning and help repair breakdowns in communication and thus enhance mutual intelligibility (Kirkpatrick 2007).

In the ASEAN context, what is therefore important for an ASEAN speaker is not to sound British or American when speaking English, but to be mutually intelligible when communicating with their ASEAN counterparts. There is an important identity dimension to this. In an oft quoted remark, the then Singaporean Ambassador to the United Nations said that he wanted the world to know that he was Singaporean when he spoke English. This is a crucial point. It seems unlikely that anyone from ASEAN and working within ASEAN would, for example, prefer to be mistaken for being Australian or American rather than from their own country.

The removal of the need to sound like a native speaker has a further important implication. It has been shown that children are more adept at acquiring certain traits of native-like pronunciation than adults, and this is one of the reasons why it is commonly believed that the earlier a foreign language is learned the better. However, when it is realized that a native speaker pronunciation is not required, this particular reason for learning a foreign language as early as possible is overturned. Indeed I have elsewhere argued that, for many reasons, the introduction of English

into the ASEAN school curriculum should be delayed until children have developed fluency and literacy in local languages, so will not repeat the arguments here (but see Kirkpatrick 2012b). The major point to be stressed here is that there is no linguistic reason why ASEAN speakers of English should sound like an Australian or American. Indeed they can express their identity as Asian multilinguals in the way they speak English. (See also, for example, Honna this volume and Doan this volume.)

While the argument against demanding a native speaker pronunciation may be accepted, where does the lingua franca approach stand in relation to syntactic norms? I shall consider the distinction between spoken and written English below, and here will focus on spoken English. The first point to be stressed is that vernacular varieties of native speaker Englishes are characterised by the use of non-standard forms. As Britain has pointed out in his research on the vernacular varieties of British English, 'Every corner of the country demonstrates a wide range of grammatically non-standard forms, reminding us that such forms are the rule rather than the exception in spoken English English' (2010: 53). That is to say, native speakers of English routinely use a wide range of non-standard forms when they speak English. It would appear odd, therefore, to demand that non-native speakers use only standard forms when they speak English.

A second point that Britain makes is of particular relevance. It is that 'research has shown that there appears to be a common core of non-standard elements found very widely across the country, alongside more local grammatical forms' (2010: 53). That is to say, speakers of different vernacular varieties of British English share a number of non-standard forms. This is of particular relevance because similar findings are being reported in the use of English as a spoken lingua franca (Breiteneder 2009; Mauranen and Ranta 2009). Interestingly, many of the non-standard forms also occur in the vernaculars of British English. For example, non-standard marking of the present tense –s is common in vernaculars of British English, but here there is variation. Britain notes that 'perhaps the most commonly found non-standard variability in the present tense verbal system concerns the scope of –s marking' (2010: 39), with some varieties applying the –s with plural subjects (we eats there most Saturdays) and some varieties dispensing with it altogether (She love going up the city) (2010: 40).

In the Asian Corpus of English (ACE) (a corpus of naturally occurring spoken English as a lingua franca in Asia, currently being collected by a number of teams throughout Asia), non-marking of –s is more common than the addition of –s to plural subjects, but, it should be stressed, is far less common than standard forms. In fact, although the research into spoken lingua franca English is still relatively new, the ACE data suggests that the use of non-standard verbal forms is less frequent than in vernacular varieties of British English (Kirkpatrick 2008).

The presence of these shared non-standard syntactic forms across vernacular varieties of native speaker Englishes as well as in lingua franca English needs to be understood by all English language teachers. In spoken English, an insistence on standard forms needs to be replaced by an insistence on mutual intelligibility.

Principle#2 The native speaker's culture is not the cultural target. Intercultural competence in relevant cultures is the goal.

It stands to reason that, as the major role of English in the ASEAN context is as a lingua franca for speakers from ASEAN countries, then the cultural components of the English language teaching curriculum needs to take this into account. In other words, the cultures traditionally associated with English, such as British and American 'Anglo' cultures, are not directly relevant to ASEAN users of English. Instead, the curriculum needs to focus on the cultures that comprise ASEAN and Asia (Honna 2008). This is all the more important as government schools in ASEAN typically do not offer courses in any of the national languages of the group, other than their own, of course. The common pattern is simply for students to learn their own national language and English (Kirkpatrick 2012b). The English curriculum therefore could provide these students with the opportunity of at least learning about the cultures of their region. The importance of this can be gauged by noting that ASEAN is culturally extremely diverse. Not only are the major religions of Buddhism (Thailand, for example), Islam (Indonesia for example), and Christianity (The Philippines, for example) worshipped across the group, there are also literally hundreds of ethnic groups represented within the nations of ASEAN. The ELT curriculum therefore provides an opportunity to develop ASEAN intercultural competence in the citizens of ASEAN countries.

The ASEAN cultural curriculum can be enhanced by including local literatures in English and popular culture. There is an abundance of ASEAN and Asian literature written in English. In ASEAN itself, there are numerous writers who have produced a wide range of literature in English. Examples include Catherine Lim, Edwin Thumboo and Gemino Abad. Reading these authors not only gives the reader an insight into local cultures, but also into ways in which English can be adapted to reflect local cultural values. In Asia more widely, there are a host of writers from the Indian sub-continent, many of whom are international figures. There are also many Chinese writers, such as the novelist Ha Jin, now writing in English about Chinese cultural experiences.

As will be shown below, Principle#4 supports the use of using the linguistic resources of the students and teachers in the English language classroom. This entails exploiting local popular culture, which often involves a hybrid mix of English and local languages (Lee and Moody 2012). Texts and performances which illustrate English being used in hybrid and multilingual/multicultural ways are likely to be familiar to many students and can be used in the classroom to show how English and local languages can combine to reflect local and regional cultural experience.

The lingua franca curriculum can also include topics that might be considered as culture with a 'small c'. For example, it is evident from the Asian Corpus of English that, not surprisingly, the topics that Asian multilinguals discuss are primarily concerned with Asian events and phenomena. These topics are wide-ranging and include discussions about the refugee situation on the Thai-Myanmar border, the advantages and disadvantages of the public and private sectors in Asia, rules of

Islamic finance, the qualities of different types of rice and discrimination against ethnic minorities (Kirkpatrick et al. 2013). Such topics could therefore provide materials for the ASEAN ELT lingua franca curriculum.

Principle#3 Local multilinguals who are suitably trained provide the most appropriate English language teachers.

There has been a long struggle to promote and validate the non-native speaker teacher of English. Many scholars, themselves non-native speakers of English, have argued that a prejudice against non-native speaker teachers of English exists (e.g., Braine 2010; Moussu and Lurda 2008). The lingua franca approach really *requires* non-native speaker teachers of English. Remembering that the language learning goal is not to approximate native speaker norms, but to be able to interact successfully with fellow Asian multilinguals, it follows that an Asian multilingual who is proficient in English and who has the relevant qualifications represents the most appropriate teacher. Being multilingual in at least one Asian language and English provides the teachers with obvious advantages as language teachers, especially if they also speak the language(s) of their students.

First, they will have successfully accomplished what they are setting out to teach and thus have empathy with and an understanding of the problems that their students face (Medgyes 2002). Second, being Asian multilinguals who are proficient in English and who come from the same or similar linguistic backgrounds to their students, they not only represent good role models for their students, they also provide the most appropriate *linguistic* models for their students. The local multilingual teacher can provide the linguistic target for their students.

Second, local multilingual teachers with intercultural competence in the cultures of ASEAN can also offer cultural insights for their students. It has traditionally been assumed that a great advantage of the native speaker teacher is that s/he can offer students a guide to the target culture (cf. Moussu and Lurda 2008). But, as argued above, the cultures which the learners need to know are the cultures found within ASEAN. Thus the ASEAN English language teacher needs intercultural competence in regional cultures, coupled with the ability to transmit or instil this intercultural competence in the learners.

The third reason why the local multilingual is the most appropriate English language teacher for ASEAN is that s/he can use the language of the students to help them learn English. That is to say that a bi- or multilingual pedagogy can be applied in the classroom. In the ASEAN context, adopting a bi- or multilingual pedagogy can be more effective than adopting a strict monolingual pedagogy. It is hard to justify a monolingual pedagogy when the aim of all language learning is, by definition, to create multilinguals. It is therefore hard to justify denying students and teachers the right to make use of their shared linguistic resources in language learning. There are many ways in which the first language of the students can be exploited in the learning of the second language and these have been documented by several language teaching professionals and scholars (e.g., Littlewood and Yu 2009; Swain et al. 2011). The fundamental principle to be adhered to is that the first language must be used in such a way as to help the student learn the second language.

The fourth reason why the local multilingual is the preferred English language teacher is that an obvious goal of language learning is to develop multilinguals. Multilinguals deserve respect and the multilingual teacher can instil this sense of respect for multilinguals and multilingualism in the classroom. It is important to establish a classroom philosophy through which the English language learner is not judged against native speaker norms and thus constantly evaluated as falling short of the mark, but is judged as a language learner who is developing multilingual proficiency. As Principle #1 above states, the goal is not native speaker proficiency but mutual intelligibility. This can be reinforced by the teacher asserting the importance and value of multilingualism. The students are becoming linguistically sophisticated multilinguals. They are not failed or deficient native speakers.

Principle #4 Lingua franca environments provide excellent learning environments for lingua franca speakers.

It is commonplace to assume that the best way to learn a language is to go to where the language is spoken as a native language. In many cases, this, of course, is true. However, in the contexts with which we are dealing in ASEAN, sending students to learn English in native speaking countries may not be the most effective way of developing English proficiency among the learners. Rather, sending them to countries where English is used as a lingua franca may be far more beneficial. An example may help make this clear. A tertiary institution in ASEAN has a relationship with a British university and routinely sends its third-year students there for 10 weeks to develop their proficiency in English. The British university in question is in a part of England where the local variety of English is heavily accented and difficult to understand – even for English speakers from other parts of England. The ASEAN students are unlikely to make much progress in their English by communicating with the locals.

At the university itself, if placed in tutorial or seminar groups with native speaker students, they often find themselves unable to participate fully as they are not familiar with native speaker turn-taking and turn-stealing conventions (Rusdi 1999). They also feel awkward as they assume that their English will be evaluated against native speaker norms. This may well lead them to remain silent observers rather than active participants.

This type of situation is common. A finding of research into the experience of international students in Anglophone centres is that their multilingual backgrounds tend to be seen as a problem rather than a resource, and that they tend to mix more easily with fellow international students rather than with local students (Liddicoat et al. 2003; Preece 2011).

Instead, therefore, of sending students to Anglophone centres such as Great Britain or the United States with the aim of improving their English proficiency, consideration should be given to sending them to places where English is naturally used as a lingua franca. Within ASEAN, Malaysia, Singapore, Brunei and the Philippines provide examples of sites where English is regularly used as a lingua franca and as a language of inter-ethnic communication. The great advantage of such sites for ASEAN learners of English is that the native speaker is absent. English

is being naturally used as a lingua franca between Asian multilinguals for whom English is an additional language. Students from ASEAN will find the linguistic environment less threatening and will feel more comfortable using English. At the same time, of course, they will develop greater understanding of the respective ASEAN cultures in which they are living. Not only, therefore, will their English language proficiency improve, so will their ASEAN intercultural proficiency.

Principle#5 Spoken is not the same as written.

The principles enumerated above all apply to the teaching and learning of English as a spoken language. Principle #5 stresses that written language is not the same as spoken and that, therefore, a somewhat different argument needs to be presented.

First, written English has to be consciously learned by all, including native speakers. There are no 'native speakers' of written English. All learners, no matter their linguistic background, have to learn how to write. That is why many native speakers may remain illiterate all their lives.

Second, disciplines and genres set the rhetorical structures and styles. They set the norms. The norms are different for each discipline and genre. Writers of English need to learn these. As the differences between and among the disciplines and genres are vast, becoming an accomplished writer requires a great deal of practice and study. Consider, for example, the differences in styles between writing a 'tweet' and an engineering report, between writing a poem and an official document, between writing a love letter and a judicial judgement, between writing philosophy and writing science.

Third, different cultures play by different rhetorical rules and the level of the differences are often determined by discipline and genre. Thus, writing about science may be less influenced by local cultural influences than is writing about philosophy. In any event, it is important to stress that intercultural competence requires an ability to write interculturally, as well as speak interculturally. In the ASEAN context, people may well have to complete writing tasks such as business correspondence and job applications, and the cultural norms for these may well differ across the different cultures of ASEAN. What, for example, represent culturally appropriate job application letters in the Philippines and in Indonesia and what differences exist between them?

The point is that there is much to learn for all of us who want to become proficient writers. What we want or need to write will determine how we learn. The standard norms are not determined by native speakers, but by tradition and convention; and these norms vary across discipline, genre and culture and are continually developing as new forms of writing and reasons for writing are created while older forms drop out of use. Most of us now write more personal messages with a machine and 'in the air', than with a pen and on paper, for example.

Principle #6 Assessment must be relevant to the ASEAN context.

There is no point adopting the principles outlined above and then assessing the students against native speaker norms and cultures. Assessment must be closely aligned with what is being taught. This means that students need to be assessed

on how successfully they can use English in ASEAN settings. This, in turn, means developing measures of functional proficiency – whether students are able to perform certain tasks in the language – as opposed to measuring how closely the students' English conforms to native speaker norms. For example, a pronunciation benchmark that only awards the top level to speakers whose accent betrays no first language influence is precisely the type of benchmark that needs to be discarded. Such benchmarks need to be replaced with criteria that measure how successfully students can get their messages across and perform certain linguistic tasks. While by no means a perfect set of measures, the European Common Framework of Reference offers a potential example of the type of functional assessment that could be adapted for the ASEAN context. It must be underlined, however, that it is important that ASEAN develop its own measures of assessment rather than rely on those developed elsewhere. Only then can the assessment be properly linked to the aims of the English language teaching programmes.

3   Conclusion

This chapter has proposed the lingua franca approach to the teaching of English and presented six principles upon which English language teaching in ASEAN could be based. In short, the argument is that, as English is used as a lingua franca in ASEAN, this is the role that should underpin the teaching of English in the region. The lingua franca approach provides a radical departure from the traditional methods and tenets of English language teaching. Most importantly, the approach takes into account that English is being used as a lingua franca in settings far removed from traditional Anglophone and Anglocultural centres. Consequently, native speakers of inner circle varieties of English are not major participants. The major participants are Asian multilinguals for whom English is an additional language. This means that the goal of English language learning is not to approximate native speaker norms, but to be able to communicate successfully with fellow Asian multilinguals. This also means that the cultures with which learners need to become familiar are not those associated with Anglo cultures, but those that shape the nations of ASEAN. It follows then, that the most appropriate teachers are not native speakers of inner circle varieties of English who represent Anglo cultures. The most appropriate teachers are suitably trained Asian multilinguals. Such teachers provide both role and *linguistic* models for the students and can act as guides to the cultures of the region. By the same token, lingua franca environments within ASEAN are likely to provide more effective contexts for ASEAN learners of English to develop English proficiency than are native speaker environments such as Australia, Great Britain or the United States.

The lingua franca approach also makes a distinction between spoken and written English, stressing that all learners of English have to learn how to write following templates determined by discipline, genre and culture. It also stresses the fundamental importance that assessment must evaluate what is being taught and

that summative assessments which are based on native speaker norms and cultures are not relevant for the lingua franca approach. Instead, assessment should be more functional and measure the extent to which learners are able to communicate successfully and accomplish certain tasks.

To conclude, although the lingua franca approach presented is based on the ASEAN context, it is possible that the principles enumerated here are relevant to other contexts where English is used as a lingua franca and where English is taught as an international language (McKay 2002).

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Teaching English as an International Language in Multicultural Contexts: Focus on Australia

Farzad Sharifian

Abstract Teaching English in multicultural, and what I would term *multi-varietal*, contexts presents a unique challenge as the question is often raised by English teachers as to whose culture and which variety should be taught. Australia presents such a context, where the multicultural fabric of the society has been well established, and where a wide range of varieties of English from all three Kachruvian circles exist side by side. Traditionally, the ELT businesses in Australia have taken it for granted that English language classes should focus on teaching Standard Australian English, since the majority of the population in Australia speaks Australian English. However, the reality is that many learners of English in Australia mainly use English to communicate with speakers of varieties other than Australian English, due to the fact that a large number of learners live in densely multicultural suburbs. Also, those learners who are learning English in Australia temporarily to move back to their countries, or other countries, will be using English to speak to speakers of many other varieties of English, and hardly ever with any Australian English speaker. In this paper, I argue that English needs to be taught as a pluricentric language in Australia, focusing on developing learners' intercultural communication skills and meta-cultural competence. I also argue that when it comes to the use of English for intercultural communication, native speakers of Australian English are not necessarily at an advantage, and therefore they would equally benefit from training in intercultural communication.

Keywords Teaching English as an international language • Australia • ELT and culture • Intercultural communication • Meta-cultural competence

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1 Introduction

Who learns general English in Australia and for what purpose? A common abbreviation that is used to refer to those who learn English as an additional language in Australia is 'ESL', which usually refers to those who learn English as their L2 at high school or in private language schools. At the tertiary level, the word ELICOS is in common use, which refers to English Language Intensive Courses for Overseas Students. Generally ELICOS courses prepare students in terms of their English proficiency, and study skills or exam techniques for their university studies, but they are also open to tourists or those who come to Australia just to learn English. ELICOS courses may focus on EAP (English for Academic Purposes) or on developing learners' general English skills. People who enrol in English language classes to develop their general proficiency are generally migrants and refugees, international students (and/or their family members), those who are on a working visa, as well as those interested in improving their English who are on a temporary visa such as tourist visa.

Theoretically, it might be argued that English language courses in Australia should focus on teaching "Standard" Australian English, since the majority of the population in Australia speaks Australian English. However, in actual practice, in many cases this may be neither practicable, nor desirable. First of all, many ELT teachers in Australia do not speak Australian English, as they have grown up and learnt English in countries other than Australia. On the other hand, a significant number of textbooks used for teaching English in Australia are based on British English or American English. Added to these observations is the fact that Australian English is not idolised among ESL learners, as much as British and American English, nor do many learners know much about this variety of English, and thus not many learners aspire to develop fluency in aspects of Australian English. Also, many learners of English in Australia mainly use English to communicate with speakers of varieties other than Australian English, for example due to the fact that a large number of learners live in densely multicultural suburbs. I will elaborate further on this latter point later in this paper.

The question of culture is usually given little emphasis in formal discussions about ELT in Australia, but in practice many teachers do involve students in comparative discussions of cultural values and traditions, for example between their home country and Australia. In some cases, however, culture is treated in a narrow way, for example by finding a reference to aspects of a stereotypical Australian lifestyle such as watching Australian football and having a barbeque in the backyard. In this paper I explore the implications of the significant demographic, and consequently structural, changes that have recently characterised English, both globally and in Australia, from a socio-cultural and pedagogical perspective. I will also discuss how the ELT profession in Australia may benefit from adopting the approach of Teaching English as International Language, part of which is aiming at developing in learners what I call *metacultural competence*.

2 English in the World

Global processes such as human mobility and the new technology have changed the English language to the extent that Graddol (2006, p. 11) refers to it as "a new phenomenon". One of the demographic changes in the use of English relates to the backgrounds of the users of English. Crystal (1997) observed that more than 80 % of communication in English is now between the so-called "non-native" speakers of the language, and this estimate is sure to be out of date by this time, or after a decade. The absence of native speakers of the language in the majority of communicative events in English has in the actual practice of communication shifted the control of the language, in terms of its norms, outside the territories where the traditional owners of the language reside. Graddol (2006, p. 29) observes that "[t]here were around 763 million international travellers in 2004, but nearly three-quarters of visits involved visitors from a non-English-speaking country travelling to a non-English-speaking destination."

The rapidly increasing use of English by communities of speakers around the world has led to the development of more and more varieties of Englishes, in particular in what Kachru termed the 'Expanding Circle' countries such as China, Korea, and most of Europe. Around 300 million people are learning and using English in China, a phenomenon that has led to the development of an emerging variety of English among Chinese speakers, referred to either as 'Chinese English' or 'China English' (e.g., Jiang 1995; Xu 2010). The development of these new varieties of English is not just based on the consideration of accent and few lexical borrowings, but on the use of English by communities of speakers to express their *cultural conceptualisations*, a point which will be explained later in this paper (e.g., Sharifian 2011; Cummings and Wolf 2011).

Another significant factor that has impacted on the use of the English language worldwide is the rise of the new technology, including the Internet. The use of the language on the internet has entailed the emergence of specific features to the extent that scholars have coined new terms for communication mediated by electronic communication. This includes terms such as *netspeak* (Crystal 2006), and even includes a proposal for a new branch of linguistics, called *internet linguistics*, to explore the increasing influence of the Internet on language and communication (Crystal 2011).

Overall, recent global forces and processes have made the roles and rules of English much more complex, and will continue to do so. The global spread of English has accompanied serious linguistic, ideological, socio-economic, and political considerations, which fall beyond the scope of this paper but have been dealt with in a myriad of publications (e.g., Crystal 1997; Kirkpatrick 2007; Sharifian and Clyne 2008; Sharifian 2009). What is relevant to this discussion is that the global complexities do not just reside at the global level but that they affect local settings in complex ways too.

3   Englishes in Australia

The global complexity of English has influenced Australia in several ways. On the one hand, for more than 50 years, Australia has witnessed the arrival of waves of refugees, mainly from Europe, Asia, the Middle East and more recently Africa. A number of these refugees speak established varieties of English, such as the variety of African English spoken by Sudanese speakers. Also, Australia continues to remain a popular destination for migration, with an increasing number of migrants from Asian and Middle Eastern countries settling in Australia. China has recently become Australia's biggest source of migrants, bringing more Chinese English speakers to Australia. Among the top sources of migrants for Australia are Britain and New Zealand, again bringing other, if more familiar, varieties of English to Australia.

It is to be noted here that the introduction of migrant varieties of English to Australia is not a new phenomenon. Post-war migrants to Australia, for example from Greece and Italy, developed their own varieties of English. Clyne et al. (2001) use the term 'ethnolect' to refer to these varieties of Australian English (i.e., Greek ethnolect of Australian English), defined as varieties of a language spoken by groups that originally spoke another first language. Second generations of these groups of migrants often developed bi-dialectal fluency, switching between Australian English and the ethnolect variety, for example for in-group/out-group communication and identity projections.

Australia is also home to Aboriginal English, which refers collectively to indigenised varieties of English spoken by Aboriginal Australians. Aboriginal English is markedly different from Australian English at all levels, from phonology to semantics and pragmatics. Several studies have explored miscommunication between speakers of Aboriginal English and Australian English, which often disadvantages speakers of Aboriginal English in various contexts, from the courtroom to the classroom (e.g., Eades 2000; Sharifian et al. 2004; Sharifian 2010).

It is to be noted here that Australian English itself is not a static variety but continues to be influenced by other varieties through contact. For example, exposure to American English through movies and the entertainment world has led to a significant degree of Americanisation of Australian English (e.g., Sussex 1989).

Another source of exposure to other varieties of English in Australia is through outsourcing of jobs, such as call centres, to other countries such as India and the Philippines, a business which is rapidly increasing in size. More and more jobs, in particular in the areas of telecommunication and IT service, are moving off-shore, and this means in many cases when people need customer service, they interact with someone who speaks a different variety. The observations made so far in this paper about the Australian context should make it clear that it is a truly a *multi-varietal* society, where many speakers routinely engage in multi-varietal communication. Also in general, many people in Australia engage on a daily basis in communication with speakers in other parts of the world, either socially or as part of their work or both.

It should be noted here that globalisation and the widespread use of the new technology for communication, which has become a major part of daily life for many people, has given a new meaning to the expression "in Australia". The emergence and the widespread use of social media such as Facebook and Twitter now closely connect people from various parts of the world and in many cases even people who share an L1 use English to communicate this way.

We now return to the question of "Who is learning English in Australia and who do they want to communicate with in English?" As mentioned earlier, one group of learners of English in Australia are migrants and refugees of various age groups who do not speak English as their L1. A special program called Adult Migrant English Program (AMEP) is offered by the Adult Migration Educational Services on behalf of the Department of Immigration and Citizenship in Australia. This is a Commonwealth Government program which provides 510 h of English classes to new migrants and refugees.

Another group of learners of English is the children of the migrants and refugees of non-English speaking background that attend ESL classes within the school system in Australia. Usually, such students are introduced to mainstream classes in a series of phases, for example, from intensive ESL learning to bridging/transition programs. In some regions this is a significant number of ESL students attending schools. For example, in Victoria, ESL students make up around 15 % of those attending metropolitan government schools. However, the distribution of these students is not the same across all schools due to the demographic composition of particular suburbs.

A third group of learners of English in Australia are international students of non-English speaking background who aim to study at tertiary level in Australia but who have not been able to obtain the required scores on the IELTS test. As mentioned earlier such students enrol in different ELICOS classes. Now the question of which variety to teach to such cohorts of learners hinges in part on who these learners communicate with, both while enrolled in classes and afterwards. In terms of the demography of communication in English by the above-mentioned groups, I argue that a significant amount of communication between all these groups in English is with other non-native speakers and speakers of varieties other than Australian English. Often new migrants and refugees prefer to live in suburbs that are predominantly multicultural in demographic flux and composition. A good example of such a suburb would be South Dandenong in Victoria where only about 20 % of the population speak English at home. A good number of migrants and refugees also reside in areas with a heavy concentration of people from their L1 background. Wikipedia presents the following list of ethnic groups and their associated suburbs in Melbourne.

Italian with Carlton and Brunswick
Macedonian with Thomastown and St Albans
Indian with South Eastern Suburbs such as Hampton Park and Narre Warren, North Western Suburbs, and South Western Suburbs

Greek with Oakleigh, Northcote, Hughesdale, and interspersed in Northern and Eastern Suburbs

Sri Lankans with Dandenong, Endeavour Hills, Lynbrook, Hallam, South Eastern Suburbs, and North Western Suburbs

Vietnamese with Richmond, Springvale, Footscray, North Western Suburbs, and South Eastern Suburbs

Cambodian with Springvale South and Keysborough

Chinese with Glen Waverley and Box Hill

Jewish with North Caulfield, Caulfield, St. Kilda East, and South Eastern Suburbs

Middle Eastern with Northern and South Western Suburbs

Maltese with Sunshine, Keilor, St. Albans, and Airport West

Bosnian, Serb and Croat with St Albans and Springvale

Filipino with Hoppers Crossing

Turkish with Broadmeadows

Lebanese with Coburg

Russian with Carnegie

Spanish with Fitzroy

North African with Flemington

Sub-Saharan African with Noble Park.

The cities of Dandenong, Monash, Casey and Whittlesea on Melbourne's fringe are particular current migrant hotspots. (source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Demographics_of_Melbourne)

These factors also impact on the demography of the use of English from the second group, that is, children of migrants and refugees who attend school in Australia. Many schools in the suburbs mentioned above are highly multicultural where students' major use of English at schools would be with students from other cultural backgrounds, including of course students from Anglo-Australian backgrounds. Outside school, the use of English by this group of learners usually involves interlocutors from various cultural and linguistic backgrounds, including speakers of various established varieties of English. This is of course not to suggest that there are no migrants or refugees who choose to live in predominantly Anglo-based suburbs, but in general a significant tendency for many migrants and refugees is to live in multicultural suburbs, for various purposes, including being close to cultural and religious centres such as mosques and temples, and having access to ethnic markets.

The third group of learners of English in Australia that is those intending to study at the tertiary level, who also use English to communicate with speakers from a wide range of linguistic and cultural backgrounds in their daily life. A significant number of students and staff at major universities in Australia come from a wide range of linguistic and cultural backgrounds, speaking many different varieties of English. For example, out of about 60,000 students enrolled at Monash University, about 23,000 are international students, mainly from East Asian countries. Many of the local students enrolled at Monash, as well as many staff members working at Monash, also speak varieties of English other than Australian English.

The result of a diary research on the communication patterns of a group of non-native English speaking students at Monash has revealed that communication with native speakers of English is only minimal in the daily life of many of these students. The majority of the communicative events in which they use English is with speakers from backgrounds other than Australian English speakers. A witness to this finding is the establishment of different programs, often unsuccessful ones, by a number of universities in Australian to encourage international students to make friends with local students. In one case at Monash University, local students were even paid to socialise with international students. The fourth group, that is learners who are temporarily learning English in Australia, mainly learn the language to be able to communicate in English outside Australia when they leave the country. This group would obviously not necessarily need to develop fluency in Australian English.

To sum up this section, to its history of housing migrants, refugees, workers and students from a wide range of countries, Australia presents a microcosm of the complexity of the use of English in and around the globe, in that it is home to many varieties of English and in many cases communication in English in Australia is *multivarietal* and continues to become more so. Also, learners of English are in many cases using English to communicate with speakers of different varieties and not just Australian English. That is, the communicative needs of learners of English in Australia are far more complex than the ability to use Australian English. Thus I argue that ELT in Australia needs to adopt the approach of teaching English as an International Language, a point which will be elaborated upon in the following section.

4   Teaching English as an International Language

Teaching English as an International Language (TEIL) is teaching English as a truly pluricentric language, which does not focus simply on one or two varieties. Traditional curricula in ELT largely presented English as a language that is "owned" by, and is mainly spoken by, speakers of American English and British English. They have also tended to minimize the differences between these two varieties. The traditional circles in ELT aimed at developing a learner's linguistic competence, and in more recent decades communicative competence, which was mainly used to refer to the assumed, rather homogeneous, competence of native speakers of the language,

The approach of TEIL acknowledges the rapid diversification of English and the development of an increasing number of varieties of English. In the contemporary global context where more than 80 % of communication in English is now taking place between the so-called non-native speakers of the language, the approach of EIL focuses not only on the development of learners' linguistic and communicative skills, but more importantly intercultural communication skills, in a systematic way, which are necessary for successful communication between users from various cultural backgrounds.

Acknowledging the complexity of English use in today's world, TEIL calls for more sophisticated formulations of 'competence' than that of communicative competence. Canagarajah (2006) refers to the *postmodern context of communication*, in multicultural contexts, and notes that:

> In a context where we have to constantly shuttle between different varieties and communities, proficiency becomes complex. To be really proficient in English today, one has to be multidialectal. This does not mean that one needs production skills in all the varieties of English. One needs the capacity to negotiate diverse varieties to facilitate communication. The passive competence to understand new varieties is part of this multidialectal competence.

What Canagarajah refers to as multidialectal competence, is what I would call *multi-varietal competence*. This captures not only the passive competence to understand different varieties of English but also the skills to employ strategies to facilitate communication in the face of any difficulties that arise, for example from phonological variations associated with different varieties of English. I also propose that TEIL needs to aim at the development of what I call *metacultural competence* in learners. Metacultural competence enables interlocutors to communicate and negotiate *cultural conceptualisation*s during the process of intercultural communication. As a preamble to a discussion of metacultural competence, the following section elaborates on the notion of *cultural conceptualisations*.

5   Cultural Conceptualisations

I have used the term *cultural conceptualisations* (Sharifian 2003, 2008, 2011) to collectively refer to units of conceptual knowledge that are culturally constructed. In general, cultural conceptualisations arise from the interactions between the members of a cultural group, but are constantly negotiated and renegotiated across time and space, and across generations of speakers. Cultural conceptualisations include *cultural schemas*, *cultural categories* and *cultural-conceptual metaphors*.

In the field of cognitive science schemas are viewed as building blocks of human cognition that are used to organize and interpret information. Many lexical items of human languages evoke schemas in the minds of speakers and serve as aids in processing incoming information. Schemas are abstracted from human experience and since a great deal of experience is cultural, then a significant portion of schemas are *cultural schemas*. I define cultural schemas as pools of cultural knowledge that provide a basis for a significant share of semantic and pragmatic meanings. Cultural schemas are not equally imprinted in the mind of speakers, but develop at the collective, emergent level of *cultural cognition* (Sharifian 2011). Representation of cultural schemas in the minds of speakers may best be described as *heterogeneous distribution*, that is, different individuals may internalise different elements of a cultural schema, and as such may share some but not all elements of that schema. Thus, communication among the members of a cultural group involves 'negotiating' cultural meanings. This view of cultural conceptualisations distances the notion of

'culture' from the essentialist formulations of the concept, where all members of a cultural group were viewed as having equal access to cultural knowledge, values, and norms.

Also many individuals experience living cross-culturally and thus internalise cultural schemas from different systems of cultural conceptualisations. Relevant to the discussion of this paper is the observation that in multicultural societies speakers may develop complex systems of conceptualisation in general and categorisation in general, as they have access to multiple systems of cultural conceptualisations.

Examples of lexical items whose semantic meanings may be associated with cultural schemas include 'wedding', 'party', 'funeral', 'family gathering', 'garage sale', etc. Also communication of pragmatic meaning largely hinges on the knowledge of cultural schemas that speakers assume to be known to their interlocutors. Take the example of the experience of an invitation to a party. Often speakers in multicultural contexts present anecdotes about how they may have misinterpreted such invitations, as they were not familiar with the cultural experiences associated with them, that is, technically they were not familiar with the cultural schemas associated with those invitations.

Another class of cultural conceptualisations is that of *cultural category*. Categorisation is one of the most fundamental human cognitive activities. It begins early in life, albeit in an idiosyncratic way. Many studies have investigated how children engage in categorising objects and events early in life (Mareschal et al. 2003). Children usually begin by setting up their own categories but as they grow up, they explore and discover, as part of their cognitive development, how their language and culture categorise events, objects, and experiences. As Glushko et al. (2008, p. 129) put it:

> Categorization research focuses on the acquisition and use of categories shared by a culture and associated with language – what we will call 'cultural categorization'.

> Cultural categories exist for objects, events, settings, mental states, properties, relations and other components of experience (e.g. birds, weddings, parks, serenity, blue and above). Typically, these categories are acquired through normal exposure to caregivers and culture with little explicit instruction

Categorisation of many objects, events and experiences, such as 'food', 'vegetables', 'fruit', etc. and their *prototype* instances, are culturally constructed. It is to be noted that the reference to 'wedding' in the above quotation is distinct from the use of this word in relation to cultural schemas. The 'wedding' as a cultural category refers to the type of event that is categorised as 'wedding', for example as opposed to 'engagement' or 'dining out'. 'Wedding' as a cultural schema includes all other aspects of the event, such as the procedures that need to be followed, the sequence of events, the roles played by various participants and expectations associated with those roles.

Conceptual metaphor refers to the cognitive conceptualisation of one domain in terms of another (e.g., Lakoff and Johnson 1980). Extensive research in cognitive linguistics has explored how even our basic understanding of ourselves and our surroundings are mediated by conceptual metaphors. For example, in

clock-and-calendar, industrial cultures, time is commonly understood in terms of commodity, money, limited resource, etc., reflected in expressions such as 'buying time', 'saving time', and the like. More importantly our understanding of ourselves is achieved through conceptual metaphors. For example we conceptualise our thoughts, feelings, personality traits, etc. in terms of our body parts. In some languages, such as in English, the heart is conceptualised as the seat of emotions, or THE HEART AS THE SEAT OF EMOTIONS, reflected in expressions such as 'winning someone's heart'.

Research in Cultural Linguistics is interested in exploring conceptual metaphors that are culturally constructed (e.g., Palmer 1996; Sharifian 2011), which I refer to as *cultural-conceptual metaphors*. Several studies have explored cultural schemas that give rise to conceptual metaphors, for example through ethnomedical or other cultural traditions (Sharifian et al. 2008; Yu 2009a, b). For example, in Indonesian it is *hati* 'the liver' that is associated with love (Siahaan 2008). Siahaan traces back such conceptualisations to the ritual of animal sacrifice, especially the interpretation of liver organ known as 'liver divination', which was practiced in ancient Indonesia. In some languages, such as Tok Pisin (Muhlhausler et al. 2003), the belly is the seat of emotions. Although a comprehensive discussion and exploration of cultural conceptualisations falls beyond the scope of this paper, this brief section should suffice in terms of assisting us to grasp the notion of metacultural competence.

Metacultural competence enables interlocutors to communicate and negotiate intercultural meanings during the process of intercultural communication. An important element of metacultural competence is *conceptual variation awareness*, or the awareness that the same language can be used to encode and express multiple systems of cultural conceptualisations.

However, metacultural competence goes beyond the matter of awareness and involves the ability to use certain strategies, such as that of *conceptual explication strategy*, which is a conscious effort made on the part of interlocutors to clarify relevant conceptualisations with which they think other interlocutors may not be familiar. Importantly, this aspect of metacultural competence enables interlocutors to *negotiate* intercultural meanings through the use of *conceptual negotiation strategies*. This would be reflected, for example, in seeking conceptual clarification when one feels that there might be more behind the use of a certain expression than is immediately apparent. An active gesture of interest in learning about other interlocutors' cultural conceptualisations is an important factor in the successful negotiation and communication of cultural conceptualisations and in eventually in developing metacultural competence.

As mentioned above, I argue that teaching English as an International Language should aim at developing metacultural competence in learners. This begins by exposing learners to the conceptual variation that characterises English. This could be achieved for instance by including a variety of cultural conceptualisations in textbooks and teaching materials that are used in ELT in Australia. As learners themselves come from diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds, teachers may encourage learners to reflect on their own experiences in relation to cultural conceptualisations. For example, a teacher may invite students to discuss examples

and elements of cultural schemas from the system of cultural conceptualisations that they are familiar with. In general, the conceptual knowledge that students bring to the ELT classes may best be viewed as assets and resources that could be drawn on in developing metacultural competence in learners.

It should be noted here that the stage in the ELT curricula at which exposure to conceptual variation that is recommended here would need to be carefully planned. An encounter with the conceptual variation in English too early in the experience of language learning may baffle learners to the point of confusion. Finally, I should add here that EIL pedagogy needs to adopt a critical perspective towards the monolingual mind-set, where English is promoted at the expense of other languages. The global spread of English as a language for international communication does not logically, and should not, threaten bilingualism and multilingualism. The very fact that the majority of English use is now by non-native speakers of the language means that the most of English language speakers are today bilingual and multilingual (Sharifian in press).

6 Concluding Remarks

In summary I argue that the complexity of the English language that has partly resulted from the recent demographic, and consequentially structural changes to the language, calls for revisiting the basic assumptions that underlie the teaching of English both in the world and in multicultural societies such as Australia. The traditional approaches in ELT that focused on developing fluency in one or two varieties of English no longer prepare learners for facing the sociolinguistic reality of the use of the language in the twenty-first century. ELT curricula need to aim at providing chances for learners to develop multi-varietal as well as meta-cultural competencies at appropriate stages in their journey of learning the language. From this perspective, learning the L2 and being exposed to various systems of conceptualising experience would expand learners' conceptual horizon.

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Teaching and Learning of EIL in Korean Culture and Context

Joo-Kyung Park and Mi Kyong Kim

Abstract Like in many other Asian countries, English has been taught throughout the history of Korean ELT as a foreign language whose norm and standard are untouchable and its mastery does not seem to be achievable for many Korean learners of English, if not for all. However, in accordance with globalization and the emergence of English as an international language, the 2008 Revised Korea's National Curriculum defined English as an international language and the goal of teaching English now is to help Korean learners of English to become intercultural speakers of English. This was to bring a paradigm shift into overall Korean ELT culture and context and it did to some extent, having made changes and development in ELT goals and objectives, instructional methodology, testing and evaluation, and most of all, teachers' and learners' attitudes towards English language and its use. There still seems to be, however, a large gap between the curriculum rhetoric and the reality inside and outside the English classroom. Based on the results of literature review and analysis, this chapter will reflect the past and current ELT in Korea and project its future, addressing major issues, concerns, and resolutions in regard to teaching and learning of EIL in Korean culture and context. Discussions will be made in three parts: First, ELT policy and curriculum; Second, instruction and material; Third, Korean learners' and teachers' perceptions and attitudes towards EIL. The educational implications and suggestions will be also made in order to realize teaching EIL in Korean context more effectively and successfully.

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1 Introduction

Korea is one of the countries where English language learning and teaching is emphasized for the purpose of promoting the nation's economic growth and internationalization. In Korea, English is regarded as the most indispensable foreign language because it is a prerequisite for professional success as well as a tool for global interaction. The country has undergone a high degree of social and economic transformation since the 1997/1998 Asian financial crisis followed by neoliberal restructuring. Korea was forced to adopt the International Monetary Fund (IMF) measures. They include the privatization of public services, the minimization of public spending and loss of job security (Piller and Cho 2013). The neoliberal ideology represented by material success, individualism and competitiveness has become prevalent (Park 2011), and the society has suffered. Its highest suicide rate is an example (World Health Organization 2011). English is now a key to social and economic 'success' within the increasingly neoliberal society because gate-keeping encounters such as entering universities and having quality jobs require competent English language skills. Also, in increasing neoliberal markets created by Free Trade Agreement, English communicative skills and multicultural knowledge are significant for successful global interactions.

English in Korea plays an important role in education, business and government (Kyung-Ja Park 2009). Currently, English is taught in elementary schools from the third grade and up. Teaching English in English (TEE) is emphasized in elementary and secondary English classrooms. English is one of the most important subjects for college entrance and graduation. The number of English-medium instruction (EMI) courses offered in colleges and universities is increasing.[1] The qualification requirement for the most of the jobs includes some English test scores such as TOEIC, TEPS, TOEIC speaking, or OPIc.[2] Many business interactions and

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[1]In the year 2010, the ratio of EMI courses in the major universities in Seoul, Korea was 91 % (Korea Advanced Institute of Science and Technology, KAIST), 57.8 % (Pohang University of Science and Technology, POSTECH), 40 % (Korea Univ.), 35.7 % (Sungkyunkwan Univ.), 36.4 % (Hankuk Univ. of Foreign Studies), 34.2 % (Kyung Hee Univ.), 28.5 % (Yonsei Univ.), 25.7 % (Sogang Univ.), and 22.8 % (Hanyang Univ.) (Chosun.com 2011, cited in Joo-Kyung Park 2012) There is a general consensus about the necessity of EMI courses in colleges but the effectiveness of the current EMI courses is a highly controversial issue.

[2]Some of the top 1,000 companies and industries required their job applicants to have a TOEIC score of 700 minimum whereas some other companies and industries take account of the score submitted (without a minimum score requirement) for selecting their employees (Korea TOEIC Committee 2012, cited in Joo-Kyung Park 2012). The average TOEIC score of the successful job applicants of the major companies in Korea in 2011 was also found to be over 800.

transactions are made through English as a means of intercultural communication. At the government level, English is an important part of many high stake national exams for selection and promotion of the government officials.

Like in many other Asian countries, English has been taught as a foreign language throughout the history of Korean English Language Teaching (ELT). However, in accordance with globalization and the emergence of English as an international language (EIL), the 2008 Revised Korea's National Curriculum defined English as an international language and aimed to foster 'intercultural speakers of English'. This was to bring a paradigm shift into overall Korean ELT culture and context and it did so to some extent. Considerable change and development have been made in terms of ELT goals and objectives, instructional methodology, testing and evaluation, and most of all, teachers' and learners' attitudes toward English language and its use. However, there still seems to be a large gap between the curriculum rhetoric and the reality inside and outside the English classrooms in Korea.

The purpose of this paper is to overview the past and current ELT in Korea and to project its future from an EIL perspective, describing the characteristics of ELT in Korea and addressing major issues, concerns, and resolutions. Discussions will be made focusing on the government policy based on native-speakerism, Korean teachers' perceptions and attitudes toward EIL, and English varieties and multiculturalism represented in English textbooks and other ELT materials used in Korea, and English language and culture teaching materials and classroom activities. Educational implications and suggestions will be made in terms of realizing EIL in Korean context more effectively and successfully and narrowing the gap between the curriculum rhetoric and the educational reality.

2 Characteristics of ELT in Korea

From its inception, ELT in Korea has been controlled by the Korean government and thus the education policies are mainly top-down, affected by political and economic situations which cannot be separated from historical contexts (Yeon Hee Choi 2007). According to Yeon Hee Choi (2007), there are six major periods of Korea's national curriculum reforms which overlap with the nation's political contexts as follows:

1. The end of Joseon Dynasty (1883–1910): The beginning and expansion of English education
2. The Japanese colonial time (1910–1945): The declination, revival, and oppression of English education
3. After liberation from Japan till 1955 including the U.S. military government (1945–1955): The reestablishment of English education
4. From the first Republic to the military rule (Supreme Council for National Reconstruction) (1955–1963): The development of English education (the First National Curriculum established in 1955)

5. From the Third to the Fifth Republic (1963–1992): The stabilization and stagnation of English education (the Second (1963), the Third (1973, 1974), the Fourth (1981), and the Fifth (1987, 1988) National Curriculum)
6. From the Citizens' government till the Participatory Government (1992–2008); The reform of English education (the Sixth (1992), the Seventh (1997), and the 2007 Revised National Curriculum[3]).

And the 2008 and 2009 Revised National Curriculum were issued by MB[4] Government who wanted to continue reforming ELT and strengthening public education.

Now, some major changes and development in ELT in Korea were made during the curriculum reform periods mentioned above and they can be summarized as the following seven areas: First, a shift was made in ELT goals and instructional methodologies over different periods: From a focus on written language to spoken language, from translation and grammar-oriented instruction to pronunciation and speaking-oriented, and from teacher-centered to student-centered. More specifically,

1. American English was adopted as the standard English and a large proportion of American topics were presented in the secondary English textbooks during the First National Curriculum period (Moon 2005, cited in Yeon Hee Choi 2007). Ever since then, American English has been used as the standard and pre-dominant model.
2. More focus was given on oral language than written language during the Fourth National Curriculum period and listening test was included in the college entrance exam in 1994.
3. In the Seventh National Curriculum revised in 1997, the main goal of English education was for promoting national development and globalization, focusing on building positive attitudes toward being a world citizen and acquiring everyday English communicative skills.
4. In the Seventh Curriculum, learner-centered education is more intensified by adopting open education and differentiated curriculum. Culture was also included as language materials.
5. The 2008 Revised National Curriculum adopted the concept of EIL and defined English as the language of the 'intercultural speakers' not as that of 'native speakers' (Ministry of Education, Science, and Technology (MEST) 2008).

However, these changes remained mainly as the curriculum statement or curriculum rhetoric, not having been much realized in the English classrooms. In reality, throughout all the curricula periods, reading and grammar taught by Grammar-Translation Method have been the ever-dominant focus in English classroom.

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[3]Unlike the earlier versions of the National Curriculum, the recent ones (2007, 2008, and 2009) were issued only with some partial changes and so were named after the year they came out.

[4]MB stands for Myung Bak, the given name of a former Korean president who served from 2008 until 2012.

Second, a formal elementary English education started in 1997. Elementary English program in Korea is a product of the government's perception of EIL, a vehicle to achieve the globalization of Korea. It is a symbol of Korean government's unprecedented commitment to implementing the spoken English program at the elementary school level (Jung 2006). On the one hand, the implementation of elementary English education has brought some positive influence and results to ELT in Korea. Notable improvement and progress have been made in the areas such as material development and teacher education. On the other hand, it also had a negative and detrimental impact on learners, teachers, and parents: Some learners found it difficult to learn English and lost their interest at their young age, almost too young; It imposed a bigger and higher burden on the elementary school teachers to teach English[5]; And due to an excessive desire or competition to educate children as well as dissatisfaction with formal education, parents' financial burden for private English education became bigger and heavier than before.

Third, school classrooms nationwide were modernized with the help from information and communication technology which has opened the whole new horizon of teaching and learning. Advanced technology and high-speed Internet are actively incorporated into school education. Digital nervous system is established, and online as well as offline learning is promoted nationwide. Multimedia-assisted language learning or Information Communication Technology is encouraged, and CD-ROM titles for primary and secondary school English textbooks have been developed and distributed to local schools (Yeon Hee Choi 2007). At the same time, however, it created a 'digital divide' among those teachers and students who have an easy access to and competence to use technology and those who do not.

Fourth, a large number of NESTs came into the nation mainly through the two Korean Government programs to recruit them, English Program in Korea (EPIK) and Teach and Learn in Korea (TALK).[6] EPIK was established in 1995 with the missions to improve the English speaking abilities of students and teachers in Korea, to develop cultural exchanges, and to reform ELT methodologies in Korea (http://www.epik.go.kr). TALK began in 2008 in order to support ELT in rural areas of Korea, where the access to higher quality educational resource is limited (http://www.talk.go.kr). It was expected that Korean students would get exposed to authentic English input and motivated to learn English by having NESTs in their EFL classrooms. These expat teachers have brought lots of new energy and changes to Korean English classrooms but also a new set of issues and problems, which will be discussed in the later part of this paper.

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[5]English in elementary schools in Korea is taught by homeroom teachers, English-subject-only teachers, or some guest teachers, with or without a NEST as a co-teacher. Homeroom teachers teach all the subjects including English.

[6]EPIK teachers teach English at regular school hours, while TALK teachers teach English in after-school classes at elementary schools. A completed bachelor's degree and at least 2-year undergraduate studies are required for EPIK and TALK applicants respectively.

Fifth, a number of English Villages and other English immersion facilities were established, in order to expose the Korean learners to a semi-natural English-speaking environment and to promote English language and cultural understanding, to provide the underprivileged with an equal educational opportunity, and to lessen the overseas study expenses (Joo-Kyung Park 2009a). The common expected effects of these English immersion complexes are: (1) To reduce the outflow of learners and dollars to English-speaking countries by providing the learners with an equal or similar quality and amount of English-learning experience within Korea; (2) To narrow English divide by providing a larger number of Korean learners of English including the underprivileged with an equal opportunity for English education; (3) To produce internationally competitive professionals by developing Korean learners' English proficiency (Park 2004). However, some skepticism and questions were raised about its effectiveness (Mi-Young Kim 2006a; Krashen 2006; Park 2006a); If the cultural representation of a simulated English village is authentic or not; If English Village creates real needs of English usage or not. Park (2006a) suggested that one of the most realistic and feasible ways of resolving these problems is to create a mixed language and cultural contexts or environment where English emerges naturally as a common language with little or no inequality or dependency among the speakers.

Sixth, teaching English in English (TEE) or English-medium instruction has been intensified from elementary up to university level. In 2001, the Ministry of Education proposed an obligatory use of classroom English in elementary and middle schools. The rationale behind TEE is that teachers' use of English would provide more input and foster communicative interaction with students, and thereby ultimately lead to the communicative competence required in the global society of today (Lee 2007). However, the research findings and media survey results on the implementation of this policy show that it has not been done in its full scale though the teachers perceived TEE as effective for a majority of tasks. It was due to the fact that many Korean EFL teachers do not have enough English proficiency and confidence in their English ability (Sung-Ae Kim 2002; Sung-Yeon Kim 2002). Lee (2007) proposed a composite approach to TEE: teachers may start using English where maximal instructional effects are expected from their English use, and gradually increase its scope and amount. It was also suggested that high school teachers should perform more tasks in English than middle school teachers for students' benefit.

Last, National English Ability Test (NEAT) was introduced. It was implemented as a full scale test as of 2012, and was intended to replace the English test of the current College Scholastic Aptitude Test (CSAT) from 2015 for students entering university in 2016. Since the current President Park Keun Hae took office in 2013, however, the whole plan was put on hold and virtually discarded due to insufficient finance in 2014 (The Korea Times 2014). Specifically, the NEAT levels 2 and 3 for middle and high school students were dropped, and its level 1 for adults merely remains. NEAT has 3 levels: Grade 1 developed for adults, Grades 2 and 3 for high school students. Grade 1 was designed to replace TOEFL or TOEIC,

which is used for college graduation certification or employment. By adopting the direct assessment of speaking and writing skills as a test domain, NEAT should promote instruction of productive skills in schools, which would cause quite a stir in Korean English education (Lee 2012). In speaking test, none of the specific 'native-speaker' variety of English is used as the standard but 'intelligibility' is an important evaluation factor. It was expected to serve to dispel the myth of 'American English' deep-rooted in Korean society. MEST (2011) emphasized, "Now that NEAT was introduced, it is expected that "balanced" English education is realized by teaching all four skills, increasing speaking and writing instruction in the classroom. Students will be able to learn English in an easy and fun way according to their own abilities and needs, to learn English study skills, and to build self-directed study behaviours. Most of all, the teaching focus is on English communication skills and the test is to assess students' English abilities, not to rank them (p. 7)." NEAT could have a powerful and positive washback effect and make another historical momentum on ELT in Korea and it is very regrettable that the test was now dismissed.

3 Issues and Challenges for Teaching EIL in Korean Context

Now that the concept of EIL was adopted in the 2008 Revised National Curriculum, the importance of English was also emphasized in a sense that English is the most useful means of international communication which enables diverse language-speaking people to communicate and bond together. It requires a whole new paradigm of ELT in Korea to turn this curriculum rhetoric into a classroom reality. Among other things, the following four key issues need to be addressed as they seem to strongly influence on teaching EIL in Korean context in an independent as well as an interrelated manner.

First, government policy based on native speakerism. From the teaching EIL perspective, the first and the most fundamental problem lies in that Korean ELT seems to cling to 'native speaker model,' or American model more specifically. No other English varieties and their speakers are appreciated but more often than not devalued as 'confusing' or 'non-standard'. The number of foreign teachers is increasing but they are recruited predominantly from 'inner circle' (Kachru 1985) countries mainly because of their 'citizenship of an English-speaking nation' not because of their professional ELT education or experience. Both EPIK and TALK limit the candidates' eligibility to the citizens of seven countries only, including Australia, Canada, Ireland, New Zealand, United Kingdom, United States, and South Africa. This kind of government policy and social practice can restrict the scope and dimension of Korean learners' understanding of English language and culture. And more seriously, it implies a 'hidden agenda' that the untold and unheard culture of other English-speaking groups are not important, second-class, and not worthy of recognition or appreciation (Park 2006a). And indeed it seems to be the case in Korea.

The following issues and concerns were raised in regard to NESTs and EPIK in the literature (Park 2008; Park et al. 2010):

1. The job description for NESTs which is to serve as teachers, teacher trainers, and assistant teacher is not well matched with their qualification requirements which focus on 'being a native speaker' not on 'being a professional teacher';
2. The notion of 'native speaker' that policy makers have is confined to 'inner circle only' and it has a possible danger of 'hidden agenda', disregarding and disrespecting other English speakers;
3. There is a lack of pre- and in-service training for NESTs in general and in particular, lack of training for both KTEs and NESTs for effective collaboration;
4. Both KTEs and NESTs lack intercultural understanding, communication, and hands-on skills to effectively conduct 'team-teaching';
5. NESTs are marginalized by being assigned to teach classes unrelated to the curriculum (Nam 2011), which results in students' misbehaviour, disrespect, and de-motivation;
6. KTEs are intimidated and face-lost by being paired up with NESTs whose English language and cultural competence are superior, without proper training to work with them, or any incentives for taking on this risky job;
7. Educational administrators lack professional management due to a lack of English communicative ability, intercultural understanding, and understanding of ELT as a professional discipline.

