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‘Corpora, Classroom and Context:
The Place of Spoken Grammar in English Language Teaching’

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Thesis submitted to the University of Nottingham
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, May 2003
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List of Abbreviations

BAAL British Association of Applied Linguistics
BSE Bilingual speaker of English
CANCODE Cambridge and Nottingham Corpus of Discourse English
CELTA Certificate in English Language Teaching to Adults
EFL English as a Foreign Language
EIL English as an International Language
ELF English as an International Lingua Franca
ELT English Language Teaching
ELTJ English Language Teaching Journal
ENL English as a National Language
ENLF English as a National Lingua Franca
ESP English for Specific Purposes
IATEFL International Association of Teachers of English as a Foreign Language
IVACS Inter-varietal Applied Corpus Studies Group
MSE Monolingual speaker of English
RL Resident learner
TESOL Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages
WSE World Standard English
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank my parents for encouraging me to ask questions and even, occasionally, answering them to my satisfaction. To paraphrase Mark Twain, at the age of 14 I was amazed how little my parents knew; now that I am 44, I am amazed how much they have learned from me. They always stressed the value of thinking for yourself, and of giving everything your best shot.

Harriet and Robbie have put up with my occasional physical absences, and frequent mental absences, with great fortitude. I have always known they are on my side. Harriet has been of great practical support, especially when siphoning off child allowance to pay my fees. She also brought her keen editorial eye to the proof-reading process, and some no-nonsense wisdom to discussion of the issues.

I should not forget my brother, Richard, who has unwittingly honed my debating skills through years of futile argument about football and politics. Neither of us has ever knowingly lost an argument.

I have been very fortunate to have Ron Carter as my supervisor. I have gained much from his expertise and professionalism, and I have greatly appreciated the enthusiasm, humour and generosity of spirit he has always shown. Most of all, I would like to thank Ron for inspiring my interest in the subject of corpora and ELT and giving me the confidence that I had something of value
to say. Not least of Ron’s qualities is the ability to understand the pressures of doing a PhD while working full-time and facing relegation battles as a player and spectator.

My immediate colleagues at LMU – Jayne Barnes, Heather Buchanan, Jackie McCreery, Sarah Turnbull, and Claire Yarborough – have helped in a variety of ways: completing endless pilot questionnaires, sitting through rehearsals of my conference papers, and listening to the daily questionnaire bulletins: ‘One in from the Faroe Islands today!’ I have greatly appreciated their supportive attitude. I am also grateful to Susan Isherwood, who calmly helped me out of more than one word-processing crisis.

The kind of research I have been involved in would not have been possible without the generous co-operation of many friends and colleagues in the ELT world. Many of the teachers who