It was also pointed out that not much improvement and progress has been made regarding these problems from the inception of the program till now.

Second, Korean teachers and learners' perceptions and attitudes toward English and English speakers. 'Native-speakerism' has also a negative influence on the Korean English teachers' perception and understanding of English, English speakers, and them-selves as English teachers and users, and leads to a low professional self-esteem (Hye-Kyung Kim 2011). They underestimate their own English competence and lack confidence in themselves as an owner of English, which in turn influences and shapes their students' perception and understanding. In addition, insufficient teacher training for teaching EIL has hindered them in their efforts to become better teachers of EIL.

The results of Joo-Kyung Park (2009b)'s survey revealed that the Korean teachers lack confidence in their own pronunciation and the major issues in teaching pronunciation include a lack of students' interest, time for teaching pronunciation, and teaching methods and materials. As is the case of Japan shown in Honna (2008), unlike the goal stated in the national curriculum, the Korean ELT in reality also has a 'nativist or American English' goal which disqualifies and demoralizes Korean teachers of English as a good role model of English language leaner and speaker (Joo-Kyung Park 2009c). The same or similar attitudes are shown in pre-service teacher training programs. Even though the national curriculum emphasizes the importance of understanding diverse cultures, very few number of courses are allocated on teaching culture and those culture teaching courses offered in universities are entirely focused on Anglo-American cultures (Jin et al. 2006; Sung 2009).

Language attitudes are heavily influenced by external factors (Bohner and Wanke 2002) including the textbook choice. Matsuda (2003) found that Japanese EFL classes are based on inner-circle models because of the widespread use of American and British textbooks. Likewise, the English textbooks used both in elementary and secondary schools in Korea have strongly reinforced inner-circle models, American model in particular as 'the model' to both Korean teachers and learners of English. Most of the Korean students primarily prefer American English and British English (Jung 2005; Kim 2007; Yoo 2012). Meanwhile, Kim (2007) reported that his Korean subjects showed positive attitudes towards both standard English and English varieties although they seemed to have insufficient knowledge of the varieties. Considering the limited exposure to English varieties, the students seem to be aware of the linguistic needs of various Englishes. Nevertheless, Korean learners of English have negative attitudes towards their own accent, Korea English (Tokumoto and Shibata 2011). From language identity formation perspectives, a comprehensive investigation needs to be done into the Korean English learners' negative attitudes towards Korean-accented English.

Third, English varieties and multiculturalism represented in English textbooks. All the English textbooks used both in elementary and secondary schools around the nation are assessed and certified by the MEST who also controls the national curriculum development and revision. The 5th revised national curriculum (1988–1992) introduced teaching culture in the elementary and secondary schooling of English (Sung 2009). The 6th Curriculum (1992–1997) specified its scope in Anglo-American centered cultures and languages (Hyun and Kim 2002), while the 7th Curriculum (1997-to present) expanded teaching culture through the inclusion of Korean culture (Han and Bae 2005) and cultures of the English-speaking countries beyond the exclusive focus on U.S.A. and U.K. (Koh 2004).

Cortazzi and Jin (1999) identified three categories of culture: Target culture, source culture and international cultures. Despite the increasing importance of culture in ELT, the earlier versions of the Korean national curricula of English lacked the concept of international cultures. Consequently, the government-certified elementary and secondary English textbooks which are developed on the basis of the national curriculum show a similar pattern. With little inclusion of international cultures, most English textbooks were centered on Anglo-American orientation linguistically and culturally (Han and Bae 2005; Park and Suh 2003). Hyun and Kim (2002) further reported that no textbooks included any international cultures at all.

However, it was found in Ock-Hee Park (2012) that compared to the previously published textbooks, more diverse cultures of inner and expanding circles were included in the newly published elementary school English textbooks. They were based on the 2008 Revised National Curriculum which reflects the perspective of English as a global language and intercultural speaker. It seems to be a substantial progress not only in the teaching contents but also in the perception of policymakers and textbook writers, even though American culture was still presented most dominantly with the very limited inclusion of outer circle cultures.

Last, English language and culture teaching materials and classroom activities. The teaching materials used in Korean English classes are shown to be only a

collection of discrete facts and information of the target culture. Youngsook Kim (2006) found that it has led to a low motivation or disinterest in learning culture in secondary English learners. In order to interest and motivate the students, culture teaching needs diverse materials which contain cross-cultural contents such as intercultural encounters or conflicts. Moreover, limited and traditional teaching activities were found to be another impeding factor. Culture teaching in Korean English classes generally employs a rather traditional teaching method, which is, lecturing on the reading materials (Sung 2008). It seems to be due to the fact that many Korean teachers of English are not familiar with the target culture and culture teaching methodology. McKay (2002) says, "If the teacher uses the [classroom] opportunity primarily to give students more information about the target culture, little is gained in establishing a sphere of interculturality" (p. 90). She suggested that a more effective approach to establish a sphere of interculturality would be for the teacher to encourage students to reflect on their own culture in relation to the target culture and to provide additional information on the target culture when students request such information.

More diverse and meaningful activities should be developed and used. Using movies was suggested as a useful method of teaching culture. Movies can provide good opportunities for English learners to get used to varieties of Englishes in the world (Im 2010; Hyun-Ju Kim 2011). Intercultural drama seems to be useful for both learners and teachers in teaching culture class. Choi (2003) claimed that through intercultural drama can students learn English as an international language and improve intercultural communication skills and teachers improve their professional competence and develop more imaginative approaches to the curriculum in the global world.

4   Implications and Suggestions for Teaching English as an International Language

Education and politics are strongly interconnected, as evidenced by the case of Korea. As rightly pointed out in Yeon Hee Choi (2007), the top-down approach to English education serves as a problem in Korea. Apparently, it fails to cater to the regional needs. Nevertheless, it was only possible that the drastic changes and developments have made in ELT in Korea during the past two decades due to the Korean government's commitment to English education, regardless of its political propaganda behind it. Now then, the Korea's case has the following educational implications for ELT in many other cultures and contexts:

As it is very true that the quality of an education system cannot exceed the quality of its teachers (Barber and Mourshed 2007), so is it that the quality of teachers depends on the quality of the educational system and programs by which they are trained, selected, and evaluated. Depending on the governments' initiatives and pursuance, the educational system may or may not even exist. For this reason, it is even more important and imminent that those policymakers and those people

that influence on making policies in one way or another have a clear and balanced understanding and awareness of the nature and consequences of the policies they work on.

As shown above, ELT in Korea has created lots of changes and development as well as issues and challenges. There is a clear discrepancy between the curriculum rhetoric and the classroom reality. In order to narrow it down, the following are suggested.

First, the ownership of English needs to be promoted with Korean learners and teachers through more explicit education and real life practices. They should be able to appreciate their own variety of English as much as others. As Kwon (2001) argues, 'Konglish' or Koreanized English is not to be stigmatized as a bad language but to be used with some strategy to make it understood to other English speakers. Kyung-Ja Park (2009) further claimed that it is only a matter of time before Korea English or KE[7] will serve the purpose of glocalized English. Based on the result of her own empirical study, Kyunghe Choi (2007) emphasized that more lectures on World Englishes and localized Englishes must be given to the students, in order to lessen their obsession with American or British English as Standard English and raise their awareness of World Englishes.

Second, EIL-oriented teacher education programs need to be developed within the framework of a Korean model which can cater to the Korean learner-specific needs and expectations of learning English. They should focus on ensuring intelligibility of teachers' own pronunciation and building their confidence in themselves as a good speech model of English. Hands-on tips and strategies need to be provided for teaching English for international communication, including those on how to present different English varieties properly and effectively, to promote students' ownership of English (Park 2006b) and to help the learners to become a critical thinker and successful user of English (Carter 2007).

Third, in order to make NESTs-related policy and programs like EPIK and TALK more effective and successful, the roles and functions of the teachers involved with the program should be clarified and well matched with the qualification requirements which value the applicants' expertise, experience, and interest in teaching English more than their nationality or ethnicity. Then, a more efficient collaborative teaching model needs to be developed for teachers both from home and abroad (Park 2008). Team teaching is and can be an effective way of modelling intercultural communication and providing students with a better understanding of English as a means of communication across cultures.

Fourth, more instructions should be given for Korean students so as to use strategies for compensating their specific learning difficulties, establishing rapport,

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[7]She proposed to use the term 'Korea English' (KE) rather than either Korean English or Konglish. "KE refers to the spoken English used by most educated Korean speakers when communicating internationally as well as intra-nationally. It has common cores of normative English with Korean traits and nuances in pronunciation, lexicon, syntax and discourse, distinct from other types of English. This variety of English is called 'glocalized English' (GlcE)" (Kyung-Ja Park 2009, p. 94).

and minimizing cultural differences as suggested in McKay (2002). Too many form-focused learning experiences demotivate and discourage the learners from using the language out of inhibition to make errors and mistakes. Simply saying "Don't be shy." will not open up the students' mouths and minds but equipping them with more hands-on strategies will. Interaction strategies based on the results of studies on the Korean learner-specific learning difficulties and intercultural differences need to be developed and taught.

Fifth, more Korean-specific topics and materials as source culture should be included in the English textbooks. For example, at the college level, they may include Korean way of addressing people, family value and pressure, age and interpersonal relationship, education and personal goal, sentiments such as 'jeong (affection)', 'han (regret)', 'nunchi (sensitivity),' face-saving, collectivism, drinking culture, national division, reunification, military service, and more. Students can learn more about their own culture and how to present it to others in English. By incorporating these topics and materials, the class will provide students with opportunities to reflect, recognize, and appreciate their own culture. They can share and exchange their own personal meaning of these cultural topics with their classmates and the teacher, and communicate their ideas and culture with those people who are from different cultures, which is one of the educational goals of learning EIL (Smith 1976, cited in McKay 2002).

Last but not least, more diverse cultures need to be presented and taught in Korean English classrooms and accepted in the Korean society. More multicultural teaching goal and instructional contents and material should be incorporated into Korean English textbooks. A more diverse, qualified English speaking teachers including those migrant people from the outer circle countries to Korea need to be recognized and given an opportunity for them to present their varieties of English and culture in Korean schools and the society (Joo-Kyung Park 2009c). Now is the time for us to stop labelling and categorizing people as NESTs or NNESTs but help them collaborate in order to enhance teaching efficiency and excellency and to accomplish educational goals together (Park 2008). And it is a true and genuine way of realizing EIL education.

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Part II
Dimensions of Change

English as an International Language and Three Challenging Issues in English Language Teaching in Japan

Nobuyuki Honna and Yuko Takeshita

Abstract This paper deals with three challenging issues in Japan's English language teaching (ELT), which is officially considered as part of a larger endeavour of international understanding education. In implementing this framework in Japan's ELT, three major issues are noticed. (1) How we can teach English as an international language; (2) How we can train our students to be able to talk about themselves, their community, and their national culture; and (3) How we can motivate our students to become interested in cultures of speakers of different varieties of English the world over. The crux of the matter in Issue (1) is that Japan's conventional ELT model is outdated and unrealistic. In the traditional American English Speaker model, Japanese students are taught American English and are expected to become speakers of American English. In view of the present role English plays as an international language, it is *not necessary* and it is *not desirable* to expect to produce American English speakers in Japan's public education system. To adjust to this reality, the traditional model has to be changed or modified in favour of the Japanese English Speaker model. Issues (2) and (3) are closely connected. Japanese people generally see international understanding as learning about other countries. Consequently, awareness and practical training in explaining things Japanese is often ignored in school programs of international understanding education. Unfortunately, Japan's ELT is inclined to reinforce this tendency by putting much emphasis on reading about foreign cultures, mostly those of the United States and Britain. However, with a clear understanding of English as a

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language for wider communication, a coordinated program is proposed to teach English as an international language for self-explanation and mutual understanding across cultures.

1 Introduction: English Language Teaching as Part of International Understanding Education

The aim of Japan's English language teaching (ELT) in public education is to develop a working command of this global language and nurture international and intercultural awareness on the part of our students. That is why ELT is definitely considered as part of a larger endeavor of international understanding education. Truly, the Department of International Education in the Bureau of Elementary and Secondary Education is in charge of ELT in the organizational structure of the Japan's Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology (MEXT).

Apparently, ELT for this goal is composed of three important elements (see Diagram 1): (1) teaching English as an international language (EIL), not as a Standard American or a British language; (2) explaining our own culture; and (3) understanding other cultures. In implementing this framework in Japan's ELT, three challenging issues are noticed. Issue (1) concerns the concept of EIL and its various logical deductions reflected in ELT. Issue (2) is about English as a
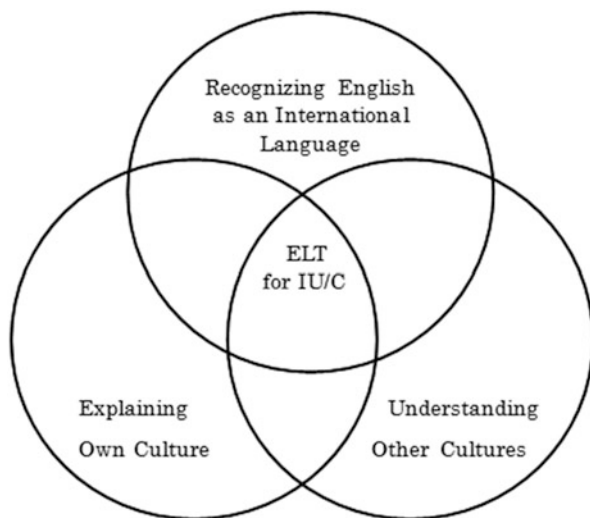
Diagram 1 Three elements in teaching English as a language for international understanding and communication (IU/C)

Diffusion   Adaptation

(Internationalization)   (Diversification)

Input   Intercultural Adaptive Process   Output

American/British English	→	Regional/Local Sociocultural Circumstances	→	Regional/Local Varieties of English
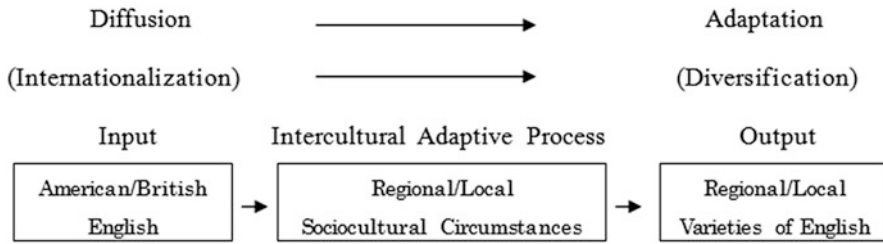
Diagram 2 Diffusion and adaptation

self-expressive language. Japanese people generally see international understanding as learning about other cultures. Therefore, awareness and practical training in explaining Japanese ways of life explicitly is frequently ignored. Unfortunately, Japan's ELT is inclined to reinforce this tendency by focusing on reading about foreign cultures, mostly those of the U.S.A. and the U.K. Thus, children are often instructed to send Christmas cards to friends overseas, but are rarely told to write Japanese New Year's cards or summer cards in English and to explain Japanese ways of life. Thus, Issue (3) should be explored with a wider perspective. Furthermore, in view of the fact that Japanese use English with other Asians, understanding their cultures emerges as an urgent issue in Japan's ELT.

1.1 Diffusion and Intercultural Adaptation

As we start our discussion, we think it is very important that we have a clear understanding of the two major characteristics or tendencies obtained by contemporary English, the extent and magnitude of which no other languages have ever experienced in the history of linguistic dynamism: (1) its global spread and (2) the development of a vast number of its national varieties. The former can be rephrased as the internationalization of English and the latter as the diversification of English. (See Diagram 2).

People often find it difficult to comprehend the diversification part, but the diversification of English is the natural outcome of the internationalization of the English language. You cannot have one without the other. They are two sides of the same coin. In other words, if there is to be diffusion, there has to be adaptation.

When Standard American English or British English is transplanted or introduced to other countries, the language goes through an adaptive process of indigenization or reculturalisation to get learned and used by local people there. The output of this intercultural adaptive process is the development and emergence of local varieties of English, or Non-native Speaker Englishes, which are conceptualized as an important part of world Englishes (Kachru et al. 2006; Kirkpatrick 2010). As a matter of fact, English used by the Japanese is often influenced by their native language and cultural perspectives. These trends are witnessed in many countries in Asia and around the world.

Diagram 3 Speakers of English

Native Speakers — Non-Native Speakers

Japanese English
Chinese English
Korean English
Indian English
Thai English
Singaporean English
Philippine English
...

Native Speakers × Non-Native Speakers
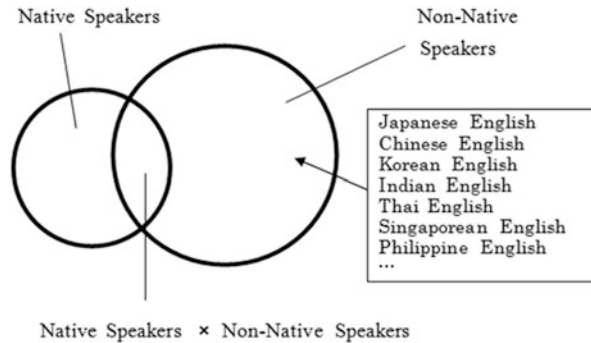
Furthermore, remarkably in Asia, non-native speakers use English more frequently with other non-native speakers than with native speakers, defined as inner-circle speakers (Kachru 1982). The interaction between native speakers and non-native speakers is very limited in this part of the world. It is not as frequent as often assumed in ELT. (See Diagram 3) Importantly, Asian speakers are taking advantage of this additional language and are exploring new dimensions of English use: phonetically, lexically, syntactically, semantically, and of course pragmatically. They are also using English in Asian cultural contexts.

So when Japanese speak English with Chinese, there is no room for British or American culture. What happens in this situation is that Japanese behave like Japanese and speak English in Japanese ways, and so do Chinese, Koreans, Singaporeans, Filipinos, Thais, Indians, and many others. This is the basis of English becoming a multicultural language in Asia and on a global scale, each variety developing its own linguistic and cultural features, or for some people, identity.

2 Global Spread of English as a Multicultural Language

As the spread of English progresses, English is bound to reflect the world's various cultures. Every language has an indefinite capacity for expansion. There is no language that has used up its inherent potentiality. The portion that native speakers have explored is extremely limited. There is still a vast area to be exploited by non-native speakers based on their cognitive, socio-cultural, and linguistic experiences. Once a language is transferred to nonnative speakers, they start exploring certain aspects of the language that have not been touched upon by its native speakers. (See Diagram 4).

In this way, these local and nonnative-speaker additions are getting blended into the English language on a global scale. Consequently, what is actually happening to English right now is that nonnative speakers are making contributions to the expansion of English as a multicultural language.

West African English:
He has long legs.

East African English:
It's porridge.

African English:
They blamed him, they blamed
him for all the troubles that have
befallen our land.

Singapore/Malaysian
English:
You wait here, lah.

Expanding

Areas Native Speakers
Have Explored
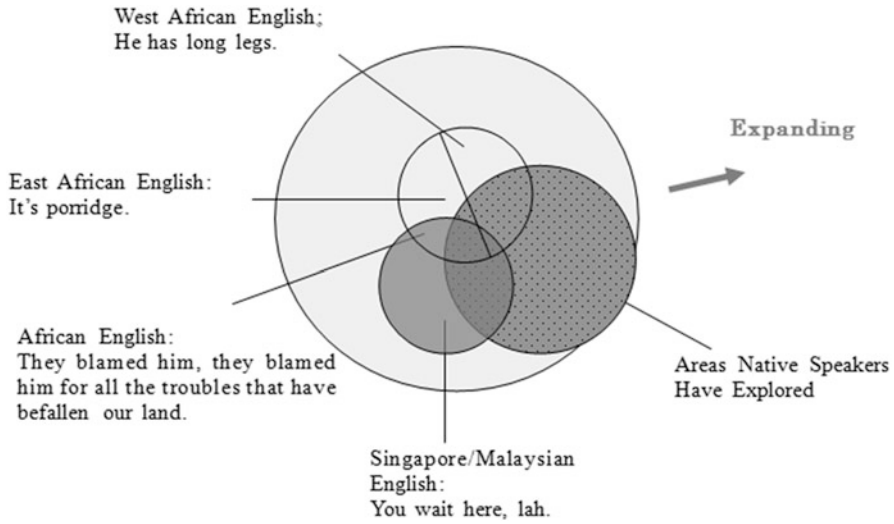
Diagram 4 The expanding capacity of English as a multicultural language

3 Paradigm Change in English Language Teaching

Under these circumstances, ELT models are also changing in many countries in an attempt to adapt to the current English language situation. In Japan, for example, the Standard American English Speaker Model, as is shown below, which has been practiced in public schools for a long time, is now being challenged and is beginning to lose its ground. In the Standard American English Speaker Model, Japanese students are taught American English and are expected to become Standard American English speakers. The more American you sound, the better you are as a student of English.

Standard American English Speaker Model

Input	Program	Output Expectation
Japanese Students	Standard American English[1]	Standard American English Speakers
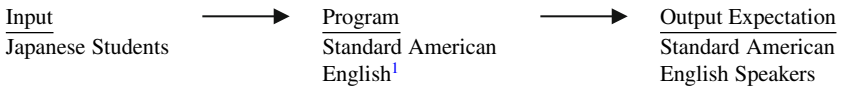
However, there is a widely-shared feeling among a sizable number of ELT specialists now in Japan that this is an unrealistic, unattainable, and undesirable program. Some sociolinguistic presuppositions that support the Standard American English Speaker Model are identified here.

1. English is *the* American language.
2. To speak English is to behave like an American.

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[1]Standard American English here is used as a representative of native-speaker varieties of English for which Japan's ELT has traditionally shown an exclusively strong preference.

3. If we fail to produce Standard American English speakers, the goal model is not the problem. Our quality control ability is the problem. So we should increase our quality control efforts. Perhaps the best way to do so is to start teaching English earlier and invite more native speakers as teachers or teacher aids.

And the concomitant results often observed are these.

1. Students develop a feeling of failure, inferiority, and even shame.
2. This native-speaker oriented and perfectionist approach often creates the social pressure that says: "Do not speak English before you can speak it like an American."
3. The extent to which Japanese people can use English at international settings is underestimated only because their English is different from Standard American English.
4. Other non-native speaker varieties of English are stigmatized.

This is counterproductive to Japan's ELT endeavor. If there is to be innovation, there has to be enlightenment. In view of the present role English plays as a world language, it is not necessary and it is not desirable to expect to produce Standard American English speakers in Japan's public education system. To adjust to this reality, the traditional model has to be changed or modified in favor of the Japanese English Speaker Model, as is shown below.

Japanese English Speaker Model

Input	$\longrightarrow$	Program	$\longrightarrow$	Output Expectation
Japanese Students		Standard American English[2]		Japanese English Speakers[3]
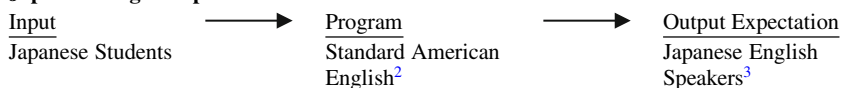
In the Japanese English Speaker Model, students are given Standard American English as a sample for acquisition, and are expected to become speakers of a Japanese variety of English. The collective energy and time spent by a majority of 120 million Japanese who study English as a mandatory subject for some 8–10 years is truly enormous, and should not be wasted for nothing. There has to be a return for the effort. Japanese people should be encouraged to take advantage of the outcome of their educational experiences.

One way to do this would be to recognize that Japanese people normally are expected to speak Japanese patterns of English, not American English. They should

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[2]Actually, any variety may be offered as an acquisition sample as long as it is understood and accepted as an international language. However, in the Japanese school situation, Standard American English is offered in the program set by the MEXT because of historical reasons.

[3]This model does not deny any individuals their "rights" to speak like an American. It only argues that is not the goal of Japan's public ELT. Also, the term "Japanese English" is used for the school/education situations throughout this chapter does not mean all the students in such situations are Japanese nationals. According to the statistics by the Agency for Cultural Affairs (http://www.bunka.go.jp/kokugo_nihongo/kyouiku/todofuken_kensyu/h24_hokoku/pdf/shisaku_03.pdf), approximately 72,000 non-Japanese children and students were enrolled in public elementary, junior and senior high schools in Japan. "Japanese English" generally applies to the kind of English students may acquire through studying in Japanese school/education situations.

be advised that what they are learning or what they have learned can function as a useful means of multinational and multicultural communication without some magical transformation to a native speaker mode.

The sociolinguistic presuppositions that underlie the Japanese English Speaker Model are these.

1. For Japanese, English is not an American language. For them, English is an additional language for wider communication.
2. English is allowed to spread only when it is allowed to diversify. (McDonald's in India do not serve beef burgers!)
3. A common language is not a unitary and monolithic language. It has to be a multicultural language. A lot of differences have to be allowed and accepted.

Some tendencies that the new model triggers could be these.

1. Japanese students become better motivated to learn English, reminded that "better is the enemy of good."
2. They encourage themselves to use English, when necessary and however limited their proficiency may be, because they are convinced that "useful English is usable English."
3. They recognize that they can speak English and sound Japanese at the same time, because they are not English or American; they are Japanese.
4. Becoming aware of English as an intermediary language across cultures, they develop interest in other varieties of Non-native Speaker Englishes.

The formal definition of Japanese English is difficult to describe at this moment. Suffice it to say that:

1. It is a set of English patterns (covering phonology, lexicon, syntax, semantics, and pragmatics) that many students of average and above-average grades can produce after 8–10 years of training in school and college.
2. It should be the basis on which Japanese citizens could build up further layers of knowledge and skills of English for their specific vocational and professional purposes. (For further information, see Honna 2006; Takeshita 2010.)

Apparently, these sociolinguistic ideas are beginning to gain support among students, teachers, and business people now in Japan slowly but steadily. Their response to the concept of Japanese English or even to the concept of English as a Japanese language for international communication has become more positive these days than before.

4 Speaking in Many Englishes

Now it is clear that the global spread of English has not resulted in the global acceptance of American English or British English as the standard of usage. Instead, it has established English as a multicultural language. At the same time, there have occurred new types of challenges. One of them concerns mutual communicability

Intercultural Accommodation Training for Diversity Management
↓
Intercultural Literacy
Teaching Awareness of Language
(Understanding How Language is Designed
and How People Use Language)
↓
Improving Sensitivity to, and Understanding of Linguistic Diversity
(Overcoming Inconveniences and Incommunicability
Likely to Emanate from English as a Multicultural Language)

Diagram 5 Intercultural accommodation training for diversity management

among speakers of different varieties of English. This is an actual and immediate as well as a potential concern. Cases of zero-communication and miscommunication are abundant among speakers of world Englishes in the fields of pronunciation, vocabulary, grammar, meaning, and pragmatics.

In order to deal with these challenges of English as a multicultural language, it seems that intercultural accommodation training is indispensable in ELT programs. Honna (2008) proposes intercultural literacy as a pedagogical response to diversity management of many Englishes. The proposal includes teaching awareness of language as a fundamental component in intercultural literacy education. (See Diagram 5).

Teaching awareness of language has been effectively practiced in Britain and Europe, as is reported in Hawkins (1987), Donmall (1985), James and Garrett (1991), and others. The key here is the improvement of sensitivity to, and understanding of linguistic differences. But linguistic awareness does not come naturally; it has to be learned and practiced.

Multicultural use of English yields a multitude of problems in intercultural communication. Japanese often could not help saying, "Thank you very much for last night. It was a fantastic dinner." They would feel irritated not to hear similar expressions of gratitude from friends from abroad whom they invited to an expensive restaurant. On the hand, Japanese speakers of English would be embarrassed to learn that their thank-you expression could be interpreted as a request for another treat. The reality is that the Japanese custom is simply not shared by other Asians. A solution of these difficulties would be stimulated by raised awareness of the nature of English as a multicultural language.

First, we have to be trained to become aware of the fact that there is always another way of doing and saying the same thing so that we can overcome our disposition to linguistic complacency. In order to develop such a language awareness program for ELT, we need information from cognitive linguistics and sociolinguistics. Here are some examples of what we should tell our students vis-

à-vis linguistic differences from cognitive linguistic points of view. One thing to be included in our program is the study of metaphors. The metaphor has a lot to do with our better understanding of English as a multicultural language for international communication. Consider these sentences:

1. *Patrick* is sharp. (General English)
2. The Arab *street* is angry, but the *street* is honest and sincere and we should listen to *it*. (*The Japan Times,* July 17, 2006: 5) (Arabian English)
3. That *restaurant* is very delicious. (Japanese English)

If Sentence 1 is a correct sentence, so is Sentence 2 and, of course, so is Sentence 3, all enjoying the equal correctness and legitimacy status, although Sentences 2 and 3 may sound strange to some speakers. They share the same metaphoric foundation, that is, simply put, THE WHOLE IS THE PART.

Some people may say concerning Sentence 3, "A restaurant is a building, and a building cannot be delicious. So this is illogical and incorrect!" However, if Sentence 3 is illogical and incorrect, then Sentence 1 is illogical and incorrect, too. Patrick is a human being, and he is not a cutting instrument. He cannot be sharp.

The bottom line is that the correctness of a sentence should not be judged, based on whether the speaker is a native speaker or a nonnative speaker, such as by saying that Sentence 1 is correct because it is said by native speakers, but Sentence 3 is incorrect because it is not said by native speakers. We cannot accept this logic anymore. We have to refuse it in accordance with the concept of world Englishes and the general sociolinguistic relationship between spread and transformation.

To make sure that this approach really works in the real world, we need be trained in metaphoric awareness in ELT so that we can be sensitive to and interested in different and new expressions originating from other cultures. This principle should be applied to non-native speakers and native speakers alike if English is to be used as an international language across cultures.

5   English as a Self-Expressive Language: ESSC Exercises

With this much said, it is high time to discuss how we can create "ripples of hope" in ELT. Importantly, the increasingly shared recognition among some teachers of English is that Japanese people need this additional language to talk about themselves with people from abroad, explaining Japanese ways of life on international occasions. If we intensify practice of these self-expressive and explanatory communication skills in ELT, we will certainly contribute to correcting the most critical deficiency in Japan's international understanding education. It will also be an effective device to help stimulate development of Japanese patterns of English.

Emphasis on expressive and explanatory communication skills in ELT has world-wide implications. If the world's ELT is culturally Anglo-American oriented or dominated, what is going to happen when Japanese and Malaysians meet? When

they meet, it is unlikely that they will talk about London or New York. Naturally, Japanese will be interested in Malaysia and Malaysians in Japan. Thus, students will have to be trained and prepared to discuss their ideas, values, and customs in English in ELT. English is said to be a language of information. But if people are not ready to give their information in English, they cannot take advantage of the power given the language.

To foster this cultural and linguistic proficiency, we need to provide our students with more opportunities to read and write, and talk and hear about Japan in English. We have to encourage them to talk about themselves every time they learn new words, phrases, and constructions. Of course, comparative culture is an efficient way of doing this. Stories about different lives abroad can be used to nurture their eagerness to talk about their own families, friends, and communities. If we could have our own way, we would argue for more Asianisation in the cultural content of ELT materials in Japan. For example, Japanese students should be better informed of some important aspects of English communication styles of other Asian nationals. This idea is based on the fact that Japanese use English most frequently with other Asians.

Actually, if given an opportunity, Japanese students and citizens can display a remarkable command of English. This tendency is demonstrated by participants in the Extremely Short Stories Competition (ESSC) events administered by the Japanese Association for Asian Englishes (JAFAE) in Japan (Hassall 2006a, b; Takeshita 2008). Participants included junior and senior high school students, college students, and general citizens. The events have shown how important it is to organize an English-using opportunity in Japan's ELT situation.

The ESSC was originally developed by Professor Peter Hassall of Zayed University, the United Arab Emirates. A story to be submitted to the competition should be written in exactly 50 words, not more, not less. Informed of this idea, some Japanese college students instantly showed interest and wrote us their stories. Here are some of them. These were all produced by 1st-year students and non-English majors:

(1) Because of You
     My voice does not mean anything. My thoughts do not mean anything. Nobody cares about me. But you, you treat me as something special. Because of you I can smile. Because of you I can feel safe and protected. Everything is because of you. Mom I'm here because of you.
(2) The people who I met
     I met a lot of people. I get along with some of them, but not all of them. However, everyone shows me what is right and wrong. I learn lots of things from even those who I couldn't get along with. Everyone who I met made who I am today.

As these examples show, students can get excited about using English to express their feelings and thoughts. Some of them said that while writing these stories about themselves and their surroundings, they discovered that in English they could say what they could not have said in Japanese. The female student, who wrote Story

1 above, "recognized" that English made it possible for her to form her idea about Mom and herself and put it into words, adding that she would have been too shy to say this in Japanese. Others stated, too, that they enjoyed writing their stories and that they were glad to discover that they could learn English by enjoying it. Let us add one example written by a senior-high student, and another by a junior-high student in that order below.

(3) Soap Bubbles

My name is soap bubbles. I disappear in about 10 s after my birth. So my life is the shortest in the world. This is my destiny. But I like myself. Because people often tell me, "You are exciting" or "You are beautiful." Oh, it's about time to go. Goodbye.

(4) Shadow

Probably, you don't know me. But, I know you very much. I'm always behind you. I always follow you. And, I'm always with you. So, please sometimes remember this. I'm the nearest person with you. If you feel that you're alone. But you're not alone. Because, I'm always with you.

Without being told anything about them, students "know" the basics of story structuring: introduction, development, and conclusion. Grammatical insufficiencies notwithstanding, they tend to organize their stories naturally and thoughtfully. In view of the fact that students can often find it fun to express themselves in English, teachers are highly recommended to try various means in an attempt to encourage and motivate their students to be self-expressive. The Extremely Short Story Competition is just one of them.

Interestingly enough, the 50-word rule seems to enable non-native speakers to compete with native speakers to a significant extent. Students from the U.S.A. concede that many Japanese works are better than theirs. Under this rule, students can sometimes beat their teachers. There were many stories by students that were judged better than those composed by Japanese professors.

Composing an extremely short story is a real-world experience for the participants, which is not always the case in the English learning environment in Japan. Hassall (2006a) emphasizes the importance of the authenticity and the resulting effect of writing extremely short stories:

> There is a danger that our students' writing becomes meaningful only as far as it ends up in the assessment archives of our universities and colleges. The Extremely Short Story Competition (ESSC), as introduced here, provides an educational event designed to fulfill a very real need of our student writers by offering a safe, secure environment where their voices can be heard by a much wider audience than is usually available, even from within the language classroom. (p. 90)

Actually in many contests that involve English learning activities, whether they be a contest for delivering one's own speech, reciting a famous public speech or writing an essay, only the selected works are presented to the public for appreciation.

By uploading all stories on the internet, however, the ESSC attempts at motivating English learners/users to write their own stories as well as at providing an opportunity to enjoy reading other's works. A Chinese writer's story about a holiday

in China, for example, may teach Japanese readers about a culture they have never read about. A Japanese writer's story about Mother's Day may help Korean readers understand what they culturally share with each other. Thus, a writer's message in a work may be conveyed to readers in other cultures, who in turn may be inspired to write for more exchanges of cultural messages on the website. The ESSC could serve as a communication board that embraces writers and readers in different cultures.

6 Understanding Other Cultures: An Email Exchange Project

Addressing issues of understanding other cultures in ELT, one approach that has proved effective is an email exchange project. It can be used both for mutual understanding and self-expressive purposes. In a Japanese-Chinese English language communication exercise conducted for an intensive period of 1 month at Aoyama Gakuin University (Japan) and Shenzhen University (China), students exchanged emails asking questions and answering them about their cultural differences. Some examples are given below.

(1) A Chinese student asking a Japanese student a cultural question.
    "... I have a Japanese friend in my university. Whenever she comes from a trip to Japan, she brings me a present. Of course, I appreciate her kindness. But what I cannot understand is that her present is always small both in size and volume: a small box of Japanese candies from Kyoto, a handkerchief, a few cakes of soap, and the like. Can you explain why my Japanese friend does this? Many Chinese could not understand my Japanese friend's behavior and might conclude that she is stingy, inconsiderate, or impolite ..."
(2) A Japanese student answering the Chinese student's cultural question.
    "... Actually, Japanese young ladies tend to give something small as a present to their friends. They consider something small as 'pretty' (*kawaii*) and hope that the recipient likes the small gift. At the same time, giving something small is a reflection of Japanese people's considerateness. We don't want others to think about returning the favor. When we give something small as a gift, we add words like 'Sorry for just a little bit of this,' or 'Just a token of my heart.' Some might say precisely, 'No returning the favor, please ...'"

In spite of the short duration, both Japanese and Chinese students covered a wide range of topics and apparently enjoyed their "written conversations." As was seen in the students' reaction, the cultural explanation project was well received. The result shows that ELT in Japan (and China and other countries) should prepare and devise a series of simulated intercultural communication. Exposure to these opportunities will definitely enhance students' awareness of English as an intermediary language on a bilateral and a multilateral basis in the globalizing

world. From such opportunities, students will learn what it really means that English is an international as well as a self-expressive language.

7   Concluding Remarks

Japan's ELT for IU/C purposes is composed of three major components of EIL, explaining our own culture, and understanding other cultures. Diffusion presupposes diversification. Specifically, an international language has to be a multicultural language. This principle is essential in recognizing English as an intermediary language. And all of us, who know more about English as such, should devise effective ways to explain the idea so that our students can have a better understanding of the language they are learning as well as enriching as a means of communication across cultures. At the same time, creating English-using opportunities is indispensable in Japan's ELT to let our students learn English as a language for international communication on a regional and global basis. Finally, Japan's ELT should be well prepared to accommodate Japanese varieties of English as an output of its endeavor.

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Teaching the Target Culture in English Teacher Education Programs: Issues of EIL in Vietnam

Ngoc Ba Doan

Abstract Vietnam's modernization and integration with the outer world have resulted in increased connectedness and interaction between Vietnamese and speakers of World Englishes. This social communicative situation complicates the teaching of culture in tertiary English teacher education programs. In particular, it challenges the notion of *target* culture in English as a foreign language education by raising the question as to which culture(s) to be targeted; whether the native speaker's culture(s) or those of the speakers of World Englishes? To identify how lecturers in English education would respond to this emergent complication, I conducted interviews with 11 lecturers from 5 English teacher education programs in Hanoi, Hue, Da Nang and Ho Chi Minh City in Vietnam. The respondents' observation, beliefs and curricular practices indicated (1) a tension between a monocentric and pluricentric views on the teaching of culture in the English teacher education programs investigated, and (2) a paradigm shift towards the teaching of English as an International Language in Vietnam.

Keywords Target culture • Culture teaching • English teacher education • English as an international language • Pluricentricity of English

1 Introduction

In English as a foreign language (EFL) education, *target culture* is inherently linked to the culture of the native speaker (Byram et al. 2002; Graddol 2006; McKay 2012b). Therefore, pedagogical and curricular decisions targeting native speakers' culture(s) as necessary instructional input are often taken for granted (Matsuda

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2006; Matsuda and Friedrich 2011). Current context of English as an international language (EIL), however, is calling for serious revisit of the notion of *target culture* in language education (McKay 2003; Pennycook 2008; Ton Nu Nhu Huong and Pham Hoa Hiep 2010). This paper problematises the unquestioned reference of target culture and argues that curricular and pedagogical decisions are ideologically influenced. It also argues that pedagogy for teaching culture in English teacher education programs needs to adopt a pluricentric view on EIL in order to suit the local demands for quality teachers of English.

2 EIL as an Ideological Shift in Culture Teaching

Language ideologies are rationalised beliefs about language form and function (Silverstein 1979: 193), and are reflection of the relationship between human beings and language (Blommaert 2006; Kroskrity 2004; Silverstein 1979; Woolard 1998). These beliefs act as ideological forces mediating language communication and language education (Kroskrity 2004; McGroarty 2010; McKay and Bokhorst-Heng 2008; Seargeant 2009). McKay and Bokhorst-Heng (2008: xiv), for example, argue that in language education, "ideological constructions have direct bearing on pedagogical practices in the classroom".

Foreign language education has been greatly influenced by ideological positions that language belongs to the native speaker and that language is inextricably linked to the culture of the native speaker (See Kumaravadivelu 2008: 18–23). Accordingly, the native speaker is idealised as having both infallible competence of the language and intuitive understanding of the culture (Chomsky 1965; Paikeday 1985). Therefore, learners of English are to approximate the native speaker's language competence and cultural behaviors (Selinker 1972) in order to communicate successfully with the native speaker. Assumptions such as these have become so entrenched within ELT that Holliday (2005, 2006) refers to as native-speakerism – a monocentric ideology which idealises the native speaker teachers as the best while positioning the learner of English as

> an outsider; one who struggles to attain acceptance by the target community ... The target language is always someone else's mother tongue. The learner is constructed as a linguistic tourist – allowed to visit, without rights of residence and required always to respect the superior authority of native speakers. (Graddol 2006, pp. 82–83)

The above assumptions about language and culture in relation to the native speaker are problematic in the current situation of English as an international language (EIL) where learners stand far more chances to communicate with non-native speakers of the language (Crystal 2008; Kachru 1996; Kirkpatrick, this volume; McKay 2012a; Sharifian 2009b, 2011). This is a distinctive social communicative characteristic of EIL entailing a fundamental difference between English and other foreign language education. Reflecting on this sociolinguistic situation of EIL, Kumaravadivelu (2008) argues

> if the connection [between language and culture] were inextricable . . . then we would not
> be able to translate successfully from one language to another, nor would we be able to
> engage in any fruitful cross-cultural communication. Moreover, the emergence of World
> Englishes, with their amazing functionality and spread along with the rich body of creative
> literature in varieties such as Indian English and Nigerian English, proves, if any proof is
> needed, that culture and language are not irrevocably linked. (Kumaravadivelu 2008: 22)

Kumaravadivelu's argument is that language and culture is connected, however, the connection is not inextricable. In other words, a language can be embedded into different cultures to be functional and creative; hence, the localisation of the language (Doan Ba Ngoc 2011; Widdowson 1994). The above discussion entails such questions as who mediates the connection between English and culture and whose culture(s) the language is connected to. Lantolf (2006: 77) provides clues by arguing that while in recent hypotheses about language and culture, the divide between language and culture is erased, "concrete people engaged in goal-directed human activity [are] still [left] out of the picture". In Lantolf's view, it is the speaker, regardless of whether they are native or non-native, who plays the mediating role between language and culture, and whose culture the language is embedded in. In other words, Lantolf disconnect the linearisation of language – culture – the native speaker. Instead, he argues that speakers of the language, but not just native speakers, are to be foregrounded in discussion of language and culture. Therefore, identifying who the speaker of English is is critically important in EIL education (see Honna and Takeshita, this volume; Kirkpatrick 2012, this volume; Sharifian, this volume).

This view of the EIL scholarship on the connection between language and culture is informed by a pluricentric ideology that English belongs to anyone who uses it (Kachru 2000; Kachru and Smith 1985; Kirkpatrick, this volume; McKay 2002; Sharifian 2009b, 2011; Smith 1976; Widdowson 1994).

> It [English] is yours (no matter who you are) as much as it is mine (no matter who I am).
> We may use it for different purposes and for different lengths of time on different occasions,
> but nonetheless it belongs to all of us. (Smith 1976: 39)

Widdowson (1994: 383) further argues

> The very fact that English is an international language means that no nation can have
> custody over it. To grant such custody of the language, is necessarily to arrest its
> development and so undermine its international status . . . the point is that it is only
> international to the extent that it is not their [native speakers'] language . . . Other people
> actually own it.

Here, the ownership of English rests on the premise that speakers of English adapt the language linguistically and socioculturally in order to make meanings in communication (Kirkpatrick 2007, 2010). Through this semiotic process, international speakers make English their own; i.e. they "de-nationalise" it (Smith 1976: 41), instill their creativeness and distinctiveness in it (Kachru 2000) to "re-nationalise" it (McKay 2002: 12).

This position on the ownership of English marks an ideological shift from a monocentric view of EFL to a pluricentric view of EIL necessitating a call for a

paradigm shift in the teaching of culture in EIL language education (Kirkpatrick 2012, this volume; Mahboob and Dutcher 2013; McKay 2002; Sharifian 2013, this volume).

As argued by McKay and Bokhorst-Heng (2008) and Marlina (this volume), the above call for the ideological shift is responsive to the changing social and linguistic context of English worldwide, including that in Vietnam.

3 The Social and Communicative Context in Vietnam

Vietnam's *Doi Moi* (Renovation) Policy in 1986, wide opening its door to the world, has attracted a great number of foreign nationals to Vietnam (Do Huy Thinh 2006; Le Van Canh 2006). According to Vietnam's Ministry of Planning and Investment (MPI),[1] by 20th April 2012, 95 countries and territories across 6 continents were investing in Vietnam through Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) projects. There is a very strong presence of Asian nationals from the available statistics. For example, Asia was ranked second in terms of the number of countries and territories investing through FDI projects, nonetheless accounted for 77 % of the projects and 68 % of the registered value of all FDI investment. Similarly, of the ten countries and territories accounting for 73 % of the total foreign tourists to Vietnam during the first 4 months of 2012, seven were from Asia (the Vietnam's General Statistics Office[2]). Regardless of what languages these visitors and those working in the FDI sector used when they were in Vietnam, their presence suggests that international communication in Vietnam is socioculturally and linguistically diverse and that there is a strong involvement of Asian nationals.

The "ever greater influx" (Do Huy Thinh 2006: 2) of foreign nationals has boosted the need for English for employment and the demand for English language education. "English proficiency is now seen as a vital requirement for employment" (Do Huy Thinh 2006: 2). English is the most preferred foreign language in education (Le Van Canh 2006; Ton Nu Nhu Huong and Pham Hoa Hiep 2010), and is almost *the* foreign language opted for by students at vocational secondary school (99.4 %) and university and school students (over 90 %) (Le Van Canh 2006: 177). Most importantly, English is now made a classroom instructional medium for selected subjects at secondary education and majors at tertiary educational level (Prime Minister 2008). The growing role and status of English indicates that it is not just a major foreign language but an international language (Crystal 2003; Matsuda and Friedrich 2011; McKay 2002; Seidlhofer 2011). This has significant implications for English language education, particularly the teaching of culture (Matsuda 2006, 2012; McKay 2002; Sharifian 2009b), which is the focus of the current chapter.

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[1]http://fia.mpi.gov.vn/News.aspx?ctl=newsdetail&p=2.44&aID=1140, accessed 24/05/2012.

[2]http://www.gso.gov.vn/default.aspx?tabid=621&ItemID=12410, accessed 24/05/2012.

In this chapter, insights into the teaching of culture were obtained from interviews with lecturers in five English teacher education programs at five institutions in the North, Centre and South of Vietnam. In these programs, the teaching of culture is an integral part of the curriculum. The next section introduces the *methodology* employed for data generation and analysis, followed by the *findings and discussion*. On the basis of the findings, several *implications for the pedagogy of EIL in teaching culture* are suggested.

4 Methodology

This qualitative research study employs the view that knowledge is socially constructed (Denzin and Lincoln 1998, 2005). In this case, interviewing is considered a social process between 'knowing subjects' (Koro-Ljungberg 2008: 430) and non-knowing social subjects who together construct knowledge. Semi-structured interviews were employed, which afforded me opportunities to probe into the key points of research interest while allowing me to focus on predetermined topics (Berg 2001; Dialsingh 2008; Krathwohl 1998), such as: teachers' awareness of social communicative context, their classroom practices and their beliefs.

Eleven lecturers from five English teacher education programs were recruited on the basis that they were either teaching culture or coordinating/managing the teaching and learning at their institutions. Their experience and qualifications varied. Two had less than 10 years while the others had over 15 years teaching English in their local settings. Four had doctorates, of whom two were professors; one was a doctoral student and the rest had their Masters degrees. All were interviewed at their work places.

Codes, for example Lect1a or Lect2b etc., were used to retain their anonymity. The Lect stands for Lecturer while the number refers to the institution at which the lecturer worked. Letters a, b or c indicate the sequence in which the participants were interviewed.

The interviews were directly transcribed and entered into NVivo8, which facilitated a thematic analysis through the creation of parent and child nodes. The nodes were named using either the exact terms used by the participants or on the basis of recurrent ideas across the participants. The analytical process was guided by the following questions.

- *Whose culture is targeted in the English teacher education programs investigated in this study?*
- *What purposes are for the selection of targeting such culture?*
- *What ideology informs such selection?*
- *What might be the implications for the teaching of culture in English teacher education programs in Vietnam in the future?*

Table 1 Curricular content for the teaching of culture

No	Course	Semester	Notes
1	British Culture and Civilisation	2 (year 2)	Compulsory
2	English Literature	1 (year 3)	Compulsory
3	American Culture and Civilisation	2 (year 3)	Compulsory
4	American Literature	1 (year 4)	Compulsory
5	Cross-cultural Communication	To be confirmed	Elective

5 Findings and Discussion

The teaching of culture was designed as part of the curriculum in the five English teacher education programs investigated in this study. From one of these programs, Lect5a, 5b, 5c and 5d informed that the teaching of culture at their institution consisted of two components: *British and American Culture and Civilisation (BACC)* and *Cross-cultural Communication (CCC).* BACC includes four courses while CCC was structured as the fifth (Table 1).

By the time of the interview, the curriculum for the CCC course had just been developed and the course was pending approval from the government for implementation. That means the BACC courses exclusively addressed the curriculum content of the teaching of culture at this institution. These courses fell in four semesters within the second and the last year of the 4-year program. Making the teaching of culture in English teacher education programs exclusively British and American was not uncommon in other institutions (Lect2a and Lect3b). Lect2a, for example, confirmed that "so far, we have just focused on American and British culture".

In the above program, the BACC curriculum covered a wide range of aspects of British and American cultures, literature and societies with teaching literature as the major curricular focus. According to Lect5c, literature teaching included the offering of works, such as "plays, short stories, novels and tales, from different stages and trends of the literature". Lect5a elaborated that the provision of "different [literary] works" was for the students

> to explore the *language* to be used in each work and to discover the *difference* in the styles as well as in the *language* to be used by *different* authors and writers. So in this way we can see that the *language* itself is very rich in many ways. And they know how to use *different styles of language* to express themselves and to talk about *different* topics in their life. (Lect5a) (my emphases)

The recurrent use of the word *language* and its attributive of *difference* suggests that language and language variation in terms of "styles", "authors" and "topics" in their teaching of culture was the main focus. Lect5a reinforced.

> When we talk about teaching literature, we are not actually teaching literature itself, but we use literature to support language teaching. (Lect5a)

Table 2 Objectives of the culture teaching across four BACC courses

	Objectives
Knowledge	To provide real life or authentic knowledge of the history, society, and people, their ways of thinking and behaviours and social values so that students are able to understand and explain how the language is used, and to absorb the beauty of the language. The knowledge also serves as an *authentic* resource for other courses, such as: translation, discourse analysis, pragmatics, and for macro-skills development, including reading and writing
	To provide accurate information, basic and practical knowledge with real-life images about America, its people, culture and society
Skills	To identify different literary genres, to develop scanning and skimming skills, reading for gist, and to identify how language is used in different contexts to different interlocutors for different purposes
	To develop scanning and reading for gist, and to develop speaking and presentation skills using information from various sources

This focus on the development of language proficiency was explicit in other informants' views about the overall purpose for the teaching of culture in their programs (Lect4a, 4b, Lect5a, 5b, 5c and 5d).

> There will be expressions and phrases in the language that without a knowledge of culture they [students] cannot understand, they cannot get the meaning of the expressions or phrase. (Lect5b)

This focus on language development was also clear within the curriculum objectives, reflected through expected knowledge and skills (Table 2).

Analysis of the curriculum objectives in Table 2 suggests the following areas of curriculum content were aimed at:

The analysis in Table 3 shows that only two objectives specifically aimed to develop cultural knowledge of literature and the background knowledge of America and Britain while the others aimed to develop students' language in order for them to use it appropriately. Teaching culture for the teaching of the language was exactly the same in other programs (e.g. Lect2a and Lect3a). The informants emphasised that the language sought for in these programs must be authentic (Lect5a, 5b, 5c and 5d, also in Table 2). By authenticity, these informants meant the language was used for "real life purposes" (Lect5b) by the "native speaker" in their "real life contexts" (Lect5c). Similarly, Lect5d emphasised that to be authentic, the language must come from the "native [speaker's] culture" which should "not be simplified for teaching and learning purposes". The informants made it explicit here that the cultures to be targeted in these programs were native to the British and Americans and that by exposing students to British and American cultures and literary works, they aimed to facilitate their students to develop their proficiency in authentic British and American Englishes. Their selection of American and British cultures as targets was deeply informed by the monocentric/native-speakerist ideology about language and culture rather than was simply made "because that is the way it has been" as observed by Matsuda and Friedrich (2011: 338).

Table 3 Paraphrased objectives for culture teaching

Areas of curricular content	Objectives
For language appreciation	To be able to understand and explain how the language is used
	To absorb the beauty of the language
	To identify how language is used in different contexts to different interlocutors for different purposes
For background knowledge of Britain and America	To provide accurate information, basic and practical knowledge with real-life images about Britain and America, their people, cultures and societies
For skill development	To develop speaking and presentation skills
	To develop reading and writing
	To develop scanning and skimming and reading for gist
For literature learning	To identify different literary genres
For transfer to other language courses	To provide authentic resources for other courses (Translation, Discourse Analysis, Pragmatics)
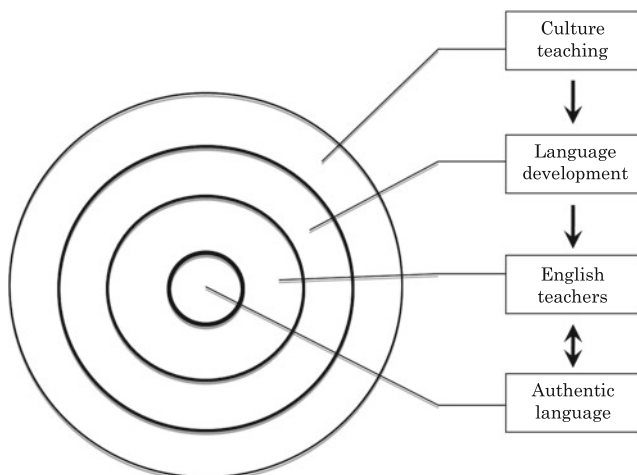
Fig. 1 A monocentric view on culture teaching

Given that these programs were in teacher education, there seemed to be a common belief that being a teacher of English meant being able to understand and work with the authentic language of British and American people. Put it differently, the authentic language of the native speaker was set as the ultimate aim for the teaching of culture in this program (Fig. 1).

It is evident here that the social communicative context in Vietnam which largely involves people from Asian linguistic and cultural backgrounds was not taken into account in the teaching of culture in this program. Addressing this concern, Lect5d said "there are so many cultures from Asian countries and we cannot, in anyway, cover everything".

Given that, nobody could teach everything needed for all intercultural encounters (Byram et al. 2002); this is a pedagogical issue in teaching EIL (Matsuda 2003; Matsuda and Friedrich 2011). In the absence of practical know-hows to deal with the issue, the preferred option is often to teach the culture(s) of the native speaker (Matsuda 2006, 2009) as opted for by these informants. Thus, the need for developing learners' intercultural communicative competence would be deemed to lie beyond the responsibilities of the program.

> For teachers, maybe this [developing intercultural/international communication skills] is not very important, but for other jobs, for example, when you are working in some kinds of media, or you are working in some jobs like the airforce, the business, trade and things like that, when you have a lot of contacts with people coming from other countries, so this one will become the main point of our training. (Lect5d)

International and intercultural communication was excluded from the teaching of culture on the basis that "the focus of the training is to train teachers for schools" (Lect5d). It would be reasonable to interpret Lect5d as stating that the teaching of culture was to prepare students for their teaching but not for their international communication and that their students' teaching English has least to do with intercultural communication in English. Instead, students took their own responsibility for their international and intercultural encounters outside the classroom (Lect5b and 5d). Once international communication did not form a goal for the teaching of culture, the local social communicative context was ignored, and the appropriateness of targeting American and British Englishes and cultures in English language education programs is often unquestioned (Matsuda and Friedrich 2011).

By contrast, other participants (Lect2a, 3a, 3b, 4a and 4b) argued that teaching British and American cultures should not form the (sole) target as they would not benefit students' future careers nor assist intercultural communication. These stated views indicate the shift among teacher educators toward the EIL paradigm.

6 Shifting Toward the EIL Paradigm

Lect3b informed that the teaching of culture in her program was heavily loaded with cultural content of the British and Americans. She, however, argued that teaching sole British and American cultures was "not beneficial" for her students because

> [they] learn how to teach but not all of them will become teachers. Some will work for rural development projects [or foreign investment] companies. Even in companies, they rarely come into contact with native English speakers from Britain, America or Australia. Nor will their future students. In our teaching we need to include what can facilitate them to develop necessary skills [to cope with] what happens in [their] real life. (Lect3b)

She then developed a course called Intercultural Communication in which she intended "to teach them behavior culture which does not focus on Britain and America only". Her course introduced students to "concepts and values, then

communication in learning styles or teaching styles and then intercultural communication between groups, cultural shock and non-verbal communication" (Lect3b). These curricular contents were also found in the newly developed Cross-cultural Communication course presented earlier by Lect5a, 5b, 5c, and 5d. This suggests a trend that the teaching of culture in English teachers education programs is connected more to the local social communicative context.

Using the social communicative context to reflect on and adapt classroom practices to was also applied by Lect2a, who observed that speakers of English in her city were mainly Asian nationals. She found that these speakers showed some distinctiveness in their use of English.

> Some [of their] pronunciation [is] very typical of Korean or Thai people speaking English. For example Thai people tend to pronounce the 'r' sound [as] 'l', for example, 'rubber' [as] 'lubber', or Korean 'tr, pr, pl'. (Lect2a)

This informant also observed that these Asian speakers of English had their own "ways of thinking" (Lect2a) when they communicate. Accordingly, she decided to feature such variation in her curriculum by focusing on cross-cultural issues for the Southeast Asian region when teaching English. She explained "we should prepare our students for their graduation which they have to work [for and have] got to know how to deal with" people from these sociocultural backgrounds in their future careers.

Given that both Lect2a and Lect3a were teaching in English teacher education programs, they nonetheless pushed their pedagogical goals beyond the development of their students' linguistic proficiency in native British and American Englishes. Taking into account the complexities of their local social communicative contexts and their students' career perspectives, they initiated pedagogical practices which they believed could better prepare their students for likely social encounters in their future jobs.

> Once we are teaching English for international use or for international communication, we should forget the idea that teaching English means teaching the target culture. If . . . the purpose of the learners is to use English to communicate with non-native speakers, it's not necessary for them to understand the cultural norms of the native speakers. (Lect4a)

Like Lect2a and Lect3b, Lect4a considered learners' career perspectives when making classroom decisions and discovered a mismatch between what students were taught and their future communicative needs in English. Lect4b found similar discrepancies between traditional teaching expectations and the realities of language use in specific contexts.

> I believe, in this globalisation, when you get into contact with people from all over the world, your cultural knowledge of the English or Americans is not important . . . English culture or American culture no longer plays the role. (Lect4b)

Both Lect4a and 4b maintained their positions that internalising the native speaker's culture, specifically British and American cultures, was not important or necessary for students to communicate with speakers of English coming from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds. They argued "when you use English as a *lingua*

franca, like it or not you use it with your own cultural backgrounds. The same can be said about your interlocutor" (Lect4a). This view corroborates a line of argument in the EIL literature that speakers of English moderate their use of the language according to their own cultural conceptualisations and local context of language use (Kirkpatrick 2007; Sharifian 2009a, this volume; Widdowson 1994). This is not to mean that the teaching of the native speaker's culture is never important or necessary. On the contrary, students must be introduced to these cultures if their learning is for communication with these groups of speakers as in Lect1a's and 1b's program which prepared for students' post-graduate studies in the United States.

The introduction of the courses in intercultural communication as well as the discussion so far marks two developments in teaching culture. First is the departure from teaching sole cultural content of specific native speaker cultures to including a focus on cross-cultural and global issues; hence, an inclusion of both a culture-specific approach and a culture-general approach to culture teaching in English language education (Bennett et al. 2003; Matsuda 2006; Paige et al. 2003); and second is the departure from teaching culture for teaching the language to including a focus on developing cross-/inter-cultural communication ability for students. These developments indicate a reflection of the pluricentric view on teaching culture in English teacher education programs.

The analysis has indicated that there are two schools of thoughts among the informants. The group of informants from institution 5 (Lect5a, 5b, 5c and 5d) believed English was so closely attached to the culture of its native speakers that its use was necessarily informed by speakers' own cultural conventions. On that basis, internalisation of target (i.e. the native speaker's) culture was vital for the development of learners' language proficiency and for their future teaching profession. Their pedagogical practices, therefore, equated learning to the imitation of native speakers in terms of language use and cultural behaviours while neglecting the need for development of students' communicative ability. Therefore, natural language used by the native speaker was considered authentic language to be targeted through the teaching and learning of native speakers' culture(s). By contrast, the other group (Lect2a, 3b, 4a and 4b) believed that English use was closely connected to the culture of its specific speakers. Therefore, when teaching, they targeted the culture and English language characteristics of the speakers who used English in their local contexts and with whom their students were most likely to come into contact.

While Lect5a and her colleagues neglected the social communicative context and assigned dealing with the context to the responsibility of the learners, Lect2a, 3b, 4a and 4b recommended and used the local context and their learners' career targets to guide their classroom practices. By not setting the native speaker of English as the sole target communicator but realising cultural differences in English use according to who is speaking it, the latter group of lecturers indicated a departure from the EFL to EIL paradigm in culture teaching (Graddol 2006; McKay 2002; Sharifian 2009b, 2011). The latter group maintain dual aims in the teaching of culture: developing students' proficiency in Englishes and their capability to communicate internationally. In so doing, they prepared their students to be teachers of English
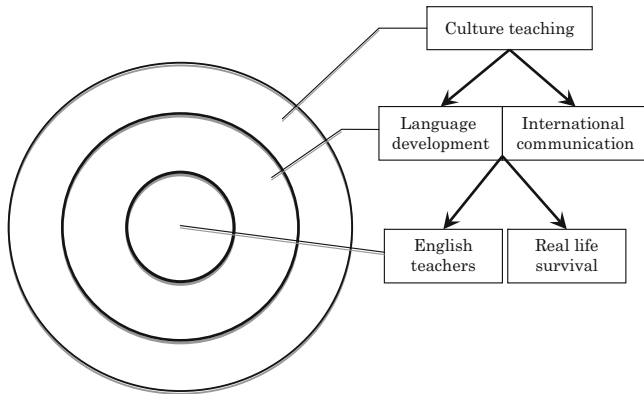
Fig. 2 A pluricentric view on culture teaching

and multicultural communicators (Fig. 2). Their belief and pedagogical practices suggest a pluricentric view on culture teaching in English language education programs.

The aims for teaching culture summarised in Figs. 1 and 2 suggest that pedagogical decisions on target culture(s) as classroom input are ideologically laden. They also indicate a tension between monocentric and pluricentric ideologies in countries such as Vietnam, where the two ideological positions continue to co-exist and inform curricular and pedagogical decisions and practices a little uneasily.

7 Implications for the Pedagogy of EIL in Teaching Culture

McKay eloquently states in this volume that "effective pedagogy is pedagogy suited to the specific demands of the local context" (p: 1). The English speaking context in Vietnam is multilingual and multicultural where English is an international; i.e. a re-nationalised language. Put it differently, English used in this context reflects multiple cultural conceptualisations of its speakers (Sharifian 2009a, this volume). To be effective, the pedagogy of teaching culture in English teachers education in Vietnam must feature this social communicative context. In so doing, the teaching of culture will assist teacher students to develop sets of skills and knowledge in order for them to be able to work as teachers of English and to function as multicultural communicators in English while avoiding the linearisation of language and culture with the native speaker. As shown in this study, the pedagogy informed by the pluricentric view on culture teaching could better address these demands than the one which is driven by the native-speakerist ideology.

8 Conclusion

This study, although small, challenges the notion of target culture in the EFL paradigm and argues instead for an EIL paradigm in which the target cultures English learners will encounter should be the ones featured in courses teaching culture in English teacher education programs. Thus, an inclusive EIL paradigm is proposed, one endorsing all the kinds of English that learners are likely to come in contact with and validating speakers of World Englishes as authentic users of English. To make such teaching a reality the notion of target culture of language use is central to English as an international language curricula.

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Implementing EIL Paradigm in ELT Classrooms: Voices of Experienced and Pre-service English Language Educators in Malaysia

Fatimah Ali

Abstract The teaching of English in Malaysian educational institutions has mostly been guided by the English as a Second Language (ESL) teaching concepts. However, due to the globalization and internationalization of English language and the emergence of new Englishes, the suitability of implementing the ESL teaching practices in the classrooms can be argued. The teaching of English as an International Language (EIL) has a different set of assumptions from the teaching and learning of any second or foreign language because the aim of teaching EIL is to establish intelligibility among speakers of different English varieties (McKay SL, Teaching English as an international language: rethinking goals and approaches. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2002). This study aims to identify the perceptions and attitudes of experienced and pre-service English language educators towards the implementation of EIL paradigm in Malaysia. Data were collected from seven mini-focus group interviews to explore the range and depth of views represented by English language lecturers, TESL teacher trainers and TESL teacher trainees on the topic in question. Two guiding questions are: (1) Is there a felt need for the implementation of the EIL paradigm in the English language classrooms? (2) Is there a difference of attitude between the experienced and pre-service English language educators towards various ways of teaching English including the EIL paradigm? The findings of the study argue for a paradigm shift in the attitudes and perceptions among English language educators in Malaysia.

Keywords EIL paradigm • ESL • ELT • Language attitude • Language perception • Paradigm shift

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1   Introduction

According to Kachru's (1986, 1992) three concentric circles, Malaysia falls into the 'outer circle' category. As an 'outer circle' country, Malaysia shared a quite similar historical background of English with a few other Asian countries such as Singapore and India because all were once colonised by the British. While technically Malaysia can be considered as an ESL (English as a Second Language) country because of its previous history with England (Lowenberg 1992; Strevens 1992), unlike in Singapore and India, English is not an official language in Malaysia. Although the presence of English as the main foreign language is evident everywhere (Murugesan 2003), the contexts in which English is used throughout the country are different. It can be a foreign language especially to people in rural areas, a second language, or a third language to those in urban areas and a first language to Malaysians who speak the language as their mother tongue at home.

The intricacy in which English is learnt and used in Malaysia requires a revisiting of approaches to the teaching of English. English is taught as a second language in Malaysia simply because of its status as the second most important language in the country (Attorney General's Chambers 2006) after Bahasa Melayu or Malay language and the language of interaction in certain business and higher education domains. Therefore, the practicality of implementing ESL teaching goals and assumptions in English language classrooms at present can be contested. But prior to that, it is vital to investigate the current attitudes of Malaysian language educators [in this study 'language educators' specifically refer to English language lecturers, TESL (Teaching English as a Second Language) teacher trainers, and TESL teacher trainees] towards the existing ESL teaching practices and the possibility of a felt need for a new teaching concept, if any. A paradigm shift among experienced and pre-service language educators is essential before any new approach can be implemented especially in the case of the EIL teaching practices and pedagogy (Matsuda 2012).

To achieve this purpose, findings were drawn from seven mini-focus group interviews. Participants in the interviews were asked on the more useful concept of teaching English between ESL and EIL, the prospects and possible challenges for the teaching of EIL in the English language classrooms in Malaysia.

2   English as an International Language: A New Research and Teaching Paradigm

This study is inspired by the EIL theoretical framework and its research perspectives. According to Sharifian (2009), 'English as an International Language' refers to a paradigm for thinking, research and practice. This is similar to Sifakis' (2004) classification of the domains of EIL: 'theory', 'reality' and 'application'. The 'thinking' level relates to defining and delineating the conceptual theory of

EIL paradigm. The 'research' level deals with the reality of how the actual EIL communication takes place and to understand all the cognitive and communicative processes involved. In any paradigm, the ultimate aim is its implementation. Therefore, the 'practice' level is concerned with the application of the theory into practice through the teaching of EIL, using the appropriate pedagogical methods and approaches (Sharifian 2009; Sifakis 2004). Being a new paradigm, Jenkins (2006) draws our attention to the fact that there is still much to be done in the aspect of theorising, and even more so in practice.

English nowadays is in fact multiple Englishes which Kachru identifies as 'World Englishes' (WE), a term motivated by 'the pluralistic and inclusive approach to the field of inquiry' (Bolton and Kachru 2006: 2). Kirkpatrick (2007: 3) gives succinct definition of WE as "indigenous, nativised varieties that have developed around the world and that reflect the cultural and pragmatic norms of their speakers". If Kachru's WE refers to the new Englishes in the 'outer' and 'expanding' circles countries, Kirkpatrick's definition of WE, on the other hand, encompasses all the English varieties including the 'traditional' varieties such as British, American and Australian English (2007: 5–7).

Numerous studies of the EIL paradigm, WE and ELF (English as a Lingua Franca) have been published in order to understand the reality and process of communications between speakers of English. Studies of EIL and WE have contributed to the in-depth understanding of the issues of native and non-native dichotomy, standard versus nativised varieties, policies and practices, attitudes and identity(ies), and curriculum and pedagogy. Jenkins (2006) and Seidlhofer (2005) point out that there is a mismatch between theory and practice and that research on WE and ELF needs to be examined at the practical level of the teaching of EIL itself.

With regard to native and non-native dichotomy and standard versus nativised varieties, Timmis (2002) and Li (2009) found comparable findings on native-speaker (NS) preferences. By employing a mixed-method research, Timmis administered two sets of questionnaires: a student questionnaire for 400 international students from 14 different countries and a teacher questionnaire for 180 teachers from 45 countries. He also conducted 15 interviews to support the data from the questionnaires. In terms of pronunciation, over two-thirds of the students surveyed preferred NS accent to the accent of their own countries. The exceptions were learners from South Africa, Pakistan and India who wished to maintain their local accents. Thus, he concluded that the students' preferences as context-sensitive. The findings brought about two issues for teachers: (1) Which is more inappropriate? To impose native-speaker norms on students who neither want nor need them or to offer them a target that does not meet their aspiration? (2) Is there any need to re-educate students on the most suitable norm for them? The researcher believes that it is up to the students to choose their target norm.

Li, on the other hand, elicited the attitudes of 89 Chinese and Hong Kong university students and 18 working adults by conducting 12 focus group interviews and a survey questionnaire. Like Timmis, Li found similar findings in which over 84.1 % aspired to speak English with a native accent and 78.5 % of the participants

confessed that when interacting with other Chinese or Non-Chinese in English, they wished to sound like a native speaker rather than a Chinese or Hong Kong speaker of English. Based on these findings, he cautioned scholars and TESOL practitioners, who are in favour of pluricentric English norms, that it would be an arduous task to change learners' attitudes toward non-native varieties of English.

In the aspect of EIL curriculum and pedagogy, Matsuda (2009) highlights the dearth of research in these areas especially relating to teacher preparation program. Her study of 95 teacher preparation programmes' curricula in Japan revealed that although there was a presence of interest among teacher educators to incorporate the EIL teaching concepts in their programmes, transition from the existing curricula proved to be difficult without a paradigm shift from one standard notion to pluralistic view of English language.

3   English Language Teaching in Malaysia

In Malaysia, the teaching of English has always been a concern by many quarters: parents, politicians, future employers, and the government. The need to produce proficient English language learners is the priority. However, proficiency is usually measured by good grades in the national examinations. This resulted in some teachers focusing more on preparing students to score in the written examinations forsaking the communicative aspect of the language learning. The end products of such practice are students who managed to score good grades in the examinations but failed at oral communication skills.

Based on the researcher's personal experience as a language teacher in Malaysia, the benchmark for correct grammar is the Standard British English (SBE) as found in most text books and the correct pronunciation means the RP (Received Pronunciation) according to the Oxford Dictionary or Cambridge Dictionary. Gill (1999) produces the statement by the Ministry of Education about the English syllabus in the seventies which states that "for all practical purposes the minimum level is simply where the communicational intent is successfully conveyed, irrespective of the linguistic finesse. The maximum level is of course native-speaker ability" (Gill 1999: 4).

This view expressed by the Ministry has been implemented at the school levels as well as at the tertiary level and teacher training institutes where teacher trainees were trained to teach using the SBE as the model of instructional variety. To date, the dependency on SBE still continues. For example, the marking of English essays in Malaysian Certificate of Education (SPM) examination is based on SBE in terms of grammar and spelling. Nevertheless, the influx of American TV programs and entertainments, American ways of life (fast food, toys), American educated individuals as well as the effects of globalization has resulted in the acceptance of American English in the Malaysian educational system, at least in the aspects of pronunciation and spelling. This has resulted in the change of the marking systems

in all the national examinations as well as in the classrooms. Students will not be penalised if they write sentences using the American spelling system as long as they are consistent throughout their work.

It is worthwhile to mention here that to most Malaysians particularly in the educational context, native speaker varieties of English specifically refer to the Standard British English, the Standard American English, and to some extent the Australian English and the New Zealand English.

The argument here is the incompatibility between aspiration and reality. The English language policy in Malaysia leads those who learn English to aspire to acquire native-speaker or near native-speakers' standards of discourse in both spoken and written interactions but the product produced are far from desirable as most students are influenced by Malaysian English at least in the spoken form. In terms of pronunciation, Jenkins (2002) puts the blame on the traditional way of teaching native-speaker pronunciation pattern which is certain to fail for many because of mismatches between accent and articulatory motor skills. In the words of Jenkins (2002: 86):

> The link between accent and identity on the one hand and accent and articulatory motor skills on the other are, it seems, so ingrained that traditional English pronunciation teaching is destined to fail for all but a small minority of L2 learners.

Interestingly, Crismore et al. (1996) reported that 'Malaysian speakers of English accept the functionality of Malaysian English but are, nevertheless, determined to learn Standard English because they regard Malaysian English as 'wrong' English'. They argue that this perception of 'inferior' English has resulted in teachers focusing more on eradicating 'mistakes' that they forget the main aim of learning a language is to be able to communicate and function in a society.

This perception of 'inferior' Malaysian English will be difficult to exterminate as long as Malaysians especially language educators are unaware of the theory and approaches of teaching EIL. Presently, the awareness of EIL teaching tenets and its acceptance among language educators are still very much unknown.

4 Methodology

Numerous documented works of EIL have studied the perceptions and attitudes of non-native speakers of English in the 'outer circle' and 'expanding circle' countries towards different aspects of EIL. However, the pivotal aspect of this study that differs from previous studies of EIL around the world is its focus on the attitudes of English language educators and TESL teacher trainees at tertiary educational institutions towards the potential implementation of the EIL teaching approaches in the ELT classrooms in Malaysia. One of the reasons participants were recruited from educational institutions in this study is because their attitudes will have a huge impact the English language teaching policies and practices to be implemented (Crismore et al. 1996).

The findings discussed in this chapter were part of my doctoral research which explores the status of EIL in Malaysia. In the overall exploratory study, a mixed methods research design was employed to gauge the perceptions and attitudes of language educators and language learners towards English and EIL in Malaysia. However, due to space constraints, only the qualitative data drawn from seven mini-focus group interviews will be presented here. One of the themes discussed during the interviews was on the prospects for the teaching and learning of EIL in Malaysia. The specific questions asked to the participants were as follows:

(i) In the teaching of English language nowadays, which concept (ESL or EIL) is more useful or necessary for English language learners in Malaysia?
(ii) How would you predict the future of EIL teaching in Malaysia?
(iii) What are possible challenges to implement EIL teaching concept?

Each mini-focus group consisted of participants ranging from three to six people as was proposed by Denscombe (2007). A total of thirty participants were recruited from two different tertiary educational institutions in Malaysia; two teacher training institutes and a technical-based (engineering) university.

Nine TESL (Teaching English as a Second Language) teacher trainers who were involved in this study were highly experienced in teaching specific TESL program courses, while ten English lecturers taught general ESP courses to engineering students in a public university. In terms of teaching experience, more than half (ten) of them had taught English at tertiary educational institutions for more than 10 years. As for teacher trainees, ten of them were in the TESL program and one participant was majoring in TESOL (Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages).

As a guideline, prior to the discussion sessions, I distributed a handout containing simple descriptions of three different English language teaching concepts: ESL, EFL and EIL. The content of the handout was as follows:

1. English as a Second Language (ESL) and English as a foreign language (EFL)
   The ESL or EFL learning objective is to enable learners to communicate effectively with native speakers of English (Jenkins 2002). In the Malaysian context, the ESL concept has been drawn upon in the teaching and learning of the English language in schools and universities while Standard British English has been chosen as a model.
2. English as an International Language (EIL):
   EIL is a new teaching approach. The aim of teaching EIL is to produce 'international' speakers in which all participants are equal partners (Jenkins 2002). The central tenet of the EIL concept is the exposure to different varieties of English (World Englishes). The teaching of EIL consists of a totally different set of assumptions and goals than that of teaching English as a second (ESL) or foreign language (McKay 2002: 125).

During the interview sessions, participants were told that they could discuss in whichever languages they were comfortable with, either English or Malay. However, all held the discussions in English. The interview data were transcribed verbatim. Therefore any grammatical errors made by the participants during the discussions

were not corrected in order to preserve the authenticity of the data. In the findings and discussion sections, the term 'language educators' will be used to refer to both TESL teacher trainers and English lecturers.

5   Findings

One of the main objectives of the study is to gauge the subjects' attitudes towards the existing ESL teaching practices in Malaysia and to find out if there is any interest in the teaching of EIL in the Malaysian educational system especially at the tertiary educational institutions.

5.1   The Preferred Teaching Concept for English Language Learners in Malaysia

Although EIL was a newly introduced concept to the participants, based on the information given on simple descriptions of three different English language teaching concepts: ESL, EFL and EIL in a handout and their prior knowledge of ESL itself, the participants in the interviews were able to have constructive discussions on the more practical ways of teaching English in the globalised era. They were able to make their choices between the ESL and EIL and provided reasons for their preferred choices. The findings of the first interview question on the more useful concept of English language teaching revealed that participants had different attitudes towards the teaching of EIL.

5.1.1   Participants' Positive Attitudes Towards the Teaching of EIL

During the interviews, about 80 % of the language educators and teacher trainees from all groups felt the need for the teaching of EIL. Some of the examples are shown in the following excerpts:

Lecturer 2 Group 4

I believe it is **high time**.

Trainee 4 Group 6

[. . .] I think EIL is a **good shift from ESL**, but to what extent it can be implemented, I don't know.

Trainee 3 Group 7

I think **EIL is more relevant in Malaysia** because **I don't think that we should aspire to be native-like** the way the Brits would speak [. . .]

The excerpts above indicate the participants' awareness of the need for a change in the English language teaching practices in Malaysia. They understood that the aim of ESL teaching to produce native-like competent speakers might not be relevant anymore in today's globalised world. The following participants in the interviews also reflected their awareness of the present scenario in which non-native speakers have outnumbered the native speakers and miscommunication may occur due to the diversity of Englishes:

Trainer 1 Group 1

EIL because when I went for that conference, even the native speaker was saying that in the room **he was the only one who is the native speaker** of English and the rest of us are like me, the non-native [. . .]

Trainee 1 Group 7

I think EIL is more relevant nowadays because [. . .] now **communication for whatever purpose doesn't concern just talking to the native speakers but also to non-native speakers.**

One of the reasons given by those who chose EIL teaching concept was that they believed that English language learners would benefit from the new paradigm shift as it prepares students to be international speakers in global communication contexts:

Lecturer 2 Group 4

[. . .] in terms of the contexts of the language used, EIL will provide **a wider platform for cross-cultural communication** as compared to ESL

Trainer 3 Group 1

[. . .] if we are talking about communication, **global communication there shouldn't be any more one Standard English** you see.

Another reason for the felt need of teaching EIL was given by two language educators. They considered that teaching English in ESL context could be irrelevant today:

Trainer 1 Group 1

Archive, sort of. It's no more relevant in the context of the current situation.

Lecturer 2 Group 5

I'll go for EIL. **ESL is little bit outdated**.

Most interestingly, one participant who is an English lecturer revealed a real scenario in the ELT classrooms in Malaysia:

Lecturer 2 Group 3

If we take for example cultural biased texts for example from UK and bring it into our class, students might not understand parts of it so we have to explain

provided we have knowledge of it. That's why sometimes we have to use our local texts when we want to deliver the language because the most important thing is the students understand the contexts, the language. Again so, **I think perhaps we are actually already in EIL** [Lecturer 1: Yes] **It just that we are not aware**.

The participant above, and agreed by another, believed that some elements of EIL have already been applied in the English language classrooms. Her example of using local cultures in teaching materials is one of the approaches in the teaching of EIL as suggested by McKay (2002, 2003).

5.1.2 Participants' Negative Attitudes Towards the Teaching of EIL

Even though the positive attitude towards the teaching of EIL can be seen from the responses above, there were 20 % of the participants in the interviews, who firmly believed that ESL teaching approach was still relevant at least at the primary and secondary school levels. They however, accepted the possibility of teaching EIL at the tertiary level. They argued for the continuous teaching of ESL because it was the policy that has been put into practice since the National Language Act in 1967. This loyal attitude towards ESL and the British English can be clearly seen in the following section.

Trainer 1 Group 1

ESL because [. . .] **the policy has stated that we teach English as a second language**. So that's the policy and we as the teachers or the implementers we have no say.

Trainer 3 Group 2

If you ask me, at present, the status now is **our curriculum is all based on ESL**, you see.

Another issue raised by the practitioners of ESL teaching was the need for a language model and a benchmark in language assessments. The British English or specifically the Queen's English and to a certain extent the American English were the standard accepted in the English language teaching and learning in Malaysia:

Trainer 4 Group 1

If you accept all Englishes, **which one would you accept as a benchmark**? So, if you compare like two or three pieces of academic writing for example, how do you actually come out (.) with the descriptors of assessment as to which should be accepted as a good piece of writing based on what criteria?

Trainer 1 Group 2

[. . .] when we have this twinning program with the University of Auckland, we demand our students to be at par with the native speakers [. . .] So, actually **in Malaysia, if we talk about academic world it has to be ESL**.

Another teacher trainer in Group 2 questioned the marketability of EIL students:

Trainer 4 Group 2

EIL . . . **marketable or not when they go out**?

Their queries about the advantages of implementing the teaching of EIL were not without basis. As has been mentioned before, the EIL teaching concept was newly introduced to the participants, thus their lack of knowledge on the theoretical framework of the EIL paradigm. However, from the discussions conducted in every group, there is a clear signal that in general, most participants could accept the basic concepts of teaching EIL with open minds.

5.2 Prediction of the Future of EIL Teaching in Malaysia

In the previous section, 80 % of the participants had indicated their preference of the teaching of EIL in Malaysia. Since it is yet to be implemented in the Malaysian educational system, it is only appropriate to ask the participants to predict the prospect of EIL teaching in English language classrooms.

Participants answered with different degrees of optimism. Three teacher trainers in Group 2 and an English lecturer in Group 5 were very cautious in their prediction. They anticipated a good chance for EIL but it might not be possible in the near future as in the following examples:

Trainer 3 Group 2

Later on maybe. I think it could be English language of the future.

Trainer 4 Group 2

20 years down the road.

Lecturer 2 Group 5

Good question. It's how much can people realise that there is such a thing of EIL actually at the moment. So I think **it will take some time for EIL** (.) for people to be aware of the status of EIL, what functions it plays in this globalised world you know.

Three English lecturers in Group 4 and three teacher trainees, alternatively, were very optimistic about the prospect of EIL teaching practices due to the recruitment of international students and the effect of globalisation:

Lecturer 3 Group 4

Very bright, because in terms of education we are recruiting more international students not just at postgraduate level even at undergraduate level. So I think it's high time.

Lecturer 2 Group 4

Yes, bright future because we are in globalised era. We have internet, information travels very fast. We interact not just among ourselves; we interact with people from all over the world. So EIL has bright future.

Trainee 5 Group 6

I think it will be prominent, a relevant paradigm in future because nowadays we actually are shifting the reality.

5.3 Awareness of the Challenges of Implementing EIL Teaching Practices

During the discussions, five participants highlighted two big challenges that can be impediments to the implementation of the EIL. The first challenge is lack of awareness among the public, the language educators, and the language officers:

Lecturer 1 Group 5

I think **many of them are not aware what is EIL**. Even lecturers like us we are not aware of it. So, awareness is not there.

Lecturer 3 Group 3

Because **knowledge information does not get to the teachers** actually. Because it stays on top, It's a bit sad, isn't it?

Lecturer 1 Group 3

And again, **the outcomes of the research are just shared among the researchers** [. . .]

The second and bigger challenge is that the existence of Standard Malaysian English (SME) is not yet recognised by education policy makers, language administrators and even language practitioners at large as illustrated in the following examples:

Lecturer 2 Group 4

I think **the problem is with Malaysian English** not EIL. We have problem with Malaysian English which we don't have that standard.

Lecturer 2 Group 3

[. . .] but the thing is perhaps **it's not being acknowledged yet SME** [. . .]. They might not want to acknowledge it as Malaysian English standard.

Matsuda and Friedrich (2012) offer three options to choose an instructional variety in ELT classrooms and one of them is by using students' own variety

of English. As EIL recognises nativised varieties of English including Malaysian English, the participants above believed that SME should be acknowledged by Malaysians first before EIL can be implemented in English language classrooms in Malaysia.

6 Discussions

The findings in this study are quite revealing in three ways. First, there are positive and negative attitudes felt by the participants in the interviews towards the possibility of implementing the EIL concept of teaching in Malaysia. The finding, which is comparable to that in Matsuda's (2009) study, indicates a big majority of the language practitioners had a positive first impression of the concept of teaching English as an international language and its relation to globalization. This signifies a paradigm shift, especially among the English language educators, to move away from the traditional ESL teaching concept to a new teaching approach which is able to cater for the different teaching contexts in which English exists in Malaysia. The goals and assumptions of EIL teaching are seen as more relevant to prepare young Malaysians becoming competent international speakers of English. The findings also designate that while implementing the ESL teaching concepts in the classrooms, some of the English language educators at the tertiary educational institutions were aware of the inadequacy of the ESL teaching tenets in this borderless world. Another important aspect which is praiseworthy to highlight here is a few language educators believed that they have practised some elements of EIL teaching concepts in the classrooms without realising it. This revelation can be a stepping stone to embark on future research to determine whether Malaysia is already in the phase of '*let's see if change is already taking place*' as Marlina (in this volume) recommends.

There is however, some kind of resistance especially among TESL teacher trainers due to an incessant dependency on a standard native English variety as a model. Some of the participants believed that English as a second language still plays an important role in the ELT classrooms especially in schools as claimed by Jenkins (2006) that many native and non-native ELT professionals such as teachers, language educators, and linguists still believe in native speakers' ownership of English, thus, prolonging the existence of second language acquisition theory and practices in ELT classrooms. Teaching English in ESL context is regarded as a platform to provide a strong foundation for English language competencies. The findings also reveal a firm relationship between language educators especially teacher trainers and teaching ESL because of the continual dependency on a standard native variety of English as a target model for teaching and as a benchmark during assessments in particular.

A certain amount of initial scepticism of the newly introduced EIL teaching goals and assumptions felt by a small number of subjects due to their concerns over the practicality of implementing EIL teaching tenets in Malaysia. This is due to lack of

awareness among English language practitioners in Malaysia of the concept of EIL as a new paradigm for thinking, research, and practice as proposed by Sharifian (2009). Some of the participants also raised the issue of a target model for the teaching of English in EIL context as predicted by Matsuda and Friedrich (2012).

Secondly, participants in the mini-focus group interviews anticipated a bright future for the teaching of EIL and World Englishes in Malaysian educational system especially at the university level. This is because unlike schools and teacher training institutes which are accountable to the Ministry of Education, tertiary educational institutions have more autonomy to develop new courses and their own curriculum. University settings also provide more opportunities for cross-cultural interactions with international students.

Thirdly, participants were also aware of a few challenges that need to be overcome before EIL teaching goals and assumptions can be adopted. The biggest challenge is to recognise the existence of Standard Malaysian English and to formally choose it as an instructional model in ELT classrooms.

7 Implications for the Pedagogy of English as an International Language

The findings have successfully answered the research question that is to investigate the perceptions and attitudes of language practitioners in Malaysia towards the current English teaching practices in ESL context and the possible felt need for the new EIL teaching approach, in particular. The discussions in the mini-focus group interviews shed light on the bright prospect of implementing the EIL teaching concepts in ELT classrooms at Malaysian tertiary educational institutions.

Although enthusiastic responses towards EIL paradigm were shown by the majority of the participants, more aspects of the new EIL teaching perspectives need to be teased out before they can take place in the classrooms. Matsuda (2012) wisely describes the dilemma felt by many ESL/EFL practitioners who might feel dissatisfied with the inadequacy of the current teaching practices but nevertheless are unable to make any changes because they are not well informed of the alternative. Thus, it is first essential for ELT professionals to raise their own level of awareness of EIL (Canagarajah 2006; Seidlhofer 2004), to balance the inevitable impact of WE on the TESL profession in the future (Vavrus 1991). Second, a change in the existing curriculum is necessary to cater the needs of the students in the globalised era which is aligned with the role of English as an international language. The most appropriate aim for English language teaching and learning at present is 'not native speaker proficiency but mutual intelligibility' (Kirkpatrick this volume).

In developing a new curriculum, it is important to determine not only the appropriate instructional variety, be it standard native or non-native variety of English (Matsuda 2012) but also the most suitable materials and methods of teaching in a particular context (McKay 2012). It is also essential for language educators in Malaysia to first acknowledge the existence of different Englishes or the pluricen-

tricity of English nowadays and regard all varieties as equal (Marlina this volume). Malaysian learners who are either bilinguals or multilinguals will benefit most from the implementation of EIL pedagogy in ELT classrooms because they will not be required to 'approximate native speaker norms' (Kirkpatrick this volume). The interference of mother tongue in the pronunciation or accented pronunciation for example, will not be regarded as mistakes provided the message is clear.

The findings in this study are by no means conclusive. More extensive studies of language attitudes towards EIL paradigm and curriculum development in the Malaysian context need to be conducted. One of the most crucial is to gauge language education policy makers' perceptions of and attitudes towards the potential teaching of EIL in ELT classrooms in Malaysia. This is because their views and voices are heard especially at teacher training institutes and schools where a 'top-down' management approach is mostly executed.

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Teaching Teachers to Teach English as an International Language: A Korean Case

Melanie van den Hoven

Abstract One focus of teaching English as an international Language (EIL) is the development in learners of the requisite knowledge and skills to address cultural difference as it appears in both its local and global contexts (McKay SL, Teaching English as an international language: Rethinking goals and approaches. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2002; Holliday A, The struggle to teach English as an international language. Oxford University Press, Oxford/New York, 2005). Little attention, however, has been paid to the perspectives of Korean teachers of English regarding EIL pedagogy in the Korean context. This chapter addresses a gap in the literature by providing a contextualized account of the thinking behind curricular revisions to a culture course aimed at teaching teachers to teach EIL in Korea at the turn of the millennium. In order to measure the overall effectiveness of the course, a model of Intercultural Communicative Competence, listing a set of ideal attitudes for encounters of cultural difference, is referenced to examine the appropriate knowledge and skills for interviewing culturally-different speakers of English. The themes gleaned from the teachers' written reflections of the intercultural interviews provide a few theoretical insights upon how EIL pedagogy can better promote intercultural communicative competence in this and other contexts.

Keywords Cultural difference • EIL pedagogy • English as an international language • Intercultural communication • Intercultural communicative competence • Teacher education

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1 Introduction

In South Korea, learning English is linked to increased opportunities for interaction with foreigners regarding trade, education and travel. English Language Teaching (ELT) is an important industry in Korea and expressions like "education fever" (Rhie 2002: 162) indicate the charged environment faced by many language learners and teachers (Park 2009; Cho 2004). While there are heated debates over the aims and inadequacies of English education, such as high personal costs of private tutoring and English study overseas (Lee 2001; Ser 2008), English has been widely accepted as an important foreign language for Koreans to learn and teach. Achieving a native-speaker-like of proficiency is often a stated measure of success. This orientation, however, overshadows the development of the linguistic skills needed for intercultural communication in English in varied settings in Korea. Since the turn of the millennium, the regional literature on teaching English as an International Language (EIL) has grown yet has largely rested on descriptions of top-down curricular reforms in elementary schools (e.g. Park and Kim, this edition; Chang 2009; Park 2009). Little attention has been paid to the perspectives of in-service Korean teachers of English yet clearly their experiences of using English among a growing population of English-speaking, foreign residents of Korea helps inform the development of EIL pedagogy.

This chapter addresses a perceived gap in the ELT literature by helping document the thinking behind curricular revisions to a culture course, implemented in 2003 in a teacher education program in Seoul. The chapter includes critical reflections, *ex post facto*, on the perspectives of bilingual English teachers, as evidenced by a final assignment in a 2008 iteration of the culture course. The final assignment, The Cultural Informant Report (CI report), documents the responses of 22 teachers who completed five interviews in English with culturally-different residents of Korea. Analysis of these CI reports has stimulated critical reflections on the issues that surround teaching teachers to teach English as an international language. As such, this chapter examines the ways in which the course incorporated guiding principles for EIL pedagogy that responded to the local issues of Korean ELT. The chapter provides an account of how these Korean teachers of English responded to the revised course that led to a shift in ELT paradigms – away from native-speaker norms and towards bilingual use in non-native English-speaking contexts. This chapter also provides a counterpoint to more recent claims that most empirical studies on intercultural communication in English have primarily focused on interactions with native speakers (Sharifian 2010) in Anglo settings (Spitzberg and Changnon 2009) and without a theoretical sound foundation of EIL pedagogy (Matsuda 2012).

The chapter begins with a description of contextualized decisions on how to best teach teachers to teach EIL in Korea at the turn of the millennium. In order to measure the overall effectiveness of the course, a model of *Intercultural Communicative Competence* (ICC), listing a set of ideal attitudes for encounters of cultural difference (Byram 1997) is referenced to better examine the extent to which the teachers displayed appropriate attitudes in face-to-face interviews with culturally-different

people. The themes gleaned from the teachers' written reflections of the intercultural interviews provide a few theoretical insights upon how EIL pedagogy can promote intercultural communicative competence in this and other contexts.

2 Context of the Study

Early in 1997 an important cross-border collaboration took place between an American and Korean university. Set to address a perceived gap in the teacher training market for Korean in-service teachers, the two universities initiated an intensive, 5-month long, joint graduate TESOL certificate program. Imported native English-speaking instructors were brought in on fixed term contracts to support a comprehensive pathway for Korean certificate-holders to achieve advanced standings in American MA programs. In 1997, the program piloted a unique culture course, which focussed on cross-cultural comparisons of American and Korean norms in order to facilitate subsequent adjustment to American life. The course delivery followed the principles of content-based instruction shaped by the program's brand of behaviourist-inspired pedagogy: a structured repertoire of teacher-student interactions geared to improve communicative competence. In this pedagogical context, the native-speakers served as models of correct English and the course content became a secondary concern. However, 6 years of recurring negative course evaluations necessitated a radical revision.

Hired in 2003 to revitalize the culture course, I followed the content-based approach and the interest the cultural dimension of communication. However, as an early adopter of EIL pedagogy, I altered the ELT paradigm by removing the culture-contrast orientation and replaced it with fresh content and experiential activities premised on using English for intercultural communication, not in the US, but in Korea. Instead of focusing on American and Korean ways of thinking, lessons were themed according to the international status of English, World Englishes, teaching EIL and measuring intercultural skill development. My rationale was that teaching teachers to teach EIL in their local settings was more sensitive to local and international communicative norms than the previous approach. Subsequently, this rationale and fresh approach satisfied both the program administrators and the successive cohorts of in-service teachers from 2003 to 2008.

After 5 years of teaching and continuous fine-tuning of the culture course, an opportunity to critically examine this approach in light of the literature on EIL pedagogy and intercultural education appeared via a doctoral research assignment. It was this prompt that initiated a deeper analysis of a final summative assessment, best described as an intercultural interview among culturally-different English users. The small group assignment, while conceived as an authentic, experience of intercultural communication using EIL, also highlighted the use of English among Korean English-speakers and non-Korean residents in various Korean settings. The assignment was referred to as the "Cultural Informant Report" (CI Report) and this kind of face-to-face experiential activity, inclusive of descriptive and reflective

components, was well-supported in the literature on culture and language learning because it engaged learners in an ethnographic task of learning about self and other (Coleman 1998). However, a prevailing critique of scholarship on culture and language teaching rested as a challenge to this ELT approach: while the conceptual bases of the field were well-developed, the field lacked empirical evidence to support claims that the teaching of culture did, in fact, also enhance intercultural competence (Byram and Feng 2004). Thus, my research set to investigate qualitatively the ways in which a culture course shaped by EIL pedagogy enhanced the experiences of Korean in-service teachers when communicating interculturally in English in Korea. Evaluating its significance for EIL pedagogy, in terms of teaching teachers to teach EIL was also an aim.

3 Core Principles in the Course

To fully interpret the CI reports, the following core principles embedded in the course are explained and contextualized in relation to the dynamics of ELT in Korea and the pedagogy of EIL at the time.

1. **The Teaching of EIL involves learning about the cultural dimensions of language**

The course opened with Bennett (1997)'s writing on the cultural dimensions of language. In this text, the metaphor of the *fluent fool* is used to personify the weak form of linguistic relativity, indicating how language is bound to culture in complex ways (Whorf 1940). The metaphor conveys that linguistic competence alone is insufficient for effective intercultural relations. It was used to identify two cultural dimensions of language in communication: *Big C* (for holidays, food and literature) and *small c* (hidden values, beliefs and worldviews). Via several interactive lessons, these concepts were introduced to draw attention to the impact that culturally-shaped beliefs and practices have on how people communicate. According to De Capua (2004: 23), "Culture influences the way speakers perceive the world and how they use language to communicate. Likewise, languages influence how speakers view the world and the way they communicate". The fluent fool texts describes the practical troubles that can be experienced when the "social or philosophical content" (Bennett 1997: 16) of the language is ignored and also when language is viewed as a set of words bound by grammatical rules. With awareness of the complex, intercultural dynamics of language use today, the stage was set for discussion of the teachers' own expectations of appropriate behaviour of face-to-face communication with non-Korean English speakers.

2. **The Teaching of EIL involves exploring the diverse forms and functions of English**

Teaching and researching EIL requires a paradigm shift (Sharifian 2010) in which a carefully considered definition of English must be established. Indeed as

Seargeant (2010) cogently argues, "One of the most contested terms is that denoted by the term 'English' itself . . . [based in part on] the theorist's interpretation of pre-existing phenomena or an idealized rearrangement or modification of existing phenomena" (pp. 97–98). Accordingly, the label of EIL is based on the selection and exclusion of certain features of English in light of the attendant "sociolinguistic and sociopsychological complexities" (Sharifian 2010: 2) governing its use today, including "the local linguistic ecology and . . . the hybridity of current English use" McKay 2010: 89). To signal the different forms and functions of English today, one lesson used Trini-English casual expressions taken from a Trinidadian newspaper. These lexical items although unfamiliar to myself and the Korean teachers were presented as appropriate choices for intra-group communication for a Trinidian readership.

To illustrate the tremendous geographical range and linguistic variety of English, figures and statistics showing the spread and distinct functions English plays in the world were featured. Kachru (1992)'s model of the inner, outer and expanding circle effectively introduces three distinct purposes that people have of English. This model also supports distinctions made between world Englishes and EIL. In the culture course, World Englishes was linked to codified patterns of English use in the various countries of the outer circle, such as India and Singapore, where historical processes have led to nationally legitimized communicative practices in English. EIL was presented as particularly salient for contexts, like Korea, China and Japan as well as many European countries, where learners of English strive to become fluent, bilingual or multilingual users of the language (Crystal 1997; McKay 2002; Brutt-Griffler 2002).

Kachru (1992)'s model favours a national examination of English use and this orientation has been critiqued for being restricted to a closed, national framework (Sharifian 2010). Nevertheless, for teaching purposes, the model is valuable as a "convenient way to capture the various functions that English performs in different parts of the world" (Matsuda 2012: 1). The model also disrupts tacit assumptions linking English to an imagined, homogenous Western culture, a view which Risager (2007) remarks belongs to a problematic *one-language-one-culture* paradigm. Given that broad generalizations contrasting Korean culture to the Western were prevalent among EFL discourses in Korea at that time, this model was used to reconfigure English-speakerhood. My aim was to promote a sense of belonging to a world-wide community of successful English learners. For the English teachers, there was scope to speak about their agency in leading the macro-acquisition of English in their local settings (Brutt-Griffler 2002). The model also supports thinking about the other nations which have similar purposes for English, and particularly, the economic and political influences, which delineate how English is positioned nationally. For instance, as an older teacher explained, English education was originally based on British English and not until after the Korean War did American English become desirable. In this case, exposure to three basic roles English plays in the world today provided the conceptual vocabulary to talk about the local assumptions of ELT. Kachru's model was thus invaluable in posing a critical question for ELT: whose English should we teach here – and why?

3. **Teaching EIL involves promoting intercultural skill development in the classroom**

Once known as the "Hermit Kingdom," (Winchester 2004: 19), the practice of shunning the outside world has been replaced with an intense focus on globalization evident in Korean practices of ELT. Preparing students for a globalized world is the primary rationale cited for changes to English education (Chang 2009). For English teachers in Korea, however, globalization shapes many aspects of daily practice. For instance, ELT communities in public schools and private language institutes now include native speakers, hired en masse, to teach English "regardless of their educational backgrounds" (Park 2009: 53). Although English education policies are described in terms of cultivating Koreans "who are capable in a globalized world" (Chang 2009: 83) it is reported that minimal time is spent upon meaningful practice and improving oral fluency in public schools (Kang 2008; Park 2009). Yet being able to communicate fluently with native English-speaking teachers "both in and out of the classroom" (Chang 2009: 92) is highly esteemed.

To promote greater insight into how EIL pedagogy could be implemented in Korean schools, an experiential cycle called *the Cultural Knowings framework* (CK framework) was presented. The model supported lesson planning as per the "notional-functional syllabus" (Chang 2009: 91) first introduced in the 6th national curriculum and the interest in communicative language teaching in the 7th national curriculum (Kim 2003; Cho 2004; Chang 2009; Park 2009). The CK framework incorporated some communicative functions within its culture learning cycle. The sequence of *Learning About, Learning How, Learning Why and Learning Oneself* (Moran 2001) was exemplified via short lessons about greetings and shaking hands. The four-stage sequence identified the different kinds of input and thinking that are related to encountering cultural difference, such as describing new cultural knowledge, participating in cultural acts and exploring cultural interpretations of thinking and behaviours. The CK framework was chosen to guide teachers in design suitable culture and language lessons for the incorporation of EIL pedagogy in their own classrooms.

4. **Teaching EIL involves assessing attitudinal responses to cultural difference**

While developing linguistic proficiency is the main priority for ELT in Korea, intercultural skills should not be neglected. Some attention to the ways in which attitudes to cultural difference varied was needed. For this purpose, the *Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity* (DMIS) was taught. It is a six-staged "continuum of increasing sophistication in dealing with cultural difference, moving from ethnocentrism through stages of greater recognition and acceptance of difference" (Bennett 1993: 22). The DMIS treats intercultural learning as a process involving cognitive, behavioural and attitudinal changes, called *intercultural sensitivity*. Influenced by Cognitive Psychology and a Piagetian view of development, the DMIS highlights "evolution in attitudes and behaviour towards cultural difference in general" (Bennett 1998: 26). The underlying assumption is that as intercultural sensitivity becomes more complex and sophisticated, competence

Table 1 Development of intercultural sensitivity

Experience of difference

Denial   Defense   Minimization | Acceptance   Adaptation   Integration

| | | | | | |

| Ethnocentric stages | Ethnorelative stages |
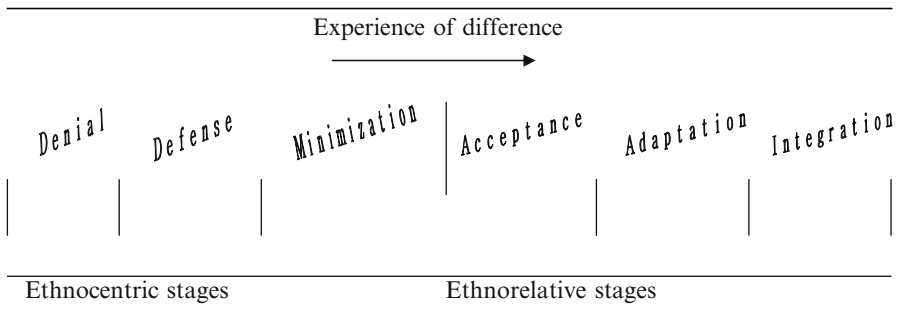
Bennett (1993)

in intercultural relations increases However, as noted with many developmental models, development is presented as an evolutionary process in which the particular threshold concepts and skills to be developed are undefined (Spitzberg and Changnon 2009). Due to a lack of ready-made teaching, however, its usefulness for ELT would depend on individual capacity to develop lessons and materials with an appropriate cultural focus (Table 1).

As evidenced from the teachers' self-assessments of their own intercultural sensitivity, the pattern among the 2008 cohort showed accordance with the *ethnorelative* stages of *Acceptance* and *Adaptation.* In other words, the teachers tended to agree with the following criteria: I have knowledge of my own worldview and others; and I can adapt my communication style to match that of other cultures (Bennett 1993). Regarding development from Acceptance to Adaptation, Bennett recommends trainers "provide opportunities for face-to-face interaction with people of many different cultures" (Bennett 1993: 53), presumably to link cognitive awareness to behavioural actions. In this case, the task of hosting intercultural interviews matched their developmental needs.

As a final lesson in the course, the 22 teachers of the 2008 cohort were divided into five groups and directed to collaborate in the selection of a non-Korean, English-speaking informant found within their social networks. One stipulation was that there had to be informants from all three circles of Kachru (1992)'s model. Sub-divided into five interview groups, this cohort had subsequently located five informants: three from the inner circle (the USA), one from the outer circle (India), and one from the expanding circle (Ethiopia). Thus, among the 27 people involved, only three qualified as mother-tongue users of English. As intercultural speakers, the five groups then conducted oral interviews with their English-speaking informants and prepared written reports. This experiential activity was clearly rich linguistically with various oral and written components. For instance, while the interview was conducted face-to-face in convivial settings outside of class, an oral summary in more formal English was given in class and a written report was submitted to an online discussion board for all classmates to read.

And it was after sharing reflections of the intercultural interviews that the course concluded. My closing comments were that the CI Reports consolidated

their learning of the principles and core concepts of EIL pedagogy and was as an appropriate language and culture lesson for their intercultural development. In turn, my hopes were that the course would stimulate ELT practices responsive to intercultural learning and EIL pedagogy.

4   But Was the Course Successful in Teaching Teachers to Teach EIL?

The CI Report provided an opportunity for the teachers to reflect on relevant knowledge and skills for intercultural communication when using English with a 'foreigner' in Korea. In fact, the CI Reports conveyed a range of interesting perspectives about interviewing interculturally. Given that one of the stated aims of teaching EIL is the development in learners of the requisite knowledge and skills to address cultural differences when using English in local and international contexts (McKay 2002; Holliday 2005), I was curious if this was achieved.

While the course evaluations each semester from 2003 to 2008 positively ranked the course one of the most enjoyable in the program, this data only suggested the teachers' appreciation of the curricular revision (i.e. the change of focus from cross-cultural comparisons to world Englishes and EIL pedagogy), there little evidence to substantiate the wider claims of EIL pedagogy and the appeals for greater "systematic knowledge of language-and-culture teaching" (Byram and Feng 2004), a small-scale, qualitative study was devised.

In order to address the extent to which this theoretically-informed course promoted the kind of readiness needed to use English interculturally and to look for evidence that EIL pedagogy was useful and relevant for the teachers' own ELT practices, measures of readiness for intercultural communication were sought. Byram's (1997) *Model of Intercultural Communicative Competence* (ICC model) was chosen as it bridges components of *communicative competence* with the knowledge and skill set relevant for using a learned language in a foreign setting (see Table 2). It was also sensitive to the linguistic challenges occurring when speakers communicate with culturally different people.

In the ICC model, attitudinal readiness is one component of intercultural relationship-building, defined by the following criteria:

(a) curiosity and openness, readiness to suspend disbelief about other cultures and belief about one's own
(b) interest in discovering other perspectives on interpretation of familiar and unfamiliar phenomena both in one's own and in other cultures and cultural practices
(c) willingness to question the values and presuppositions in cultural practices and products in one's own environment
(d) readiness to experience the different stages of adaptation to and interaction with another culture during a period of residence

Table 2 The model of intercultural communicative competence

Linguistic competence	Sociolinguistic competence	Discourse competence

Intercultural competence

	Savoir comprendre Skills – interpret and relate	
Savoirs Knowledge of self and others; of interaction; individual and societal	**Savoir S'engager** Critical cultural awareness	**Savoir Etre** Attitudes – relativity of self to others
	Savoir apprendre/faire Skills – discover and interact	
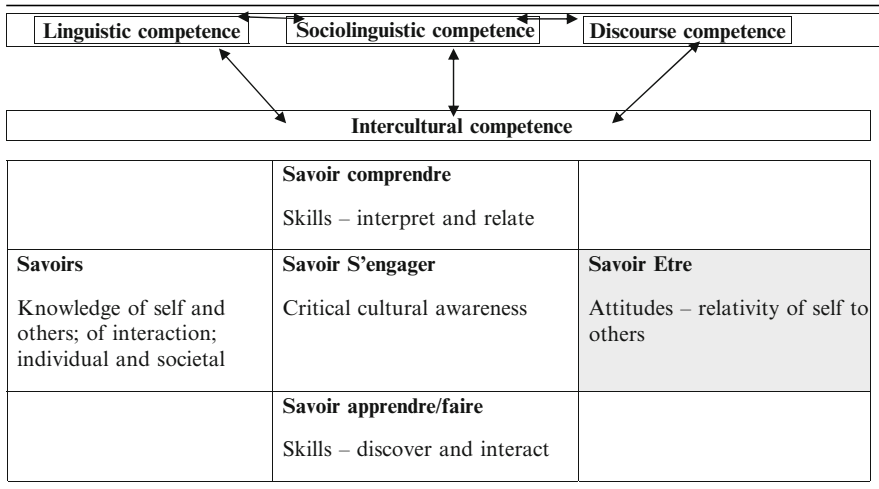
Byram (1997: 73)

(e) readiness to engage with the conventions and rites of verbal and non-verbal communication and interaction; and

(f) willingness to seek out or take up opportunities to engage with otherness in a relationship of equality (Byram 1997: 50)

Such criteria were supported in the literature for addressing the intercultural dimensions of social identity and interaction (Risager 2007). The overall framework was also sensitive to the "false notion of an easy-to-define native-speaker" (Kramsch 1998: 26) and referred to intercultural speakers as those who integrate knowledge and awareness of self and others with critical thinking and learning skills. Accordingly, this view of attitudinal readiness informed my analysis of the CI Reports.

5 Methodology

This section now addresses the qualitative data generated from five CI Reports. Prepared by 20 females and two males of advanced proficiency, all participants were Korean in-service teachers seeking further professional development in ELT. Each participant granted Informed Consent for the study of the group reports and the paragraph-long individually written reflections. The documents analysed included: five cover pages, five interview transcriptions (with a minimum of five questions) and 22 short written reflections. The cover pages featured photographs of the informant and the participants at the interview setting and basic identification of the informants, such as name, nationality and reason for residency in Korea.

Thematic analysis was applied to the coding of the documents. Thematic analysis supports the generation of deductive and inductive themes across several phases

of coding (Fereday and Muir-Cochrane 2006). The written reflections were coded first and statements reflecting attitudinal readiness helped inform the first phase of theme-building. Following this, statements about relevant content and linguistic skills were examined. To clarify, in the first phase of coding, self-reported indicators of attitudinal criteria of the ICC model were coded. Then statements about varieties of Englishes, intercultural communication or EIL pedagogy were coded. Finally, the linguistic structures in the reflections and transcriptions were examined for positive or negative impact on the quality of the interview experience.

Through a sifting process, three overarching themes were generated in response to the research questions: What indicators of were there that the participants were attitudinally ready for using English interculturally? What insights did the teachers' perspectives offer in terms of their own ELT practices in Korea and for EIL pedagogy in general? The themes generated are organised into the following headings: (1) insights about measuring attitudinal readiness for intercultural communication; (2) insights into intercultural communicative competence and EIL pedagogy; and (3) insights about cultural knowledge and skills needed for using EIL.

6 Findings

6.1 Insights into Measuring Attitudinal Readiness for Intercultural Communication

All teachers, having participated in the interview and the report writing, met three conditions of attitudinal readiness (criteria a, e and f). Group photographs documented the group of participants with their informant in the interview setting, revealing attitudinal readiness to learn through a face-to-face interaction with the informant in an environment of reciprocity and respect for cultural differences and similarities. Regarding two criteria (b and c) of the Byram's model, some modifications were made to streamline classifications. Both criteria referred ambiguously to hidden values and observable behaviours, without distinguishing awareness of Big C phenomena (i.e., food, practices and icons) from small c perspectives. Big C references were then coded as criterion b while those suggesting an awareness of hidden differences in beliefs and expectations that informed visible behaviours were reserved for c. With these modifications, roughly one third of the texts included statements showing awareness of these dimensions of culture.

Criterion d, however, assumes that the experience of otherness is experienced by a minority entering new culture as a foreign visitor who adapts to the norms of a host majority. This dynamic does not reflect patterns of cultural flows today (Byram 2008) and was of limited relevance to the Seoul-based interview hosted by Koreans. Accordingly, *criterion d* was revised to include statements showing empathic awareness of the informant's adjustments to Korean society and other cross-cultural challenges. Roughly one third of the reflections indicated

an awareness of alternate perspectives or a willingness to see the world via the informant's eyes. Since all reflections accorded with two or more of the criteria, this suggests that the teachers' writings revealed attitudinal readiness for communication with a culturally different person. If two caveats are kept in mind, the model can be applied to other investigations of face-to-face intercultural interactions. First, intercultural adjustments are increasingly the domain of a hosting majority and should not be limited to visitors. Secondly, distinctions between awareness of visible practices (e.g. identifying daily eating habits) and hidden cultural phenomena (e.g. recognizing culturally-shaped views about how and what to eat) reflect different degrees of sensitivity to cultural differences.

6.2 Insights into Intercultural Communicative Competence and EIL Pedagogy

Byram's ICC model was designed to explain the complex negotiations of speakers operating in a foreign language, or foreign cultural environment (Risager 2007). Its application to the experience of intercultural communication in English in a familiar domain can provide some insights into EIL pedagogy. The model explains that linguistic skills, sociolinguistic skills and awareness of discourse types are intertwined with intercultural competence (Byram 2008).

Careful rereading of the documents for instances where language use supported or hindered communication was conducted. A wide range of discrete linguistic functions in use was evidenced. For instance, there were many instances of questioning the informants, recounting what happened, and reflecting on key insights. The conventions of paragraph writing and hosting an interview in English were also applied demonstrating many aspects of *discourse competence*. However, as concerns *sociolinguistic competence*, several reflections identified issues with time management, particularly how poor created tensions during the interview and other strategies for enhancing the quantity and quality of information gleaned from the informant. For example, one participant remarked that the use of open questions beginning with 'could you' would improve the interview. Other reflections addressed the negative impact of stereotyping. Ironically, however, one particular reflection about stereotypes used fact-based claims about Ethiopians and, in turn, stereotyped Ethiopian behaviours and ways of thinking based on her impression of this individual. This was achieved by the sentence frame "Ethiopians are" instead of sentences with less judgmental tones which describe perceived behavioural or thinking patterns of the group in focus, as in "it seems that Ethiopians" or "Ethiopians tend to prefer". Such sentences frames were not used in the reports even though it is reasonable to expect teachers of advanced proficiency would be familiar with this kind of grammar. As such, direct teaching of modality and grammar for the description of subjective perceptions and the experience of cultural phenomena is recommended as one way to draw attention to how stereotypes are conveyed and how they can be avoided.

While there are reports of Korean teachers' limited proficiency in English (Liu et al. 2004), only one teacher reported limitations in English proficiency which hindered the interview. Some patterns of non-standard use of prepositions and articles were indeed noted but there were no indications they caused miscommunication in the interviews. Furthermore, there were no reports of linguistic barriers and, for that matter, no references to having troubles with their informants' use of English.

There were various topics raised in the reflections but many were underdeveloped. For instance, descriptions of the informant's body language, cultural identity and the nature of the interpersonal relationship between the informant and participants were attempted but not developed, exposing limitations in lexical range. While professional identities were clearly described (i.e. there were two male graduate students of Theology, one female missionary and two female EFL instructors), there was little detailed information regarding other aspects of their guests' national or ethnic affiliations. Four of the five reports provided the full name of the informants, and in two cases, middle names were even included. One informant, however, was simply described as 'Amy from America'. Similarly, three reports identified the informant as from India or the US. All reports lacked specificity. None extended beyond describing the cultural informant beyond profession, person and place, as a 'Theology student from Addis Ababa, Ethiopia'.

Given that the purpose of the CI report was to learn as much as possible about the cultural experiences and perspectives of a person who was, on one hand, a fellow resident of Korea who can speak English but, on the other, a non-Korean with diverse cultural experiences, the lack of expansion beyond name, nation and job was a point of tension. Critical reflection on the course contents revealed a focus on concepts and principles which precluded time to learn about the world's people and their practices and the vocabulary to describe cultural phenomena. If, as Matsuda (2012) contends "preparing English learners to be competent users of English in international contexts" (p. 7) is indeed a goal for EIL pedagogy, then one recommendation from this study is for greater explicit instruction of descriptive vocabulary of Big C cultural phenomena in EIL courses. Greater linguistic support for describing many aspects of human geography, namely the world's people, their social environments, beliefs and cultural practices is needed. A new principle is thus generated: Teaching EIL involves providing the necessary linguistic support to describe variations in physical and human geography, belief systems, and other aspects of cultural traditions and contemporary culture. With this principle boldly in place, EIL speakers then be more readied to sensitively engage with dynamic experiences of cultural-difference.

6.3 Insights into the Requisite Knowledge and Skills Needed for Using EIL

Since many interesting topics were generated in the reflections, analysis of the topics the participants found relevant can suggest the requisite knowledge and skills for

using EIL. Among the topics raised in the course curriculum, the following were addressed in the reflections: changes, benefits or insights gained from the course and the interview (9), descriptions of body language (5), English and other languages in India (2), cultural similarities (2), lack of language proficiency (1) and foreign views of Korean culture (1). Several insightful statements regarding the utility of the DMIS for assessing the informant's intercultural sensitivity, the status of English in multilingual India, individual and collective orientations in teaching and learning and cultural adjustment processes were garnered. To my disappointment, many course topics were not addressed: the informants' cultural identities, the overall intelligibility of the different varieties of English used by the informants and nothing about the value of this experience for ELT in Korean classrooms. Despite the course's focus on stimulating the use of EIL pedagogy, there was no evidence in their writings that the teachers embraced the teaching of EIL for their own ELT practices.

Nevertheless, there were insightful comments about the important role cultural knowledge has on communication, which carries insight for the future of EIL pedagogy. Somewhat surprisingly, these themes were an expanded interest in religion (5), an awareness of the power of stereotypes, including national and religious stereotypes (5) and the awareness that greater knowledge of the informant's heritage could have positively affected the interview (3). For one participant, the chance to meet people from the same faith but a different country was highly valued since it helped her overcome a tendency to generate national stereotypes. For two others the chance to converse with the informant promoted newfound interest in Hinduism and the other religions of the world. Commonality of Christian beliefs was also recognized for building links around the world.

Interestingly, greater cultural knowledge and awareness of cross-cultural adjustment processes were noted as enabling rapport-building with strangers. For one participant, the lack of preparation regarding the informant's Jewish heritage stifled conversational flow, which careful research about Judaism would have helped. The participants noted that thorough preparation about cultural identity was important for successful intercultural communication. These perspectives conveyed the different ways that detailed cultural knowledge impacted their experiences of the intercultural interview. New insights about religious identity and the limitations of national stereotypes were particularly profound, signalling how unfortunate it was that they received scant attention in the culture course. A nascent interest in learning much more about the people of the world was brewing – beyond the variety of English that they speak.

7 Critical Reflections of Implications for EIL Pedagogy

One aim of EIL pedagogy is the development in learners of the requisite knowledge and skills to address cultural difference as it appears in both its local and global contexts (McKay 2002; Holliday 2005). Critical reflections on how a culture course

in a teacher education program met this aim, in terms of concepts and principles, can begin to address the "lack of understanding of how EIL teachers are being prepared" (Matsuda 2010: 171). While acknowledging that no single formula of content and approaches for EIL pedagogy exists, this chapter reports on EIL pedagogy which was locally informed, made best use of available materials, addressed local needs and was built upon a sound theoretical foundation of intercultural learning (McKay 2002). Analysis of the CI Reports and the individual reflections prepared by 22 Korean English teachers revealed their perspectives of EIL pedagogy. Thematic analysis of their written perspectives then stimulated my critical reflections of the strengths and gaps in the course designed to teach teachers to teach EIL in a Korean context.

According to Risager (2007), a course designed with such content reflects American influences of culture teaching from the 1980's with a view of culture informed by American Cultural Anthropology and the integration of both culture-general and culture-specific content. Psychological views of the processes of cultural adjustment and experiences of cultural difference were highlighted. So too were experiential learning models in which critical reflection in group formats was used in consolidating learning and prompting learners to take new actions based on the new learning (Kohonen et al. 2001). Based on Fantini's (1997) survey of courses dealing with intercultural education, this course differed from the American counterparts by not drawing on multiculturalism and ethics; however, it remained consistent with knowledge-based course goals and lessons objectives informed by general content related to culture, such as intercultural competence, communicative competence, intercultural processes and cultural adjustment and communication styles. However, the attention to skill development, particularly those oriented to transforming attitudes and addressing intercultural dimensions of communication in English, received greater attention than cultural knowledge about the world of English speakers. Arguably, the skill focus was the basis for the high student evaluations over the years but the neglected area, concerning relevant cultural knowledge and linguistic skills, represents a future opportunity for curricular development.

Some concepts seemed particularly salient for EIL pedagogy and the teachers' intercultural development. First signalled by a rich in-class discussion of whose English to teach, the conceptual language of Kachru's circles fostered an early acceptance that English is – and does – different things for diverse speech communities at different times. For instance, American English was openly acknowledged as the current model for Korean students but as one teacher pointed out, this was not always the case. Before the Korean War, British English once held this status. Attendant political and economic factors and changing allegiances were duly acknowledged as important factors delineating the status of English in ELT. Perhaps the careful sequencing of the fluent fool metaphor before the model of three concentric circles of English speakers triggered the newfound relevance of 'speaker of English' in lieu of 'non-native speaker.' The label of Expanding Circle was not only a meaningful concept but also a convenient explanation of their zone of EIL interaction and seemed to validate their roles as bilingual English teachers.

Other influential resources were readings about the global spread of English and its de-nationalized status. As McKay (2003) wrote, there is no "necessity for L2 speakers to internalize the cultural norms of native-speakers of that language" (McKay 2003: 1). This text suggests the possibility of an inclusive international speech community of *English speakerhood* and widened the terrain of authority – from mother-tongue users to intercultural speakers who use English in their home territory and beyond. To some extent, however, the inclusive potential of EIL to build bridges between cultures was idealized with very little attention in the course paid to the tensions and social divides English access generates locally. Among the many local instances of power in English pedagogy, such as eligibility for E-2 visas for ELT based on citizenship of inner circle countries and not on teaching qualifications, the exorbitant costs of English language education, and Korean examples of "othering discourse" (McKay 2010: 108) regarding foreigners in Korea, none of these topics were included in the scope of the course.

Critical reflections on the CI reports in light of findings related to limitations in linguistic skills related to describing cultural identity and a tandem interest in religious identities highlighted my own pressures to develop course materials with limited or inadequate resources. There were few relevant textbooks or reference websites which extended beyond the aggregate of national communities (e.g. DeCapua and Arbor 2004). Accordingly, one practical consideration for the future of EIL pedagogy is promote international collaboration of teacher-friendly, ready-made materials for English language teachers in order to build up the relevant linguistic resources to describe observable cultural phenomena. An important missing area seems to be how to promote cultural knowledge, namely descriptive language for religious identity, faith traditions, world cuisine, geographical features, habitats and lifestyle as well as expressions for describing perceptions of phenomena, or subjective knowledge (Hoffman 1991). While some initiatives have commenced to support EIL activities (Matsuda 2012), deeper, collective examination of the requisite linguistic knowledge and linguistic skills needed to talk about experiences of cultural difference in local and global contexts is also required. EIL pedagogy can better enhance description of the world's people when the world of ELT professionals focus on building the capacity of intercultural speakers to start seeing and describing the world from the other's eyes (Byram 1997).

Related to this consideration, teacher-training centers can heed the call for more "effective and efficient assessment instruments" (Li 1998: 697) and do more to contribute to the development of school-friendly assessment materials drawing on EIL pedagogy. The professional utility of these kinds of ELT resources becomes more salient when operationalized in terms of locally-framed program outcomes and explicit objectives for lessons. According to Byram (1997), greater accountability of student learning is achieved when objectives are defined with a clear view of assessment practices in mind.

Two models introduced in the culture course, namely the CK framework and the DMIS, have some potential as measures guiding the writing of course outcomes and lesson plan objectives for the teaching of EIL. The CK framework can be made more useful, pedagogically-speaking, when the various roles English teachers play

in different stages of the culture learning cycle are clearly outlined. However, the linguistic dimensions of teacher talk and the target language need to be clarified. Similarly, the DMIS neglects the linguistic dimension of intercultural learning, which when accommodated, can better articulate the experiences of multilingualism and cultural hybridity shaping the present time. To some extent, the ICC model, appropriately reflects current practices in student-centred learning and highlights the intercultural speaker, as opposed to the 'not-quite native' speaker (Risager 2007) but the criteria of attitudinal readiness, does not clearly distinguish between Big C and small c aspects of cultural awareness. These distinctions are essential in the DMIS for measuring intercultural development. The practical application of these and other conceptual models and the development of ready-made teaching materials and assessments, is, in my estimation, the next step forward for EIL pedagogy.

In sum, this chapter provides an account of a revised course teacher education in Seoul, Korea and the responses of one cohort of as intercultural and bilingual users of English in a Korean context. While the culture course promoted a new way of thinking about English that looked at the intercultural dimensions of English use, it also aimed to stimulate teachers to reconsider the value of EIL pedagogy for ELT in Korea. From the study based on the reflections of a final group interview hosted in Korea by Korean EFL teachers, it appears that the course content supported the teachers in reconceptualising what English is and does. However, as regards the pedagogy of EIL, an area awaiting attention is the development of insightful materials and resources, including assessment tools, which can better support description of the diverse cultural identities, faith traditions and contemporary practices of the world of speakers of English.

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The Relocation of Culture in the Teaching of English as an International Language

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Abstract Among all the concepts of EIL, perhaps, the most practical one is the relocation of the cultural component of English Teaching from the so-called English as Native Language (ENL) cultures to global and local ones. Despite this seemingly practical concept, very little studies examine how the culture relocation of English is translated in the classroom. Such studies are important considering the claims that in many EFL countries, such as the one where the present study takes place, English continually be viewed as Western language and thus, the cultural components of English continues to be primarily those of the West. Additionally, studying how EIL concepts are understood and received by classroom teachers is crucial considering classroom teachers are the fore front of many pedagogical changes. In the present study, 12 bilingual English student-teachers (BESTs) were invited to implement the EIL concepts in a Microteaching course. Through content analysis of individual interviews, teaching journals and lesson plans, the study aims to explore BESTs' experiences of attempting to relocate the cultural component of English in their mini lessons. The study found that even though cultural relocation of English might seem straightforward, the participants face a dilemma and struggle to relocate culture in their mini lessons. Questions such as which students' culture should be represented, how to represent them, and the existence of Western cultures within the EIL framework, are some fundamental concerns that BEST brought up. Despite the burgeoning discussion of EIL on a theoretical level, the study suggests the need for more studies on the implementation of EIL in the classroom.

Keywords English as an international language (EIL) • Culture • English as native language • Nativespeakerism • Bilingual English speakers • Microteaching • Nonnative speakers

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1 Introduction

It is widely believed that culture and language are closely intertwined. Underlying such a belief is the assumption that language users cannot use language appropriately if they are not familiar with the culture of the speakers of the language. When the language learned is an international language, the interlink between language and culture might not be straightforward. Here, many scholars suggest that the culture of teaching English as an international language (hereafter, EIL pedagogy) should "no longer connected to the culture of Inner Circle countries" (McKay 2010, p. 81) or the so-called 'native speakers' of English (Widdowson 1994). McKay (2010) further argues that the purpose of acquiring English is to enable English users to share and project their own cultural identities. To achieve such a purpose, she suggests the need to relocate culture from the exclusive focus on Inner Circle Countries (ICC) cultures, which I will refer to as 'relocation of culture' throughout the paper.

Despite this seemingly practical concept, it is interesting to note that empirical evidence exploring how classroom teachers understand the culture relocation of English is relatively rare. Studies on teachers' EIL implementation in the classroom have, to my knowledge, focused on what it is not. For example, Matsuda's (2005) observation at Chuo High School in Japan show that when teaching English, the teacher often made references to US society and culture and not English uses elsewhere such as, Hong Kong and Singapore. In a recent article, McKay (2012a) found that in textbooks where local culture and/or characters are introduced, they often are presented as a difference to the Western cultures and accompanied by "subtle emulation of Western culture and traditions" (p. 75). Many of these textbooks, McKay continues, promotes an "an idealization of Western cultures and values" (p. 76) and thus, marginalize the local cultures.

Due to the scarcity of studies of EIL pedagogy in the classroom, the present study is conducted. It is conducted in a Microteaching course hosted in an English language teaching (ELT) department in Faculty of Language and Literature in a small town in Central Java, Indonesia. The ELT department is a pre-service teacher education program aiming to educate English teachers at primary and secondary levels. Through content analysis of individual interviews, teaching journals and lesson plans, the study aims to explore how 12 Bilingual English student-teachers' (BESTs) relocate the cultural components of English as depicted in the teaching materials designed for a 20-min mini lesson as the requirement for a Microteaching course.

Studies focusing on the relocation of culture are important considering the claims that in many EFL countries, such as the one where the present study takes place, English continually be viewed as Western language and thus, the English language teaching is primarily informed by the ICC cultures (Zacharias 2003). Studying how EIL concepts are understood and received by classroom teachers is, thus, crucial considering classroom teachers are the centerpiece of pedagogical changes (Varghese and Stritikus 2005). I hope to make a significant contribution to this

understudied aspect of EIL by investigating how 12 bilingual English student-teachers (BESTs, for short) integrate EIL pedagogy into their mini lessons in the course.

The chapter starts with literature review of culture in EIL pedagogy. It covers four cultural contents that can be addressed in EIL pedagogy: the target cultures, the learners' cultures or the source cultures, the international or global cultures, and the cultures of the learners' future interlocutors. The next section gives the design of the study which includes the participants and the instruments of data analysis. The emerging themes from the data analysis are presented in the findings and discussion section. The paper ends with a conclusion highlighting major findings from the study along with the pedagogical implications.

2 Culture in EIL Pedagogy

If EIL pedagogy should not be informed by ICC cultures, then, whose cultures should be taught with English? The question is important considering teaching materials, other than providing language inputs, express, reinforce, and construct a certain view of the world (Matsuda 2012). In the foreign language classroom, irrespective the language, teaching materials play a vital role in the construction of students' perception and belief formation of the target language speakers and cultures. Thus, EIL pedagogue needs to carefully examine the cultural content portrayed in teaching materials.

According to Matsuda (2012) the purpose of EIL pedagogy is to prepare English learners to use English to participate in a "globalized world" which she describes as linguistically and culturally diverse. Canagarajah (2005) maintains in the past the purpose of ELT is to prepare learners to join a new and idealized, yet utopian, speech community, that is, the ICCs. Now, the purpose of EIL pedagogy is to enable English learners to shuttle between different communities of English users. Referring to EIL materials, McKay (2012a, b) sees them as to "provide students with an awareness of the diversity of English today" (p. 73) so students can be prepared when using English for international communication. Implied in these stated purposes, then, is the need for EIL pedagogy to expose students to the diversities of these communities of English users in addition to the ICCs.

In English classrooms, there are four types of cultural information that can be represented (Cortazzi and Jin 1999; Matsuda 2012): the target cultures, the learners' cultures or the source cultures, the international or global cultures, and the cultures of the learners' future interlocutors. First is the 'target cultures,' which are drawn from, as the name suggests, the ICC. Even though exposing students to ICC cultures do not necessarily lead to reproducing them, exclusively focus on ICC cultures are strongly discouraged because they are considered irrelevant and unrealistic to the present sociolinguistic landscape of English use (Matsuda 2005; McKay 2002).

Since the purpose of EIL is to enable the English users to share their ideas and cultures (McKay 2002), many have suggested the use of the learners' own culture or

the 'source cultures' (Cortazzi and Jin 1999). Underlying the suggestion, perhaps, is the assumption that unless learners' cultural identity is well-established, it may be harmful to learn about other cultures. However, Cortazzi and Jin (1999) note that exposure to foreign cultures do not necessarily threaten cultural identity. In fact, an exclusive focus on learners' culture does not fairly demonstrate the sociolinguistics realities of EIL where English is used between any two L2 speakers of English, whether sharing the same culture or not, as well as between L2 and L1 speakers of English.

Although the use of source culture in EIL helps students to develop their cultural identity, Cortazzi and Jin (1999) argue that if pedagogy only addresses the source culture, it may deprive the opportunities for realizing their cultural identities. In this view, cultural identity is so subtle that students need to be made aware of its' existence. Collier and Thomas (1988) assert that identity is "framed, negotiated, modified, confirmed, and challenged through communication and contact with others" (p. 112). Cortazzi and Jin explain that exposing students to source culture will give them little opportunity to stimulate intercultural dialog which means students are given a less opportunity to identify and confirm their cultural identity.

The third is the 'International culture' or global culture. This includes topics that are of concern to the world and relevant to the global society as a whole such as world peace, starvation, and environment conservation. According to Cortazzi and Jin (1999), the aim is to demonstrate English use in international interactions between L2 English users. Exposing students to the so-called international target culture might reflect a wide array of English use. As a result, students might gain fuller understanding of the sociolinguistic realities of English. McKay (2002) warns that exposing international target cultures different from the teacher's might be troublesome due to accessibility factors. Similar to the use of ICC cultures, local teachers might be lack of the background information and cultural framework in representing and explaining some cultural references.

Finally, is the cultures of the English learners' future interlocutors (Matsuda 2012). Although exposing students to the cultures of their future English use might be ideal, it is pedagogically unrealistic because it is simply impossible to discuss and cover all the cultures of the English users in the world. To overcome this challenge, Matsuda (2012) recommends to diversify the cultural content in teaching materials to include various cultures from various parts in the world.

Other than whose cultures to teaching in TEIL, another important question is to ask how these cultures are represented in the classroom because concern of how to teach is as important as what to teach. The following are some of the ways in which culture can be approached in the English classroom summarized from different sources.

Burns (2005) notes EIL pedagogy should develop students to become "intra- and intercultural explorers." In other words, EIL pedagogy needs to help learners to create some sort of distance so that learners can be critical towards their own culture as well as other cultures, understanding the underlying beliefs, point of views, and practices informing a particular culture as well as negotiating tensions

and differences among cultures. Canagarajah (2005) refers this as the ability to 'shuttle between different communities' which he suggests to be the purpose of English teaching today.

For learners to be able to shuttle between different communities of English users, Kern (2000) suggests the need to revive learners agency in knowledge construction in the classroom. This can be achieved by encouraging teachers to ask the following questions (Kern 2000, p. 316):

– To what extent, do you encourage learners to explore their own multiple interpretations of texts?
– What opportunities are there for learners to reflect on their own uses of different kinds of texts (including non-classroom texts, the Internet, email, mobile phone technology)?
– What opportunities do you provide for learners to bring these texts into the classroom and to explore and discuss them?
– Is literature from different writers in different world contexts a part of learners' classroom experience? If not, why not?
– To what extent, do your lessons draw on local literature and local writers?

Kern's guided questions above provide ways to revive learners' agency in the classroom that might not be acknowledged in the approaches focusing on teaching ICC cultures. The learners' agency is stimulated through exploring their own interpretations of texts as well as bringing their own selected texts into the English classrooms. Kern's list also reminds teachers to bring into the classroom local literature and writers as well as other texts from around the world. However, it might be useful if Kern gives more practical ways and/or teaching techniques of how teacher can encourage students' to explore multiple interpretations of texts and reflect on the uses of different kinds of texts.

3   Methodology

The study aims to understand students' understanding of the relocation of culture in a microteaching course. In particular, it aims to address the following research questions:

How is culture relocated by BESTs as depicted through their mini lessons?

The microteaching course is hosted under Faculty of Language and Literature in a mid-size private university in Central Java, Indonesia. In Indonesia, there is (yet) local variety of English. English in Indonesia is restricted to international purposes although many advertisements, stores names, some lyrics in a few songs and boys/girls band names insert English words.

The ELT department is a 4-year pre-service teacher education program with students from around Indonesia although there are a very few foreign students from Korea. Although English is considered as the 'foreign' language in the community,

in the ELT department English is the second language because it is the medium of instruction and the medium of practice (E.g. in the staff meeting, announcement, all formal activities in the department). At the fourth year, students are expected to teach English at high school levels or below.

The curriculum of the department is structured so that in the first 2 year, courses focus on polishing student language skills and competence through courses such as *Integrated Course, Public Speaking, Narrative Writing, Extensive Reading, Academic Reading* and *Academic Writing*. In the third and fourth year, the courses focus on enhancing students teaching skills and competence. Among the courses students takes in these years are *Language Assessment*, *Teaching and Learning Strategies, Curriculum and Material Development*, and *Discourse Analysis*. The Microteaching course, where the present study takes place, is offered in the third year. At the end of the study, students need to conduct teaching practicum and write a journal article based on empirical data.

There are 12 BESTs participate in the study. The microteaching class was conducted from September–December 2011 (14 weeks). In the course, each BEST is expected to develop a lesson plan and the material for approximately 20-min mini lesson to teach their peers. In the first week, I conducted a lecture on EIL and how the EIL changes the way English should be taught. In the second week, students were expected to develop a lesson plan and teaching materials portraying EIL approaches. Throughout the course, each participant was expected to conduct three mini lessons. For each mini lesson, BESTs are expected to write their teaching reflective journal, lesson plan and materials gearing towards EIL approaches.

The data for the present study are drawn from the 12 BESTs' reflective journals, lesson plans, and teaching materials. Additionally, following each mini lesson, I conducted an individual semi-structured interviewing to each BEST. The interview was meant to provide a guided-reflective space where BEST reflected and shared on their experience of teaching English with EIL approaches as well as the difficulties they encountered.

4   Findings and Discussion

4.1   ICC Cultures Remain the Center of English Classrooms

Although many EIL pedagogue have discouraged the use of ICC cultures, some BESTs see ICC cultures as an important element in the classroom. In the interview, Lida expressed the need to put ICC cultures as the primary culture:

> Actually English comes from the Western countries so it has its own cultures and we also have our own cultures so nothing wrong with introducing students to Western cultures first and then exposing them to our culture (Lida, interview, 5/10/2011)

For Lida, since English comes from ICC and "has its own cultures," it needs to be introduced first. Here, Lida is of the opinion that ICC cultures can be reference

points through which she can introduce local cultures. However, Lida's opinion is not shared by other participants. Nisa, for example, brought American cultures into the classroom because they were "cool and more popular". Another student, Bika, chose ICC cultures because of practicality reasons. They were widely available in the Internet.

Among those who use ICC cultures in the classroom, they represented them with a comparative approach, comparing Western cultures to local cultures. In her second mini lesson, Lida exposed students to the differences between American style discussion and Indonesian style discussion. She described American style discussion as "active, enthusiastic, open-minded, like humor and frank" whereas Indonesian-style discussion as "passive, reluctant, shy, appreciate politeness very much and more respect of the elders' opinion." In her mini teaching, she encouraged students to challenge some of the stereotypical depictions of 'Indonesian style discussion' by asking a question such as "Do those description true? Is it difficult to express your opinion frankly? Why or why not?" Although the questions she created provide a venue for students' to critically reflect on the stereotypical discussion of American and Indonesian, she did not challenge the stereotypical depiction of American-style discussion during her mini-teaching.

From this section, it can be learned that some students continue to see ICC cultural content as important in the classroom for reasons such as originality, popularity and/or accessibility, although they are not considered as the only legitimate cultures to be exposed with English. These students continue to think that ICC cultures need to be represented adjacent to the students' cultures and/or cultures from around the world.

4.2   Relocating English to Global Cultures

Other students view the need to expose students to global cultures. Students who relocate English to global cultures see English as a means to introduce and provide exposure to the cultures of the world. In his second mini teaching, Brika taught the language function of 'giving opinion' by introducing three cultures: 'long-neck women' in Thailand, 'foot-binding' in China, and 'long-ear tribe' in Kalimantan. In his teacher talk, he labelled these cultures as 'extreme' for not skewing students' opinions. The learning activity was a role play where students needed to take a role as government officials and decide if these cultures should be banned and gave reasons for such a verdict.

When teaching a procedural text in her third mini lesson, Anthi exposed students to different tea around the world by using 'Indian Chai' Tea as a model input. For the learning activities, students were asked to create their own-flavoured tea, named it creatively, and explained the ingredients of the group-created tea to the class. The tea need to be made from ingredients drawn from ICC and Indonesia, such as 'strawberry,' 'Mint leaves', and 'cherry' 'cengkih', 'biji telasih', and 'nata de coco.' The tea bag all came from local Indonesian brands such as 'Sari Wangi', 'Tong Tji'

and 'Poci'. Focus was given on how students could explain the group-created tea in a step-by-step manner using the appropriate verbs and connectives discussed earlier.

For Yani, global cultures include locally-known pop cultures. When teaching degree of comparison in the second mini teaching, Yani featured Korean boy/girl bands and Indonesian boy/girl bands. She chose Korean boy/girl bands as her model texts because Indonesian music industry recently is in to "boy/girl band fever". In her post-teaching journal, she rated her mini lesson as 'quite successful' and attributed the success to the use Korean boy/girl band. During the interview, Yani shared that by using locally-known pop culture she could make the teaching of comparison and contrast more fun because the knowledge of EIL approach gives the legitimacy to draw teaching materials from local trends.

Here, the participants see ICC cultures as similar to other cultures in the world and not necessarily need to be presented in the English classroom. In Brika mini teaching, for example, he did not include any extreme cultures found in the ICC cultures, rather he selected extreme cultures found in Kalimantan, China, and Thailand. When asked why he chose those countries, Brika stated because those countries were in close proximity to Indonesia. Similarly, Yani did not include pop-cultures from ICC countries although some of them were very well-known in Indonesia.

Underlying the mini lessons of Brika, Yani and Kanthi is the view of local cultures and/or trends as a determining factor informing material selection. Yani exposed students to Korean boys/girls bands because recently they are very popular among Indonesian youngsters. In her third mini lesson, Kanthi taught procedural texts by asking students to create their own tea because 'tea' was one of Indonesian favorite drinks.

Indeed, Yani and Kanthi strategies of using students' immediate cultures as a springboard for learning correspond to Burns' idea of "approximation" (Burns 2005, p. 4). Burns explains that the process of approximation starts with incorporating activities close to teacher and learners' L1 context that can later be extended to L2 learning. Burns continues that 'approximation' also means that "learners and teachers can be more active and creative in selecting contexts, content, and roles that are of interest and relevance to them" (p. 4). EIL pedagogy, thus, revives the agency of local teachers to exercise their approximation skills as illustrated by the narratives of Kanthi and Yani.

4.3 Relocating English to the Local Cultures

Among all concepts in EIL approach, using English to represent local cultures appears to be what all BESTs embrace the most. In fact, when asked during the interview session, what EIL pedagogy means many of the participants see EIL pedagogy as addressing local cultures in the English classroom. In all the mini lessons, there is always an element of local cultures. What is interesting, though, the amount of 'local cultures' represented in the classroom varies and so do the way participants interpret the concept of local cultures.

For Anthi, local cultures here mean students' immediate cultures. In the third mini lesson, Anthi wrote her own listening text about local food. Interestingly, rather than recorded native speakers' voices, she used her own voice and her friends,' also an Indonesian. In the following dialogue Anthi introduces two Javanese characters, Yati and Wati, discussing their favorite food:

Yati: Are you eating something?
Wati: No, I drink a glass of Tongjie tea, I always drink it every morning.
Yati: I see. By the way, what do you have in your refrigerator?
Wati: Ok, let's open it; there are a lot of things. There are a lot of rambutan and durian.
Yati: What else?
Wati: Hmm I have a piece of fermented soybean. And I always have plenty of fresh vegetable like eggplant, green beans, and cucumber. I usually eat a little meat, but I really love fried rice with a few of petai inside and also fresh salad with peanut sauce. What about you?
Yati: Let's see, I remember I have a bottle of ginger syrup, a loaf of cassava bread. Oh, I have my favorite food chayote stew, it's very delicious. There are just a few vegetables in my refrigerator. But, I can't live without sour cucumber salad in my lunch.
Wati: Wow! It's look tasty. Now, let's go to Blauran market to buy some more vegetables to be put in our refrigerators.
Yati: Great idea!

The dialogue illustrates that both Yati and Wati appears to only favor local fruit (rambutan, durian), local dishes (fermented soybean, petai, chayote stew, and sour cucumber salad) and local brand (Tongjie Tea). Unlike many other small towns in Indonesia, in Salatiga, where the present study takes place, Western food such as pizza, spaghetti and steak are very easy to find in local restaurants. Despite the variety of food choices in Salatiga, it is interesting that Kanthi makes a conscious decision so that the characters, Yati and Wati, only favor local foods. When asked the reason for doing so, Anthi gives the following response:

> This is related to the influence of Westernization. Nowadays many people [Indonesians] seem to prefer Western food such as French fries, hamburger over local food. Even though they [Western food] are not healthy … they are delicious, I think. So, I chose the topic 'Indonesian food' so that we love our local food. When I introduced the text many friends do not even aware of the English-terms for these local food (Individual Interviews, 11/28/2011, my translation).

One might argues that the text written by Anthi is unrealistic because in Indonesia people do not use English to converse with one another. However, implied in Anthi's selection of topic is her belief that teaching English in Indonesia entails more than teaching the language per se. She perceived the role of EIL pedagague as an agent of change. When writing the listening dialog, Anthi appears to feel that Indonesians' preference for local delicacies are threatened by the increasing popularity of Western food in Indonesia, especially in Salatiga. Thus, she created a listening text projecting imaginary Indonesian characters, both of them only love Indonesian food.

Tabouret-Keller (2007) argues that members of a group who feel that their cultural identity is threatened tend to make particular assertive claims about the social importance of maintaining or resurrecting their language and culture. Seeing in this light, Anthi's self-created listening text might be informed from her concern. She felt that Indonesian cultural identity, represented through the local food, might be endangered due to the invasion of Western food. Thus, she created a listening text as an act of claiming the social importance of resurrecting students' love for local food.

For Beni and Rum, 'local cultures' mean current happenings in Indonesia. For his second mini teaching, Beni tapped into Indonesian current national attempt to make the Komodo National Park, an island between Sumbawa and Flores, as one of the world's natural wonderers. The main purpose of the park is to conserve Komodo dragon and its habitat. During the pre-teaching session, Beni invited students to persuade him to vote for the Komodo Park. In groups, students were expected to create posters promoting the island and delivered persuasive speech about the Park. During the process of preparing the lesson plan, Beni admitted feeling embarrassed because he was not aware of Komodo National Park; located in his own country. He was convinced that without being asked to tailor his lesson plan to EIL pedagogy, he would have failed to notice this.

When introducing students to the local cultures, Benny points out the importance of making students aware of the diversity within one nation. For example, when conducting the mini lesson of the input text "She was telling me [that she was engaged]," he decided to expose students to two accompanying texts, describing the engagement practices in Java and Batak. I found Benny's attempt to bring in two, instead of one, engagement cultures is significant to the way he comprehends EIL.

Raising awareness of their own cultures is also the reason why Nisa chose the topic of 'exploring own names' for her third mini lesson. Here, she assigned students to trace the cultural meanings of their birth names in the form of commentary text. In Javanese culture, the culture of many of the students' names embody the family's wishes, hopes and prayers. Rather than commenting on some political events, Nisa thought this topic would be more motivating. However, she later learned that the teaching did not go well because a few students refused do the task. They would rather to trace their friends' names rather than their own. Nisa, herself a Javanese, interpreted students' reluctance was due to their Javanese cultures. To write a good commentary text, they need to highlight the positive wishes, hopes, and prayers that their parents have had. For these students, writing the positive traits of their names might be falsely assumed as being boastful, which is strongly discouraged in a Javanese culture.

Nisa's narrative above, indeed, highlights the complex and sensitive dimensions of bringing students' cultures into the English classroom. One significant, yet often ignored, approach of bringing students' cultures is the way these cultures are treated in the classroom as pointed out by Kern (2000) and Burns (2005). They point out the need for EIL pedagogue to introduce students to new roles of responding and reflecting on texts. The critical incident Nisa faced shows that EIL pedagogue needs to teach students how to engage and interact with their own cultures. Nisa's

topic selection might be EIL-friendly, however, she failed to notice that the learning activity she designed might expect students to respond in a way that might be in conflict with the students' cultural upbringing. And thus, it might contribute to students' resistance in completing the activity.

5   Closing Remarks

The study aims to explore how 12 BESTs relocate culture in their mini lessons in a microteaching class. The study found that the majority of the participants are enthusiastic to use local cultures as contents and contexts when teaching English. However, in a country where there are hundreds of cultures, the term 'local cultures' might not be straightforward. The data from the lesson plan and interviews show that BESTs' understand the term local cultures as referring to the teacher's cultures, the majority of the student cultures, the current issues and local trends.

One of the interesting finding from the study is the shared understanding expressed by BESTs in seeing EIL pedagogy as beyond the teaching of English. Anthi, for example, perceives EIL pedagogy as positioning her to be an agent of change to revive the learners' enthusiasm and awareness of the source cultures. The change of identity shown by BEST can be understood as a challenge toward the native speaker fallacy. For these students, a good English teacher should not be evaluated by the extent to which a teacher approximate native speaker's language behaviour (Canagarajah 1999; McKay 2012a, b; Kirkpatrick, this volume) but the extent to which they instil an awareness towards students' own cultures, which according to Kirkpatrick (this volume) is the direction that English language teaching should take.

For some students, ICC cultures continue to have a significant appeal when teaching English for reasons such as originality, popularity and accessibilities. However, they are not the only cultures present in the classroom. When these cultures were presented in the teaching materials, the participants used a comparative approach; comparing and contrasting these cultures to the local ones or presenting ICC cultures with other cultures. This illustrates BESTs' reconceptualization of the place of ICC cultures; from the *only* legitimate cultures to *one of* the cultures when teaching English. Similar to the finding of Ali (this volume), BESTs attempts to include the local cultures illustrate a clear signal of their open-mindedness and positive attitudes in accepting alternative pedagogies.

Kirkpatrick (this volume) contends that in the era of World Englishes, teacher education curriculum needs to expose students with English users' cultures in their immediate surroundings. In Indonesia, this could be the ASEAN countries. It is, thus, encouraging to see that some BESTs included ASEAN countries and Asia in their mini lessons. However, they appear to perceive culture as products or the big 'C' cultures and did not show any attempts to go beyond that. This calls for a need for EIL pedagogue to provide ways so that teachers who practice EIL pedagogy can represent English cultures in a dynamic and non-essentialistic way.

The analysis of BESTs' teaching materials in mini lessons supports Mahboob's (this volume) and Marlina's (this volume) arguments of the pluricentricity of English which as illustrated from the present study, includes the cultures underlying the teaching of English. BEST's most frequent questions during the individual interviews (E.g. which students' culture should be represented, how to represent them, and the existence of Western cultures) underline the need of teacher education program to "catch up with the fast developing EIL pedagogy" (Giri and Ram, this volume) by equipping student-teachers with appropriate pedagogical "armour" (Giri and Ram, this volume) to appropriately teach English in the era of World Englishes. More times need to be allocated to show ways in which EIL approaches can be translated into classroom pedagogy either as a standalone course or integrated with existing courses.

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Teaching and Assessing EIL Vocabulary in Hong Kong

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Abstract Hong Kong is one of the 'outer circle' regions in Kachru's (The other tongue: English across cultures. University of Illinois Press, Urbana, 1982) three-concentric-circle model. It is also a bi-literate (Chinese and English) and trilingual (Cantonese, Putonghua, and English) region where English is one of the official languages. English is regarded as an international language in Hong Kong, based on McKay's (Teaching English as an international language: Rethinking goals and approaches. Oxford University Press, Oxford/New York, p 5, 2002) definition that EIL is 'a language of wider communication both among individuals from different countries and between individuals from one country'. Teaching and assessing English vocabulary in such a context requires teachers and learners to be aware of the global and local 'cultural conceptualizations' (Sharifian 2011) involved in the English word formation processes and lexical relations. Tomlinson (Which test of which English and why? In: Kirkpatrick A (ed) The Routledge handbook of world Englishes. Routledge, London/New York, p 610, 2010) proposes learner-centred criteria, including both 'universal criteria' and 'local criteria' in English teaching and assessment. Kirkpatrick (World Englishes: Implications for international communication and English language teaching. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, p 195, 2007) summarizes a set of 'requirements for ELT teachers' who wish to work in outer and expanding circle countries. These recent developments in ELT have implications for vocabulary teaching and assessment in Hong Kong.

In this paper, I shall take EIL as a theoretical framework and reflect critically on the principles of EIL vocabulary teaching, and strategies for vocabulary learning in relation to the local linguistic landscape and learners' mindscape in Hong Kong.

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I shall also compare and reflect on two different approaches to assessing vocabulary in the Hong Kong local context, namely, vocabulary knowledge-based pen-and-paper examinations, and vocabulary portfolio assessment, in which learners are expected to collect authentic vocabulary items in Hong Kong settings, and analyze their word formation processes and lexical relations. The purpose of the paper is to examine how vocabulary teaching and assessment practices can be aligned with EIL pedagogy in an outer-circle region.

Keywords Vocabulary • Assessment strategies • EIL pedagogy • World Englishes • Hong Kong • ELT

1 Introduction

Hong Kong is one of the 'Outer Circle' societies based on the three-concentric-circle model for World Englishes (Kachru 1982). It has a population of over seven million, and its official languages include English and Chinese. English is extensively used in Hong Kong in the domains of government administration, law, education, finance, business, trade and tourism. Although over 88 % of the people in Hong Kong speak Cantonese, and Chinese Putonghua is gaining popularity in Hong Kong since the reunification with the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1997, English has always been in high demand in this Asia's World City, and it is regarded as a prestige language, primarily because of the colonial history of Hong Kong, and the contemporary globalization and the unprecedented spread of English as an International Language (EIL).

English in Hong Kong co-exists as an international language alongside Cantonese as a local language, and Putonghua as a national language. The language policy, i.e., biliteracy (Chinese and English) and trilingualism (Cantonese, Putonghua and English), reflects the complex multilingual situation in Hong Kong. Kirkpatrick and Chau (2008, p. 34) argue that people in Hong Kong 'have maintained a very pragmatic attitude towards English'. They learn and use English for intra-ethnic and international communication, however, they feel less secure about their own variety, i.e., Hong Kong English, as an accepted variety of English. Bolton (2000, p. 267) argues more than a decade ago that 'conditions now exist for a recognition of the autonomy of Hong Kong English, on a par with other Englishes in the Asian region'. He has evaluated the existence of a Hong Kong variety of English against Butler's (c.f., Butler 1997) five criteria and concluded that it meets all but the final criterion of the existence of works of reference. Over the past decade, research on reference works of Hong Kong English has also been rigorously conducted (c.f., *A Dictionary of Hong Kong English: Words from the Fragrant Harbor*, Cummings and Wolf 2011). Other research on Hong Kong English has indicated that this variety has reached stage three (i.e., nativisation) of Schneider's dynamic model for the development of New Englishes (Schneider 2003, pp. 243–254), and that Hong Kong

English evolves as a 'developing' variety in relation to 'established' varieties of English (Kirkpatrick and Xu 2002, pp. 269–270). Jenkins (2009, p. 157) predicts that Hong Kong English will soon 'move on to Schneider's fourth stage and become an *endonomative* English instead of looking outside to Britain for its norms'.

The nativisation and endonomative processes have made Hong Kong a contested site of engagement for English to become an international language in this Asia's World City. According to McKay (2002, p. 5) EIL is 'a language of wider communication both among individuals from different countries and between individuals from one country'. Sharifian (2009, p. 2) regards EIL as 'a paradigm for thinking, research and practice' and he emphasizes that 'as a paradigm, EIL calls for a critical revisiting of the notions, analytical tools, approaches and methodologies within the established disciplines such as sociolinguistics of English and TESOL.' Matsuda (2012, p. 7), on the other hand, conceptualizes *teaching EIL* as 'preparing English learners to become competent users of English in international contexts.' In the context of Hong Kong, learners and users of English are aware of the multilingual nature of the society and they 'negotiate their internationalism through English and mixed code' (Bolton 2003, p. 202).

In this chapter, I shall adopt EIL as a paradigm, and revisit the issues of teaching and assessing English vocabulary in the Hong Kong context. I shall take a 'Vocabulary Studies' course at a tertiary institution in Hong Kong as a case study to reflect on EIL teaching approaches and assessment strategies, and explore the implications of the paradigm shift from ESL to EIL for teaching and assessing English vocabulary in Hong Kong. The research that is presented in this chapter is of significance and it contributes to bridging the gap between EIL theories, principles and actual classroom practices, as Matsuda has pointed out that 'much of the critical examination of ELT vis-à-vis the use of English as an international language so far has remained at the abstract level' (2012, p. 6).

2 Course Description and EIL Alignment

In this section, I shall describe an English course for the Bachelor of Education (B.Ed.) and Bachelor of Arts (B.A.) in English Language programme at a tertiary institution in Hong Kong, in terms of its major teaching content, teaching approaches and assessment methods. I shall focus on the modifications that have been implemented in this course with a theoretical framework of EIL paradigm and pedagogy.

The course that has undertaken EIL alignment is 'Vocabulary Studies'. It is one of the core courses for the first year B.Ed. and B.A. students majoring in English Language at a tertiary institution in Hong Kong. The students comprise local Hong Kong, mainland Chinese and international students. There are 120–150 students for each cohort. The majority of local students are Cantonese speakers, and mainland

Chinese students primarily speak Putonghua, while international students, including East and Southeast Asian and other international exchange students, opt for English for communication, although they come from different linguistic backgrounds speaking Korean, Japanese, Thai, Vietnamese, Hindi, German, Danish or English as their first languages. The medium of instruction for this course is English, so English is used among the students as an 'international' language, although local and mainland students may also communicate in Cantonese, Putonghua or code-mix with English among themselves.

The core textbook for this course is *Vocabulary Studies: Lexis, Morphology and Semantics* (Xu 2010b). It covers four sections, including vocabulary knowledge, morphology, semantics, and vocabulary learning, teaching and assessment. The major outcomes of this course are that the students, after completing the course, are able to analyse English words morphologically; identify and exemplify major word formation processes, and lexical relations; apply knowledge of morphology, word formation and lexical semantics to the explanation of word meanings, and contextualise relevant vocabulary learning, teaching and assessment strategies, principles and practices in the local context. The course is primarily conducted on a weekly basis with 1-hour lectures, followed by 2-hour tutorials. In addition, there are also synchronous online discussion sessions about the students' experiences of vocabulary learning, and field trips made by the students in various parts of Hong Kong to collect English words for analysis of relevant word formation processes and lexical relations.

A number of modifications have been proposed and implemented in this course to align with EIL paradigm and pedagogy. These include (1) incorporating teaching material about lexical change and variation with a special focus on the modern English period (1800–present) where lexical change features language contact among EIL speakers, and lexical borrowing among different varieties of English; (2) drawing attention to word formation processes and lexical relations that are related to language and cultural contact in the local setting, e.g., *yuanyang* or *yuenyeung* (lexical items borrowed from Putonghua and Cantonese) known as *cofftea* (a lexical item through blending, referring to a mixture of coffee and Hong Kong-style milk tea, a popular beverage in Hong Kong); (3) conducting surveys of the most effective vocabulary learning strategies among the students and focusing on those learning strategies in teaching, e.g., survey results show that learners in Hong Kong prefer to use bilingual/monolingual dictionaries as the most effective discovery strategy, and 'verbal repetition' as the most helpful consolidation strategy (Xu 2010b, pp. 65–66); (4) including synchronous online discussion sessions to enable students to relate to their own English vocabulary learning strategies and experiences; (5) changing the in-class vocabulary test to a vocabulary portfolio assessment, which requires students to do local field trips to collect English vocabulary items and analyse their word formation processes and lexical relations. Due to the scope of this chapter,

I shall focus on the change from in-class vocabulary test to vocabulary portfolio assessment to elaborate on how the course has been aligned to EIL paradigm and pedagogy.

The in-class test comprises four major questions, two of which are related to English word formation processes and lexical relations. The other two questions are about semantic extensions (e.g., metaphor, simile, idiom, euphemism, and hyperbole), and vocabulary learning, teaching and testing strategies and principles. The latter two questions have been changed to tutorial activities and an essay assignment. This chapter shall discuss how the modification in the assessment form and content aligns with EIL paradigm and pedagogy.

The first of the two questions in the in-class test is to identify word formation processes. Major word formation processes, e.g., *coinage, borrowing, compounding, derivation, conversion, blending, clipping, backformation, acronym,* and *alphabetism,* are listed in the test paper, and students are asked to match appropriate word formation processes with ten given English words, e.g., *CPU, fridge, shoplift, televise, motherhood, nylon, Chinglish, ketchup,* and *txt*. The second question is to identify major lexical relations, e.g., *synonymy, hyponymy, homonymy, homophony, homography, polysemy* and *gradable or non-gradable antonymy*. Students are asked to match the terms of appropriate lexical relations with the given lexical pairs, e.g., *dead/alive, vehicle/lorry, uncle/aunt, ore/or, bring/take, plant* as a living thing/*plant* for building and manufacturing, *wind* as a verb/*wind* as a noun, *hot/cold,* and *slim/skinny*. Students are also asked to fill in blanks with appropriate terms for lexical relations, e.g., _____ *is a lexical relation where one form (written or spoken) has two or more unrelated meanings. Words of this type are called _____. For example, race (contest or speed) and race (ethic group).*

In comparison, the vocabulary portfolio assessment task aims to enable the students to observe what actual English words are used in their immediate sociolinguistic settings, and analyse those words that they have selected (and taken pictures of) through applying relevant word formation and lexical relation knowledge that they have learned from the lectures and tutorials. The portfolio assessment task requires students to construct a portfolio of 10–15 lexical items or pairs, authentically taken from the local society, and to describe and analyse the word formation processes and lexical relations for portfolio entries. Students are also asked to include a brief introduction and a summary or a reflection on the vocabulary knowledge that they have used in the portfolio construction process. For each lexical item or pair, students are also required to attach a picture, specify what the lexical item or pair is, describe its source, and analyse its word formation processes and lexical relations.

The following is a table showing the statistics of the lexical items that are included in the in-class test and the portfolio assessment for 60 students from two tutorial groups.

	In-class test	Portfolio assessment
Examples of words for word formation processes	**10 words** *CPU, fridge, shoplift, televise, motherhood, nylon, Chinglish, ketchup,* and *txt.*	**462 words** E.g., *Breadtalk*, *CWB* (Causeway Bay), *dim sum*, *frenemy*, *JUPAS*, *MannCard* (cards for Mannings), *SHE* (sexual harassment education), *Chatime*
Examples of lexical pairs for lexical relations	**9 pairs** *Dead/alive, vehicle/lorry, uncle/aunt, ore/or, bring/take, plant* as a living thing/*plant* for building and manufacturing, *wind* as a verb/*wind* as a noun, *hot/cold,* and *slim/skinny.*	**113 pairs** E.g., *Do Re Me* Music Centre, *Octopus* (sea creature)/*Octopus* (smartcards for public transport), *Pick up/Drop off*, *Wellcome* (a supermarket chain)/*Welcome dead/alive*, *vehicle/lorry, uncle/aunt, ore/or, bring/take, plant* as a living thing/*plant* for building and manufacturing, *wind* as a verb/*wind* as a noun, *hot/cold,* and *slim/skinny* and *Winner/Quitter*

The above table shows the statistics of the number and range of the lexical items that students are tested or assessed in the in-class test and those they have included in the portfolio assessment. In the in-class test, students are exposed to limited test items, which have been prepared or selected by the lecturers with the intention that these items represent certain word formation processes and lexical relations. The test items are so purposefully selected to the extent that they are almost prototypical examples of those word formation processes or lexical relations that have been taught in the classroom. What students need to do to prepare for the test is to memorize or familiarize themselves with the definitions of the major word formation processes and lexical relations and a limited number of typical examples for each formation process or lexical relation.

In contrast, the portfolio assessment enables students to be actively engaged in their field trips in different parts of Hong Kong (including the university campus), to notice English words that are authentically used in the multilingual setting. A significantly larger number (462 versus 10) of lexical items are collected by students, and analyzed in their portfolios. For each individual student, the number of lexical items involved may not be significantly larger, however, throughout the portfolio construction process where students work collaboratively, and through portfolio assessment debriefing (as a tutorial task) upon completion of

the assessment task, students are exposed to more real-life lexical items involving various word formation processes. Similarly, 113 pairs of words are selected by students in comparison with nine pairs that have been used as items in the in-class test. The exposure to authentic lexical items and the variety of them are significantly greater than those for the in-class test as far as students are concerned. Apart from the differences in the number and range of the tested lexical items, there are also other implications due to the change from in-class test to portfolio assessment. The following section shall adopt the EIL paradigm as a framework and explore the implications of EIL informed pedagogy for vocabulary teaching and testing in Hong Kong.

3   Discussion and Implications

In this section, I shall discuss how the change, i.e., from in-class test of word formation and lexical relation to a local English vocabulary oriented portfolio assessment, has been informed by the EIL paradigm and aligned with an EIL pedagogy. I shall begin this section with a brief introduction of EIL assumptions and EIL discourses (in the Asia-Pacific region).

1. **EIL assumptions**

McKay (2002, p. 5) points out that 'English is an international language in both a global and a local sense'. Following Smith's EIL assumptions, i.e., 'its learners do not need to internalize the cultural norms of native speakers of that language; the ownership of an international language becomes 'de-nationalized', and the educational goal of learning it is to enable learners to communicate their ideas and cultures to others' (cited in McKay 2002, p. 12), McKay proposes the following 'revisions' to the assumptions, including 'English is used both in a global sense for international communication between countries and in a local sense as a language of wider communication within multilingual societies; the use of English is no longer connected to the culture of Inner Circle countries; English becomes embedded in the culture of the country in which it is used, and one of its primary functions is to enable speakers to share with others their ideas and culture'.

As far as the Vocabulary Studies course is concerned, the in-class test includes items that are primarily based on monolingual English word formation processes and lexical relations (e.g., *fridge* as a clipping word, and *wind* (n.) and *wind* (v.) as a pair of homography), without much reference to the contexts where these words are used. Hence lexical items selected for the test are primarily based on how they are used in Inner Circle varieties of English. Students are passive in the sense that they are being tested about how much they can master the knowledge of word formation and lexical relation. In contrast, the portfolio assessment enables the students to connect what they have learned in the classroom to what they can actually discover in their immediate society and actively associate with their local cultures and vocabulary. For example, one of the portfolio items is a signpost 'To

Fireworks Viewing Area'. The student takes notice of the word *fireworks*, and analyzes it as a compound word, with an inflectional morpheme '*s*'. The student also associates the word with her fireworks viewing experiences in Hong Kong.

2. EIL discourses in the Asia-Pacific region

In the context of English language teaching and international communication in the Asia-Pacific region, Kirkpatrick (2007, pp. 2–3) points out that variation in different varieties of English is natural, normal and continuous; and that the specific teaching and learning contexts and the specific needs of the learners in those contexts should determine the variety to be taught. In chapter "Teaching English in Asia in Non-Anglo Cultural Contexts: Principles of the 'Lingua Franca Approach'" of this volume, Kirkpatrick has addressed the English language teaching discourses in the Asia-Pacific region by proposing principles for teaching English in non-Anglo context. For example, 'lingua franca environments provide excellent learning environments for lingua franca speakers' (Principle #4), and 'assessment must be relevant to the ASEAN context' (Principle #6).

The portfolio assessment in Hong Kong context aligns with the EIL discourses in the Asia-Pacific region. Firstly, during the field trips for collecting English words, the students are naturally exposed to linguistic and cultural settings where there are not only English words, but mixed codes in the multilingual environment. Secondly, the English words that the students take notice of are naturally occurring, so they are generally detached from the Inner-Circle English speaking context. Thirdly, the students can make use of and benefit from their own local knowledge and bilingual or multilingual resources in terms of decoding the English words that they have selected. For example, one student takes notice of a poster on the university campus, which is about 'Special Weapons And Tactics' (SWAT), with a local interpretation, i.e., 'Squad Without Actually Trained (SWAT)'. This locally interpreted 'SWAT' is a satirical expression to refer to the Filipino squad, who failed to do a professional job in rescuing those Hong Kong tourists who were held hostage in May 2010. In this example, it can be concluded that lexical semantic variation is natural, and the students are able to decode the meanings of words in relation to their local variety and context.

3. EIL and the change from in-class test to portfolio assessment

Matsuda (2003, p. 723) proposes that 'a change in English teaching from inner-circle-based to a genuine EIL curriculum on the surface might be conceptualized as a matter of changing books and materials. However, such a change actually involves multiple levels of initiatives, from the classroom to society at large', and she also suggests that 'replacing one of the traditional tests with an alternative mode of assessment, such as role play, oral presentation, poster session, or portfolio, may encourage students to focus on language functions that include but go beyond grammatical accuracy' (Matsuda 2003, p. 724). The change from the in-class test to the portfolio assessment, as far as the course of Vocabulary Studies is concerned, makes it possible for the students to connect classroom learning with their real life

experiences in the society, and to notice the functions and meanings of the lexical items in their authentic contexts. This change also echoes Tomlinson's (2010, p. 614) criteria for a good test of English, e.g., providing a valuable learning experience for the learners taking the test, using the varieties of English and the topic content suitable for the learners, assessing the learners performance of contextualized communication tasks, and having a positive washback effect on the teaching and learning process. Throughout the portfolio construction process, the students are engaged in observing and finding out appropriate vocabulary items, making their own selections, and analyzing their relevant word formations and lexical relations. The assessment task itself renders students an opportunity to digest and reflect on what they have learned in the classroom. The classroom learning can be regarded as a discipline-specific schema construction process, in which students get to know, in this case, different word formation processes and lexical relations. During the field trips for collecting lexical items, the students are engaged in contextualized communication tasks. This engagement itself has a positive washback effect on their learning. For example, when the students see the word 'Act-Tension', which is the name of a campus drama society, they activate their word formation schema, in particular, compounding. When they see the word 'char siu bao', they realize that it is a borrowed term from Cantonese into English, meaning barbecued pork bun. When they see the 'Wellcome' sign, which is the name of a local supermarket chain, they activate their schema of lexical relation, and figure out that the word 'Wellcome' (a coined word) is in a lexical relation of 'homophony' with the word 'welcome'.

Norris et al. (2002, p. 396) argue that 'complex, integrative open-ended, task-specific tests are necessary for meeting actual inferential demands (e.g., relevant interpretations about what learners know and can do) and for achieving the intended consequences of assessment (e.g., fostering students' abilities to do things with the knowledge they have acquired, beyond the simple display of that knowledge on tests)'. The change from in-class vocabulary test to vocabulary portfolio assessment does not only help students consolidate their knowledge of word formation and lexical relation, but also foster their abilities to identify and analyze authentic English words in their sociocultural context beyond the simple display of relevant knowledge. The change also aligns with Tomlinson's (2010, pp. 612–613) observations based on recent literature on language testing. He notices that 'alternative testing' in the form of unconventional approaches such as portfolios, projects, real-life tasks is usually welcomed for its functions to 'remove the unfairness and pressure of one-off assessment', to 'relate to real-world use of language', and to assess 'holistic tests of performance rather than discrete tests of knowledge'. In the multilingual context of Hong Kong, the portfolio assessment appeals to the students because the vocabulary items they have identified and selected are of particular reference to the students' own cultures and linguistic environment, as observed by Kirkpatrick (2007, p. 20) that 'vocabulary provides ways of talking about things or concepts that are of particular importance to people of a particular culture'.

4. **EIL and bilingual creativity in HK English vocabulary**

In comparison with in-class vocabulary test, the portfolio assessment enables students, particularly those local and mainland Chinese students, to tap into their bilingual repertoire to identify and analyze certain English words that may involve innovative word formation processes and lexical relations. For example, one student notices an English word 'MUSO' on the university campus, and the word is followed by an Chinese equivalent 音樂學會 (which literally means 'music society'). The student then figures out, through drawing on his Chinese literacy, that MUSO is a 'blending' word from 'music' and 'society'. Another example is the word 'CHATIME'. One student comes up with the following interpretation:

> East Sunrise Chatime is one of the beverage franchise organizations. It originated in Taiwan in 2005. There are 250 shops around the world located in Taiwan, Hong Kong, Shanghai and Los Angeles. The picture is taken in Cannon Street in Causeway Bay. 'Chatime' is formed through the process of blending, that is, chat + time. It means a time for having a conversation. It can also be formed through a multiple process of borrowing (*Cha* is a borrowed word from Chinese for 'tea') and compounding (Cha + time). It means tea time. The Chinese equivalent of this term is 日出茶太, in which 日 means the 'sun', 出 means 'rise', 茶 means 'tea', and 太 can either mean a 'housewife', or a transliterated Chinese character for 'time'.

In this case, the student's bilingual creativity has been utilized in analyzing the word formation process. A monolingual interpretation could have been simply a 'blending' word of 'chat' and 'time', but the bilingual interpretation renders much more cultural meaning and creativity. Indeed, the bilingual interpretation is closer to its original meaning of the word, as indicated in the webpage of the beverage company, i.e., http://www.tea-time.com.tw/about.php, and its motto of 'Good Tea Good Time in Chatime'.

A number of researchers, e.g., Bolton (2003), Yang (2005), Cummings (2007), Kirkpatrick (2007), Xu (2010a) and Cummings and Wolf (2011), point out that a rich source of Hong Kong English vocabulary lies in its local borrowings from local languages and dialects, and its lexical coinages and innovations. Throughout the portfolio construction process, the students are exposed to an authentic and rich inventory of up-to-date Hong Kong lexicon, which refers specifically to local cultural practices and traditions. This process has also helped the students raise their awareness of an emerging local variety of English, and how this variety operates in a multilingual Hong Kong EIL context.

5. **EIL and location-based learning**

'Today's users of English are predominantly bi-/multilingual users of English. They are fluent in English and in other languages, and they develop and use English in multilingual contexts' (c.f., Marlina, chapter "The Pedagogy of English as an International Language (EIL): More Reflections and Dialogues", in this volume). Canagarajah (1999, pp. 90–91) argues that 'If English teaching in *Periphery* communities is to be conducted in a socially responsible and politically empowering manner, the authority for conceiving and implementing the curriculum and pedagogy should be passed on to the local teachers themselves'. In addition,

McKay (cf. Foreword in this volume) argues that 'because of the great diversity of teaching contexts of EIL, no one pedagogy will be suitable for all situations'. She has adopted Kramsch and Sullivan's term of a 'pedagogy of appropriation' in teaching EIL in contexts where local teachers and learners retain control of the teaching and learning of English. She has also elaborated on Prabhu's terms of a teacher's 'sense of plausibility' in an EIL classroom, rendering an interpretation of this concept as being 'influenced by teachers' own experience in the past as learners, by their experience of teaching, and by their exposure to one or more teaching methods' (McKay 2002, p. 119). These concepts of 'pedagogy of appropriation' and 'sense of plausibility' indicate a paradigm shift from EFL and ESL to EIL, and the shift has been gradually taking place towards the end of the twentieth century and the first decade of the current century. McKay (2002, p. 118) summarizes that 'an appropriate EIL methodology presupposes sensitivity to the local cultural context in which local educators, on the basis of their sense of plausibility, determine what happens in the classroom.' This paradigm shift, coupled with the EIL pedagogy, essentially about sensitivity to local teachers, learners and contexts, may naturally lead to a pedagogy centering around location-based learning. The most appropriate and relevant linguistic and cultural codes and norms in EIL contexts are usually associated with domains and situations where students are naturally exposed to English and other local languages or dialects, and these contexts feature endonormative interaction for local purposes. In location-based learning, students tend to view themselves as both insiders and 'natives'. Being bilinguals or multilinguals themselves, they become motivated and well-informed learners in the multilingual local context. According to Kirkpatrick and Chau (2008, p. 41), in multilingual sites such as Hong Kong schools and universities, the 'multilingual resources of both students and teachers need to be respected and exploited'.

Location-based testing is an integral part of location-based learning. The major distinction between the in-class test and the vocabulary portfolio assessment as discussed in this chapter lies in the fact that the in-class test focuses on the students' mastery of Inner-circle variety based vocabulary knowledge, which has traditionally been taking ENL (English as a native language) as the yardstick, without much consideration of bilingual or multilingual models and the changing profile of Englishes and how English operates in multilingual societies. The examples that have been analyzed in this chapter show that English word formation processes increasingly involve bilingual knowledge and awareness, with borrowing being an obvious case in point. Therefore, it can be suggested that vocabulary portfolio assessment, which aligns with location based learning and testing, empowers both teachers and learners, and reduces the impact of the demotivational factor that has been associated with the ENL based in-class test. According to Tomlinson (2010, pp. 605–606), one of the 'valid objectives' for testing is to provide 'each learner with valuable learning experiences'. He argues further that 'learners have their own internal syllabus of needs and wants which is much more powerful than the external syllabus of the institution', and that 'informal encounters with features and skills which are perceived as salient do lead to both learning and use'. Tomlinson

(2010, pp. 605–606) suggests that an EIL informed test should be 'testing what the learners can do', and 'those capabilities that the learner needs and wants to develop', instead of testing what has been taught to them. The construct of an in-class test, by nature, builds on the notion of testing what has been taught in the classroom, while a vocabulary portfolio assessment, as has been discussed throughout the chapter, advocates EIL informed pedagogy of location based teaching and learning, which help empower both teachers and learners in their local context.

6. **EIL in a contested site for 'global thinking, local teaching'**

Based on the political motto of 'think globally, act locally', McKay (2002, p. 118) proposes 'global thinking, local teaching' for the EIL classroom. She argues that 'EIL educators today need to recognize the use of English as a global language, in which English is used for a wide variety of cross-cultural communicative purposes. Yet in developing an appropriate pedagogy, they also need to consider how English is embedded in the local context.' The current international status of English has been largely resulted from globalization particularly in the last few decades. Globalization, according to Scholte (2000, pp. 15–17), is viewed commonly as 'internationalization', 'liberalization', 'universalization', 'westernization' and 'deterritorialization'. English, in many societies, is also regarded as a tool and 'commodity' (c.f., Tan and Rubdy 2008) for internationalization, liberalization, universalization and westernization. More importantly, English has also been deterritorialized and widely used in a social space that is no longer mapped in terms of territorial place, distances or borders. Although English is commonly viewed as an international language, leading researchers in English studies, e.g., Pennycook, regard English as 'local practice'. He argues that 'the next step' is 'to move towards an understanding of the relationships among language resources as used by certain communities (the linguistic resources users draw on), local language practices (the use of these language resources in specific contexts), and language users' relationship to language varieties (the social, economic and cultural positioning of the speakers)' (Pennycook 2010, pp. 682–683). The rationale behind the location based vocabulary portfolio assessment is English as a local practice, as it emphasizes on the direct relationship between the learners and the linguistic resources in their communities, the interpretation of English words in their authentic contexts, and it positions learners and teachers in relation to their own varieties of English or the varieties they are naturally exposed to.

In the same manner that people are encouraged to reduce carbon footpath (by holidaying domestically instead of travelling overseas) for environmental reasons, and reduce food miles (through consuming local produce instead of buying imported food) for sustainability purposes, learning and assessing English should also move towards a local orientation. An example from the vocabulary portfolio assessment is a student's personal interpretation of the word 'Lola'. As far as the word formation process is concerned, the following 'local' interpretation of the 'global' cosmetics brand name 'Lola' signifies how learners view English as a local practice.

The word 'Lola' relates to my personal experience. This word was discovered outside the counter of Lola in Festival Walk. Lola is a company selling cosmetics. In my case, it is used as a newly blended word with the clipped names of my boyfriend 'Arlo' – 'Lo' and me 'Lavender' – 'La'. I use it to refer to our relationship. When the first two letters of our names are taken out to form a new word, 'Lola' appears. The slogan of Lola that 'There's a little Lola in every woman' applies to me because I have our relationship in my mind.

4   Conclusion

English in Hong Kong is utilized as an International Language for a wide range of communication both locally and internationally across the Asia-Pacific region and the rest of the world. Teaching and assessing English vocabulary in Hong Kong requires teachers and learners to be aware of the global and local manifestations involved in the English word formation processes and lexical relations. The current understanding of EIL and the local linguistic situation calls for a pedagogy centering around location based learning in Hong Kong, and this has significant implications for teaching and assessing English vocabulary in the local context.

In this chapter, I have adopted EIL as a paradigm and framework and reflected critically on the principles of EIL vocabulary teaching, and strategies for vocabulary assessment in relation to the complex local linguistic landscape and learners' bilingual/multilingual mindscape in Hong Kong. I have compared and reflected on two different approaches to assessing vocabulary, namely, vocabulary in-class test, and vocabulary portfolio assessment. In particular, I have aligned the change in the assessment format with EIL assumptions and discourses in Hong Kong and the Asia-Pacific region, and explored implications for an EIL informed pedagogy in relation to bilingual creativity in Hong Kong English vocabulary, location based learning and assessment. In conclusion, this chapter shows that an EIL-informed and location-based pedagogy in favor of an endonormative EIL model is not only feasible but also valid for both local and international students and teachers in the multilingual society of Hong Kong.

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Part III
Critical Reflections on [Experience of] Change

The Unequal Production of Knowledge in the Sociolinguistics of Englishes

Ruanni Tupas

Abstract The legitimacy of the many postcolonial Englishes in the world necessitated an imperative to explore their use in the classroom. This pedagogic imperative in many cases has collided with many problems because of deeply entrenched ideologies in educational systems around the world. This configuration of issues surrounding the sociolinguistics of Englishes has resulted in the burgeoning of scholarly investigations into constraints and possibilities of World Englishes (WE), English as a Lingua Franca (ELF), and English as an International Language (EIL) in classrooms around the world. In this paper, I will argue that Englishes as a pedagogical problem is partly a construction or creation of such investigations and, in many ways, is disconnected from the daily challenges of English language teachers. What is the place of Englishes as an academic pedagogical issue among the myriad of problems teachers face every day? This paper draws on a 3-year localization project in ELT curriculum development in several institutions in Singapore, Indonesia, the Philippines and Vietnam. In particular, it tracks the stories of three teachers in each of the last three countries, to give substance to the paper's argument that the current line of inquiry in the pedagogical "implications" of the sociolinguistics of Englishes is unequal, and usually treats the teacher and the classroom as a recipient, not a co-constructor, of knowledge in the field.

Keywords World Englishes • English as a Lingua Franca • English as an international language • Localization • English teacher

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1 Introduction

This paper seeks to redress the unequal flow of knowledge between the sociolinguistics of Englishes on the one hand, and English Language Teaching (ELT) or Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) on the other hand. The pedagogical imperatives in studies in World Englishes (WE), English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) and English as an International Language (EIL) essentially assume the supremacy of sociolinguistic theorizing and argumentation over ELT/TESOL 'practice'. Even if negotiation and plurality of approaches and perspectives are valued, the essence of work is one that treats the teacher or the classroom as the receiver, rather than as a source, of knowledge. Matsuda (2012) has recently clearly articulated the current challenge in the field, explaining why teachers are currently frustrated and deeply challenged by the current state of scholarly work:

> On the one hand, they receive a strong message that their current practices are inadequate in preparing learners for the use of English as an international language. On the other hand, they are not given any set of ideas or suggestions regarding where to start implementing necessary changes (6).

Here, as in other studies dealing with 'implications' of the study of Englishes (see following section), the flow of knowledge is indeed hugely unidirectional, aside from the fact that the teacher is conceived as a passive receiver of knowledge. The onus is on the teacher and the classroom to accommodate 'new' perspectives on English language use and spread, not on scholars or academics to also ask whether or not their work has a role in the specific sociocultural and educational topographies of problems and challenges of ELT/TESOL work in the first place. And, if yes, to also ask how such work is negotiated "with practical knowledge in actual settings" (Canagarajah 2006: 27), embedded in multilateral "economic and production relationships between communities" (24) and, given the increasing multilingual makeup of the world, how it actually should go "beyond English" (Kubota 2012: 55). In short, while the question of 'implications' of the sociolinguistics of Englishes is by itself a good and valid question, there is a need to re-construct the kind the knowledge flow this line of scholarly inquiry perpetuates in order for genuine dialogues between scholars and teachers, or the academe and the classroom, to emerge. If we re-focus the sociolinguistics of Englishes to account primarily for the teachers' daily classroom work and challenges, the questions to be asked become radically different (see also Toh and Manara, this volume).

This paper is divided into three main sections. The first section, "From theorizing to 'implications'" (Sect. 2), establishes the ground for the argument in the paper. The second section, "Data/stories" (Sect. 3), presents the project and data from which specific re-articulations of three teachers' thoughts about their work as English teachers have been derived. The third and last main part of the paper, "Discussion" (Sect. 4), weaves the earlier section's insights together to provide a (hopefully) coherent case for the paper's argument.

2 From Theorizing to 'Implications'

Studies in the sociolinguistics of Englishes may be deemed to have emerged as a linguistic response to postcolonial theorizing in the broad fields of cultural studies and the social sciences. The intellectual locus of postcolonial theory was supposedly the need to deflate the homogenizing tendencies of Marxism to render colonized people voiceless and powerless. The key debates revolved around the question eloquently and provocatively articulated in Spivak's (1988) well-known essay, *Can the subaltern speak*? (although this by itself is a stirring critique of academic postcolonial theorizing). The response from postcolonial language and literary studies was essentially this: English, the colonial language, was never the monolithic and hegemonic language as was popularly perceived. Simply put, it has been "wrested from its Anglicized center and has been injected with marks of locality" (Roxas-Tope 1998: 245). Thus, broadly framed within postcolonial studies that is always "potentially disturbing" (Chow 1998: 167), World Englishes:

> in its most ambitious interpretation, attempts to decolonize and democratize applied linguistics (Bhatt 2001: 544).

The sociolinguistics of plurality in English language use has thus found an intellectual space to investigate, describe and affirm the statuses of the Englishes of the world.

However, while much rigorous linguistic and sociolinguistic work for the past 20–30 years has indeed legitimized the plurality of English or Englishes (or varieties of English, depending on one's frame of understanding), the question has shifted to their use in the formal contexts of education. Saraceni (2009) summarizes the literature thus far:

> Much of the academic discourse about English in the world seeks to provide an answer to the question of which model of English may be more appropriate for different groups of learners in different geo-political contexts (184).

The line of inquiry is essentially one-way – from the sociolinguistics of Englishes to their implications for English language teaching (see Jenkins 2006; Kachru 1992a, 2005; Kirkpatrick 2004, 2007; McKay 2002; Seidlhofer 2005). What 'English' should now be taught in the classroom, now that the language has many faces (Kachru 1988, 1992c, 1996)? The following section title in one of Pakir's (2010) papers is typical of such one-way formulations: "IE, WE and ELF: Implications for the Singapore situation" (274).

In one of its most recent articulations, Matsuda (2012) acknowledges the specificities of classroom practice, thus making the teaching of English as an International Language (EIL) a pluralistic endeavour; that is, it is not wise to advocate only one variety of EIL. Nevertheless, the structure of knowledge production continues to be the same where sociolinguistic theorizing and argumentation is the source of knowledge and ELT/TESOL – and EIL pedagogy as one example – is the receiver of such knowledge (Tupas 2006, 2010).

Thus, the "intersection" (Matsuda 2012: 5) of sociolinguistics of Englishes and ELT/TESOL is really an unequal intellectual contact zone. I agree that "much of the critical examination of ELT vis-à-vis the use of English as an international language so far has remained at the abstract level" (6), but while Matsuda's way of addressing this shortcoming is through explorations of the "practical aspects" (7) of the teaching of English as envisioned by several sociolinguistic theories, knowledge production continues to relegate the teachers as recipients of knowledge, rather than also its generators. Thus, contributions to the volume have been "collectively . . . informed by existing literature on the global spread and use of English from such areas of scholarly inquiry as World Englishes, English as an International Language and English as a Lingua Franca" (7) (these areas will be referred to as the sociolinguistics of Englishes in this paper since they deploy different lenses through which the plurality of English language use can be studied). It is thus but fitting, and not surprising, that the framing of the volume binds it to ask the key question, *Which variety of English is taught?*, admittedly "not the only important question in TEIL, but one of the most fundamental ones because it has implications for many other aspects of EIL pedagogy, including teaching materials and assessment" (8). ELT/TESOL 'practice', in this manner of scholarly inquiry, is thus also encumbered by this question and a few other related questions such as which functions of language should be taught, who is the 'model' speaker of English and whose culture should be represented in teaching and learning. In short, Matsuda's collection of works in the pedagogy of English based on the principles of sociolinguistics of Englishes, while it admirably confronts the "great challenge and frustration" (6) of teachers over the current state of scholarly discussion in the field, reifies the unequal flow of knowledge between 'principles' (read: World Englishes/EIL/ELF) and 'practices' (read: ELT/TESOL).

In this paper, I argue that the all-too-important question about which variety of English should be taught forms the key problematic of the pedagogic studies of Englishes, an intellectual lacuna in the field because of the assumed superiority of sociolinguistics over ELT, scholars over teachers, and/or the academe over the 'classroom'. More specifically, we need to recast the question of 'implications' of the plurality of English for the classroom within the political economy of the classroom itself where teachers and students face a myriad of more fundamental problems in teaching and learning (Tupas 2006, 2010). These too, not just English, constitute the 'practice' of teaching English. If one begins the investigation from the perspectives of teachers and students and their classrooms, where and how do we locate the question of Englishes? With this line of inquiry, the classroom (here meant to represent voices from 'the ground' or from 'practice') emerges to be a source of knowledge formation, rather than simply as a recipient (via 'implications') of sociolinguistic argumentation and theorizing. In other words, sociolinguistics of Englishes with a genuine focus on classroom work and practice would be asking radically different questions about English, its teaching and its learning.

3 Data/Stories

This paper draws on a 3-year project (2009–2012) in language curriculum development in several institutions in Singapore, Indonesia, the Philippines and Vietnam. This project, of which I was co-director along with a colleague, involved at least 65 teachers from 20 tertiary institutions from the countries mentioned. The key aim of the project was 'collaborative capability-building' where participants together would develop expertise in curriculum development, not through training in models or frameworks in curriculum development, but through greater understanding of one's own classrooms and closer dialogue and work between participants. It responds to calls for an inter-Asia nexus of scholarly and professional practice (Chen 1998, 2010; Ching 2010), in our case the context is English Language Teaching (ELT), where the frames of reference are not simply the process of localizing materials and methodologies, but dialogues with/in ELT contexts in Asia.

In his book, *Asia as method: Towards deimperialization*, Kuan-Hsing Chen (2010) argues for the need to facilitate regional integration on the level of knowledge production through the practices of Asia as method (p. 268). This need is based on a much broader argument concerning Asia's fixation on the West (specifically, US and Europe) as its ultimate source of knowledge and theory, as well as its main frame of reference when it tries to define itself. Inter-Asia ELT thus means greater regional integration of activities which foster dialogues on members' unique ELT problems and experiences. It also means sourcing for intellectual inspiration from within Asia, and this can be accomplished if more comparative or inter-referencing studies are done. In the more practical domains of work, this means that we need to spell out our own problems in the teaching of English and work out solutions on our own, and this can be accomplished through what we referred to in the project as 'collaborative capability-building'. Consequently, expertise in the sense of the project is not an a priori capacity usually in the form of a 'foreign expert' who is supposed to be the repository of good knowledge and theory. Rather, expertise *emerges* not only from the teachers' lived practice and their heightened awareness of such, but also from the practice of collaboration across different ELT/TESOL sociocultural and educational contexts. Here, curriculum change "should be a ground up construction" (Canagarajah 2006: 27).

The project was rationalized based on the fact that textbooks that circulate in the schools in Southeast Asia do not usually account for the cultural diversity of the region, thus there is huge gap between assumptions that underlie teaching materials and the specific problems of the classroom (Tomlinson 2008).

Thus, it is but fitting that the project began with a series of consultative meetings with each institution to identify the unique problems and challenges of each institutional and sociocultural context which would then frame the questions and issues to be addressed in the project for the next 3 years. In the end, these questions and issues needed to be revised and reshaped constantly as work in the project became more rigorous through closer dialogues among participants within and between institutions and countries, needs analysis, materials writing and testing,

data analysis, and so on. It must be emphasized, however, that the project was not a research project so it was not designed to respond to research questions. Nevertheless, field notes were written at every trip, workshop or activity, thus surfacing a wide range of issues related to the teaching of English in Southeast Asia.

For the purposes of this paper, I extract excerpts from my own field notes throughout the 3-year project. More specifically, these are my personal accounts and reflections of informal conversations with three individual members of the project. In short, these conversations occurred outside the more formal venues of dialogue sessions, workshops and presentations during which issues were discussed more freely, if at all there was an intention to discuss these issues in the first place: the first was done while riding a motorcycle in a hinterland town in East Java, Indonesia (Rizali); the second, over lunch at a restaurant beside the Mekong River in a Southern city of Vietnam (Thuy Anh); and the third, while riding a car south of Manila in the Philippines (Alvin).[1] After each of these conversations/experiences, I wrote down my reflections of what we talked about, with the third one done in a car on our way back to Manila after a dialogue session in one of our member institutions. It may sound as if these stories are isolated cases, especially in the manner by which they were shared, thus possibly rendering these individual teachers' views on their own practice unreliable. However, these seemingly individual pronouncements resonate much with the collective wisdom of the participants in the project. After a series of consultative meetings conducted in several institutions in the participating countries, the many stories emerging from these meetings align well with the specific experiences of Rizali, Thuy Anh and Alvin.

3.1 Rizali and the Culture of the Sea

Rizali teaches English on a part-time basis in a few institutions in East Java, Indonesia, specifically in neighbouring towns around 6 h away by land travel from Surabaya, the commercial capital of this part of the island. He rides the motorcycle to work which usually starts at 6 o'clock in the morning with an

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English class at an Islamic institution. However, several small fishing folks regularly approach him to ask for his help with English language teaching materials for primary schools. According to him, these communities are severely disadvantaged socioeconomically, but many parents still want to send their children to school. The problem is that there are really no teaching materials to speak of, and if there are, they are extremely inappropriate because the levels of proficiency assumed in these materials are deemed unattainable from the perspective of the children in these fishing villages. In a motorcycle ride with him on the way to one of his schools, Rizali was talking about these materials and how he was helping these communities by writing the materials himself. The excerpt below is my recollection of the conversation, and my reflections on it.

While riding the motorcycle on our way to one of the local schools, Rizali mentioned how fortunate he is to be part of the project. He said he needs more experience in materials development since several communities have asked him to provide them with appropriate lessons in English. He actually mentioned 4– 5 elementary schools for which he is writing materials. I asked why the current textbooks are not working. Aside from the fact that copies of these textbooks are not enough, Rizali claimed that these textbooks are 'too communicative'. I was surprised by this answer. I remember him utter these words, "everyone is complaining because no one can reach it". He explained that the communication situations in these books are culturally 'too far' from the students whose daily lives revolve around the culture of the sea. In other words, the communicative tasks do not have direct relevance to these communities.

Everyone wanted to study English because to them it symbolizes modernity and a world 'outside' these villages. However, they don't need English as a means of communication. They don't need English to catch fish. They only want English or anything that sounds like it. They want their children to study the language to 'listen to its sounds' and 'feel the rhythm of the sentences', because it is by doing these can they begin to say that the children are finally going to school … Rizali appreciates the plurality of English, but this seems to be not one of his immediate concerns. If children are able to pronounce basic words 'correctly', and write down 'correct' basic sentences, then he shall have accomplished his mission, 'they will be happy'. He believes that his main responsibility as a curriculum developer is to let both teachers and pupils 'experience' English; to make it meaningful to their daily lives is less valued as a teaching/learning objective.

To me, there is actually much more to the last sentence above than what it superficially means. I don't really think he meant teaching nonsense in English is alright, that there really is no desire to make English language learning meaningful. In fact, what he intends to do is precisely to make English more meaningful to the pupils, and this could be done if they are made to feel, experience and listen to it because this means being in school, being educated. It is not the Englishes that matter, or task-based or communicative language teaching. The act of learning English – more than the meanings or functions of words in the textbooks – is what gives meaning to English.

3.2   *Thuy Anh and the Balancing Act of Teachers*

Thuy Anh is associated with a local government institution in a key city in Northern Vietnam. Her work includes quality control of ELT curriculum in secondary schools in the region. She is quite well-travelled, having gone to several international conferences, as well as training workshops in methodology and curriculum development in the region. The extract below was based on our informal conversation over lunch at a restaurant during one of our key workshops on needs analysis. I asked questions in reference to some critical issues raised in the morning workshop, but most of the time she was the one doing all the talking. The common thread that cuts across her ruminations on Vietnam education was her consistent assertion that there is a huge discrepancy between the official discourse on critical thinking and the communicative ideals of ELT in Vietnam on the one hand, and the intractable national language testing practice which privileges linguistic knowledge and form over context and appropriacy.

The emerging official mantra, according to Thuy Anh, seems to take on the key assumptions of communicative language teaching, interspersed with critical thinking skills to produce a new generation of citizens who are competent language users and critical minded individuals. But much of the training in these areas, according to Thuy Anh, has so far been ineffective because teachers go back to their own ways of teaching English as soon as they return to their respective schools. Who can blame them? Their 'worth' as English language teachers is measured to a large extent by their students' performance in national standardized tests which draw heavily on linguistic knowledge and form. Who will gamble their students' performance in national standardized tests by focusing on the communicative aspects of English language learning, thus necessarily requiring more attention to appropriacy and comprehensibility? A mismatch between the 'new' framework of teaching and the old framework of testing (both articulated and promoted at the national policy-making level). The latter has not caught up fast with arguably the newer concepts in language teaching and learning.

Thuy Anh believes that students must be given the chance to communicate in English in order to improve comprehensibility hampered to a large extent by the 'Vietnamese way of speaking'. This has to be rectified, according to Thuy Anh, but it is not possible with the current practice of focusing on form . . . Many English language teachers lack the ability to communicate effectively in the language, so essentially there is little genuine communication happening in the classrooms. The important thing to do, thus, is to encourage communication in the classroom while targeting key 'sources of errors' which can be traced back to how Vietnamese use language.

My conversation with Thuy Anh highlights the role of assessment practices in driving classroom practice. Teachers are deeply engaged in complex practices of accommodation and resistance due mainly to conflicting discourses imposed upon them. They are introduced to supposedly more innovative ways of teaching English, yet for good reason they work to ensure that their high school students perform well

in the exams. They are least concerned, at least based on my understanding of the local situation thus far, with models of English. They are perpetually engaged in the act of balancing the conflicting demands of the state in so far as the language abilities of students are concerned; their daily life is confronted by the broader ideological infrastructures of education. This balancing act is the key challenge for these teachers.

3.3   Alvin and His Search for Enlightenment

Alvin is a young ELT professional who shifted to the field from Chemistry. He is one of the two members in the project who come from his tertiary institution, an expensive university by Philippine standards. Our project actually has not visited his institution for official work; he and his colleague would travel to other member universities in Luzon for meetings and workshops. However, due partly to their participation in the project, they have become increasingly uncomfortable with task-based language learning (TBLL), the framework which they claimed was unilaterally imposed upon all language teaching courses in their university including, to their dismay, the teaching of literature. So, they invited me for a dialogue session with their faculty to facilitate discussion on ELT issues related to capability-building practices in teacher education. The extract below comes from my reflections on the dialogue session, including my rather long conversation with Alvin in the car.

Alvin mentioned many times his frustration over task-based language learning as the monolithic approach used in the teaching of language and literature in his university. Textbooks and workbooks have been written under the banner of TBLL. Alvin was more nuanced in his arguments, of course. There is value in TBLL, he says, but the manner by which it was imposed was extremely problematic. He says there was no regard for dialogue on this matter, nor was some rigorous research done to find out about their institution's needs and problems. He argued, quite rightly I must say, that the cultural nuances of their classroom context were ignored in the way TBLL was embraced fully. There was also no consideration of the fact that TBLL itself emerged from a different sociocultural context and, thus, must be deployed with care.

Alvin was firm on the role of context in driving teaching and learning practice. Rigorous and thorough investigations of the teaching and learning context must be conducted to find out what problems and challenges should be addressed, and how. He believes creative and critical ways in engaging teaching and learning in his institution would require an eclectic deployment of methodologies and approaches. Every classroom is unique, he says, so a good teacher must develop empirically-driven ways to address specific problems in class, instead of calling on TBLL before an understanding of context is developed. For someone who has just shifted to ELT recently (2009 to be exact), Alvin strikes me as a very intelligent and critical teacher. For me, he is starting on the right footing, so to speak, because he has already

developed some form of informed scepticism towards the profession that has also begun to impose its ideological weight upon him.

Interestingly, as we moved our conversation to his MA studies (he just finished his first two courses), I was pleasantly surprised when he repeatedly admitted how 'unenlightened' he is yet about ELT issues. His stand on reflective teaching is solid enough, yet he seems not aware about this. According to him, his enlightenment will begin when he takes 'the' course in sociolinguistics (he is referring to a particular course in the university where he is pursuing his graduate studies). In his own words in Tagalog, 'sabi nila Sir, talagang mamumulat daw ako sa sociolinguistics this sem' (trans. 'They tell me Sir, I will really be enlightened when I begin the sociolinguistics course this semester). This sociolinguistics course refers to paradigms in the study of English and their implications for ELT. I would be curious to see how Alvin's intellectual growth in the field takes shape after his sociolinguistics course when he begins to find a place for the paradigms of his choice in his own teaching context. Would the same informed scepticism he took towards TBLL govern his stance towards these 'new' paradigms in the study of English?

4   Discussion

Rizali, Thuy Anh, and Alvin, while speaking from their own unique contexts, bring us to the 'classroom' as the primary locus of intellectual engagement in the sociolinguistics of Englishes and ELT. Their seemingly unguarded thoughts on their own practice foreground the urgent and critical need to revalue the classroom and the teacher in the sociolinguistics of Englishes as an originator of knowledge and theory, instead of simply being a recipient of theorizing and argumentation in the form of 'implications'. As has been argued, the flow of knowledge is largely unidirectional, with the classroom conceived as a passive context in need of theoretical infusion. If this unequal structure of knowledge production goes on this way, the classroom will continue to be subjected to the theoretical lenses of the sociolinguistics of Englishes in a unilateral way. Yet, the perspectives of Rizali, Thuy Anh and Alvin push us to consolidate our knowledge of the classroom and deploy it to address the specific problems and contexts of ELT as they emerge from daily life and practice.

For Rizali, the immediate and critical challenge is how to help primary pupils 'experience' the act of learning English itself; education or school is embedded in the culture of the sea where English, in the primary years at least, is to be experienced more as a symbol of good learning, rather than understood and digested as a form of formal knowledge. Instead of exploring the implications of the sociolinguistics of Englishes for this unique context, perhaps a better question is to ask how sociolinguistic theorizing might change or expand if classroom practice helps drive such theorizing. In this sense, the socioeconomic and educational topography of the schools in question relocates sociolinguistic theorizing as only one among possibly many responses to issues and problems, and thus decenters it as *the* key intellectual exercise in ELT practice.

For Thuy Anh, on the other hand, the immediate and critical challenge is how to help teachers negotiate the impact of hegemonic standard tests, with their privileging of form over communicative efficacy, on classroom practice which in recent years has been under pressure to accommodate the ideological precepts of communicative language teaching in the country (Sullivan 2000). Interestingly, several studies which have highlighted the multifaceted problems of ELT in Vietnam (foremost of which is the mismatch between form-driven practice and the communicative-oriented goals of ELT) are generally silent about the impact of standardized testing on classroom practice (see Nguyen and Nguyen 2007; Lewis and McCook 2002; Brogan and Nguyen 1999; Nunan 2003). But even among Thuy Anh's colleagues who were part of the project, one of the main complaints is the continued twin dominance of form-focused instruction and testing. How and why should one teach students to communicate in English 'clearly' if they are tested on other dimensions of English learning? The problem to be addressed here seems structural or systemic in nature; that is, while teachers can carve out ingenious spaces for critical work in their respective classrooms, the problem to a large extent transcends individual solutions and requires systemic changes on the level of institutional and state policy- and decision-making work. Thus, it is not surprising for Thuy Anh to be less concerned with the question of which variety of English to be taught than how to navigate the tension between the need to communicate and the need to do well in tests in English. An alternative way of looking at this is that the question of variety of English is imbricated in a nexus of power relations within which the teacher is but one of the participants.

It seems then that the central question in the sociolinguistics of Englishes – *What model/type/variety of English to teach?* – remains an "abstract" academic concern because the "discussion simply has not gotten practical enough – and useful enough for practicing teachers who must make day-to-day pedagogical decisions often on the spot" (Matsuda 2012: 6). But for someone like Alvin, his enlightenment begins with this abstract academic concern, in graduate work, when he starts asking the question of which variety of English to teach through his sociolinguistics course. This is so even if in practice he has already begun asking critical questions about ideological impositions in ELT such as, as mentioned above, the sweeping use of TBLL in all the language and literature courses in his institution, *without* the benefit of graduate work. But such criticality it seems gains legitimacy only through a formal course in sociolinguistics when one advances his/her knowledge of English, and not through one's daily classroom work. What we see here is that the ideological layering of knowledge generation privileges knowledge produced from outside the classroom which will then be applied in the classroom. Knowledge from practice it seems, even more so one gained through critical engagement in daily work, is not a source of legitimate knowledge. The layered chasm between theory and practice is here established through Alvin's largely unarticulated conception of what counts as legitimate knowledge.

5 Conclusion

It must be emphasized that this paper is not a repudiation of the sociolinguistics of Englishes, much more its search for pedagogical 'implications'. In the words of Bhatt (2001), "A sustained academic campaign for a non-Eurocentric approach to the study of world Englishes resulted in the sacrifice of five types of sacred cows: the acquisitional, sociolinguistic, pedagogical, theoretical, and the ideological" (538; see Kachru 1988, 1992a, b, c, 1996). Deep-seated and harmful discourses continue to circulate in and around ELT, but they have been eloquently interrogated in the works of Canagarajah (1999), Holliday (1994), Jenkins (2000), Kachru (1992b), Kubota (1999), McKay (2002), Parakrama (1995), Pennycook (1994), Phillipson (1992), Seidlhofer (2001), Ramanathan (2005), and Widdowson (1994).

I also agree with Jenkins (2006) that scholars in the field – those deeply committed to understanding and investigating the many facets of the plurality of the English language – must come "together in recognition of their shared interests, whatever their circle or research focus" (175). The collective work of scholars in WE, EIL and EFL, despite conceptual confusions in the many uses of different terms, as Jenkins highlights, should not only be acknowledged, but also credited for driving changes in ELT/TESOL which resulted in a "radical restructuring of (classroom) resources, (teacher) training, and (teaching) materials" (Bhatt 2001: 540).

What this paper hopes to accomplish, without rehashing the points of the earlier sections, is really to reposition the classroom at the heart of sociolinguistic theorizing and argumentation in order to close the "unfortunate and paradoxical" distance between scholarly/academic practice and classroom practice (Saraceni 2009: 177). How does the configuration of problems and challenges look like if we map them according to the daily classroom work of teachers (and of students as well)?

For example, how can Rizali's 'culture of the sea', where the main desire of the communities is to 'experience' English, transform sociolinguistic theorizing? In Rizali's context, the variety of English to be taught seems to be less of a concern than the value of being in the act of learning English itself. What emerges, thus, is the question of learning English perceived as the acquisition of cultural capital (Lareau and Weininger 2003). Sociolinguistic theorizing of the plurality of English cannot remain narrowly focused on describing 'local' varieties of English and figure out how one of them might be used as a pedagogical standard. Instead, it must also account for the specific configurations of cultural capital as embodied in communities of teaching and learning. Rizali's culture of the sea is a particular culture of learning English. What does the act of learning English represent, and what social forces gave rise to such representation? If the question of what variety of English to teach is not central to teachers' daily work, why is this so and, instead, what concerns them more, and why?

Similarly, in Thuy Anh's case, can the issue of power among and beyond the level of individual teachers be the core advocacy of such sociolinguistic theorizing? In this case, a sociolinguistics of Englishes should not only recuperate (and then celebrate) agencies of teachers and learners, but should also be concerned with

how these agentive acts work in tandem with much larger economies of education, testing and assessment in particular, which partly structure their realization. If these weak positions are identified, then both practitioners and scholars can collaborate on how best to strengthen these positions. For example, if the plurality of English is indeed deemed to be a legitimate issue but its systematic inclusion in the curriculum is hampered by such structures of restraint, which particular acts of engagement can push educational reform forward? Theoretically, this calls for a much more sophisticated way of accounting for agency in the classroom, away from its highly celebratory yet idealized conceptualization, thus providing a much deeper understanding of why educational reforms are difficult to accomplish (c.f. Wells and Serna 1996).

Lastly, Alvin's case also pushes us to ask whose problem is the study of plural Englishes anyway. To put it in another way, it urges us to unpack legitimate knowledge – or specifically what counts as legitimate knowledge – by training our sights on how particular bodies of knowledge have come to be known as legitimate. How has it happened that Alvin's sustained critical engagement with local classroom practice was not enlightened enough, but that he would need to wait for sociolinguistics to experience such enlightenment? This would be the sociolinguistics of ELF originating 'in Europe' and WE 'originating first in the US' (Pakir 2010: 261). The politics of (uneven) knowledge production has been much discussed (Chen 2010; Ching 2010); Alvin's criticality could gain legitimacy in a sociolinguistic course that begins with the assumption that teachers like him are capable of generating theoretical insights and 'new' knowledge. This is because expertise in the sense used in the paper "recognizes the valor of lived experience and respects an insider's perspective and understanding" (Walsh 1991: 97).

In all these, the classroom compels us to explore the possibility of the sociolinguistics of Englishes expanding or broadening its theoretical scope in the light of varying topographies of cultures of learning (Rizali), layers of power relations (Thuy Anh), and notions of expertise (Alvin) as revealed through the nuances and messiness of ELT/TESOL 'practice'. The questions and entry points for discussion and eventual change could be different, of course, but the point here is that some "knowledges" are "more equal than others" (Chow 1998: 168). Thus, a (re)focus on the classroom as the intellectual engine of inquiry reconfigures the structure of knowledge production, begins to dismantle the hegemony of the sociolinguistics of Englishes in ELT/TESOL, and emplaces it on a dialogic platform where scholars and teachers co-construct knowledge on more equal terms.

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The Cosmetics of Teaching English as an International Language in Japan: A Critical Reflection

Glenn Toh

Abstract In Japan, discourses around the English language have often been found enmeshed in a pattern of a continual internal monologue. This pattern can be characterised by various assertions about how English has become an important language in a fast-globalising world, followed by disagreements citing fears of cultural erosion, to be then followed by counter-arguments that Japan can use English to communicate its own culture and values in an international arena (Oda M, Int Multiling Res J 1(2):119–126, 2007). However, in terms of policies, outworkings and practices, Japan appears to be struggling with ideological inconsistencies relating to the teaching English as an international language (EIL), not least because of the prevailing focus on native Englishes in ELT portals, particularly American English, and insofar as rhetoric surrounding English (purportedly) for internationalisation may rather be found for being superficial and cosmetic – in practical terms, an English for cosmetic purposes. Drawing on the author's experiences, the chapter discusses important issues that bear on teachers and English teaching in Japan. These include prevailing cultural and rhetorical formations, resultant policy-related indecisions and contradictions as well as conceptualisations of knowledge and professionalism that remain circumscribed and monolithic. These prove to be strong challenges against more incisive paradigms and practices relating to EIL.

Keywords Internationalisation • Language policy • Ideology • Power relations • Nationalism • Hegemony

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1 Introduction

This chapter is part of the present compilation of narratives of EIL journeys by fellow EIL practitioners aiming to critically reflect on the challenges and dilemmas encountered along the way. I have been teaching EFL, EAP and EIL in the Tokyo region for the last 6 years and prior to this, I was language teacher and teacher-trainer in Hong Kong, Australia, New Zealand and my native Singapore where I grew up speaking Cantonese at home. In this chapter, I reflect on my experiences as course administrator and classroom teacher.

I begin with an important observation distilled from the ups and downs of my experience as language teaching professional in Japan, one which until recently, I have found difficult to put in words that facilitate reflexive practice. This observation relates to how Japan as a nation has come through what one might call a fairly chequered relationship with the English language and how the consequences of this manage to filter down to the work of teachers like myself. In Japan, discourses around English – whether relating to cultural beliefs, policy pronouncements or public opinion – have often been found enmeshed in a pattern of a continual internal monologue (Oda 2007). By this I mean how this pattern can be characterised by repeated assertions (1) about how English is an important language in a fast-globalising world, which are followed by (2) disagreements citing fears of cultural erosion, then followed by (3) counter-arguments that Japan can use English to communicate its own culture and values in an international arena (Oda 2007). Expectedly, there are variants of these viewpoints accompanied by their own supporting arguments, beyond the scope of this present discussion. Fair and suffice to say that these viewpoints, their variants and the tensions thereof do bear on the work situation of teachers – whether relating to curriculum planning, lesson delivery or even employment or career prospects.

The chapter will centre around three main areas of contention, namely (1) the various ways English collocates with internationalisation and how the language is increasingly treated discursively as being important in contemporary Japan on this account (2) that English and internationalisation are viewed as a juxtaposing threat to Japanese culture and values (3) how counter-arguments seek to assuage these concerns and offer the possibility that English may be used to communicate Japanese values and specificities internationally. Relevant literature will be cited to put the issues within a socio-historical framework alongside critical reflections on how they affect the work of teachers.

2 English and Internationalisation

The words English and internationalisation are often closely collocated. However, in order not to take this often-occurring collocation for granted, it is important to understand how it takes on particularised meanings in the Japanese context.

Internationalisation in Japan has been spoken of as being both selective and reactive. By selectiveness, it has been observed that internationalisation often assumes a strongly Western bias in terms of focus and outworkings. In ELT in particular, American English is held as target model with British English as second choice (see chapter "Teaching and Learning of EIL in Korean Culture and Context" by Park and Kim). Anglophile ideologies in ELT in Japan strongly indoctrinate Japanese teachers and students 'with the concept that English is an American or a British language' (Honna 2008: 143). Englishes from the ex-colonies are accorded low status (Honna 2008; Kubota 2002).

Moreover, internationalisation has also been spoken of as being a reactive outcome of external changes in politics and economics. For example, internationalisation has been seen as a reaction to problems arising from trade disputes over trade imbalances between Japan and America, causing the government to moot the importance of looking outwards in readiness for similar challenges, notably through seeking equal partnership with Western nations (Kubota 1999). A recent variation of this is how Japanese companies have had to relocate operations overseas for various reasons to do with currency fluctuations or cost-cutting.

Similarly, the co-optation of English into the country's internationalisation initiatives has been seen as being selective and reactive. Kubota and McKay (2009) tell of the growing presence of non-English speaking communities in Japan. Yet, English is selectively deemed the language of internationalisation despite the growth of Portuguese, Tagalog and Mandarin speaking communities. Kubota (2011) tells of the increasing need for Japanese people to use Mandarin in international contact. In other words, conceptualisations of internationalisation remain particularised – excluding Japan's growing hinterland of diverse ethnicities and the thriving East Asian economies while reifying the outworkings of an internationalisation that focuses on Western nations, particularly America (Kubota 2002). The attempt at projecting a greater 'openness' to the world outside ironically harbours a degree of convergence and constriction of vision and outcome – with an internationalisation that largely ignores an increasingly rich diversity of cultures and languages in the country's own neighbourhood and backyard.

In terms of 'reactiveness', one may look at the policies and assumptions governing an important initiative like the Global 30 project. The Global 30 project is the common name for the Internationalisation Hub Consolidation Project, part of an initiative to attract 300,000 foreign students into Japanese universities by 2020. The adoption of English as the official language of instruction is an example of the way current attention on the English language is symptomatic of a knee-jerk reaction.

Rivers (2010: 441) describes that among 'a plethora of threats' facing Japanese higher education are the problems of falling enrolments due to low birth rate and international competition. To achieve the targeted 300,000 students, 13 universities have thus far been named as centres for running content courses in English. This effort, however, does come with accompanying ironies.

Global 30 Project classes are run primarily if not solely for foreign students with only limited opportunities for the involvement of Japanese students (Rivers 2010; Birmingham 2012; Matsutani 2013). With this comes the diminishing of what would actually have been an ideal opportunity for closer cultural exchange between Japanese students and their overseas counterparts, well in keeping with internationalisation. Discussing one Global 30 university in Tokyo 'known as a pioneer in international education', Matsutani (2013: B6) notes that this university has just begun to consider the merits of having more interaction between the foreign students and local students doing their courses in Japanese. The fact that an overwhelming majority of Japanese students will blissfully continue to do their degrees in Japanese on the very campuses where a diversity of international students will be doing the same in English, leads to questions.

Rivers (2010) argues that this segregation is about minimising contact between foreign and Japanese students for fear of erosion of Japanese culture (discussed in the next section). If this is the case, then Global 30 seems to be more about the quest (or haste) to reach the targeted 300,000, rather than about promoting the space for meaningful interaction between Japanese and foreign students, the danger of educational 'apartheid' notwithstanding. In their haste to 'internationalise', the conveners of Global 30 seem to have missed the irony of a campus 'internationalisation' where Japanese and foreign students, in real terms, exist and study apart from each other. The consequence is that the presence of foreign students learning in English becomes merely a personified or commodified enactment of a reductively tokenised form of 'internationalisation'. For EIL stalwarts, this is both parody and travesty packaged-in-one.

Moreover, while overseas student recruitment offices have been set up in different countries like Russia, Tunisia, Vietnam and India (Rivers 2010), only one of these countries has had any history of having English as a medium of education – India. This is besides the possibility that overseas students from these countries may well be wanting to study in Japanese, seeing that Japanese is a feature of uniqueness that Japanese universities can offer – whereas instruction in English is available in many countries across the continents, be they Hong Kong, Canada or Australia. With practically no history, tradition or track record in educating people in the English medium, the adoption of English as medium of instruction on the Global 30 Project seems to be a knee-jerk reaction, one which can be found for a lack of depth-of-consideration, in the haste to quickly 'internationalise' Japanese campuses, while boosting institutional enrolments and hence, finances.

The above discussion raises the point that the kind of internationalisation the country has chosen to follow and the resultant co-optation of English into its rhetorical and discursive fabric are not free of an ideologised selectivity or an 'ulteriority' that excludes other wider, fairer or more inclusive possibilities, given deeper thought or greater proactivity on the part of planners and policy makers.

How these incongruities affect the work of EIL teachers remains to be discussed. However, there is more to the matter at hand.

3 Viewing English and Internationalisation as Cultural Threat

Japan has always taken care to manage and manicure its cultural frontiers.

Miller (1995) notes that popular attitudes around the use of Japanese as the national language are linked to Japanese identity, ethnicity and culture. For the Japanese, language is particularly tied in (down) to a monolithic connection with ethnicity. For this reason, there is this understanding that the Japanese in general will feel uncomfortable when non-Japanese show a mastery of the Japanese language as this is viewed as a form of 'invasion' of Japanese cultural-linguistic turf (Miller 1995). Befu (1984) describes the set of beliefs like this:

> Speakers of Japanese as a mother tongue have all descended from "genetically" Japanese people who have lived on the Japanese islands and practiced Japanese culture. At the same time, those who have practiced Japanese culture are native speakers of Japanese and descendants of Japanese living on the Japanese islands. Thus in the minds of Japanese the following equation holds: Japanese archipelago = genetic Japanese = Japanese culture = Japanese language (Befu 1984: 68)

Hence, it has been suggested that the reputation of Japanese to be poor in English can be traced to the maintenance of ethnolinguistic distinctiveness (Miller 1995). Aspinall (2003) notes that 'Japanese nationalist scholars ... believe that Japanese people with poor English skills should not be ashamed of the fact, but, rather, should be proud of it' (Aspinall 2003: 104)

Put simply, such discourses and the accompanying rhetoric are borne of tensions between ideologies relating to nationalism, border management on the one hand and the wish (or lately, the need) to be part of a larger international network for the advantages to be gleaned, on the other.

Given such reservations about English, having it as the language of the Global 30 Project is paradoxical. While Japan seeks to shield itself from the perceived 'ill effects' of English or even linguistic imperialism as noted in Hashimoto (2007), there seem to be no qualms or compunctions about having it used in lessons for students from Russia, Tunisia or Vietnam. Interestingly, Global 30 will only offer limited interaction between Japanese and foreign students, as noted above. It therefore seems contradictory that while the country has sought to contest English linguistic imperialism (Hashimoto 2007), it nevertheless shows readiness to mobilise the language where it is thought to be of advantage, in this case to bring in overseas students, a vast majority of whom are, ironically, from non-English speaking countries. Paradoxically too, these overseas students will study in English on Japanese soil and within the portals of Japanese academia, various quarters of which remain uncomfortable with English, cross-cultural interactions and even with overseas students (Rivers 2010). It appears that the need to have English bring in the finances is matched by the readiness to use it for students ushering in these finances, linguistic imperialism notwithstanding.

Evidently, English continues to bound between two extremities. On the one hand, its spread and presence is viewed as a challenge to Japanese culture and identity:

English takes time away from Japanese language study and citizenship education . . . national unity and Japanese national identity are being undermined by a focus on English. (Yamagami and Tollefson 2011: 31)

On the other hand, English is reified as the counterpart of Japan's internationalisation effort. Unfortunately, both extremes might be traced to apprehension: fear of cultural erosion versus the fear of losing out on opportunities made available through a greater openness to English (Yamagami and Tollefson 2011). The question of whether these polarities can be reconciled is examined next.

4 Can English Be a Vehicle of Japanese Socio-cultural Specificities?

An important corollary to having English as an international language would be the acknowledgement that English as a cultural resource must encompass (and engender) an expansiveness, diversity and plurality of cultural synergies, representations and meanings. Whereas a belief in English being a threat to national identity would tend to promote its alienation and estrangement, an attempt to 'plug' Japan into EIL discourses would mean the opposite – involving bona fide moves to re-conceptualise English as a resource that can (1) represent or at least communicate Japanese culture and matters Japanese (2) promote a greater appreciation of diversity as well as cross-cultural and transcultural synergies that Japan as a nation can contribute to (3) help engender a rich reciprocity of people-to-people exchange alongside an appreciation for the plurality of languages and cultures in Japan's immediate neighbourhood and beyond. Hence, shifting from discussing the matter of threat (to Japanese identity), this section will examine whether there is any sense of this sort of expansiveness, acceptance and diversity in Japanese conceptualisations of English as a cultural resource.

Kachru (1995) describes how English has become a medium of plural canons and identities, now richly invigorated with the diversity of voices that come through Jamaican, Malaysian or Indian English. Honna (2008) speaks of a Japanese English with similar hopes that it will carry and communicate Japanese culture and specificities.

Honna (2008) argues that English spoken among Asian interlocutors takes on the pragmatics as well as cultural realities and realisations of an Asian language. He also observes the following:

The collective energy and time spent by a majority of 120 million Japanese who compulsorily studied English for some six years is truly enormous, and should not be wasted. Japanese people should be encouraged to take advantage of the outcome of their educational experience. One way to achieve this consciousness is to recognize that Japanese ordinarily are expected to speak Japanese English. (Honna 2008: 156)

Blaming teachers for perpetuating old beliefs in an Anglophile English, Honna (2008) argues for the importance of explaining the Japanese way of life in English,

for Japanese people 'to talk about themselves with people from abroad, explaining Japanese customs on international occasions' (Honna 2008: 163). Kubota (2002) notes in a similar vein that the upsurge of nationalism including a reassertion of Japanese values that has come as a response to internationalisation has actually helped lubricate the argument that English can be used to represent and communicate matters and values Japanese.

Looking at the curriculum, Yamada (2010) attempts to link the Japanese ELT curriculum to the plural identities of English. She notes that English is now used in Japan when people from non-Western cultures interact and Japanese English textbooks now incorporate Japanese culture into their content while recognising the international status of English. For example, she points out how textbooks feature an exchange of emails in English among Japanese, South Korean, Singaporean and Thai students, Japanese people using English in Singapore, or Japanese students doing volunteer work in Bangladesh and Nepal using English.

However, in terms of actual portrayal, Yamada (2010) admits that there still remains 'power divides among represented nations' economic status' and 'Japan's insufficient attention to its own diversity' (Yamada 2010: 502). By this she means that the portrayal of multicultural interaction is more frequently about encounters or attachments between Japanese and people from economically well-endowed western countries – American husband and Japanese wife, Japanese husband and Australian wife, for example. Yamada (2010) notes that no interaction takes place between Japanese and the Koreans and Ainu who have resided on Japanese soil. Citing the dominant influence of countries in Kachru's (1995) Inner Circle (historical centres of English like Britain or Canada), the reason she offers is that:

> This could be interpreted that the Japanese gain the power or authority of the English language through primarily Inner Circle interactions . . . show[ing] an increasing commonness of intercultural relationships between Japan and the Inner Circle countries but also represent Japan's maintaining its international position through gaining the power of the English language (Yamada 2010: 501)

Hence, despite some recognition of the relevance of English in a plurality of cross-cultural interactions, there remains evidence that the Anglo-American identity of English continues to hold currency. Seargeant (2009) even argues that in Japan, English is treated as an artifact of foreignness in that 'the language becomes not so much a tool for international communication, but a living artifact belonging to a foreign culture' (Seargeant 2009: 56).

So in terms of whether English is seeing acceptance as a vehicle of Japanese socio-cultural specificities or whether the sorts of openness and expansiveness that one would look for in conceptualisations of an international English language currently exist in Japan, it appears that signals are not entirely positive in this connection.

5 Effects on Teachers and the Teaching of EIL

5.1 How Teachers Are Deployed and Positioned in Their Daily Routines

Thus far, I have attempted to describe the superintendent discourses, ideologies and their outworkings that relate to internationalisation, EIL and Japan. In the remainder of the discussion, I will attempt to link what has been discussed to the work of English teachers, in particular, ramifications of prevailing discourses filtering their way into classrooms, staffrooms and department corridors. Many of the observations are based on first hand encounters with issues that have forced me into deeper reflection.

Concerning this, one important observation deserves mention. In recent years, with the ubiquity of English conversation schools around shopping areas, with the number of workers enrolling for English classes even as language schools are constantly on the search for teachers, with universities fighting hard to raise English levels, and with a university with entrenched traditions like Tokyo University conducting admission ceremonies in English, one might get the impression that Japan is experiencing a 'renaissance' of sorts with the English language and creating a friendly environment for its promotion. Yet to be sure, Japan still struggles with a tentative if not tenuous relationship with the language, and this is to be felt even among teachers, who are often caught in the wake of prevailing contestations (see chapter "On Teaching EIL in a Japanese Context: The Power Within and Power Without" by Giri and Foo).

Of course, from a strictly 'TESOL' standpoint, accustomed routines and practices would not be too different from English teaching elsewhere: choosing textbooks and graded readers, contemplating ways to organise web-based learning like on-line drills, tests and exercises, planning for self-access learning including running self-access centres, arranging library visits or conducting diagnostic tests.

There are, nevertheless, certain aspects of ELT which can assume special meanings or take on special significance in Japan and these may or may not accord with the teaching of EIL.

5.2 Native Speakerism

Despite attempts at conceptualising a Japanese variety of English, the fact remains that these attempts will need to be carried through by way of adequate lexical, morphological and phonological description as well as deeper understanding of the pragmatic and other sociolinguistic realisations of such a variety. Without pouring cold water on such important work as well as sincere attempts to expose students to different varieties of English, one observation is that in the daily living of Japanese

people and in Japanese work places, English receives scant attention even as its use and/or relevance remains marginal (Kubota 2011).

Indeed, I note from experience that the Anglo-American identities of English remain fairly intact and there continues to be a strong influence of ideologies associated with native speakerism, the belief that native speakers represent a western culture and are the final arbiters of the English language in terms of 'correctness' and good teaching methodology (Holliday 2006). Seargeant (2009) observes the following about native speaker teachers in Japan – which is that they actually

> become specimens of that foreign culture, their role as instructors of specialised knowledge overshadowed by their status as foreign nationals, so that it is the emblematic presence of a foreign culture in the classroom that is the defining factor for their appointment in schools. (Seargeant 2009, p. 56)

Visible outworkings of native speakerism one gets to see include the practice of getting native speaker teachers to proof read documents (to 'correct the English'). English language departments must have a requisite number of native speaker teachers to realise their authenticity (and veracity). Preference is given to native speaker teachers when it comes to employment and they tend to get paid better (Kubota 2011). Japanese applicants invariably have to include their TOEIC scores in their resumes as proof and measure of their proficiency (Kubota 2011), whereas the proficiency of a native speaker is taken (for granted) as a given. Native speaker teachers are often asked to pose for advertisements or sent on road shows to attract students. All of this makes for a rather skewed and reductionist form of 'internationalisation' while being, subjectively speaking, patronising on teachers, native or non-native (see chapter "Teaching English in Asia in Non-Anglo Cultural Contexts: Principles of the 'Lingua Franca Approach'" by Kirkpatrick).

As Singaporean and Chinese, native speakerism occasions introspection about my own positioning. Employers may, for lack of another category, classify me as non-native, through my not being white or western, very much determinant features in Japanese apprehensions of the native speaker construct (Kubota 2002, 2011). Of late, job advertisements have been seen using the term 'near-native speaker' and someone like me may well be slotted into this category. In either situation, native speakerism is upheld and legitimated as controlling ideology, drawing attention away from more expansive conceptualisations of English as an international language.

5.3   English as Subject Area

Related to the above is also my experience that in day-to-day work, it is not unusual to find that there are actually hardly any practical or curricular realisations of how internationalisation can be associated with the plurality of canons and identities that English has come to assume. English is still viewed as an area or subject of study or even as an ornament or artifact of erudition and there is still the mentality that there

is an 'English' culture to be epitomised, for example, by the Shakespeare Country Park in Maruyama (Seargeant 2009) replicating aspects of Elizabethan England complete with village green, duck pond and maypole. British culture is essentialised in materials featuring the maze at Hampton Court, British tea-clippers and the Loch Ness monster (Vaughan-Rees 1995) as well as English gardens, English eccentrics or Scottish bagpipes (Dennis et al. 1996).

5.4 Businesses as Stakeholders

Even as internationalisation is linked to business and other entrepreneurial interests, the overarching pronouncements of business stakeholders on ELT tend to have a bearing on teaching. Businesses in Japan measure English ability by TOEIC score. Indeed, some companies specify minimum scores for potential employees. In some universities, TOEIC scores are factored into students' final grades. University career centres, which are directly in charge of successful student job placements, invariably lobby for this. Student recruitment advertisements even undertake to 'guarantee' TOEIC achievement. Administrators may also use TOEIC as a measure of the quality or effectiveness of teaching itself.

In my own experience, teachers are obliged to teach to TOEIC during class time because administrators and parents want to see improvement in scores. Discussions at textbook adoption meetings include choosing TOEIC preparation books. Such superimpositions are all the more worrying when it comes to teaching English for academic purposes (EAP), where drill techniques in answering TOEIC test items come into direct conflict with the teaching of academic discourses and practices.

Notwithstanding the fact that the 'I' in TOEIC stands for 'international', the point here is that there are localised priorities that bear on English programmes and these need not necessarily service the expansive cultural synergies that belong to teaching of English as an international language per se. Teaching to TOEIC may well be likened to serving a different master.

5.5 Academic Literacies and Academic Communities of Practice

Concerning the use of English in higher education, one feels that there will have to be deeper thought given to the teaching of EAP. Countries like Australia, Hong Kong or Singapore have stepped up on the teaching of EAP to students with backgrounds very similar to those the Global 30 Project is targeting. Students from countries where English is not mother-tongue are given pre-sessional courses to prepare them for academic study. Given the nature of how the use of English in academia involves engagement with different academic literacies associated with different discourse communities and communities of practice (Barton and Hamilton

2000), English teaching in Japan may well have to incorporate elements of teaching such academic literacies. Japan in its hope to attract 300,000 overseas students into courses conducted in English cannot assume that these students will come ready with an English alongside literacy and learning practices poised for academic pursuit (Barton and Hamilton 2000).

My own experience here is that both EIL and EAP can be made to work in tandem. The teaching of different academic literacies can also mean fostering a critical awareness of the way English can bring about broader understandings of issues relating to language, culture and identity which would well come within the purview of EIL. Concerning this, if policy makers are going to take matters seriously, steps will have to be taken to prime teachers accordingly. There would be teachers who routinely operate within an autonomous positivist mainline TESOL framework (Pennycook 1999) that does not take into account broader socio-cultural or socio-political issues that bear on language use in higher education (Pennycook 1999). Steps to encourage positive changes in this area will only benefit the students.

6   Looking Ahead

Speaking as a language teacher in Japan, one cannot but feel that policy makers are (1) a little late and tentative in their responses to the challenges that have come with the spread of English (2) opting for cosmetic or piece-meal type arrangements in their speaking of 'international' English, such talk for all intents being in (knee-jerk) response to pressing needs, whether they be to attract more students, deal with overseas customers or be understood abroad. This is apart from the fact that, if truth be told, the question of whether one is teaching an *international* English (or otherwise) does not actually feature that prominently in the day-to-day exigencies of teaching practice so described. Given such current realities, ELT in Japan may come across as teaching English for 'cosmetic' purposes, as an outward lip-service to internationalisation, rather than for deeper substantive communication, meaning-making or for promoting closer cultural understanding.

Nevertheless, looking forward as a teacher, I turn to teaching approaches that promote broader transcultural understandings and empathy. Spack (1998) examines the implications of teacher identity and cultural affiliation on classroom discourses and lesson delivery. Coming from my background and married cross-culturally in Japan, I feel the importance of keeping students aware that while English remains pre-eminent as an international language, there are nonetheless other languages used internationally and transculturally (including Mandarin, Spanish or Arabic). I favour materials that speak of plurality and/or hybridity – passages about Vietnamese Amerasians, Japanese war orphans in China, Brazilian Japanese people, descendants of Koreans or Chinese migrants in Japan, Japanese who live in France or work in Africa – in my hope to dialogise monolithic or reductionist conceptualisations of language, identity and subjectivity. Only with variety can one truly teach and represent English with an international and transcultural dimension that keeps

with English being an international resource. This is while also recognising the possibility that beyond English and economic, educational and political transactions in English, there is already an emerging trend towards increased plurilingualism regionally, where such important transactions take place in languages besides English.

Given such impending changes, in barking up only the English tree (even if only for cosmetic purposes) Japan may once again find itself a step behind.

7 Conclusion

I have in this discussion sought to capture the subtleties and realities to be encountered in the professional practice of a teacher of my own subjectivity. In terms of policies, outworkings and practices, Japan appears to have some way to go with teaching English as an international language insofar as the focus on native Englishes, particularly American English, prevails in ELT portals and insofar as English purportedly for internationalisation may rather be found for being an English for cosmetic purposes. Prevailing cultural and rhetorical formations, resultant policy-related indecisions and contradictions as well as conceptualisations of knowledge and professionalism that remain fairly reductionistic and monolithic prove to be strong challenges against more invigorating paradigms and practices related to EIL. This is while calls for a Japanese English have been, in the main, weak, and while English itself continues to be viewed as a threat to local culture among conservative quarters, in part contributing to an under-theorisation of Japanese English as a variety among the rich plurality of Englishes. This situation may persist for a period of time while articulations or pronouncements about English continue to be followed by voices of fear or resistance, in turn to be followed by voices of placation or counter-proposal, before the start of another round of the same.

In the interim, the effects of such uncertainties on the work of teachers will be palpable. For teachers like me, one way forward will be to work dialogically within the relative safety of one's own classroom alongside genuine and open-minded colleagues and learners prepared to learn and let-learn for better international understanding.

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"So What Do You Want Us to Do?": A Critical Reflection of Teaching English as an International Language in an Australian Context

Christine Manara

Abstract The concept of English as an International Language (EIL) has been reviewed and discussed quite rapidly among the scholars. However, there seems to be less discussion on the experience of teaching it. As a novice in teaching EIL, I found myself lost and alone in presenting and discussing this concept with learners who came from normative educational background. I was bombarded with consecutive and sometimes repetitive questions that displayed skepticism about this new concept since most of them are still living in an environment that still upholds the old paradigm of "The" English. "So what do you want us to do?" is the most common question I received at the end of the class. Teaching and learning has unexpectedly become more intricate, culturally and politically sensitive, and fill with many tensions and frictions. This article is a critical reflection of my experience in teaching EIL in an Australian context. It is an effort of ongoing process of understanding the delicateness of teaching EIL. In exploring this issue for this paper, I adopt narrative inquiry as a method in understanding my own teaching practice and experience. It is hoped that this critical reflection can open a wider discussion with other EIL practitioners.

Keywords English as an international language • Narrative inquiry • Contradictions • Tensions • Critical reflection • Australia

The concept of English as an International Language (EIL) has been reviewed and discussed quite rapidly among the scholars. However, there seems to be less discussion on the experience of teaching it. As a novice in teaching EIL, I found myself lost and alone in presenting and discussing this concept with learners who came from normative educational background. I was bombarded with consecutive

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and sometimes repetitive questions that displayed scepticism about EIL since most of them are still living in an environment that still upholds the old paradigm of "The" English. "So what do you want us to do?" is the most common question I received at the end of the class. Teaching and learning has unexpectedly become more intricate, culturally and politically sensitive, and fill with many tensions and frictions. This narrative is a critical reflection of my experience in teaching EIL in an Australian context for 2 years. It is an effort of ongoing process of understanding the delicateness of teaching EIL. In this chapter, I will firstly start with the use of narrative inquiry in this reflection writing and my brief narrative of EIL. The following section will look at the context of my teaching experience and several issues that worth considering in teaching EIL.

1   Understanding Practice Through Narrative Inquiry

Literature on narrative inquiry has displayed various qualities of narrative. The use of narrative possesses positive qualities in human development. One of these qualities is the use of narrative as making meaning process. As Lieblich et al. (1998) states that human is "meaning-generating organism." It is in their nature to elicit and produce meaning in their interaction in the world. One way to do this is through constructing narrative. Fivush (2007) views narrative as a way of making sense and producing meaning from what individuals experience everyday. When individuals tell their experiences to others, they are involved in the act of reinterpreting, re-evaluating and reconstructing their experiences for themselves (in Mattos 2009, p. 31). Webster and Mertova (2007) points out the educational value of narrative inquiry. Narrative is intended "to help us learn – either directly about the subject matter of instruction or, alternatively, about the strengths or shortcomings of the teaching itself" (p. 15). Departing from this perspective, I intend to make meaning of my teaching practice in a particular context and at a particular time through this narrative of teaching and learning.

Narrative is often used in investigating the narrative of identity. In narrating their lives, individuals are constructing and reconstructing something about themselves: what they know, what they think, who they are, who they were, how they have changed, and how they want to be perceived by others. In psychology, as explained by Lieblich et al. (1998), narrative is a media to learn individuals' inner world. It is through narrative where the individuals verbalized their experienced reality. Narrative provides a media to access one's identity and personality (p. 7). Since the teaching of EIL also touches upon the work of identity, the courses encouraged the use of narratives as one of their learning tool. In understanding my teaching practice, I also presented some of the learner's narratives (with their consent) as a way of dialoguing with the various aspects in the teaching and learning process.

Another set of influential works in narrative inquiry that is often cited in research using narrative inquiry are those of Clandinin and Connelly's (e.g. 1986, 1995, 1998, 2000). Using Dewey's concept of experience for their theoretical

framework, Clandinin and Connelly (2000, p. 20) state that "narrative inquiry is a way of understanding experience." This idea implies the process of exploration and transformation through the act of narrating. They argue a case for engaging with and understanding experience by studying it narratively. Clandinin and Connelly see narrative as "both the phenomenon and the method of the social sciences" (p. 18). They further explain that everything in the world is a phenomenon retold through stories, and that a narrative is the phenomenon. Narrative is seen as the method of inquiry because "the inquiry is itself a narrative process" (in Xu and Conelly 2009, p. 222). Using Clandinin and Connelly's framework, I see narrative as a mode of reflecting, negotiating, constructing, revealing, and communicating meaning. Through narrative, individuals will go through an interactive dialogue with themselves and others in which they reflect, examine, decide, and construct their understanding of particular phenomenon to be shared with or revealed to others. The following section will display my brief narrative of EIL as a point of departure in this teaching and learning phenomenon.

2   Believing in EIL

The first time I learned English was in the early 1980s. In Indonesia, English was introduced as a Foreign Language. The way it was taught and learned was still dominated by the traditional beliefs and practices that lead to "fallacies" in ELT (monolingual fallacy, native speaker fallacy, the early start fallacy, the maximum exposure fallacy, and the subtractive fallacy) (Phillipson 1992, p. 185). As I was introduced to the concept of EIL through my Master degree education in Thailand in 2002, I became more aware of the various political and ideological agenda in the teaching and learning of English in the past. I realized that the beliefs and practices in the past were based more on political grounds than on pedagogical ones (Phillipson 1992; Canagarajah 1999). Reading Braine's, Canagarajah's, Holliday's, Kirkpatrick's, Kubota's, Matsuda's, McKay's, Norton's, Pennycook's, and Phillipson's works had given me a new meaning to the way I see myself as a multilingual and intercultural English language user and educator. The readings and the discussions opened my eyes on the concepts of language, culture, and identity as dynamic and dialogic instead of static and monologic. Most importantly, EIL perspective respects and acknowledges my multi-dimensional self.

It is through this learning experience I began a new process of consciously forming (or perhaps re-gaining) my intercultural and multilingual identities. I did not have to force myself to be like the so-called "Native speaker of English" anymore as often implanted in the discourse of ELT in the past. I felt liberated from all of the doctrinisation of the English-speaking West (Holliday 2005) discourse that was imposed on me while learning the language and on my teaching profession. This experience led me to believe in EIL as an alternative paradigm in ELT that promotes linguistics equality and embraces pluralistic view of language. Since then, I have had a great interest in EIL and explore this new-found concept in my teaching practice.

This exploration continued further during my study in Australia when I was offered to teach in an EIL program in a university there. Without any hesitation, I took the offer in the hope to better learn the teaching of EIL in this particular context.

3   Teaching EIL in an "Inner Circle" Context

The context of the teaching and learning activity was a multi-cultural classroom with learners coming from different parts of the world – Cambodia, China, East Timor, Hong Kong, India, Indonesia, Japan, Korea, Malaysia and Thailand. I worked at the English as an International Language Programme and tutored several units to first year students and second year students. The Programme focus on exploring the sociocultural, political, and sociolinguistic aspects of English as an International Language (EIL). The first year unit was more of an introductory course to the concept of EIL where we introduced, challenged, and discussed language and dialect, language variation, identity, worldview, accent debate, Standard English debate and the Native-Speaker of English (NSE) debate. The second year unit touched on the pragmatics of EIL. In this course, we discussed issues in intercultural communication from the perspective of EIL. The participants of these units came from different majors at the university. Some of the participants were students enrolled to the EIL Programme and taking the units as their major. Some others were students taking the units either as their minor or as elective courses. In both of these units I tutored, students were assigned to write journals on their linguistics and inter-cultural experiences as one of the evaluation instruments. In this journal, they were also asked to relate these experiences to what they have learned about EIL. The goal of this journal writing is to explore how they understand the concept. In narrating their stories and mine in this classroom, I drew a lot from their journals and occasionally from their opinion essay writing and my observation notes.

4   EIL as an Alternative Paradigm

During my teaching experience, I witnessed how EIL as an alternative paradigm did work as a consciousness-raising form of knowing for the learners. Learners become more aware and observant of issues related to the unproblematized view of language as neutral and static. When we discuss and problematize the ideology of native-speakerism and monolingualism in the teaching and learning of English, I received various responses which led to an understanding that there were actually latent struggle among the learners in their past English learning experiences:

> When I was first studying English in a part-time English school in Laos, I have come across many teachers who came from various English-speaking countries. Some of them were from American; some were British or even Indian. Since students' lessons were based on text books provided by the school, there were no conflicts or contradictions in their

ways of teaching even thought they might sometimes speak English differently. The most noticeable differences would obviously be the accents. However, there were also differences in vocabularies and grammars as well. For example, a British teacher would use 'chips' instead of 'fries' like an American teacher. Given the differences, I used to question myself, so "which one is the most correct one?" "Should I follow American English? Or British English?" "Which one of them is the Standard English?"

I have finally found out and it becomes clear to me that there is no such thing as the most correct [English] or the so called "Standard English". Either American or British English and all kinds of English spoken in various countries are all acceptable. This is just because they are all varieties of languages. (Ling)

Ling's narrative reflects her past learning experiences that still worked under the monolithic and Anglocentric ideology. She felt the inconsistency of the teaching of the believed "Standard English" introduced to her while learning the language with various English teachers at her school. On the one hand, the need to follow one norm was heavily emphasized. On the other hand, she experienced how English teachers used English differently. Being a learner in an educational institution in a formal class with its system of assessment, Ling tried to immerse herself with the believed Standard English that the school and teachers imposed on her. She privately struggled to make meaning to this inconsistency during her past English learning experience until she learned about EIL. EIL perspective helps her to explain some of her unvoiced wonderments about how English is being introduced as following and allowing certain models (American and British English) and how English speakers use the language in a range of variations.

Through EIL, learners also learned to challenge the traditional paradigm of language, identity and culture. I witnessed how learners were engaged in intercultural dialogue with others and their multi-dimensional selves, how they construct and reconstruct their intercultural-selves. This dialogic nature of understanding one 'self' can be seen from Tony's (pseudonym) narrative below in responding to the question "are you the languages you speak?" that I displayed in one of our tutorial sessions:

It is not always easy for a co-ordinate bilingual to be sure of their own identity. Being born and raised in Australia my whole life, my vernacular is Australian English. My parents are from Malaysia and speak Cantonese to me so I am also fluent in Cantonese. All my relatives live overseas or outer state and I went to schools where there were a small number of students who spoke any languages other than English. For that reason I rarely communicate in Cantonese; predominantly only with my parents. Moreover, I cannot write or read Chinese and my daily activities mostly reflect Australian culture (watching Western television, surfing Western websites, etc.). However, a lot of traditions and customs remain inside our home and I also watch some Hong Kong television so I still cannot be sure of my answer to the question, "Are you the languages that you speak?" (Tony)

Tony learned to make sense the multilayered-ness of identity from his inter-relationships with his multicultural and multilingual backgrounds and his socio-historical narrative. In the excerpt above, Tony problematizes the most common perception of direct link and affiliation of language and identity which suggest that identity as one-dimensional and static. By presenting various linguistic and cultural backgrounds, social groups, contexts, and his relation in each situation, Tony

actually displays the dynamic and multifaceted nature of identity and language. There is a sense of evaluating the question "are you the languages that you speak?" in relation to the multiple realities that he lives in. Here, he realizes that this question is quite simplistic in nature.

From my observation, I witnessed how EIL provides a critical and analytical view of various latent ideological agenda and discursive practice that has often been embedded in the field of language. I also witnessed how learners were able to see the multi-dimensional relations between language and identity. However, I also learned several issues arisen from my teaching experience that I think is worth exploring. I will categorize these issues into three broad topics I would like to present: the teaching context of EIL, the challenges of teaching EIL in context, and tensions and conflicts in the classroom.

5   Issues in Teaching EIL

5.1   EIL in Context

Before I was given a chance to teach EIL in Australia (an inner-circle country context), I have had the chance to teach EIL in a multilingual and multicultural context (i.e. Indonesia). Having taught in two different contexts, I received different reactions and responses from the learners. In Indonesia, I was introducing EIL as an alternative paradigm in a context where English has no official status. There is less immediacy or urgency of using English intra-nationally since most people in Indonesia can function in their daily lives in their mother tongue and the national language (*Bahasa Indonesia*). English, in this case in the English Language Teaching (ELT) Department where I used to work, is being used in the academic setting (as the medium of instruction) with Indonesian teachers and learners, and sometimes with international teachers. They are learning EIL as an alternative paradigm in their own backyard. This creates a safe environment, a space for the learners to process the concept of EIL and to contemplate on their work of identity as a multilingual speaker of English.

Another factor that I think made a difference in the way I approach and view EIL in the context is the type of learner and institution where I taught. In Indonesia, I was teaching in a pre-service teacher education program. I was preparing teacher-candidates to become teachers of English. My approach at that time was putting ELT under the framework and spirit of EIL, promoting a pluralistic view of teaching the language. Most of the time, we made the effort to implement EIL into teaching practice: how they can best integrate EIL spirit in their teaching practice in Indonesian contexts. One example is how teacher-candidates are challenged to create English-language learning materials that treat Indonesian students' linguistic and cultural background as a resource rather than an interference and that acknowledge their inter-linguistic and inter-cultural experiences as multilingual speakers (cf. Zacharias 2013).

When I taught about EIL in Australia (a setting where English is often the monolingual discursive practice), I realized how English play different roles or has different functions in the learner's life. As mentioned in the beginning of the chapter the classroom was a multi-cultural one with learners coming from different parts of the world, mostly Asians students (Cambodia, China, East Timor, Hong Kong, Indonesia, Japan, Korea, Malaysia, and Thailand) and few Australian students. It was a challenge for me to teach in a different teaching setting and multicultural learners who are studying, working, and living in an inner-circle country. English for most learners in this context is, indeed, used in their daily lives (academic setting, work setting, social setting and other settings). They use English to be able to function in various communities. Their English use has often been perceived from a monolingual English speaker perspective. Therefore, their identity work in this setting is more intense and urgent in their daily interaction with speakers of the mainstream monolingual as well as with multilingual backgrounds. Some learners explained how they were (in)directly forced to sound like the Australian to avoid any differentiation treatment in their immediate setting (especially academic and work settings). They saw themselves as behaving "incorrectly" and therefore, they need to change the way they behave linguistically and culturally. I will use Ainee's (a pseudonym) narrative as an example of this condition:

> I think it depends. I change my accent when I'm at work because sometimes there's a kind of discrimination when I don't sound like them. So, I changed my accent to fit-in at my work place. But, of course, I speak differently at home. I would use Cantonese with my parents.

Ainee has a Malaysian Chinese background. Her parents migrated to Australia when she was very young. She is currently pursuing a degree in Economics in the university while working as a part-time employee in an Australian company. Ainee's narrative above shows the complexity and dynamicity of identity work in a particular monolingual and monocultural setting. In the excerpt, Ainee shared her opinion about switching the way she sounded as a survival strategy. Being a new comer in her working community, she feels the urgent need to be accepted in the community. Since the community use only one speech norm, Ainee's speech norm seems less significant and unacceptable in this social and power-relational dimension. In order to feel accepted and function well in her working place, Ainee decided to suppress her English accent which reflect her Malaysian Chinese identity and adopted the workplace speech norm (Australian English). In this case, she chose to perform a certain act of identity (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985) by suppressing or silencing her speech norm and performing the desired speech norm of this particular speech community.

Reading their narratives, I began to understand that the tension rises from their urgent needs to enter and adapt to a particular speech community (academic, professional, social community, etc.) in context with uneven power relation. As multicultural English users, the learners' use of English in their immediate setting has often been challenged for being different in the mainstream monolingual English community. Their multi-dimensional identity is often confined

into a one-dimensional identity (often under such labels like Non-Native English Speakers, international students, immigrants, and sometimes a more derogatory term like 'FOB' or Fresh Off the Boat). Therefore, tensions rise from learners' interactions within this type of setting that stereotypes or limits their identity work and projection. Drawing from this experience, I learned that the teaching of EIL cannot be separated from the context of the teaching with contextualized teaching goals and approach. I imagined, for future practice, that the teaching of EIL in this context would be more meaningful when focusing on how learners make meaning of their "sense of self within and across a range of sites at different points in time" (Weedon 1997 in Norton 2010, p. 350) – a focus on their identity work.

5.2   Challenges in Breaking the Tradition: Working with Contradictions

Another important issue that I learned from this teaching experience is the contradictions that EIL created in the classroom. EIL as an alternative paradigm challenge the traditional and unproblematized view of language as neutral. While teaching this concept of EIL, I found myself creating a myriad of contradictions in the classrooms. While we were discussing diversity and talked about how they are being misunderstood for being different, a counter-narrative of differentiating others arise. The same thing happened when we discussed particularity, generalization also come up to surface of discussion. The following excerpt is an example of generalization that the learners made during their presentation:

> Today our presentation emphasizes on how different cultural norms and values surrounding requesting and apologizing of native speakers and non-native speakers, we especially focus on Asian countries and Western countries. ... Non-native speakers attach importance to respect representation and indirect expression. Non-native speakers, especially from Asian countries, all have the same perception on apology. Social status is a very important thing you need to consider before apologizing. If recipient has a higher status than you or not very closed to you, then you have to put yourself into a lower position. This is regarded as an effective way to show your respect and your honesty. Explanation or excuses are unacceptable. Their apology is only focusing on the way you admit the mistake but not the reason (group 6, presentation notes)

This group was explaining the speech act of requesting and apologizing by Chinese speakers and Australian speakers. Yet, in their discussion, the group over-generalized the Chinese requesting and apologizing norms as applied to all Asian countries. They also immediately categorize Australian norms as applied to all Western countries, creating a differentiation of East and West.

As I brought the discussion on appreciating diversity, their effort of understanding and embracing diversity sometimes were taken to the extreme point of self-depreciation. This is quite marked when learners were reflecting on their experience of unsuccessful intercultural communication. Most learners tend to blame themselves for the miscommunication that happens as resulted from, to

borrow their term, their "weak linguistic competence" and what they believed to be their unfamiliarity with the interlocutor's cultural background. This act of blaming themselves seems to have originated from their effort to embrace intercultural awareness and understanding to the extent that it blind-sighted the learners toward acts of marginalization against them. Their learning to be understanding towards diversity seems to have been taken to such an extreme point that the learners became too apologetic for a misunderstanding or miscommunication event that they experienced. Bing's narrative, for example, tells about his understanding of intercultural communication problems. Bing is writing his comments on a scene in the movie "Bend it like Beckham" and interestingly concludes that the intercultural communication problem is caused by cultural difference (in this case, racial difference):

> In the movie of 'Bend it like Beckham' cultural differences make some communication problems. One of communication problem examples is disagreement in terms of racism issue. Joe, coach of the team, yelled at Jess to not to argue with her opponent member that caused her to be dismissed from the game. Actually, that player tugged her shirt and calling her "Paki." . . . is a derogatory remark for anyone of South Asian appearance, even if they're, say, Indian. . . . When a person disagrees with another's opinion, it is better to save their face first. It would have been much better if Joe said, "It was not your fault but you should have played professionally" before scolding Jess. This could have saved Jess' face . . .
>
>   It opened my eyes to how so many people are being mistreated and discriminated against based on their ethnic or cultural background. The issue of racism should not exist in the relationship among human beings. I had also experienced that young Australians shouted at me "go back to your country," throwing some drinking bottles on the street. However, we often misunderstand each other mostly because of communication problems in English. (Bing)

It is interesting to see how Bing views race as one factor that causes intercultural communication problems although the following sentences in his narrative do not really help to explain his claim. Not until the second paragraph does Bing tell about his unpleasant experience which helps to explain his earlier statement. It seems that the scene brings a certain effect and memory to Bing when he was being mistreated and discriminated against. Drawing from his accounts, I think Bing is trying to say that unfamiliarity with the interlocutor's cultural background and prejudice may damage or hinder any intercultural communication activity. At the end of the second paragraph, Bing immediately shifts the reader's attention to insufficient linguistic competence as the most common factor that causes communication problems in English. His instant shift of topic may indicate his uncomfortable affective feeling of talking about this issue. Indeed, discrimination is still an issue in Australia (c.f. Pollard, in this volume).

   Reading the learners' narrative made me think how the teaching of EIL concept is very socially and politically sensitive to the learners' linguistic and cultural backgrounds and their complex relation with a wide range of sites in this context. I also felt that my teaching practice of introducing EIL was done in a utopian way that created the contradictions in the classroom and the bipolar way of viewing the concept. I learned that there needs to be a carefully planned and approach to the

teaching of language and culture – one that is able to anticipate the contradictions that resulted from discussing diversity and particularity.

5.3   Tensions and Conflicts in the Classroom

During the teaching of EIL in this context, I also encountered tensions and conflicts in the classroom. The first tension is between the monologic and dialogic way of knowing. In this context, the unit is organized as comprised of two sessions – the first session is "lecturing" (a 1-hour-meeting) and the second one is "tutorial" (a 2-hour-meeting). The two sessions are sometimes scheduled separately instead of consecutively. In the first session, all the theories are laid out to the learners and the second session is expected to focus on teaching and learning activities in the classroom (e.g. discussions, role plays, presentations, or other learning tasks). Therefore, telling or lecturing mode of learning is avoided in the tutorial session. However, tutor sometimes are expected to be the transmitter of knowledge. The learners, especially those coming from different education system and learning history or experience from this context, sometimes wanted to be lectured and sought for the ultimate and fixed answers (a monologic way of knowing) instead of self-exploration of meaning-making (a dialogic way of knowing). One example was when the session was about the Standard English and English varieties. As I was explaining how the so called Standard English has often been constructed by particular institutions with its political and ideological purposes, I could sense a form of resistance from some of the learners. I was bombarded with such remarks like, "So what do you want us to do? Learn all Englishes?", "Write in our own English which is not the Standard?", "I can't write in my own English, the uni[versity] says I have to use their English. So what do you want us to do?" – hoping that I could provide a fixed answer for these situational questions. When I encourage them to think of how the discussion on Standard English and varieties of English could help them better understand and function in their daily interactions in English, some learners got the impression that I did not know the answers to the questions above. They are, to some extent, right – I did not know how to answer them but I believed that learning is also about personalizing what had just been learned into one's own context and situation. I believed in learners as the authority of knowledge of their own living situations and academic, social, personal, and professional context. Hence, they are also a co-constructor of knowledge in the classroom. However, my approach of leaving the discussion opens for contemplation seems to be less welcomed by some learners. Indeed, introducing critical and analytical thinking towards the unproblematized view of discursive practice in their immediate setting brings complexities into their life: from one version of reality (one English, one norm) to multiple co-existing and sometimes conflicting versions of reality. Sometimes I could sense their tone of frustration in processing this complexity through such remark like "So what do you want us to do?"

The second tension that I found in the classroom was the tutor's and learners' beliefs, values, and point of views vs. the schooling system/administration. I view learning as an ongoing meaning-making process. It takes time for learners to make sense of what they have just learned, considering the idea of EIL challenges the long tradition of monolithic and normative view of English. I felt that the evaluation system of the institution sometimes drive learners to be result-oriented in their learning. Their process of understanding is often interrupted by scheduled evaluations that they had to meet. I sometimes found learners' work sounded like a cliché in nature, immediately complying with what has been challenged by EIL, just to satisfy the assessor. They rarely provide counter-argument towards the complexities that EIL brought to their lives. The evaluation system does not provide a space for their struggle in making-meaning of these complexities. I think when they asked about "so what do you want us to do?" may also express their frustration of the limited space provided for the learners struggle and identity work in relation to EIL. I, as the tutor, was also expected to administer assessment to the so called "learners' performance". Until this moment of speaking, I still wonder, "how do I evaluate struggle? How should I evaluate learners' process of digesting the concept of EIL that may be full of contradictions, tensions, and frictions?"

I think the most obvious tension that I felt in the classroom is EIL paradigm and learners' social reality. In their lives, they experienced the practice of differentiation in their immediate setting (academic, work, social setting, and other settings). Their multi-dimensional identities are always being challenged in these settings that often try to constrain their identities. The uneven power and political dimension of these settings, the ghost of Native & Non-nativeness that they carried from their past education, and the learner's need to be accepted in those settings result in hidden/latent struggle to understand this practice of differentiation and learners' projection and reconstruction of identities as the minority. Nana, who is a Malaysian and a proficient English user, shared her frustration and struggle for being accepted in a different educational setting that stereotypes her way of learning in the classroom as a deficit:

> When I'm in a class, I often think that the lecturers here misinterpret my being silent. To me, it is a form of respect that I listen and pay attention to what they and the others are talking about. But, here, they would think that I'm dumb or stupid; like I can't speak English very well. (Nana)

Nana's experience reflects a quite common phenomenon that is experienced by, what literature often label as, 'international students' who often suffered from stereotypical act in the English-speaking-Western academic setting as 'passive' students (Marlina 2009). Nana felt that her identity as a multilingual and multicompetence English user and a university student was ignored and carelessly valued as a passive and even worst 'dumb or stupid' learner by the discursive practice of this particular community. Her academic setting allows little tolerance to her learning history and culture in her personal dispositions. This experience seems to leave a very emotional impact to her personal and professional identities that she chose to reveal this experience in her journal.

Another example of tension is provided by Min's account of learning and the challenge of using her English which was considered as inappropriate by her academic setting in Australia:

> I still remember when I had my first language class in my high school's language centre [in Australia], my teacher corrected my pronunciation, just because I pronounced "I can't" in American way. My teacher told me that here is Australia and that is why I have to say the word "can't" in/a:/sound.

In this narrative, Min felt the tension between her believed acquired-norm of English (American English) with another new norm (Australian English) in her new environment in Australia. Min's understanding of 'the' English (in this case, American English) was challenged by another experience in a different speech community that she entered. Min's narrative reflects the assimilationist discursive practice that exists in her immediate environment. Hence, Min has to adopt and immerse herself into the dominant cultural community, in this case: Min's school in Australia, in order to survive in these contexts. During this process, Min was consciously or subconsciously driven to suppress her linguistic and cultural identities.

5.4 An Inconclusive Present

The last section of this chapter closes rather unconventionally. Instead of closing this chapter with final conclusive thoughts, I would like to use Bakhtin's (1981) "inconclusive present" as the sub-title to this section. Bakhtin views meaning, hence learning, as dialogical in nature (dynamic, ongoing, and "unfinalized"). Shields (2007), contextualizing Bakthin's view of learning from the perspective of an educator, describes learning requires "knowledge that we are incomplete, always able to learn, to change, and to grow. It requires us, educators – indeed as human beings – to be willing to change our minds to learn from others, to admit that we do not have all the truths, all the information, all the answers" (p. 31). At this point of present time, I have to admit that I have not all the answers to several issues that I encountered during my EIL teaching experience. For this last section, I would like to present my struggle with these issues in the hope that the discussion and dialogues on these issues would continue and go on beyond this piece of text with its readers.

Looking back, I, myself as a tutor, was often taken aback by the responses that I received in the classroom, especially in relation to the practice of marginalization that the learners experienced. I sometimes avoided this kind of discussion. I did realize that this avoidance is a form of silencing learners' struggle. Yet, I was not ready to respond to such sensitive topic in the classroom. The reason for avoiding this discussion was to stay away from creating any discomfort feelings and conflicts among the students in the classroom and my unreadiness of handling these tensions in the classroom. Up to this moment of speaking, several questions still wonder in my mind: How would I create a judicious critical and analytical discussion with the learners on the practice of *otherization* without creating a contradictive environment

in the classroom (marginalizing others nor self-victimizing themselves)? How could I create a 'safe' environment in the classroom for them to discuss the act of otherization that they experienced and what they learned from this experience? How should I bring the discussion to the 'what next' phase thoughtfully/cautiously after raising their awareness of the practice of otherization? What should I say to them at the end of the class session (especially when they asked "so what do you want us to do? How should we respond to the practice of otherization?")?

Through this experience, I learned that it is not enough to merely bringing the issue of marginalization to their attention and raising their awareness about this issue. The 'what next', in my opinion, has a significant importance to the learner's process of making meaning. However, this area of 'what next' has rarely been discussed in the literature of teaching EIL. In my mind, conducting 'action research' in exploring the teaching of critical and analytical thinking on the practice of otherization, ways to create a safe space for learners to talk and learn about their struggles, and the 'what next' phase would help me in understanding ways to judicious teaching practice on this matter. Action research, I believe, could provide a rich description and contextualized exploration (Burns 2010) on the teaching practice of EIL that can also narrow the gap between theory and practice (cf. Zacharias, in this volume). This is something that I would like to explore in the near future.

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The Realities of Real English: Voices from the Exposed

Andrew Pollard

Abstract English is a tool that facilitates global communication, and yet, there are a number of issues that exist which hold the potential to curtail the appreciation of English as an International Language (EIL). One such issue holds its foundation in the remnants of linguistic imperialism. Within the notion of linguistic imperialism, the inner circle 'prestige' varieties are said to be superior to their outer and expanding circle counterparts. However, in the present day of EIL communication, are these perceptions still in play? This paper looks at the perceptions of the Australia-based Korean learner of English (KLE) when considering a selection of English varieties – American English, Australian English, British English, Korean English and Singaporean English. An analysis of the findings of this qualitative study suggests that the notion of 'native speaker idolisation' is still alive in the mind of the KLE in conjunction with disdain toward an outer circle variety of English. Follow-up interviews with several of the participants probe how English has impacted upon their lives with special attention paid to relationships built through English, discrimination and intelligibility issues. Through further analysis of the findings one can suggest methods that the ELT community may attempt to harness in order to positively impact upon the perceptions that learners of English hold toward various English varieties in addition to making the learners more self-aware of possible hurdles that may need to be overcome on personal levels. The ultimate goal of which, will be to contribute to the appreciation of EIL.

Keywords World Englishes • AMEP • Immigration • Cultural awareness • Multiculturalism • Intelligibility • Language attitudes

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1 Introducing the Realities

English is used daily for business, tourism, diplomacy, and in general terms, life itself. People from all walks of life are English users irrespective of their origins. Looking at Kachru's circles,[1] English may be used in or across all three of them with little consequence. Whether the English user is of the inner, outer or expanding circle, or whether the user is an immigrant straddling the circles is irrelevant. This latter use is part of what is known as English as an International Language (EIL) and in this international age of globalisation, there is little doubt that English *is* the international language (Crystal 1997; Jenkins 2000; Kachru 1985; Meierkord and Knapp 2002; Shirazizadeh and Momenian 2009).

This chapter will look at EIL interactions within Australia as experienced by the Korean L2 user of English (KLE). The notions of exposure and familiarity will be explored in relation to intelligibility issues. However, most importantly, issues pertaining to discrimination will be a focus of the chapter.

Discrimination will be a focus due to the real danger that a divide can often surface within a community (Christopher 2004; Ha 2008; Heller 2006; Lippi-Green 1997; Vigouroux 2005). It can become even more evident in a multicultural society such as Australia where cases of discrimination, for whatever reason, are a constant threat. The communities themselves must interact with one another and EIL is a tool that facilitates this; whether this is L2 user to L2 user, or L2 user to L1 user. Just how English is developing and how it affects the lives of its speakers is a genuine issue in need of perpetual monitoring (Kirkpatrick 2007). For while EIL in all its glory is a tool with the ability to build communicative bridges, linguistic discrimination, with all its shame, is fully capable of burning those bridges beyond repair.

2 How Realities of English Form

Roughly 40 years have passed since Samarin (in Conrad and Fishman 1977, p. 6) made the observation that "English [. . .] already meets many of the requirements of a true world lingua franca". Samarin's observation suggests that English has been a language of global proportions for a number of years and its global nature has only further grown in the meantime. The period since this declaration appears to have led to English taking the status of world lingua franca, where it is used daily in many exchanges that do not seemingly involve any L1 speakers of English (Crystal 1997; Meierkord and Knapp 2002; Shirazizadeh and Momenian 2009).

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[1] 'Kachru's circles' refers to the linguistic division of the world into three concentric circles depending on the role of English in the community. I.E. 'inner circle' (Australia, UK, US, etc.), 'outer circle' (India, Philippines, Singapore, etc.), and 'expanding circle' (China, Japan, Korea, etc.).

Where EIL communication is concerned, one must also consider the notion of Standard English (SE). As Lippi-Green (1997, p. 53) notes, SE can be considered much the same as a "unicorn", which is to say that a unicorn is as mythical as SE. Lippi-Green elaborates on her metaphor by suggesting that while many people may be able to draw a unicorn, it is unlikely that they will have ever seen a unicorn. The same could be held true for those that claim to be able to pinpoint exactly what SE is.

Evidence from the Literature however, does attempt to paint a picture of SE in a more concrete light. A basic understanding of SE delivers the message that it is an English variety with no regional markings (Strevens 1977). This message can be easily misinterpreted and therefore, a deeper understanding attempts to make the point that SE is, in fact, any variety of English as used by the educated English-speaking public, regardless of pronunciation or accentual markings (Dauer 2005; Lippi-Green 1997; Strevens 1977; Trudgill 1999). In other words, SE should allow for regional diversity as in world Englishes, provided that the model of English in use adheres to preconceived norms.

It is true that areas of the Literature argue that SE is essentially a written variety of language that stands independent from models of pronunciation (Dauer 2005; Strevens 1977; Trudgill 1999). While the notion that SE is a written variety increases the validity of its intelligibility across the English-speaking realms, it does not appear to sit comfortably with the public understanding of SE in its unicorn form. Strevens (1977) asserts that even though educated English usage may fit the norm of SE, there is no definitive answer as to what SE 'sounds' like.

Public imagination of the English user and the notion of 'native' speaker idolisation is where the lines of SE become blurred (Kachru and Nelson 2001). The basic premise of 'native' speaker idolisation is that those inner circle users of English are the epitome of the language. The extreme view of 'native' speaker idolisation can be narrowed even further from the inner circle users of English to solely focus on the models of Received Pronunciation (RP) and General American English (GAE); whereby any deviation from the norms of RP and GAE are deemed 'inadequate' or 'incorrect' (Jenkins 2005, 2006; Lippi-Green 1997).

The extrinsic power that both RP and GAE hold over the L2 user of English is a heavy burden in the eyes of academics promoting EIL communication. According to Jenkins (2000), it is an improbability for adult language learners to be able to attain a 'native-like' accent. Jenkins' assertion leads us to the reality of English where countless variations exist under the umbrella of world Englishes and that these variations are the norm (Dauer 2005; Deterding and Kirkpatrick 2006; Elliot and Jenkins 2010; Fauzia Sari and Yusuf 2009; Jenkins 2006; Kirkpatrick 2007; Seidlhofer 2002). However, while variation may be the norm, it is the norm not to say that the KLE is welcoming of the fact.

Many L2 users of English also hold the view that deviations from the accepted norms of RP and GAE are 'incorrect'. As such, they strive for the accentual 'perfection' that may have been instilled into them during their earlier English education (Birdsong 2006; Kirkpatrick 2007). Research from Fauzia Sari and Yusuf (2009), and Jenkins (2005), appears to support this view.

Jenkins' (2005) study reports that while the participants claimed to support intelligible pronunciation akin to the notion of EIL, they also believe that deviations from the norms of RP or GAE are 'incorrect'. One particular comment from a participant states: "I should support EIL views as a teacher, but as a person maybe I'm aiming at native-like" (Jenkins 2005, p. 540). The later Fauzia Sari and Yusuf (2009) study is modelled after the Jenkins study with their participants agreeing overall with the participants of the earlier Jenkins study. The participants suggest that while they are not negatively affected through being identified as an L2 user of English due to their pronunciation, they concur that the "target of learning and teaching English should be with native-like pronunciation" (Fauzia Sari and Yusuf 2009, p. 125).

Irrespective of whether the end-goal of the KLE is 'native-like' or not, the issue of intelligibility across English varieties is in need of address. Jenkins (2000) suggests that to facilitate EIL communication, the responsibility is transferring from the speaker to produce an utterance 'correctly' onto the listener to receive an utterance effectively. This is not to say that any pronunciation is acceptable; an English user must still produce utterances that fall within the accepted norms for their respective English variety (Deterding and Kirkpatrick 2006; Hung 2003; Jenkins 2000).

Increasing the responsibility of the listener brings notions of familiarity and exposure into the equation. One suggestion is that for users of English to be able to communicate effectively they must be exposed to various English varieties in order to increase their familiarity with them (Abbott 1986; Crystal 1997; Deterding and Kirkpatrick 2006; Jenkins 2000; Kubota and Ward 2000; Smith and Bisazza 1982).

It is fair to mention that familiarity with multiple English varieties should not be the sole responsibility of the L2 user of English, particularly in the EIL communicative context. Galloway (2008), and Shirazizadeh and Momenian (2009) allude to the intrinsic understanding and complete control the L1 user of English has. Having complete control over their language should enable the L1 user of English to make inroads into the paradigm of intelligibility within EIL communication.

As is evident, the responsibility for successful communication rests with all involved in the communicative act, and while exposure to all varieties of English is not a realistic possibility, many communicative hurdles can be cleared with the simple notion of familiarity (Crystal 1997). For while the variations between Englishes can pose intelligibility issues, it is Strevens (1977) that notes, differences aside, English is essentially one language that is largely intelligible between its speakers.

3 Methodology

3.1 Objectives of the Research

English as an entity is accepted as being a language with countless variations (Dauer 2005; Deterding and Kirkpatrick 2006; Elliot and Jenkins 2010; Fauzia Sari and Yusuf 2009; Jenkins 2006; Kirkpatrick 2007; Seidlhofer 2002). Irrespective of the

variety of English in use, it is said that English is largely intelligible between its speakers (Strevens 1977). Even though intelligibility is a key ingredient to successful communication, particularly within the EIL communicative context, other factors are also at play.

This research will attempt to shed light on several factors that can have an impact upon EIL communication. The areas to be assessed revolve around the L2 user of English when in EIL situations. An objective of this research is to determine which EIL contexts the Korean L2 user of English is being exposed to. Further to this, an additional objective of focus is to determine to what extent, if any, Korean L2 users of English are being discriminated against in EIL contexts due to their command of the English language.

3.2 Significance of the Research

During this age of globalisation it is accepted that English is the global language (Crystal 1997; Meierkord and Knapp 2002; Shirazizadeh and Momenian 2009). Further to English being the global tool of communication is the reality that is EIL. However, how far does the reality of EIL stretch?

Academics associated with EIL seem to view it in a positive light, and yet, users of EIL often appear to hold the view that the 'native' speaker is 'superior' on the linguistic level (Birdsong 2006; Fauzia Sari and Yusuf 2009; Jenkins 2005; Kirkpatrick 2007). This research attempts to probe this area deeper, while simultaneously probing sociolinguistic aspects that relate to the experiences of the EIL user of L2 English origins.

It is through research such as this that a deeper appreciation of EIL, its positive nature and role in global communication, and its shortcomings can be observed in greater detail. The sociolinguistic shortcomings of EIL are an area that are in need of further observation and analysis, and this research attempts to document the experiences of the EIL user with this in mind.

3.3 Instrument

This research is built upon a qualitative framework that utilises semi-structured interviews focusing on the judgements and perceptions of the participants in relation to a number of English varieties, as well as more in-depth interviews focusing on the role of English in the lives of the participants.

The English varieties that are firstly subjected to testing number ten in all, with five differing origins – Australia, Korea, Singapore, United Kingdom and United States – as this combination provides an opportunity to cover Kachru's (1985) circles while maintaining geographic and linguistic relevance to the study. Each audio sample is between 25 and 40 s in length and comprise of unscripted, natural speech targeted at the proficiency level of the participants.

As noted, a further in-depth follow-up interview is conducted with several participants revolving around the central theme of English and its impact upon their lives.

3.4 Participants

Participants of this research consist of a judgement sample that numbers 24 in the first instance, with the primary pre-requisite for inclusion being Korean nationality. Secondary considerations are age – 20 to 30 years – and English proficiency. The participants' level of English proficiency for inclusion in this study must equal the equivalent of an IELTS band 5.5 or above.

From the original 24 participants, in-depth follow-up interviews are conducted with three participants. The participants of the follow-up interviews are a purposive sample selected due to their personal circumstances; participant *H* being a Korean female married to a fellow Korean working within the Western Australian Health Department, participant *N* being a Korean female married to an Australian currently living in Korea, and participant *G* being a single Korean male living in Korea with the intention of returning to Australia in the future. This variety of personal circumstances offers several varying points of view that may offer insights into the impact of English and its role in each participant's respective life.

3.5 Procedure of Research

The procedure of the first phase of the research comprises of the participants listening to the ten audio samples via noise-cancelling headphones with all audio samples only being played once as it is deemed that further exposure to any given sample may impact upon judgements.

Upon completion of listening to all audio samples participants take part in a semi-structured interview that probes their perceptions and judgements of the tested English varieties. Interviews typically have durations of between 5 and 10 min.

The three follow-up interviews have durations of approximately 45-min each and are digitally recorded as well as transcribed verbatim following preconceived transcription conventions. All follow-up interviews were conducted individually between the interviewer and the participant.

3.6 Methods of Analysis

As the interviews produce qualitative data, all material is transcribed and then partitioned into trends. These trends are analysed in greater depth to ascertain if further areas of interest arise.

4   The Voices from the Exposed

Through the course of the interviews conducted in this research several key trends came to light. Trends highlighted in the interviews largely revolve around areas relating to SE, 'native' speaker idolisation (Kachru and Nelson 2001), EIL communication, and issues pertaining to discrimination. Each of these respective areas will be analysed in greater detail in an attempt to meet the objectives of this research, which are two-fold: (a) to determine which EIL contexts the Korean L2 user of English is being exposed to, and (b) to determine to what extent, if any, Korean L2 users of English are being discriminated against in EIL contexts due to their command of the English language.

Notions of SE and 'native' speaker idolisation (Kachru and Nelson 2001) are prevalent throughout the interviews. A great number of participants allude to what has been instilled into them throughout their English education; the idea that 'correct' and 'incorrect' exist in terms of English pronunciation and that any deviation from the 'standards' of RP or GAE are deemed as 'incorrect' (Jenkins 2005, 2006; Lippi-Green 1997). The perceptions of the participants in regard to SE and world Englishes can be seen in the following instances and interchanges:

[Excerpt 01]
A01: i dont wanna say specifically / american is the standard / but the / between american and / british

[Excerpt 02]
B02: hes come from western guys / it might be uk / that is why i think / speaker seven is the best

[Excerpt 03]
A01: hes sounds like (+) // speak chinese orrrr indian [. . .] didnt sound like hes speaking english

[Excerpt 04]
C01: if i learn english from asian people i dont feel like / its (+) is it real / is it real english

[Excerpt 05]
N: i think perfect english is like native speaker
I: which native speaker
N: any native speaker / like british english or american
I: singaporeans can also be native speakers
N: i dont prefer that

This 'native' speaker idolisation and acceptance of there being a form of 'proper', 'real' or 'perfect' English appears to be a common belief among many L2 users of English, and in the context of this particular study, the KLE. This is to say that the participants of this study hold an aural image of SE and how it relates to

their own English production. If we are to consider the participants of the Jenkins (2005, p. 540), and Fauzia Sari and Yusuf (2009, p. 125) studies, then we have an interesting situation where both comment on the "native-like" production of English.

Perhaps a difference of note may be that while Jenkins', and Fauzia Sari and Yusuf's participants are professional educators plying their trade with English, the participants of this study are furthering their acquisition of English to enhance their livelihoods, i.e. for immigration and marriage. Evidence of this can be seen through participants of this study's follow-up interview sharing their experiences of building relationships through English:

[Excerpt 06]

N: i met a lot of people in australia / i met indians / and / refugees from africa and vietnam / so / because i met a lot of people from all over the world / i can / i can kind of understand their cultures / so i feel like i know the world // i used to do- / i used to / i used to be like // very / dumb person / what worlds like / but / since i can speak english / i can // communicate with people / who / from different countries / so / its / really beneficial / to me /// and also / because my husbands / from australia

[Excerpt 07]

H: even our ugly english level / yeah / i could build up my friendship / because / we can use / we could use // body language or somethings / so yeah // hopefully / until now i still keep in t- with some of them

[Excerpt 08]

G: if i can not speak english i couldnt met / (+) / other countrys people // but after i / trying to / learn english / i met lots of international friends
I: okay // and / wh- which other countries / are your international friends from
G: (+) /// tanzania and kenya // and u s // andddd /// china ((laugh))

These excerpts show how participants of this study are aware that through English they have the ability to build meaningful relationships in their lives. However, they do not paint the full picture of how relationships are able to be garnered through their use of English, and with the exception of *N* having an Australian husband, much of the meaningful relationships being built are with fellow L2 users of English. In other words, the participants have used EIL in both a successful and meaningful manner to primarily develop relationships through English with other L2 users of English, but also to expand their knowledge of the world through these relationships.

Through noticing that the participants of this study have fond recollections of building relationships through English with fellow L2 English users, a closer look at the EIL communicative context also needs to be explored. Reasons for this fall in-line with the notions of exposure and familiarity (Abbott 1986; Crystal 1997; Deterding and Kirkpatrick 2006; Jenkins 2000; Kubota and Ward 2000; Smith and Bisazza 1982).

Purely semantic instances of the impact that familiarity has on communicative success came to light in the following:

[Excerpt 09]
D05: 익숙하진 않은 / 그런 딱닥한 발음들 있잖아 영국의 /
　　　(im not familiar / with such accents as british like that /)
이쪽 호주사람 들도 그렇구 좀 그런 느낌의 / 더군다나 아는 단어도
(or if i hear australian people speak / plus even the words i know)
이렇게 많이 못알아 들을것 같은데
(when they sound like this i dont really understand)

[Excerpt 10]
D06: i usually to listen to the to that pronunciation / in korea / so i think / it is very easy

[Excerpt 11]
A03: 첨 들어보는 억양의 / 영어를 쓰는 사람이여서
　　　(its the first time hearing / this kind of accent)

[Excerpt 12]
N: their pronunciation is so different / i wasnt used to it // something new / very new

However, it should be considered that exposure and familiarity may not solely refer to a particular pronunciation model; it may also refer to the rate of speech and a lack of familiarity with it:

[Excerpt 13]
N: they spoke english faster than i / imagined [. . .] i thought they speak / i thought they speak like // tape / you know / i practiced english through the tape / i listened to the tapes a lot / and the tape was actually slower than normal people / speaks / i didn't know that before
I: do you think thats a common problem
N: i think its a common problem because / people are used to // like / tape / or cd or mp3 play- mp3 files / theyre all slower than native speakers /// i think its the biggest problem / especially in listening

[Excerpt 14]
H: most of aussie / (+) my working staff / and colleagues / speak so fast so // its just so hard / someti- maybe i can say that i cant understand / fifty percent // and the rest of the fifty percent / i just copy / their behaviours and things /// just pretending

As can be seen, these instances from the participants noted above are referring to the raw nature of language where limited or zero negotiation of meaning is present.

However, communication is not a one-way street and negotiation of meaning is a fundamental aspect of successful communication, particularly within the EIL communicative paradigm (Deterding and Kirkpatrick 2006; Elliot and Jenkins 2010; Jenkins 2000).

A poignant example of the reality of negotiation within EIL communication surfaced during the in-depth interview phase:

[Excerpt 15]

G: (+) at first / i couldnt understand / mostly / because it was very different from // (+) // the usual / english things i have hea- i have heard // so / but you know / it was not the recorded things / it was the person to person so // there was not much problems but / yeah we can communicate / we could we could communicate

-which as Elliot and Jenkins (2010) make particular reference to, EIL communication does rely on the involvement of all communicative participants on both receptive and productive levels for communication to be successful; the essence of negotiation of meaning.

It is Jenkins (2000) who asserts that the onus for communicative success is switching from speaker onto listener, which is to say that, negotiation aside, the notions of exposure and familiarity still hold prominent roles (Abbott 1986; Crystal 1997; Deterding and Kirkpatrick 2006; Jenkins 2000; Kubota and Ward 2000; Smith and Bisazza 1982). As noted, for an English user's pronunciation to be deemed as acceptable, it must fall within the accepted norms of their respected variety (Deterding and Kirkpatrick 2006; Hung 2003; Jenkins 2000). However, when pronunciation norms combine with the switch in responsibility and the notions of exposure and familiarity, one can assert that the L1 user of English is not exempt of responsibility.

Several instances of the participants recalling when L1 users of English – particularly Australians due to the context of this study – fell short on comprehending the participants' utterances outline the possibility that a lack of familiarity was to blame:

[Excerpt 16]

H: some them / aussie people / have never exp- / have never opportunity to have conversation with / like me // in that case // even i speak slowly / and quite clearly / they cant understand / even simple sentences

[Excerpt 17]

N: he doesnt understand me / very much // i think hes pretending / but // sometimes he didnt understand what im saying at all [. . .] because / my accent / and my structure // its not right gram- grammatically

It is worth making reference to *N's* comment that it was perhaps due to accent that comprehension was hindered. In the opinion of the researcher, *N's* pronunciation falls within the norms of what is Korean English, and through analysing the utterances of *N* throughout the interview transcriptions, one can also see that grammatical accuracy may not be a consideration. This would leave the notion of familiarity as a key contributor in the breakdown of communication (Abbott 1986; Crystal 1997; Deterding and Kirkpatrick 2006; Jenkins 2000; Kubota and Ward 2000; Smith and Bisazza 1982).

Further to *N's* reference to "accent" being a factor in communicative breakdown, a number of the participants show an underlying disdain toward their own English

pronunciation and the English pronunciation of their country. Instances such as the following make reference to the self-conscious aspects of ultimate attainment (Birdsong 2006; Kirkpatrick 2007):

[Excerpt 18]

C01: if i learn english from asian people i dont feel like / its (+) is it real / is it real english

[Excerpt 19]

N: i dont speak like native speaker in australia [. . .] i felt ashamed // because i thought / i speak normally / you know // i thought my english is understandable // but they didnt understand

[Excerpt 20]

H: i feel uncomfortable because i feel like / ielts test [. . .] they may check my grammar / or pronunciation

[Excerpt 21]

H: in real life / some of them dont understand because of my / ugly pronunciation of things

[Excerpt 22]

G: i heard that the korean accent is spoken through the media // at first when i / (+) listen that kind of things / it was easy to understand but // i wondered about that // could other people / can understand / that accent // so / im trying to / (+) / improve my // pronunciation

This disdain expands further and transforms into instances of discrimination. The participants recall several occasions where they have experienced discrimination within Australia due to their English ability, and notably, due to their English pronunciation:

[Excerpt 23]

H: (+) maybe i think / they / know // i cant speak english very well / but // (+) from the law / like (+) // equal opportunity law in australia / they cant say / directly / you have english problem because / it is kind of bully things // so / even they think like this / they cant speak it out in front of me // so they just said / yeah th-i understand your english // (+) you english is your your second language mo-not mother tongue / so / if you cant understand / you just ask them / ask me / but // when i ask something / their facial expression suddenly change /// so / i cant ask /// kind of things yeah
I: okay / change in which way
H: like (+) eyes or / (+) lips // like ugly face facial expression // yeah

[Excerpt 24]

H: some / yeah / sorry / some bitches / even they can understand what im saying / some bitches ask again / what what / what did you say / what did you say / again and again so / finally i said nothing thats all [. . .] really // they even dont try to listen but / fair enough i understand / this is just their personality and character // its fine / i dont care

[Excerpt 25]

N: i dont speak like native speaker in australia
I: so how do you think that they treat you in australia then
N: they look down on me / because i dont speak english very well // and // feel
ashamed / i felt ashamed / because i couldnt speak english very well

[Excerpt 26]

N: when they use australian slang // i feel like / im not part of them you know / i feel
like / im really foreigner to them / because i dont understand anything

-which, if we focus on *H's* comments in conjunction with the comments of Galloway (2008), and Shirazizadeh and Momenian (2009) with regard to the L1 English user's intrinsic control and understanding of their language, discriminatory aspects can remain as a plausible explanation.

The idea that discrimination exists within Australia where EIL communication is concerned is not a new one. Discrimination appears to be an ever-present factor in all walks of life and the linguistic divide that appears to exist within this EIL communicative context need not be an exception to this.

A possible side effect of continued exposure to linguistic discrimination can snowball into segregation within the community. The Literature outlines how linguistic minorities tend to remain within communities where they feel accepted and comfortable (Christopher 2004; Heller 2006; Vigouroux 2005). The participants of this study also voice their opinions about their comfort zones in relation to English communication:

[Excerpt 27]

H: (+) emotionally ((laugh)) i feel comfortable with non speaking english /// (+)
yeah im still freezing in front of aussie guys

[Excerpt 28]

I: how about when youre speaking english with your / a m e p (Adult Migrant English
Program) classmates
N: (+) i feel comfortable / i felt comfortable because / they dont speak english well
// so i felt comfortable / i felt like (+) they are like me // we are same

[Excerpt 29]

I: you mentioned you travelled to hong kong singapore malaysia // how did you feel
using english in those countries
G: it was pretty comfortable comfortable because // you know they dont care about
my mistake / and they dont care about my errors / grammatical errors / or
pronunciation they / (+) // i felt that they are trying to / understand what im
saying // so / yeah / it was comfortable

It is visible through the transcripts that the participants claim to be more comfortable using English with fellow L2 users of the language. One could argue that this is influenced by the discrimination that they have experienced while attempting to communicate with L1 English users, and if this trend is to continue

then there is the possibility for L2 users of English to lock themselves inside of a linguistic bubble; a bubble that may consist of a community of L2 English users being segregated from the L1 English users.

Therefore, the question needs to be posed: How can these two linguistic bubbles co-exist and interact with one another in a positive manner? Interestingly, *N* draws on her own positive experiences within a cultural exchange program called WWOOF – Willing Workers On Organic Farms (n.d.):

[Excerpt 30]

N: when i did wwoofing in tasmania / i stayed with / i have stayed with an australian family // they // they speak really slower // to me // but / when they talk to each other / they use australian slang / so i learned / few australian slangs / and actually / they taught me australian slangs because / it / wwoofing is about cultural things / you share / your culture / so i share my culture korean culture / they share their culture // you know its kind of exchange things / i / i really appreciate that / experience / i feel / like // i did right thing // precious // experience

I: did it help you understand australians more / when you travelled around the country

N: yeah actually because // their responsibility is / look after me / but also // try to / you know m- / like make / me comfortable and understandable / and make understand what theyre saying // so they s- / they / they spoke / in easy way /// and / furthermore // they taught me a lot of things

-and expands upon her cultural exchange experience to suggest an intelligent solution that may help to alleviate the possibility of a linguistic divide occurring within the community:

[Excerpt 31]

N: you should have more chance to speak / with native speakers

I: how can they provide that

N: (+) theres a // like // theres a few / i think they can make some programs like / internship you know / they can work with australians / so they can communicate with them / but also you c- they can have / good experience good working experience

The simple solution of an internship program as part of the Adult Migrant English Program may not be entirely feasible due to the number of students enrolled in the program. However, there may be a genuine possibility to provide some kind of cultural or professional exchange program to a percentage of the students enrolled in the Adult Migrant English Program.

N declares that her time spent participating in a cultural exchange was "precious" and that it helped her to understand Australian culture. Again though, much in the same way that communication is not a one-way street (Deterding and Kirkpatrick 2006; Hung 2003; Jenkins 2000), cultural understanding and acceptance is not a one-way street either. McKay (2003) asserts than culture teaching in the EIL

paradigm needs to be reassessed and transformed from culture teaching in the imperial sense, and this may well be true in relation to the selection of appropriate materials. However, when the reality of actual communication with members of the host culture – even in the EIL context – comes to fruition, then attempting to understand the culture of your community in a supportive environment holds the potential to lessen the negative impact of any possible discrimination that may be experienced; this is based on the assumption that an entity wishing to be involved in a cultural or professional exchange program would be a supportive environment for the L2 user of English.

5   Implications for Altering the Realities of EIL in Australia

Throughout this chapter several key elements have emerged that hold the potential to either make or break EIL communication within inner circle societies such as Australia. Perhaps the most disheartening element to emerge is that of discrimination against the KLE, which paints linguistic discrimination as an area that is in need of focused attention. Christopher (2004), Heller (2006), and Vigouroux (2005) make reference to how communities hold the negative potential to divide and become segregated. This study cannot determine whether the discrimination experienced by the participants is linguistic or racial in nature, however, should linguistic alienation become an accepted part of EIL communication, the EIL community in Australia is likely to become another case of segregation in the community.

Two examples of discrimination that have been reported during this study include those by *H* and *N*:

[Excerpt 32]

H: some / yeah / sorry / some bitches / even they can understand what im saying / some bitches ask again / what what / what did you say / what did you say / again and again so / finally i said nothing thats all [. . .] really // they even dont try to listen

[Excerpt 33]

N: they look down on me / because i dont speak english very well // and // feel ashamed / i felt ashamed / because i couldnt speak english very well

-where their experiences fall in-line with what Ha (2008) and Lippi-Green (1997) note as being the reality for L2 users of English being judged unfairly and even discriminated against when they are held in comparison with L1 users of English. McKay (2003) asserts that in EIL contexts, the dominance of the 'native' speaker must be challenged. However, the experiences of the participants tend to suggest that, even though a challenge must be made for EIL to gain deeper success and acceptance, the L1 user of English must also be open to being 'challenged' in this nature.

It is through drawing attention to this negative aspect of the reality of English communication in Australia that possible solutions can be brought to the fore. First and foremost, positive impressions through building awareness would benefit all involved with EIL communication. As has been mentioned, this is a two-way street where both the L1 and L2 users of English must be exposed to and gain familiarity with a number of English varieties. Specifically in the case of the L1 user of English, this research shows that there is a need for a greater understanding and acceptance of the reality of English in this age of globalisation, as can be seen with *H's* experience:

[Excerpt 34]

H: some them / aussie people / have never exp- / have never opportunity to have conversation with / like me // in that case // even i speak slowly / and quite clearly / they cant understand / even simple sentences

A further reality noted relates to the Adult Migrant English Program and its inability to assist the student to integrate into Australian society successfully. Shedding light on this dark area has shown a shortcoming of a program that is aimed at assisting immigrants to Australia; all of whom are EIL users.

Participant *N* gave a quality account and suggestion in relation to assisting with integration into Australian society. The suggestion being that professional internships or cultural exchanges be established in order to give the Adult Migrant English Program attendee a positive experience outside of the classroom communicating with 'real' Australians. Offering this scenario to the students of the program can possibly help in giving the student professional experience as well as a deeper cultural awareness of Australia. Which, if taken in conjunction with McKay's (2003, p. 17) comment, "an appropriate EIL methodology presupposes sensitivity to the local cultural contexts", then *N's* suggestion is a step in the right direction.

The snowball of the internship and cultural exchange program is that the Australian hosts involved in the program are also able to receive a deeper cultural awareness of other cultures in conjunction with a deeper linguistic appreciation of the L2 user of English. It could be suggested that any further exposure to L2 English varieties that the L1 English-speaking public can receive can help to lessen the potential for linguistic discrimination due to the intrinsic appreciation of the 'human' aspect of language. An appreciation that is noted through the experience of *N*:

[Excerpt 35]

N: i met a lot of people in australia / i met indians / and / refugees from africa and vietnam /so / because i met a lot of people from all over the world / i can / i can kind of understand their cultures / so i feel like i know the world

Leading us to the belief that for the purposes of positively impacting the EIL communicative context, the human aspect of language can go a long way in helping to build the communicative bridges holding the potential to cross the ravine of linguistic discrimination that appear to be in existence.

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The WEs/EIL Paradigm and Japan's NS Propensity: Going Beyond the 'Friendly Face' of West-Based TESOL

James D'Angelo

Abstract Japan has been long known to favour an exonormative American English (AE) model for ELT (Honna N, Takeshita Y, Asian Engl 1(1):117–137, 1998), and has imported large numbers of NS teachers since the era of high economic growth which began in the 1970s (D'Angelo J, World Engl 24(3):329–350, 2005; Kawashima T, Asian Engl Stud 11:25–48, 2009). In spite of this influx of NS teachers, English proficiency by Japanese students on various testing measures has been notoriously low, as well as their well-documented reticence to speak up and express themselves using English.

In 2002, Chukyo University established the College of World Englishes, in an effort to introduce a novel ELT paradigm into Japan which would more accurately reflect today's global sociolinguistic reality, and concomitantly produce more effective results. This chapter outlines results of a preliminary survey-based study (part of a more comprehensive needs analysis), with both quantitative and qualitative features, which attempts to identify various attitudes of Chukyo WEs first year students towards their ELT experience, with a special focus on their NS-taught English skills' classes and their overall understanding of the concept of world Englishes. Results reveal that students are fundamentally satisfied with their experience in the Department of world Englishes, but may not be achieving the type of educated Japanese English which is the Department's stated goal, and have very little actual understanding of the tenets and implications of a world

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Englishes approach. Preliminary analysis shows that this may be due to a failure of certain aspects of the curriculum design and implementation, and deeply-ingrained NS-oriented attitudes in the Japanese context.

Keywords World Englishes • Expanding circle • Japan • Native speakerism • ELT • Student attitudes • Language curriculum design • L1 use

1 Introduction

Japan has long favored an exonormative[1] American English (AmE) model for ELT, importing large numbers of NS teachers since the high-economic-growth era in the 1970s (D'Angelo 2005; Kawashima 2009). In spite of this, proficiency on various testing measures has been notoriously low, as well as Japanese students' well-documented reticence to express themselves in English, often linked to an 'inadequacy complex' *vis-a-vis* the dominant AmE model (Suzuki 1999; Honna and Takeshita 1998).

In 2002, Chukyo University established the Department of World Englishes (DWE) to address this imbalance: to introduce an ELT program which would more accurately reflect today's global sociolinguistic reality, in which English is owned by all who use it, and the likelihood of dealing with non-native speaker—primarily from Asia—is much higher than of encountering NSs. This chapter outlines a survey-based study which aims to identify attitudes of DWE first year students towards their ELT experience, focusing on their mainly NS-taught skills classes and overall understanding of WEs. Results reveal that students are fundamentally satisfied, but may not be achieving the educated Japanese English (Mahboob and Szenes 2010; Mahboob 2012) or meta-cultural competency (Sharifian 2009) which they will need in the future, and have little understanding of world Englishes. This may be due to environmental factors, failure in curriculum design, and deeply-entrenched NS-oriented attitudes in Japan: all of which will take a long-term concerted effort to change, if Japan is truly dedicated to creating the type of "global human resources" which it claims to desire. The chapter is organized as follows: Introduction, Context and Theoretical Framework, Methodology/Design, Findings/Discussion, Implications for Curriculum, and Conclusion.

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[1]As opposed to 'endo-normative', in which the standards of language come from 'within' the country.

2 Context and Theoretical Framework

Although following World War II Japan employed mainly local English teachers, with the rising affluence from the 1970s, large numbers of NSs[2] were imported—especially at the tertiary level (Sakai and D'Angelo 2005). This trend continues,[3] and in spite of evidence from scholars such as Canagarajah (2000) or Wang (2011) who indicate the importance of valuing 'local cultures of learning', Japan continues to entrust the majority of skills classes to NSs and their center-based methodologies, e.g. Communicative Language Teaching and Autonomous/Student-Centered Learning, while Japanese professors retreat to teaching phonology or syntax. This has much to do with the Japanese search for perfection, and desire for the most 'authentic goods'—in this case a native-like accent, familiarity with NS-based cultures, and the ability to interact fluently with NSs: what Yano ironically terms 'genuine' English (Yano 2011: 131). Unfortunately, this endeavor has not produced the desired results (Honna and Takeshita 1998; Seargeant 2011), and Japan continues to rank near the bottom in proficiency measures such as TOEIC and TOEFL, while NS teachers complain of the low-level of their students' skills (SeekJapan 2007; McVeigh 2002).

Even within DWE, among 26 part-time English teachers, we have at most had five who were not inner circle. Due to the NS propensity in Japan, it is very difficult to find practitioners from Singapore, East Africa, India or other outer circle contexts, to broaden the exposure of our students.[4] In addition, not all full-time faculty members are supportive of the WEs paradigm. Moreover, few Japanese nationals are willing to teach primarily in English, as would be the norm in Singapore or Nigeria: resulting in an inability to staff our program with the type of teachers to better exemplify the concept of WEs.

Some enlightened Japanese scholars, aware of English's global spread and diversification, have attempted to raise awareness in Japan. Perhaps the first to do so was Takao Suzuki (1999), a mentor to Honna (2008), Hino (2012) and others who were exposed in the 1980s to the groundbreaking work of Smith (1983) and Kachru (1982) on EIL and world Englishes: which while still categorizing Japanese English as a 'performance' variety, showed inclusivity for Japan (Davis 2010; D'Angelo 2010) in its 'three concentric circle model'. Younger scholars such as A. Matsuda have a deep understanding of world Englishes' and try to develop pedagogical practices which reflect global reality, rather than outdated prescriptivism. Her recent work (2011) reveals that WEs concepts are gradually entering teacher-training

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[2]Few had teaching credentials, as with the JET program for secondary level which hires recent college graduates from various disciplines.

[3]Kawashima (2009) indicates the percent of NS ALTs has decreased (although with an increased concentration of Americans), while the 'other' category has increased from zero to 130: a dichotomy between AmE and outer circle English, at the expense of BrE.

[4]We have however had 1-year visiting professors from Singapore, the Philippines, and India.

programs in Japan, and her edited collection on Teaching EIL (2012) may be adopted by a significant number of TESOL graduate programs overseas: changing future teachers' mindset.

While much of the early work on world Englishes was contentious,[5] to 'shock' us from the uncritical assumption that NS norms could be universally applied, Matsuda's conciliatory approach has helped open doors to the Japan Association of Language Teachers (JALT) which is heavily skewed towards NS membership,[6] where she delivered a plenary in 2010, and served on a well-attended panel on WEs. The author was asked to give a workshop on WEs to JALT Nagoya in 2012 and to another native-oriented group: 'English Teachers Japan,' in 2011. These efforts are making inroads into changing attitudes of ELT practitioners in Japan. We must make NS teachers aware of the fact that while WEs/EIL/ELF paradigms are 'post-normative' (Dewey 2011), and anti-'Native-Speaker**ism**', they are <u>not</u> against NSs per say. Enlightened NS practitioners can play an important role.

The ratio of Japanese scholars who have adopted a WEs approach is small. Many are still NS-centric, and feel that while variation may be worthwhile, the focus still needs to be on traditional approaches. Still, there is a clear but gradual realization that the world has changed. A nearby university opened a Department of Global English (no plural '-es'), and another university head-hunted a popular DWE part-time English teacher from Ghana as a full-time lecturer. We can thus see various Japanese universities getting on the bandwagon.

3   Methodology/Design

The focus of this study is to assess the degree to which WEs concepts are comprehended by first-year undergraduate DWE students,[7] and their attitudes towards NS skills teachers. As a program administrator, the author is interested in designing effective curriculum which draws on the insights of WEs and several related paradigms such as 'new EIL' (D'Angelo 2012b) by Sharifian (2009), McKay (2002), and Matsuda (2012), as well as English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) by Jenkins (2007), Seidlhofer (2009), and Kirkpatrick (2010). The questionnaire is a first-step 'probe' towards conducting broader needs analysis and program evaluation.

The instrument is composed of 25 items. 14 of those employ a 5-point Likert scale, three are multiple-choice, and eight are open-ended short-answer. Topics include: students' reasons for joining DWE, overall program satisfaction, attitudes

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[5]Singaporean poet-laureate Thumboo (PC) commented, "TESOL, what a terrible name, it implies only native speakers can teach English." Kachru's tone is also contentious in many writings, supported by Smith's dictum: there is no reason to strive to be like a Native Speaker of English.

[6]In contrast to The Japan Association of College English Teachers (JACET): almost exclusively Japanese.

[7]The study was conducted near the end of the students' first year in DWE.

about NS classes and related methodologies, assessment of progress, ratio of English to Japanese classroom language-use, types of English students feel are appropriate models, and context/extent of future English use.

The study looks at overall attitudes, and differences by gender and proficiency level. DWE conducts a placement test for all incoming students[8] using a Michigan Test which includes listening, vocabulary, grammar, and reading portions, followed by short interviews. The students are then divided into six 'peer' groups of 16. The Michigan test is graded on a maximum of 100. The interview for this particular class was given a highest score of 40. The interviewer is asked to give students a score of 40, 30, 20 or 10 based on a general perception of communicative skill.

Total scores on the placement test showed a wide range: from 132 to 51. Groups are designated in the same order every year, from high to low, of 6-3-1-2-4-5: shuffled to disguise the proficiency sequencing. All of the items that follow in the findings are based on these groupings. The questionnaires were completed by 75 of 96 possible students, including five out of six proficiency groups. Group 1 (third from the top in proficiency) results were not obtained.

4 Findings and Discussion

4.1 General Questions Regarding Department of WEs

Question 1 *How do you rate your study experience in DWE so far?*

(5-point Likert: 1 = negative 5 = positive)

High-Proficiency[a] ⟶		Low-Proficiency (**always** follows 6, 3, 2, 4, 5 order)					
Overall / by peer: 6	3	2*	4	5	/	Male	Female
3.2 /	3.3	3.2	**3.4**	2.8	**3.1**	/	3.06	3.21	n=75

*Data from Peer Group 1, third from highest in proficiency, was not available for the study

[a]Peer 6 has an average score on the Michigan Test of 83.6, Peer 5 average is 55.2.

Question 3 *How much does this Department match your expectations?*

(5-point Likert: 1 = negative 5 = positive)

High-Proficiency ⟶		Low-Proficiency (always follows 6, 3, 2, 4, 5 order)					
Overall / by peer: 6	3	2	4	5	/	Male	Female
3.3 /	3.2	3.5	3.0	**3.7**	3.0	/	3.17	3.32	n=75

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[8]Placement is done again in the second and third years, again with six total groups.

Question 5 *What were the two main reasons you wanted to join this Department?*

Results indicate that students have above-average satisfaction with the program. Peer 2, just below middle proficiency, is most satisfied. Peer 4, second from lowest, is the least. A pattern emerges that higher level students are more satisfied. Females also rate the program highly, possibly related to the higher ratio of females interested in English (80 % of student body) at DWE and in Japan in general. Students were generally positive, stating that: their English had improved, they enjoyed the required study tour to Singapore, their TOEIC scores rose, they can use English every day, they like small class sizes and to talk with foreign teachers. Nevertheless, a large number question the value of the classes ("Is this good for me?"), or felt classes were boring/easy. Lower-level students often left this question blank, or replied in terms of their own effort: "I did my homeworks, I 'foggot' my homework, I absented, I enjoyed but sometimes don't understand."

Peer 4, which had the lowest average for Question 1, was the highest for DWE matching their expectations. The data was partly compromised by misreading of the expression 'study experience' to mean their individual effort, rather than quality of education. Peer 3, second highest in proficiency, feels the program matches expectations well. Follow-up interviews would help to expand on their thinking,[9] but one reason may be that while Peer 6 has the highest proficiency, about half are 'returnees'—students who studied 1–6 years overseas—and are at times jaded, more accustomed to non-Japanese teachers, and more difficult to please. In contrast, Peer 3 students have much less overseas experience, but are model students who applied themselves well in high school, and tend not to question the way things are done.

Regarding whether the program matched student expectations, higher proficiency students felt, "program is practical but not academic, want to study more high-level things, some projects are useless, or want all classes to be in English." They have expectation that the program would be about studying *in* English, rather than studying English itself. One student "wanted to learn various kinds of English": indicating that several students <u>do</u> get the WEs message, and express desire to be exposed to the new varieties they may encounter in future business dealings. Lower-level students had mixed responses: "want to study grammar, chance to speak with many foreigners, sometimes boring, or too many classes per week" (D'Angelo 2012a: 7). Reasons for enrolling at DWE include: "want to 'master' English, use English in my job, like English and want to work using it, not good at Japanese, want to go to Singapore/overseas, want to learn in small groups, want to speak English fluently/like a native, have many foreign teachers, learn WEs." They also mention the attraction of the Peer Advisor System, and of our Learning Support Wing—a center where they can speak English, access computers and newspapers, speak with faculty, etc.

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[9]This study did not ask for student number for privacy sake, so it is not possible to follow up.

4.2 Questions Regarding NS Practitioners

Question 6 *In general, do classes by 'native speaker' (NS) teachers satisfy you?*

(5-point Likert: 1 = negative 5 = positive)

High-Proficiency ⟶				Low-Proficiency (always follows 6, 3, 2, 4, 5 order)					
Overall / by peer:	6	3	2	4	5	/	Male	**Female**	
3.6 /		3.7	3.3	3.7	**3.9**	3.3	/	**3.78**	3.49	n=75

Question 8 *What are some good points of the NS teachers teaching style?*

Question 9 *What are some points that do not 'suit' you about NS teachers teaching style?*

In spite of the author's fear that DWE is too heavily slanted in favor of NSs, their classes are more highly rated than the overall program. Males rate the NS instructors higher than females, in spite of the females being more satisfied with their overall education. Peer 4, which felt the program highly matches expectations, also rates the NS teachers highly. The overall positive ratings may indicate that in spite of the WEs message we try to impart, the overriding societal belief that English should be learned from an NS results in appreciation for such opportunities. Comments regarding NS satisfaction include: "they give good advice, help us have friends, are kind/gentle (*yasashii*), can hear **real** English, better than talking to Japanese teacher, they correct our grammar, I can touch foreign culture, it's exciting/interesting, Japanese style teaching is bad, give us a lot of opportunity to speak in English, say jokes/games/gestures, free/not strict, they use easy English, '*genki*' (upbeat, energetic), pronunciation much smoother than we Japanese, make us use English." The students are generally satisfied, but satisfied within the expectations of a NS as expert, or NS as 'kind' person with a 'fun' mindset.

Alternatively, negative comments include: "they (NSs) are too easy, a little 'rough/*zatsu sugiru*' (poor organization), 'too free', Japanese teachers are more courteous, Computer Skills *no kurasu honto ni rikai dekinai* (I really can't understand the CS class), I can't learn WEs, they are not teaching the thing we want (a response which would justify a follow-up interview if possible), classes lacked explanation, too much political talk, vocabulary book is too easy, the way they teach us is kind of not proper, I cannot learn grammar, don't understand what to do, they don't understand what we say in Japanese", showing some need for bilingualism and code-mixing.

4.3 Questions Concerning Medium of Instruction

Question 15 *What % of your native speaker teachers' English do you understand?*

(5-point Likert: 1 = 0–20 %, 2 = 20–40 %, **3 = 40–60 %**. 4 = 60–80 %, 5 = 80–100 %)

High-Proficiency	⟶	Low-Proficiency (always follows 6, 3, 2, 4, 5 order)					Male	Female	
Overall / by peer:	6	3	2	4	5	/	Male	Female	
3.9 /	**4.8**	3.8	**4.2**	3.6	**3.2**	/	**3.8**	3.9	n=75

Question 16 *What % do your native speaker teachers use Japanese in class?*

(5-point Likert: 1 = 0–20 %, 2 = 20–40 %, **3 = 40–60 %**. 4 = 60–80 %, 5 = 80–100 %)

High-Proficiency	⟶	Low-Proficiency (always follows 6, 3, 2, 4, 5 order)					Male	Female	
Overall / by peer:	6	3	2	4	5	/	Male	Female	
1.5 /	1.5	1.4	1.7	1.5	1.5	/	1.4	1.6	n=75

Question 17 *Do you think it is helpful for native speakers to sometimes use Japanese in class?*

(5-point Likert: 1 = not at all, 5 = very much)

High-Proficiency	⟶	Low-Proficiency (always follows 6, 3, 2, 4, 5 order)					Male	Female	
Overall / by peer:	6	3	2	4	5	/	Male	Female	
3.0 /	2.0	**2.8**	3.1	3.1	**4.3**	/	**3.3**	2.9	n=75

Question 18 *If the NS does use some Japanese to explain something, is it hard later to return to using English?*

(5-point Likert: 1 = not at all 5 = very much)

High-Proficiency	⟶	Low-Proficiency (always follows 6, 3, 2, 4, 5 order)					Male	Female	
Overall / by peer:	6	3	2	4	5	/	Male	Female	
2.3 /	1.8	2.1	**3.0**	2.3	2.6	/	2.6	2.2	n=75

Results indicate that NS teachers use relatively little Japanese, averaging around 20 %. This depends on the proficiency of the teacher, as well as his/her philosophy. Even among long-term residents, a surprising number of NS teachers speak only the most elementary Japanese. Results indicate that even for NSs, an 'English-only' environment is not realistic,[10] and that a certain amount of code-switching is effective and natural, and more in line with the bilingualism of WEs. Question 17 shows a high correlation with proficiency. Peer 5's score of 4.3 indicates need for a significant amount of Japanese-use in class to ensure learning (see Fig. 1). The large jump between Peer 4 and 5 indicates that students who have not progressed beyond a certain 'threshold' may have trouble following classes in English. On the positive side, even those second from the lowest can follow English-medium classes fairly well. One must keep in mind however, that in a content class rather than a skills

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[10]In adherence to an NS-approach, MECCST has mandated that secondary school English classes be conducted entirely in English.

Summary for Q17
Peer = 6

Anderson–Darling Normality Test

A–Squared	1.49
P–Value <	0.005
Mean	2.0000
StDev	0.6547
Variance	0.4286
Skewness	0.000000
Kurtosis	−0.179467
N	15
Minimum	1.0000
1st Quartile	2.0000
Median	2.0000
3rd Quartile	2.0000
Maximum	3.0000

95% Confidence Interval for Mean
1.6375   2.3625
95% Confidence Interval for Median
2.0000   2.0000
95% Confidence Interval for StDev
0.4793   1.0325

95% Confidence Intervals

Summary for Q17
Peer = 5

Anderson–Darling Normality Test

A–Squared	1.65
P–Value <	0.005
Mean	4.2857
StDev	0.9139
Variance	0.8352
Skewness	−0.66231
Kurtosis	−1.33543
N	14
Minimum	3.0000
1st Quartile	3.0000
Median	5.0000
3rd Quartile	5.0000
Maximum	5.0000

95% Confidence Interval for Mean
3.7581   4.8134
95% Confidence Interval for Median
3.0000   5.0000
95% Confidence Interval for StDev
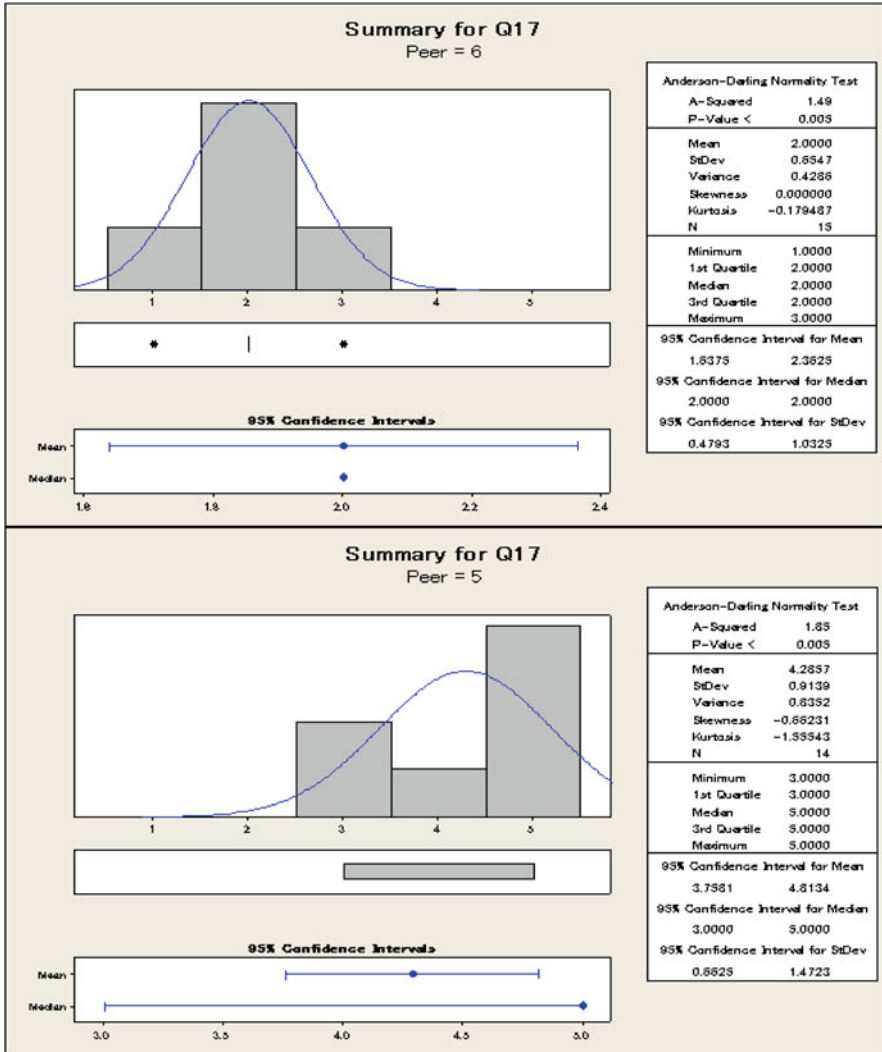0.6625   1.4723

95% Confidence Intervals

Fig. 1 Q17: Do you think it is helpful for native speakers to sometimes use Japanese in class?

class, such as the author's International Business Theory elective, less than half the students can handle the lecture/discussion, and reading material.

NS Teachers often feel that if one allows the L1 in the classroom, it will be hard to return to the L2. Results indicate that for the two highest proficiency groups this is not an issue, but the middle and lower proficiency students will use more Japanese. This is an issue the teacher can control, however, by being firm about the role of each language. Research by Pefianco Martin (2008) indicates that blindly adhering to 'English Only' can be counter-productive, even in the outer circle. Males show a higher result here, which may be a result of there being more males in the lower-proficiency groups.

4.4 Questions About West-Based ELT Practices

Question 10 *How much do you like doing "pair" or "group work" in your English classes?*

(5-point Likert: 1 = negative 5 = positive)

High-Proficiency	⟶		Low-Proficiency		(always follows 6, 3, 2, 4, 5 order)				
Overall / by peer: 6	3	2	4	5	/	Male	Female		
3.9 /	**3.9**	**4.2**	3.7	**3.9**	3.6	/	**3.9**	**3.9**	n=75

Question 19 *Do you think the 'English Only' policy in the L.S. Wing fits with World Englishes?*

(5-point Likert: 1 = not at all 5 = very much)

High-Proficiency	⟶		Low-Proficiency		(always follows 6, 3, 2, 4, 5 order)				
Overall / by peer: 6	3	2	4	5	/	Male	Female		
3.8 /	3.0	3.6	4.1	**4.7**	3.5	/	3.5	**3.9**	n=75

Pair and group work are extremely common in NS-taught skills classes, especially in Japan, due to student reticence. This method is also used in traditional ESL/EFL classes, as seen from most ELT texts by inner circle publishers. In contrast, most English classes in Japanese junior/senior high school are 'teacher-fronted' with students called on to answer drill-format questions. With Japanese teachers, chairs are rarely moved from the normal grid, yet NSs in Japan routinely modify seating to facilitate small groups. This student-centered method runs counter to the culture of learning in many Asian cultures (Canagarajah 2000), yet DWE students react positively: "I can have friends, hear others opinions, good when I'm in trouble, best way to improve, not sleepy." On the negative side: "we always do, *donna jugyo mo*—no matter what the class, sometimes activity doesn't have useful contents." It is Peer 3, the 2nd highest proficiency group, who rate such activity the highest. They are self-motivated, and more eager to practice English. This is a complex issue: essentially West-based, but also an adaptation which, while overused, functions well.

The L.S. Wing is a large Center for practicing English which the university built to support DWE. It has a staff of three part-time office workers who are English-proficient Japanese, desks for six part-time teachers, 16 computers, a library, and a video-conferencing room including simultaneous interpreting equipment. One fulltime NS assistant professor insists that it be "English-only", with large signs prominently placed. Many NS teachers hold this 'immersion' view of language learning, but WEs-informed professors have tried to point out that such a policy is incongruent with WEs. The average of 3.8 indicates that the students do not see a contradiction between the WEs paradigm and an English-only environment: something that should have been transmitted in their WEs Theory Class.

4.5 Questions About Effectiveness of Chukyo WEs Program

Question 12 *Do you feel your English is improving as a result of being in this Department?*

(5-point Likert: 1 = negative 5 = positive)

High-Proficiency ⟶ Low-Proficiency (always follows 6, 3, 2, 4, 5 order)									
Overall / by peer: 6	3	2	4	5	/	Male	Female		
3.3 /	3.5	**3.6**	3.1	**3.6**	2.9	/	**3.56**	**3.28**	n=75

Question 13 *What English skills of yours are improving the <u>most</u>? (can check more than one)*

Question 14 *What English skills of yours are improving the <u>least</u>? (can check more than one)*

Results for Question 12 seem low. It is again Peer 3 students who are most positive, along with Peer 4, the second lowest. The lowest proficiency group, Peer 5, reports the least progress. This impression is confirmed in re-placement data in subsequent years, in which Peer 3 students often move up to Class 6, and Peer 4 students also move up several steps, while Peer 5 students rarely move up. It seems we are failing our students who are most in need, perhaps a function of them needing more scaffolding than the NS teachers are able to provide.

Speaking and Listening were felt to have improved most, with Listening cited more for the middle groups. Reading and Writing appear much less, but more so for the lowest two groups. 'Thinking' was selected the least: a result that seems to bear out that the DWE is focused more on communicative competence than critical academic study. Although all freshmen take two semesters of Writing and two semesters of Reading, the impression that these skills are not improving may reflect that they are difficult, and may take more time to show improvement. Writing was cited most frequently among all groups as improving the least, followed by Reading. Listening and Speaking, among lower groups (Peer 4 and 5). Writing is a productive skill and is more 'normative' than speech, and takes more time to develop. Our fourth year students, if writing their graduation thesis in English, have serious difficulties in academic writing, an issue for which recent research by Mahboob (2012) may be of great help.

Question 21 *How often do you think you will use English in your future life/work?*

(5-point Likert: 1 = not at all 5 = very much)

High-Proficiency ⟶ Low-Proficiency (always follows 6, 3, 2, 4, 5 order)									
Overall / by peer: 6	3	2	4	5	/	Male	Female		
3.9 /	**4.3**	**4.1**	4.1	**3.8**	**2.8**	/	3.94	3.82	n=75

Question 22 *Do you think you will use English mainly with native speakers in the future?*

(5-point Likert: 1 = not at all 5 = very much)

High-Proficiency	⟶		Low-Proficiency	(always follows 6, 3, 2, 4, 5 order)				
Overall / by peer: 6	3	2	4	5	/	Male	Female	
3.5 /	**3.9**	3.7	3.8	3.1	**2.8**	/	3.6	3.4	n=75

It is encouraging that many DWE students plan to use English in their future jobs, in direct correlation with proficiency group. This desire seems to be present among Peer 5 also, but much lower than Peer 4. The department should make more effort to try and 'raise up' this group so that their hopes can have a chance of becoming reality. The higher the proficiency level, the more likely students feel they will use English with NS interlocutors in the future. This may reflect that Peer 6, including many 'returnees', feel most comfortable dealing with NSs. The low average for Peer 5 may be due to not foreseeing themselves using English *at all* in their future work, whether with NSs *or* NNSs. The relatively low overall average for Question 22 may indicate that at least to some extent, their awareness has been raised that English is used in various contexts across the globe, and that their future interlocutors will be from a wide range of countries. We should also keep in mind that for expanding circle graduates, it is doubtful that there would be enough jobs using English for everyone who majors in English, and we should look critically at the assumption that such an outcome should be the assumed goal of all graduates. Several scholars have rightly raised this concern (Block and Cameron 2002; Kubota 2012). Whether or not such felt needs are manufactured by neoliberal ideologies or not, they were, nevertheless often expressed by the incoming freshman in the College of WEs.

Question 23 *What type of English is best-suited to teaching English in Japan?*

(a) British English (b) American English (c) Educated Japanese English (d) Other type

Seven chose British, 58 American, 10 Educated Japanese English, and three chose 'Other.' The results are predictable if a bit disappointing. It seems there is a bipolar tendency of the students to mainly choose American English, but to also be open to an educated form of Japanese (Parasher 1991) or some other English. The required freshman classes in World Englishes Theory do not seem to be transmitting the desired attitude shift, although our inability to design an overall skills program—with the exception of the Singapore Study Tour—which would reinforce these views is a large part of the problem.

4.6   Miscellaneous Questions

Question 24 *Is your Japanese language ability improving from studying at Chukyo?*

(5-point Likert: 1 = not at all 5 = very much)

High-Proficiency ⟶ Low-Proficiency (always follows 6, 3, 2, 4, 5 order)									
Overall / by peer: 6	3	2	4	5	/		Male	Female	
2.2 /	2.1	2.2	**2.8**	2.0	1.7	/	2.1	2.2	n=75

This question is designed to ascertain if the students perceive they are getting an overall high-quality bilingual education, considering that they do take a significant number of DWE electives, and Department of Liberal Arts electives, which are conducted in Japanese. The results are quite low and worrisome considering that the majority of students, even if required to use English on the job, will work for large Japanese organizations where sophisticated written and spoken Japanese is expected. Results indicate that middle level Peer 2 may be getting the most out of such classes.

4.7   Selected Correlation Analysis

A limited amount of statistical work was done on the results of the survey using Minitab, with significant correlations found among three sets of questions. The strongest was found to be between Question 15 (What percent of your NS teachers' English do you understand?) and Question 17 (Is it helpful for NSs to sometimes use Japanese in class?) with an *r* value of .30 and *p* value of .000. Figure 1 demonstrates statistical data which show the clear difference in distribution for Q17 between the highest and lowest proficiency groups.

Question 3 (How much does this department match your expectations?) correlated positively with Questions 10 (Do you like doing pair or group work in English class?) and 12 (Do you feel your English is improving in this department?). For Q3 and Q10 the *r* value was .388 and *p* was .001. For Q3 and Q12, the *r* value was .301 with a *p* of .009. Finally, Question 6 (In general, do classes by NS teachers satisfy you/) showed correlation to Question 16 (About what percent do your NS teachers use Japanese in class?), with an *r* value of .302 and *p* of .009. The study was conducted as a 'probe', rather than to investigate such correlations, so the limited amount of correlation in the results is not surprising, but provides some direction for future-study design.

5 Implications for Curriculum Design

While inconclusive, the study reveals important aspects of first-year DWE students' attitudes. Although the main focus of the survey was not to ascertain the students' understanding of wide- ranging WEs tenets, results indicate they do not have a clear fundamental understanding of WEs (see Yoshikawa 2005), and that the required first-year course on WEs must be strengthened, as well as working to introduce a WEs-focus to the overall curriculum. Students must understand the reality of the role of English in today's world, the reduced prominence of NSs and likelihood of interaction with them, and the type of people and uses/functions for which they <u>will</u> need English.

With regard to their English skills classes taught by mainly NSs, students are for the most part satisfied due to the ingrained predilection for an NS-model and the selection of a staff of veteran NS teachers who, if overly dedicated to West-based TESOL practices, are quite effective at implementing such practices within the Japanese context. The best features of these classes should be retained in the curriculum, while working with teachers to heighten their own understanding of WEs. Nevertheless, there is clear consistency to the negative reactions in the data that merit further investigation, and do support the author's concern that the uncritical importation of Center/West-based ELT may have a less desirable outcome than would be possible with a more realistic paradigm. What that paradigm might be is a recently evolving combination of WEs, EIL and ELF studies, along with such areas as ESP (English for Specific Studies) and Genre Studies. WEs research to this point has mainly focused on documentation of micro-linguistic features of new varieties, and has not dealt adequately with wider semantic issues (Mahboob 2012). It is only through recent efforts such as this book (part of a growing body of literature), several new programs such as the DWE, Department of EIL at Monash U. in Melbourne, or the Department of Global English Studies at Southampton, that scholars are attempting to implement WEs/EIL concepts in higher education. Through this effort, common features to inform curriculum development are becoming clear.

Quite relevant here, a new model of variation proposed by Mahboob (2012) identifies a lack of ability among Outer Circle graduate students at Sydney University to handle global, written, specialized language: the type of language which gives access to better economic opportunity. Mahboob claims that if curriculum focuses too much on oral, local, everyday language, we do a disservice to our students. This raises a heretofore unquestioned aspect of the WEs versus Native-Model debate. Each model provides a very different approach to how spoken language is viewed, but neither looks adequately at global/written/specialized language.

Mahboob's research can provide important insights for justifying a less 'four-skills' approach to language acquisition, and a more content-based focus seeking to provide students with some expertise in a specific discipline, allowing them access to the type of speech community they desire. In fact, DWE is currently undergoing a curriculum reorganization in which we divide into three majors, each with a

team led primarily by a Japanese faculty member that has its own sub-discipline: (a) postcolonial literature and culture, (b) international studies, and (c) applied linguistics and business. English skills classes are reduced in number for each major, a point which was highly resisted by several tenured NS professors, but an increased number of content electives will be offered in English, helping to reduce the bifurcation of roles between Japanese and NS faculty. The results presented in this chapter support such a move, if one considers the student complaints about the non-academic nature of their NS-taught skills classes.

But a program with such aggressive goals will be challenging to implement. Data from this study indicate that in a setting such as DWE, where proficiency covers a wide range, the most realistic approach may be to have a 'normal' and 'honors' program within the same department. The highest level universities in Japan are now attempting to introduce predominantly English medium curricula (APU 2012, Waseda 2012) with varying success, whereas lower level universities cannot attempt this at all. Chukyo finds itself somewhere above the middle. So situated, it may make most sense to have a two-track curriculum, in which the highest, most committed 25–30 % of students attempt a content-based course in a particular sub-specialty (such as "EIL and Business", or "Applied EIL"), and the remaining students enter a more traditional skills-oriented curriculum, but one informed by a WEs/EIL approach, rather than a 'Native-speakerist' one.

6 Conclusion

As mentioned in the introduction, this is a preliminary step in a larger study of the DWE curriculum. It reveals the difficulty in implementing a WEs/EIL approach, but also suggests positive future directions supported by research in WEs and related newly emerging fields. Much further research is required, and conducting follow-up interviews with students and recent graduates could yield much more valuable information about their expectations, the reality of the type of English skills needed, and situations faced in the workplace. 'Working back' from those actual needs of former graduates could develop a stronger curriculum.

English in Japan is a conundrum, as evidenced in the work of Yamagami and Tollefson (2011) which indicates that for Japan, attitudes towards English are highly ambivalent: it is both a threat and an opportunity. Forces within the Japanese government and wider populace tend to view English as a threat to preservation of 'Japanese-ness', while elites and those in higher education view it as an opportunity. Similarly, 'internationalization' and 'globalization' are viewed within Japan with conflicting feelings of fear and excitement. At a university such as Chukyo, the term *gurobaru jinzai* is often used to represent the effort to develop 'global human resources' equipped to compete internationally. Japanese students increasingly compete directly with overseas candidates, as Japanese companies diversify their own human resources. In this context, it no longer makes sense for English majors in Japan to have NS-oriented, "English conversation" (*eikaiwa*), 4-skills based

curricula, which tend to aim at the greatest common denominator, but to move on to really equipping their students—or at least those capable of it—to function in the sophisticated world they will face. For the remainder of students, we can do our best to push up their level so as to give them access to the broader opportunities that are out there, if they show the willingness to work. For both cases, insights gained from world Englishes and EIL research, can help us provide more value to the student than they currently receive.

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On Teaching EIL in a Japanese Context: The Power Within and Power Without

Ram Ashish Giri and Joseph Ming Shyuh Foo

Abstract Japanese EIL academia, breaking away from the long established exonormatic models of teaching English, advocates practices of their own locally-developed pedagogic models. The general Japanese population as well as the teachers of English at the grass-root levels, however, are unaware of the paradigm shift and remain tied to traditionalism enduring what is known as the 'Native Speaker' (NS) model. While the debate for and against the perpetual dominance of the NS model continues, the Japanese EIL-inspired practitioners face the dilemma of being snubbed by their own communities on the basis of what they advocate and teach. This chapter is a story of such an advocate. Adopting a critical reflective narrative approach, the chapter articulates the dilemma of being an EIL advocate in a society which thinks highly of American NS model of English. Citing examples of accounts of EIL practices, the chapter questions some of the most prevalent arguments in the field and divulges with the dilemma of being an EIL-inspired teacher/practitioner in a non-native English context in which the teacher experiences both empathy and sympathy for what he is and what he does. Finally, it provides a discussion of the issues in questions and implications for EIL pedagogy.

Keywords English as an international language • Native speaker model • English language norms • Native-speakerism • Visible ethnic minority • Attitude • EIL pedagogy

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1 Introduction

The socio-linguistic landscape of today's globalised world has changed significantly, so has the role, function, and above all, perception of English as a global language. The perceptual and functional change in the language makes it necessary to re-assess the way one views the language and the approach one takes to its teaching. Since the inception of 'World Englishes' in early 1980s, the study of the spread and development of English across the globe and consequently its teaching and learning have taken a new dimension (Kachru 1988; McArthur 1987). English is now seen as a 'language with functional and formal variations arising from divergent sociolinguistic contexts, ranges and varieties in creativity, and various types of acculturation' (Kachru 1992: 2). With the recognition of the diversity in English, there is a paradigm shift in its practice as it is regarded not only as a global language of international and intercultural communication (Sharifian 2009), but also as a local language of wider communication in multilingual societies (McKay 2002; Canagarajah 2005). Therefore, the globalisation of the English language should not be seen as separate from its localisation because globalisation entails localisation resulting in a process which is sometimes termed as glocalisation (Sharifian 2009; see also Kumaravadivelu 2008). English as an International language (EIL), then, is a mind-set, a perspective or linguistic lens through which wider (global or international) functions of English are realised through its local use.

The myriad of contexts and shrunk time and space of global communication have "blurred" the borders of the famous concentric circles proposed to explain the spread and use of English across the globe, turning English into a "shared *linguistic* code" (Block and Cameron 2002: 1) used internationally to "create, reflect and spread the import and the imagery of the global flows" (Kumaravadivelu 2006: 7). This then means that EIL as the language of all peoples and all cultures should not just embrace local variations but also incorporate local beliefs, values and practices. This also means that the exonormative reference points especially those from the Inner Circle countries and the 'native speaker' competence should not be the norms for its use and teaching and learning. Rather, English should be defined as a convergent medium for mutual understanding among its users irrespective of their socio-cultural backgrounds and where they live.

The issue of 'native-speaker' as a reference point and/or 'native speakerism' (Holliday 2005) as a target in English language teaching is in itself problematic and has been challenged extensively in the EIL/WE literature (Pennycook 1998; Mahboob 2003; Modiano 2009; Llurda 2005; Davies 1991, 2003; Cameron et al. 1992; Rivers 2013). Based on the ideology of ownership of English, the construct of the native speaker promotes monolithic view of English against the sociolinguistic reality of who the speaker of English is and who it belongs to. Most authors in this volume and elsewhere, critical of the monolithic approach, support the view that English no longer remains the sole property of its native speakers (see for example, Kachru 2000; Sharifian 2009, 2011; Seidlhofer 2009; Mckay 2002). This

pluricentric view of English, as outlined by Smith (1976) below, suggests that whoever uses the language can claim its ownership.

> [The language called English] . . . is yours (no matter who you are) as much as it is mine (no matter who I am). We may use it for different purposes and for different lengths of time on different occasions, but nonetheless it belongs to all of us (Smith 1976: 39).

Smith's view of ownership of English is similar to that of Kirkpatrick's (2007b, 2010 and in this volume) that speakers of English adapt the language linguistically and socioculturally in order to communicate and whoever uses English, instills their creativeness and distinctiveness in it and makes it their own (Doan, this volume).

Contrary to these propositions, many Expanding Circle countries set up native speaker models and native speakerism as a necessary target for the teaching and learning of English, which for Graddol (2006: 63) is unattainable and "designed to produce failure". For Holliday (2006: 385), this is a pervasive ideology within ELT which perpetuates 'native-speaker' teachers as ideal and both of the Native English language and the western teaching methodology the best. These ideological assumptions are problematic in that they do not reflect on the current socio-linguistic realities of international and inter-cultural communication. In an international – intercultural communicative situation, learners stand far more chances to communicate with non-native speakers of the language and there is even greater chances that the communication will take place in World Englishes than in the target English which is the native speaker variety of English (Crystal 2008). More than three decades ago, Smith (1976) projected EFL (English as a Foreign Language), ESL (English as a Second Language), ENL (English as a Native Language) as increasingly becoming irrelevant because they did not 'accurately identify and reflect how English is being used. I think it is time for change' (p. 39).

Change did take place in the way teaching and learning of English is viewed. Three decades on, we now talk about a shift in the EIL paradigm guided by the pluricentricity of English (Marlina, this volume). However, to what extent does this ideological shift translates into the teaching and/or practice of English as an international language? Scholars have rigorously promoted the teaching of English as a heterogenous language in which the target is *knowledge and proficiency in the multiplicity of English grammar, pronunciation, vocabulary and pragmatics* (Lee 2009; Jenkins 2000; Marlina, this volume). As it is impossible to escape the change sweeping the ELT landscape globally, Kumaravadivelu (2004) encourages ELT practitioners to reassess their position on the instructional model in order to be more accommodative of the linguistic variations taking place in the English language. Other prominent authors like Kirkpatrick (this volume); Sharifian (2009 and this volume); Canagarajah (2013); Lowenberg (2012) and Matsuda (2003) suggest that EIL should discard a mono-model or native speaker model and adopt a pluricentric approach to teaching and testing in order for the teachers to prepare users of English to be better communicators in today's globalised world (see also Marlina, this volume). Similarly, Matsuda (2012) recommends a new framework to incorporate *representations of the uses of different Englishes and cultures; and*

*inclusion of materials from different varieties of English. And finally, Kamhi-Stein (*1999*) advocates for a heterogenous approach to teacher preparation programs with a view to preparing prospective teachers with adequate knowledge and attitude of the pluricentric nature of English.*

The present chapter then is a look back on the theoretical assumptions put forward by some of the pertinent authors of the field above. It examines to what extent their propositions are justifiable in the practical world of teaching English as an international language. We begin this chapter with the story of Joe, the story of his perception of ELT in Japan and their perception of him as a teacher of English. His account is then followed by an analysis of the issues in discussion and implications for practicing EIL in similar contexts.

Joe Foo, a NEST (Native English Speaking Teacher) with an Asian background, moved from English as a native language (ENL) context of Australia to English as a foreign language (EFL) context of Japan to teach English. This is the story of his quest, a quest in which he experienced both power and powerlessness because of what he believed in.

2 Teaming Up

Joe has been a student as well as a colleague of mine. As a student of EIL, he, like me and many others, battled to overcome his uncertainties and confusions regarding the new paradigm. Like me, he experienced tensions and met challenges for his position on and practice of English as the world's most dominant and pluricentric language. Like me, he experiences both power and powerlessness within himself and in the world outside, and in the process, he grows stronger in his attitude to and his position on the non-discriminatory practice of Englishes.

After he graduated from the Program of EIL at Monash University, Joe had had a very valuable opportunity to teach English in Japan. It was his powerful stories of struggle, tensions and the challenges of practicing EIL in a Japanese context that inspired the development of this chapter together. What follows then is an account of his first hand experiences of practicing EIL in Japan, the account of how he was perceived as a result of his linguistic and ethnic background and how he managed to practice EIL in the strictly old-paradigm bound society. The term of practice of EIL is used here as a cover term which includes both its teaching in a classroom situation and its use for communicative purposes both in and out of the classroom contexts which are informed by the EIL paradigm. In Joe's own words, *"My experiences as a non-visible ethnic minority, native English speaking teacher (non-VEM-NEST) are the basis of this narrative. In this account, I reflect and explore my experiences as a non-VEM-NEST in a most VEM-NEST preferred situation* (Javier 2010)*. I also reflect on what is known as the status and power relations between NEST and NNEST* (Maum 2002) *in relation to other participants in the program that I was a part of. I tell the stories of the identity tension I experienced, and I draw on the view*

of other VEM-NESTs identity struggles through the stories they shared in response to my own personal account. My story reveals how I struggled and reconstructed my racial and linguistic identity in response to the resistance I encountered when striving to be recognized as a 'legitimate' English language professional. I reflect on how my experiences both inside and out of classrooms influenced how I view myself as an EIL professional/practitioner before, during and after my Japanese Exchange and Teaching (JET) period".

3 The Perception

Joe's questioning of the dominance of the Centre over the Periphery (Canagarajah 2002) met with serious resentment, ridicule and challenges. While he struggled at times to cope with the tensions within, i.e., between his 'Inner Self and his 'Outer Self' (Giri 2009, 2010), his new, emergent position faced serious challenges from within and from what Nayar (1994) below suggests, the existing fallacious and illogical neo-colonial linguistic elitism outside.

> My own view is that in the context of the glossography of English in today's world, the native–non-native paradigm and its implicational exclusivity of ownership is not only linguistically unsound and pedagogically irrelevant but also politically pernicious, as at best it is linguistic elitism and at worst it is an instrument of linguistic imperialism. (Nayar 1994: 5)

The dominance of the Centre has created lasting perception of whose language English is, who the native speaker of English is, who fits in the group of native speaker and who makes the best English teacher (Hashimoto 2013; Houghton and Rivers 2013; Kubota and Fujimoto 2013; Lee 2000). Unfortunately for Joe, none of the perceptions sits well with him.

During my studentship in the program of EIL, I came across numerous stories all telling how awkward they felt when they (the non-native teachers of English) found out that they did not meet the locals' perception of a native speaker. Despite strong advocacy that English teachers should be judged on the basis of their qualifications, teaching experiences and teaching abilities, and not on the basis of their look or 'native'ness (see for example, TESOL INNEST Caucus 2011; Javier 2010; Maum 2002), classified advertisements for English teachers round the world keep calling for either 'native-foreigners' or 'Western-looking' applicants but not ABAs (America-born Asians). In case of more than one place available, those who do not fit the descriptions outlined above are often negotiated with lower salary or are offered lower level positions. The stories of teacher-hiring practices suggesting white, Caucasian faces needed to placate parents' demands were still fresh in my mind as I headed to Japan. A confident native speaker of 'Australian' English as I was, I wasn't prepared to face any such situation. I did have some teaching experience and used to be a 'popular' teacher of ESL. Nonetheless, as I approach my new teaching venture, the stories that made me nervous are those of parents

complaining that their children did not receive the 'full' foreign experience because certain teacher(s) did not look white; and the story of a Taiwanese-American being refused for a teaching position requiring a 'native English speaker' because she was 'Chinese' not Caucasian, and therefore was 'unable' to teach English to the local children.

As soon as I arrived in Japan, I sensed that there is a strong perception in the Japanese community that the native speakers (NS) of English make the best teacher and the quality of the professional world of TESOL is enhanced by sheer presence of the Anglo-Saxan, White people (Medgyes 1992; Nemtchinova 2005). *Therefore, most opportunities are made available to those that fit the physical outlook, racial, ethnic, linguistic and territorial criteria. In other words, within the Japanese community the NS status is often associated with a particular racial profile* (Braine 2005; Hashimoto 2013; Houghton and Rivers 2013; Javier 2012; Kubota and Fujimoto 2013).

News travelled quickly around the teaching staff that their new ALT (Assistant Language Teacher) would be coming from Australia and his name is 'Joe', but what the news forgot to mention was my background. I still remember walking in the front gate, dressed in full business attire to the fascinated and confused stares from what would be my future students who started whispering excitedly in Japanese to each other 'who is that guy?', 'a new teacher?', 'could he be the new ALT?!'

It wasn't until I greeted them in fluent Japanese that their whispering died down to a mild 'oh, he's Japanese' and they walked away to their club activities. I was greeted by the school receptionist who was taken by surprise when I told her who I was, as It would become very obvious to me that it would not only be her but the teaching staff also weren't prepared to see an Asian male Australian ALT walk into their office.

Nobody said it directly to me "Oh, you are not really 'Australian'!" but there was always an unexpressed surprise in the form of an uncomfortable pause when I told them who I was. It was unsettling that my ethnic background emasculated my teaching ability and my credibility as a native English teacher.

My confidence got another hitting when I was called into the principal's office, alongside the head Japanese Teacher of English (JTE) to be told by both of them that although my ability to speak fluent Japanese was great, I needed to keep this ability secret from the students and that my opening speech to them had to be in English, not Japanese. I was shocked and beside myself, all the adrenaline, happiness and pride of my earlier successes drained away, I remember managing a 'hai, wakarimashita' (yes, I understand) and slinking away to my desk to quickly collect my thoughts and what I would say to my students for the first time.

The examples and images of 'native-speaker only' teaching ads and stories during my EIL study years circulated in my mind. As I was introduced as their new ALT, from Australia, Joseph Ming Shyuh Foo, the noise from the excited chatter amongst the students was amazing, like a thousand crickets chirping at once, 'an Australian!', 'wow, where is he? I don't see a foreigner!', 'is that him!? He looks Japanese!' The thunderous excitement in my students change into mixed reactions, some of who felt cheated that their 'foreign' teacher was not a foreigner but Japanese.

4 The Native Speaker Syndrome

The Japanese community embraces Americans and everything America stands for with warm hearts. American influence in the fields of fashion, entertainment, and communication is nowhere more visible in the eastern countries than in Japan. Needless to say, American English is the dominant variety of English in Japan. In education, therefore, only American English is valued and preferred. All other varieties of English are perceived to be secondary (see for example Honna and Takeshita, this volume).

The Native Speaker Fallacy (Phillipson 1992) mentioned in the opening account is nowhere in Japan more outstanding than in the Japanese English language education community. The hierarchical attitudinal complex was quite apparent amongst the stakeholders such as officials, teachers, parents and students in the Junior High school where Joe was placed. Nonetheless, as it will be revealed later in the section, an attitudinal shift in the current state of the affairs was likely happening though at a miniscule pace.

The teachers of the three elementary schools I had to work with were incredibly stressed and worried about my arrival as the only details they knew was my name and that I was Australian. Much like the Junior high school I was asked to make a speech to the teaching staff in the morning. The fact that I was much like a local teacher with native proficiency in the Japanese language relieved the JTEs' I would be teaching alongside. I would soon find out from them that their previous 2 ALTs could barely speak Japanese. With English studies becoming mandatory for grades 5 and 6 in Japan, the teachers, who neither had any formal English teaching training nor spoke English fluently, were under immense pressure to perform and get results. We worked out a plan to resolve the issue by taking lead from them. We agreed that students would be encouraged to speak in whatever way they liked and correction on a. particular norm of English would be minimal. In practice, however, the Inner Circle English, especially American English remained the target.

It was not until the principal opened up with me during some of those socialisation get-togethers that the variation within the English language would be discussed. Once an English teacher himself, he had spent some time overseas in America, Australia and Canada during his study years. His exposure to the Inner Circle countries made him interested in where ALTs came from, and what they had to say about their experiences as ALTs. It would be during one of these occasions that I would broach the subject of my university background and my studies and understanding of EIL. It was here he grew interested as this was the first time an ALT rose the subject of ownership of the English language questioning the fallacy of why an ALT and not a JTE be the 'correct' example for his students. The belief that the foreign teacher is correct itself needed to be corrected. He agreed with my proposal to encourage and allow the JTE to speak more and interact more with the students in English. What these changes did was promote the idea in the students that one does not have to be a 'native' English speaker to speak English. It also changed their perceptions of foreigners.

Not all ABAs would agree to promote the locals as a model of English. In fact, some ABAs take the traditional approach so far as the models of English are concerned By virtue of being raised in an Inner Circle (IC) country and of having developed an IC accent, they would project themselves as models. One such ATA was Lin Miyoshi.

Lin, a younger Japanese man educated in Britain but born in the town of Miki, travels every year to Miki to spend time with his grandparents as well as to volunteer as an ALT at the school. Having spent most of his life in Britain, Lin has a strong English accent, which was the source of his strong belief in his teaching abilities; after all he was from England, the heart of English language, so who better to learn from? He was severely tested when one of the boys stood up and said to him 'Lin sensei, why do you speak so funny?', 'Can't you speak English properly?', Lin was shocked and bewildered as to why a child of an Expanding Circle country with limited exposure of English would question an Englishman about his English. 'How ridiculous!', 'Why do I have to sound American to be correct? I'm bloody British, we made English!'

5   The Teaching of EIL

The teaching of EIL did not take as smooth a transition as Joe had hoped for. Teaching of EIL in Japan, an Expanding Circle country in Kachru's concentric classification (Kachru 1992), and therefore a norm-dependent country, should have been warmly embraced (see also Modiano 2007). However, the craze for American English and parental expectation of their children to sound like Americans have created a situation in which World Englishes, other than the American English are often looked down upon. Despite some success in practicing EIL, Joe faced resentment from the most unlikely source. Most often it was the persons with the decision-making capacity who had resentments with other varieties of English.

My classroom approaches were not free from resentments or confusions either. Quite often, before I presented the suggested model of accent of an item or expression, I would present a situation in which the students had to use it. My aim would be to encourage the accent they would have picked from any exposure to English in and out of class. One of such item, for example, was the use of 'can' and 'can't'. In the context that every afternoon, I would play outdoor games such as basketball, baseball, badminton and so on with my students. I would present a situation such as:

"What's the weather like today? It's cold and snowing. What can't we do this afternoon?" I would expect them to say, 'We can't play basketball because it is snowing'. Then I would move to 'what can we do instead?' Whenever, I accepted the variants of 'can't' (British, for example), I would see confused faces asking, 'but Joe sensei, isn't that wrong?'

Word and grammar study revealed similar reactions. When I presented pictures and words/expressions with choices, the students would invariably choose the

American ones suggesting that other variants seemed wrong. For example, when they had to choose between the paired sentences such as the following, to match with the pictures/contexts provided; they would often choose the American variants:
1. (a) Do you have a computer? (b) Have you got a computer? 2. (a) She hasn't got any hobbies. (b) She doesn't have any hobbies.

Whenever, I suggested that both of the paired sentences were in fact correct, some of them would run to the lead teachers, who would be present in the classroom to oversee the proceedings, to check with them often making me loose the control and authority on the class.

Reading and writing, however, presented a different picture. The students enjoyed the texts written in the local variety as a number of things such as pictures, language, concepts, and so on, were familiar to them. Letter writing, for example, on a local format was fun. I would suggest that it is ok to use 'Haikei'（拝啓）and 'Keigu'（敬具）or 'Zenryaku'（前略）'Sousou'（草々）to begin and end letters. The opening could be followed by Ogenki desu ka. お元気ですか. (Have you been doing well?) It seemed that they had more success in learning to write letters with something they already knew. However, they wouldn't use that format with someone from a different country/culture. A Junior High student explained that these were 日本語 (Nihongo) (Japanese) words and therefore intelligible to only the Nippons (Japanese). This created a paradox in that while they enjoyed learning (in) the local variety of English, they would hesitate in using it or prefer the American format in international/inter-cultural communications. Nonetheless, the competence in two or more varieties of English goes in support of the Canagarajah's (in Zacharias and Manara, forthcoming) suggestion that proficiency in English should be viewed as the ability to shuttle between the codes of the language.

Testing produced a different attitude. When presented with choices in a testing situation, the students almost always picked up items what would be acceptable in Standard American English. Other varieties of English were perceived to be incorrect. This could be the consequence of preferential treatment given to American English and the way materials are presented in the Japanese prescribed English textbooks. According to Matsuda (2002, 2005) while the curriculum guidelines in Japan encourage English teachers to develop students' international understanding, the textbooks tend to provide students with information only on the usage of English in and cultures/customs of Inner Circle countries, the US in particular.

My practice of EIL pedagogy was much better received in elementary schools compared to junior high due to the difference in teaching goals and attitudes. My Elementary level students, for example, enjoyed more and showed more acceptances of the EIL lessons. Our goal at this level was to encourage students to participate and have fun, and that communication must be preferred over correctness. What this meant for us teachers was that instead of constantly monitoring and correcting, we were flexible, crafting activities that made students participate out of desire to participate instead of being forced to. The idea was ultimately to shape and show to the students that they could speak English in their own way and still be able to communicate effectively with a 'native speaker' or ALT.

Being flexible in approach and attitude to their language empowered the students to think outside of the usual textbook 'connect the dots' style of studying English that they were used to. This empowerment led to creative and often humorous responses from the students that allowed both ALT and JTE to teach in a more relaxed manner. The JTE's later commented that those classes were much more noisy and fun as students were not afraid to speak out and give answers, whereas the previous methods of ask and correct made them afraid being wrong as they associated the failure with embarrassment.

At the Junior High level, on the other hand, most often teachers had the stresses of preparing their students for examinations that would decide which high schools their students would go to. What this meant was that their teaching syllabi were more rigid than their elementary school counterparts, whose goals were to entertain and instil interest in English language so that students would continue to learn English further on.

Despite some success, especially at the lower level, the application of EIL was met with two main concerns: (1) the students' desire to 'nativise' themselves, and (2) materials being very 'native-speaker' oriented, which I will elaborate here briefly. Implementing EIL pedagogy was often met with resistance from teaching superiors. We often had to sit with the principals who would decide whether or to what extent the new ways of teaching English would be accepted and applied. In some cases, I was fortunate to have school principals who were ex-English teachers who had exposure to and experience in living overseas. They saw great merit in applying EIL concepts and themes that challenged pre-existing 'NS first' mentality, and shifted the students to accept and nurture their own existing 'Englishes'. In general, however, the school authority would cite official position, parental pressure, and community preference to ask us work toward achieving the schools goals stated in the official curriculum to be translated through the imported traditionally modelled text-materials.

I cannot be definite about whether the JTEs continued the new 'style' of teaching after I left. I am also not sure if the next batch of ALTs saw any merits in it. What I am confident about is the fact that like the pebble dropped in a calm pond, I did create waves, however small, of new feelings, of fun and of excitement of learning English in which each individual learner was happy and loving it.

6 Discussion and Implications

Joe's story highlights a number of important issues. They are important in the sense that they raise some crucial issues and implications for the pedagogy of English as an international language. The first of these issues relates to the goals, methods and materials of teaching English as an international language. Joe finds that what the scholars/authors of the EIL paradigm have advocated has not yet been in practice in the real world. For example, the teaching and learning of English in the Expanding Circle should, according to Graddol (2006), be viewed as macro-acquisition. The theory of Macro-acquisition calls for an appropriation of

the teaching goals, its pedagogic methods and materials. Accordingly, the native speaker models and the cultures associated with them are no longer the appropriate teaching target in the Expanding Circle countries. Consequently, this calls for a re-negotiation of the pedagogical practices such as the reassessment of teaching methodology, curriculum and materials design and language testing, language policy, language teaching models, language proficiency, and English language teacher education program. Given the fact that English classroom serves as "a starting point for international understanding" (Matsuda 2002: 436) and that the ability to use English to communicate with people from diverse lingua-cultural backgrounds is vital in this era of globalization (Marlina 2011), it is imperative that we develop pedagogical approaches that keeps up with the changing paradigm in the teaching of English (Jenkins 2000). Notwithstanding, EFL contexts like Japan continue to adopt traditional approaches to teaching of English in which the ideology of native speakerism pervades.

Joe's adventures in teaching English with an EIL perspective and practicing its pedagogic strategies have been more than ordinary. Joe finds that despite recommendations from the experts that the sociolinguistic realities of the spread and functions of English must be used as the bases for any language acquisition planning, Japan is a long way off to make this happen. Kirkpatrick (2007a, b: 22; see also Kirkpatrick, in this volume), for example, recommends that in this age of globalization, "learners need to develop receptive competence in many Englishes". Elaborating the issue, Zhang et al. (2011) and Kumaravadivelu (2004) contend that new language competences are essential for communication and literacy as a single English variety, British or American English, "fails to equip our students for real-world needs" (p. 14). Similarly, McKay (2003) suggests that the changing nature of the English language and its users calls for a re-evaluation of what English (or Englishes) should be taught for and what sources of instructional materials be adopted. However, it is evident from Joe's story above that those, who can make this happen, reason against this suggestion. Japan is a country in which official goals for teaching English are centrally formulated. The conventional curricula for teaching English are prescriptive which demand following a conventional teaching model on 'authentic' materials. Students are taught and assessed on a particular prescribed proficiency model. Any exposure to other varieties of English or appropriating teaching design or materials for a particular group of students is rigorously discouraged.

Joe indicates that with the limited knowledge he had had, he attempted to convince the authorities to re-evaluate their teaching goals and teaching approaches. However, his attempts to help set a realistic goals for teaching English which reflect on (a) the changing communicative needs of the globalised world (Tudor 2003; Canagarajah 2012), (b) developing multicultural literacy and multicultural competence with exposure to multiple Englishes (Matsuda 2012; Marlina 2011), and (c) appropriating teaching/testing models and materials (Tudor 2003; Matsuda 2012; Lowenberg 2012) met with formal resistance and challenges. This implicates the general Japanese EIL academia to further investigate and create an interaction with the ELT stakeholders on what is appropriate or realistic goal of teaching

English; what is the best teaching/testing method and material for it, or who makes the best teacher for teaching English in Japan.

The teacher education institutes, as Joe implies, are yet to catch up with the fast developing EIL pedagogy. Newly graduating teachers without adequate knowledge of the paradigm shift are left without appropriate armours to deal with the increasingly complex EIL classrooms. He maintains that there are only few programs which address the issues and challenges facing NSs or NNSs planning to teach EIL in EFL contexts like Japan. He contends that the theoretical and pedagogical courses offered by such programs do not always correspond to what is needed in EFL contexts (see also Canagarajah 2003; Holliday 2005). Most higher education institutions, especially those which offer courses in English language and its teaching claims to be imparting English as a language of international communication. In practice, however, more often than not they remain detached from the socio-linguistic realities of the EIL practice and therefore, their claim unjustified.

Another issue that arises from Joe's story is the perception of a 'native' speaker and the English teachers' attitudinal complex attached to it. A plethora of literature on the NS and NNS dichotomy exist within the WE/EIL discourses most of which demonstrate and/or advocate for its inappropriateness (see for example Nayar 1994; Moussu and Llurda 2008; Mufwene 1998; Modiano 1999, 2007; Liu 1999). Nayar (1994) for example, suggests that the dichotomy of NS and NNS mainly centres on the intelligibility issue which invariably implies that NNSs are less intelligible than their native counterparts. Arguing against the general assumption, he suggests that in international communication contexts, NNS of English in fact are more efficient than many NSs, and that native speakers of some varieties of English can be equally unintelligible for the speakers of other varieties of English. Despite this common observation and the suggestion that such a dichotomy serves no practical purposes, Joe's story suggests that there has hardly been any change in people's attitude towards NS, or towards NNS for that matter, in the last 20 years. His story also suggests that the users of English, whether in Inner Circle countries like Australia or the Great Britain, or Expanding Circle countries like Japan or Nepal, continue to have stereotypical perception who fits in the NS category and who does not. His story confirms Javier's (2010) findings (see also Kachru 1985, 1997; Quirk and Widdowson 1985; Medgyes 1992, 1999; Liu 1999) that in norm-dependent and norm-developing countries, a native speaker is perceived to be someone, who is a White person of Caucasian or Anglo-Saxon descent or at least someone who is visibly 'foreigner' and therefore, a distinct ethnic minority (see also Kubota and Lin 2006).

Disappointment in the students and fellow-staffs for Joe's new school for not having someone from a distinct ethnic minority was evident, as the following overheard conversation shows:

Student (S)1: (In the school assembly organised to welcome Joe) (In Japanese) *We're going to have a native speaker teacher.*
S2: *Yeah! But where's he? I don't see any native speaker here!*

S1: *I'm not sure. May be the one sitting in the middle there on the podium.*
S2: *Oh him? He's not a native speaker. He's one of us.*
  (based on Joe's field notes, translated from Japanese)

This leads us to the issue of power and role-hierarchy within English language teaching staff. Despite numerous findings that NNS teachers with knowledge of local culture/language, make better teachers (Canagarajah 1999; Medgyes 1996, 1999), teachers of English who do not fit in the traditional category of NSs are often assigned with teaching roles which require less authority power (Javier 2010; Tsuneyoshi 2013; Medgyes 1994). Hierarchy in educational institutions is reflective of the structure that exists in most hierarchical societies. As a social construct, therefore, hierarchy in educational settings puts preference over one category of people, in particular, people *of Anglo-Saxon background*, over people of *other racial backgrounds* (Maum 2002). This could not be more evident in the current hiring practices in the ELT industry in hierarchical societies like Japan than in any other societies. Thousands of language teaching jobs are advertised every year in many different Expanding Circle countries which specify that only NSs will be considered, and many NNS teachers are not even considered for such job opportunities (Clark and Paran 2007).

Joe's English nativity and at the same time his knowledge of the local language and culture provided him an added advantage. He was very popular among students and teaching staff alike. Joe's experience is in line with other studies which confirm that native speakers (or foreigners) with knowledge of the local languages and cultures are fun, friendly, warm and entertaining. The local teachers may be more knowledgeable of the local cultures and customs, but they are often 'cold' and 'distant' (Stanley 2012; McDonald 2011). From an EIL perspective, the local teachers (NNESTs) may have certain advantages. However, they are not the only one who can be better teachers with better preparations. NESTs who are born into English and therefore speak the language well can have certain advantages as well. While "it is imperative for NNSs to acquire a good knowledge of the language, it is equally critical that NSs gain a good knowledge of contrastive linguistics before being qualified to teach their own language (Moussu and Llurda 2008: 321) because NSs may know the destination but like NNSs, they must know the terrain that they have to cross in order to get there (Seidlhofer 1999: 238). This further adds to the debate of "NEST and NNEST: who's worth more" (Medgyes 1996). The controversy, thus, of who makes successful EIL teachers – someone local with knowledge of local culture/language or NEST – the norm/model of accent, fluency and proficiency (Medgyes 1992; Leung et al. 1997), continues.

Joe's accounts of his struggles in teaching and practicing EIL has prompted me to critically reflect back on my own teaching. He highlights that there is a striking distance between what the EIL academic discourses suggest and what actually happens in the life of EIL practitioners. As a lecturer of EIL and of prospective EIL-inspired teachers, I need to inform my pedagogy of the issues that my graduates are likely to encounter in real classroom situations. With this knowledge of the gap between what I teach my students during my lectures and tutorials and what they

actually experience in the real life situations, I have to engage them in more reality-based interactions that involve envisioning, as Marlina (Marlina 2010 and this volume) suggests, the alternative possibilities of addressing the gap. To encourage students to do so, narratives from EIL teachers/practitioners, such as Joe, of actual classroom experiences should form a part of my teaching and learning resources.

At a different level, there needs to be a common platform for ELT educators and scholars of all ideologies to further explore a common ground within the conceptual anomalies that are still remaining in the field. For instance, the curricular and pedagogical practices of teachers teaching in ESL/EFL contexts are more likely to be guided by dominant language ideologies. While we cannot teach our graduates to go against the existing practices, what we, the EIL researchers, academics and teachers can do is to bring together practitioners of all ELT ideologies (ESL/EFL/TESOL, WE and EIL) to understand and investigate the many conceptual confusions and uncertainties in the field in order to restructure teaching targets, teaching and learning resources, and teacher education practices.

7 Conclusion

Teaching EIL in Expanding Circle contexts which are still tied to the traditional paradigm of teaching English is far from being straight forward. While such contexts still value native speakerism in more than one way, any attempt to challenge it or bring about changes in such a position encounter rigorous resentment and resistance. In this chapter, we have presented accounts of attempts made to implement EIL teaching strategies and practices in a Japanese context, and the struggles, resentments and resistances we experienced in doing so. It was shown that while the position on and knowledge and practice of EIL makes one feel confident convincing and therefore effective, there are very many situations in which one can feel powerless because of it. We have argued that while most ELT practitioners are unaware of the current multi-literacy communicative needs of the young learners of English in the present day globalised world, they are not yet prepared to think outside the native-speakerism box and therefore, they do not prepare children to critically think outside the existing ELT paradigm. At the local level, the ELT stakeholders are still resistant to the ideology and new approaches, notwithstanding, the young learners of English seem to enjoy and have fun experimenting with different Englishes. While this may be seen as a positive indication, we have argued that some of the most prevalent propositions made in the EIL discourses may still remain far-fetched. The next step for me and for many EIL lecturers like myself is to reflect, re-assess and re-organise what we bring in and what we do in everyday teaching with a view to better prepare our graduates to face and to work with the existing challenges in the real world.

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Epilogue: Understanding Language Variation: Implications for EIL Pedagogy

Ahmar Mahboob

Introduction

The contributions to this volume have looked at the pedagogical implications of using EIL as a model for language education in diverse ways. Each of the chapters makes a unique and important contribution in exploring issues related to this. While the individual papers take slightly different approaches, the volume is unified by what Marlina (this volume) refers to as a shared belief in "the importance of recognising the pluricentricity of English and the equal treatment given to all varieties of English and its speakers". However, one might ask what we mean by 'all varieties of English'? How many are there? How are they identified? How are they classified and categorised? How do they relate to educational, academic, and professional contexts? In the introductory chapter to this volume, Marlina refers to work on World Englishes, English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) and EIL to point out how people in different parts of the world use English to communicate with each other and with others and how all of these varieties of the language can be considered legitimate varieties of English. While linguistic evidence is clearly present to support this position as well as the positions taken by scholars working in World Englishes, ELF, and EIL, I believe that this body of work is missing a broader framework that provides coherence to studies of language variation. By looking at only certain populations and contexts, the current work in these areas tends to give a somewhat narrow and limiting view of English language variation. As such, while the use of these descriptions for pedagogical purposes may help in creating a more positive attitude towards language variation, they don't necessarily allow people who use 'non-standard' varieties to engage with and contribute to academic

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and professional materials. To do this, we need a model of language variation that reflects different dimensions in which language varies – and not just the location, background and ethnicity etc. of the people using the language.

In this Epilogue, I will unpack the notion of 'pluricentricity of English' in the hope that it clarifies some of the dimensions across which language varies. In doing so, I will describe a model of language variation that helps us to situate various ways in which language varies in relation to each other. The purpose of developing this model is to provide a broad understanding of how different Englishes relate to each other and how different ways of studying them can be seen as complementary approaches to studying language variation (rather than as being in any inherent conflict or turf war). In doing so, I will also suggest that the notion of EIL perhaps needs to be expanded to look at all the domains identified in a holistic approach to language variation, rather than placing different types of Englishes in separate (and sometimes conflicting) positions. I will then conclude the chapter by briefly discussing how these variations relate to educational contexts. I realise that this is not a typical approach to writing an epilogue to an edited volume; however, I believe that this chapter will help bring the volume together and provide impetus for further work in the area.

To start with, it will be useful to briefly consider the development of the field of World Englishes. Traditionally, the English language used by 'native' speakers was considered the appropriate model for language description, language acquisition, and language teaching. However, over the last 20 years or so, as linguists document how the English language varies around the world, there has been a growing acceptance of language variation and of World Englishes. There are two main bodies of research that have contributed to this work. The first thread of research that looks at World Englishes examines the language (and its politics and uses) in different parts of the world. This work on World Englishes focuses on language divergence – i.e., how local/regional varieties of English differ from other varieties of Englishes. The second thread of research looks at ELF and focuses on language convergence – i.e., what happens when people who use different varieties of Englishes interact with each other. In addition to these two threads of research, recent work on EIL also looks at how English has evolved and "recognises the international functions of English and its use in a variety of cultural and economic arenas by speakers of English from diverse lingua-cultural backgrounds who do not speak each other's mother tongues" (Marlina, this volume).

Typical research on World Englishes describes the linguistic features of particular varieties of Englishes. Research on ELF, on the other hand, looks at: (1) features of language that are shared by different varieties of Englishes, (2) features of language that can impede communication between users of different varieties, and (3) strategies that people use to accommodate for language variation. World Englishes and ELF research focus on different aspects of the same global phenomenon: global spread of English. In doing so, World Englishes examines how language changes as it spreads; whereas ELF researchers look at how language variations are negotiated or accommodated in order to achieve a communicative goal. In both of these approaches to looking at English language in a global context, the focus is on

the language as used by people in diverse contexts and not on an abstract notion of a 'standard' language that is based on 'native' speaker norms. There are several reasons for linguists to go beyond the 'native' model of English.

Descriptions of 'native' Englishes tend to be based on English as spoken by middle class White speakers of the language. Being the politically dominant group in BANA (Britain, Australia, and North America) countries, their dialect is used to 'codify' and 'standardize' the language. Other speakers of English are marginalized. For example, the English spoken by Afro-Americans or the Chicano speakers in the United States are not used for the purposes of codification of Standard American English. One example of the difference between Standard English and Afro-American English is in the use of double negatives. Double negatives such as 'I ain't gonna do nothing' are considered inappropriate in Standard English; however, this linguistic feature is quite common in Afro-American English. Scholars researching World Englishes are aware of this and note that using only 'Standard English' models in diverse settings (e.g. education) can have negative implications for people who speak divergent varieties of English (as highlighted in the previous chapter). Their work is, thus, a tool to help give 'legitimacy' to the local uses of English and to empower these varieties (and the speakers of these varieties).

Another thing that linguists have noted is that there is no single 'standard' English. Native speakers of English show a lot of language variation. As a result of this, grammar books that are based on the 'native' speakers are not always accurate in their description of English. For example, while many (prescriptive or pedagogical) grammar books decree that we should not split infinitives, i.e., we should not insert an adverb in between a word group such as 'to conclude', there is plenty of evidence that people [even native speakers] do so quite frequently. If we look at how language is actually used, we will note that this rule cannot be supported by actual language data. We often come across constructions such as: 'to quickly conclude', 'to boldly conclude', and 'to finally conclude'. In all three of the examples just cited, the to-infinitives are broken up by an insertion of an adverb. Grammar books prohibit this; however, users of the language still do it. This shows that (native) speakers of a language show considerable variation and that grammar books that are used to describe the language do not always capture this variation. Thus, linguists go beyond the 'standard' models and look at how language is actually used by people from different backgrounds and in different contexts. These studies of language variation can help us in identifying factors that play a role in language variation and thus help us in developing a model for understanding language variation.

Modeling Language Variation

English, or more appropriately *Englishes*, diverge from each other along a number of dimensions. They reflect the variations in the use, meanings and structures of the language as they have evolved in different parts of the world to achieve different

goals and purposes over a period of time. As such, we need to take account of the various types of variations that are intrinsic here and use this understanding to set up a model of language variation that allows us to identify the key aspects in which the context and use of language shapes these variations. An understanding of these variations allows us to build a 'bigger picture' of how language variation relates to the use of language across different contexts.

There are three key dimensions that need to be considered in modeling language variation: (1) users of Englishes, (2) uses of Englishes, and (3) modes of communication (see Halliday et al. 1964, for a discussion of language variation across the dimensions of use and users). Each of these dimensions can be understood as independent clines or continuums that influence language choices and can then be brought together as a three-dimensional model that allows us to 'situate' various aspects of language variation (see Hasan 2009, for a discussion language context and language variation). These three dimensions are first briefly described below and then brought together to form a coherent model of language variation.

One dimension of variation in language relates to who we are as 'users' of the language and with whom we are interacting. This is the kind of language variation that is studied in the broad research on sociolinguistics and intercultural communication studies; including research that focuses on World Englishes (see for example Kirkpatrick 2010) and other dialect studies (see Wolfram 2014). In the context of World Englishes, we typically look at how people in one location (country/speech community) use language for local purposes. The social distance between these participants is typically low in terms of their geographic location. However, the social distance might vary within these contexts based on social class, age, gender and other such variables. Each of these factors impacts how similar or different the language of various speakers is. People who are based in the same geographical region and are related (close friends/family etc.) may have unique ways of using language that reflect their close relationship and this language may not always be transparent to others (see for example, Wolfram 2014). For example, couple talk, sibling talk, or friend talk can be seen as language that is used between people who have low social distance (and thus is localised) and may not be interpretable to an outside audience. On the other hand, when interacting with people with whom one has a higher social distance, one tends to use a more 'standard' or 'international' or 'global' language – one that minimizes local references, idioms, forms, and features and is thus less prone to miscommunication. Thus, one cline of language variation can be based on 'low' vs. 'high' social distance. The indicator 'low social distance' helps us understand why people use 'local' forms of language, with their local denotations and connotations. The indicator 'high social distance' helps us understand why people use 'international' forms of language, minimizing local forms and features, and allow for communication with people who do not share their local features. In developing a model of language variation, we need to identify and understand these variables in order for us to be able to provide fine-tuned analyses and discussions of how Englishes vary based on the users of the language.

A second dimension of variation in language is related to the purpose or 'use' of the language. This kind of language variation is typically studied in research on genres and English for Specific Purposes (ESP). This body of work looks at how language varies based on the purpose it is used for (see for example Martin and Rose 2008). For example, the language used in a biology research paper is different from the language used in a movie review. In terms of operationalizing this dimension of language variation, a key factor to consider is whether the language is about 'everyday/casual' discourses or about 'specialised/technical' discourses. The difference between 'everyday/casual' and 'specialised/technical' discourses is not necessarily about the topic of the discourse, but rather about its purpose. For example, one could talk about the weather using specialised/technical language – the purpose of which might be to engage with an informed audience of environmental scientists at a conference; or one could talk about the weather in everyday/casual language – the purpose of which would perhaps be to serve as an ice breaker at a social event. In both the cases the topic remains the same; however, the choice of language will vary based on the purpose of the exchange. In linguistic terms, this variation is understood as register variation and is used extensively in literature in genre and ESP studies. Currently, there is limited work on register variation in multilingual contexts; however, there is no theoretical reason to assume that such variations don't exist in and across different varieties of Englishes. In fact, it is quite necessary to understand if and how language varies in different parts of the world while being 'used' for similar purposes. For example, an understanding of how registers are similar/different across World Englishes can help in developing educational material and resources.

The third dimension of language variation, which will inform our model, is 'mode' (Martin 1985; Derewianka 2014; Kirkpatrick, this volume). Modes of communication include aural, visual, and mixed channels of communication. The way we use language varies based on whether we are speaking, writing, or – as is becoming common today – combining these two modalities (for example, in online chats, blogs, etc.). The mode of communication impacts the language choices that we make and therefore needs to be studied. For example, if we keep the 'use' and 'users' of language constant, the language might still vary based on whether we are writing or speaking. For example, an academic/researcher will draw from different sets of linguistic resources based on whether they are presenting their work at a conference or writing up the paper for publication.

The three dimensions of language variation identified above are not mutually exclusive. They interact with each other in myriad ways. Some of these dimensions are captured in the three-dimensional model below (Fig. 1) – which is the result of mapping of the three dimensions described above into a single model.

Among other things, this model gives us eight different possibilities or domains of mapping language variation. These are listed below, along with examples of where we can find such languages. It should be noted that language varies within
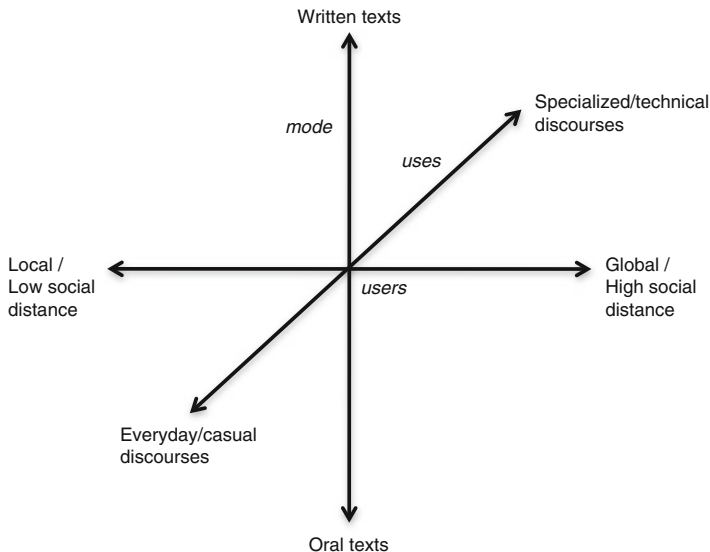
Fig. 1 Language variation framework

each domain too and not just across domains. These variations may happen across the various strata of language and reflect changes in the register variables of field, tenor, and mode.

	Domains	Example
1	Local, written, everyday	Friends writing letters to each other
2	Local, oral, everyday	Friends talking to each other about their plans for the holidays
3	Local, written, specialized	Texts written by and for a local group of farmers
4	Local, oral, specialized	Farmers discussing specifics about their crops
5	Global, written, everyday	International news agencies reporting on events
6	Global, oral, everyday	Conversations amongst people from different parts of the world
7	Global, written, specialized	Academics writing research papers
8	Global, oral, specialized	Conference presentations

One strength of the framework presented here is that it provides an overview of how language variation can be modeled in a global context and therefore allows us to map these variations out and study them systematically. At the moment, these eight domains of language variation tend to be studied under a range of different traditions. For example, domains 1 & 2 are typically studied by people focusing on dialects, pidgin and creoles, and/or World Englishes; domain 6 is the focus of research on English as a Lingua Franca (ELF); and domains 7 & 8 are covered by

studies on genre and English for Specific Purposes (ESP). Domains 3 and 4 are rarely studied within a World Englishes framework at the moment – something that needs to be addressed. Domain 5 is perhaps the most commonly studied in English linguistics and is the main source of the traditional (and pedagogical) grammars. This use of a single domain to provide pedagogical grammars is quite problematic since it does not reflect how language is used differently in the other contexts – especially in domains 7 & 8, which serve as gatekeepers to higher strata of academic and technical knowledge. It also raises questions about the exclusion of other Englishes from the educational context and raises questions about the implications of such exclusion of other Englishes.

The framework presented here also helps us to see that the variations in language are not just about 'nativeness' or 'ownership' of a variety, but about the community (of practice) that uses a particular variety. Each community – either user or use oriented – negotiates its own linguistic norms and practices. These norms are not static, but change as the community membership changes. So, for example, the language of a discipline does not remain constant, but changes with time: research papers in biology today are not written in the same language as they were a 100 years ago; similarly, the language of research articles in a journal such as TESOL Quarterly is not the same today as it was 25 years ago. The changes in the language reflect the shift in the community membership over time and space as well as the development of the field. This implies that even in inner circle countries, not all students who go to school have access to the language of domains 7 & 8 – this is something that they have to develop through schooling. By promoting local varieties of English (domains 1 & 2) in and through education at the cost of international Englishes, the students will not be taught how globally oriented language works. Without appropriate teaching of the global specialised discourses (both written and spoken), students who only have a control of local varieties of English will have a difficult task in reading, writing and participating in a globally oriented knowledge community that fall in domain 7 & 8 of the framework. Thus, it is important to expose students to a range of language varieties and variations and to give them access to globalised norms of language use in specialised domains.

Language Variation and Education

The framework presented above raises a number of questions in terms of the use of local dialects for educational purposes. Some World Englishes scholars have been advocating for utilising local varieties for educational purposes in the outer and expanding circle countries (see for example contributions to Matsuda 2012). This advocacy acknowledges the local varieties of English and assumes that if students are taught a local variety, which is the dialect of English used in their context, they will be more empowered. While this position is well meaning and appears to be in the interest of the students; a broader understanding of language variation – as

developed through the framework presented here – would suggest that local varieties may be used in educational contexts, but this should be done without replacing access to the global norms of the language. EIL pedagogy needs to recognise and be inclusive of different ways of using language across the different domains.

In trying to understand the role of language in education, it is useful to develop an understanding of the notions of 'language allocation' and 'language affiliation'. The language that we learn in our families and learn to use in our every day environments plays a critical role in shaping our sense of our selves and our surroundings. As we grow older, we learn new ways of meaning and also learn about how and where to use which forms of language. This language, that we learn at home, can be seen as our language allocation – it is the language that is allocated to us based on who we are (domains 1 & 2). As time goes by, we note that different communities of practice (such as a community of scientists, historians, or people in another region) use our language differently (or use a different language). We can choose to (or be forced to) learn this language, which we can call the language of affiliation – this is the language that we learn to use based on how and with whom we want to be affiliated with. This distinction between our allocated languages and our languages of affiliation is quite important and can help us explain how individuals' repertoire of language(s) evolves and changes over their lifetime. However, keeping our focus on language and education here, we will use the notions of allocation and affiliation to understand how access to knowledge is distributed through the society.

Let us imagine a scenario where a child learns dialect 'X' at home. When this child goes to school, they can find that the language of their home serves as the foundation of the language of schooling. If this is the case, they feel affirmed in their school environment – although this does not guarantee success in school. However, if they find that their home language is not recognized within the wider school curriculum, they have to learn another language and then learn through it. This becomes a double handicap for these children and signals to them that their home language is not valued in school contexts. This can result in an unequal distribution of opportunities for children in school. When children are put into these situations, without well-developed language and literacy support frameworks, they tend to fall behind other students whose language matches that of schooling. If this process carries on for a long time people start pointing out that students from certain 'language' (or ethnic or social) backgrounds don't perform as well as others. In these situations, people fail to question the choice of the linguistic code adopted in schooling that produce such result. They tend to overlook how the socio-economic resources that the parents can afford (and the parents' own linguistic and educational backgrounds) correlate with how children from certain backgrounds succeed or fail. It is for this reason that scholars advocate the use of a local (allocated) variety of English in schooling. However, what this advocacy fails to consider is that the language of education and knowledge production is not the same as local dialects/varieties (including many dialects and varieties used by mono-lingual speakers of English). Schools therefore need to provide language and literacy support to students (both speakers of standard and 'non-standard'

dialects) in order for them to access texts and resources used in academic and professional contexts. Providing them schooling in their language of allocation, without providing appropriate training in the language that they may need to affiliate with can create a barrier that may restrict these students' future opportunities.

Concluding Remarks

The work on EIL and the contributions to this volume discuss issues of language variation and education. One of the benefits of using EIL in the context of education is that it looks at the uses of the language instead of focussing on the users. This is a step in the right direction – however, this work still needs to be developed further: it needs to be grounded not just in the functions of English as an International Language, but also on a consideration of the linguistics of language variation. It needs to consider the features of English as it is used in different contexts and use these descriptions in its pedagogical models. The chapters in this volume, individually and collectively, reflect an awareness of taking a broader pluricentric approach to language in pedagogical contexts. The present chapter has elaborated on what a pluricentric approach to language entails and recommends that language teaching should be grounded in such an understanding of language in order for it to meet the needs of learners in various contexts and who are learning English for different purposes.

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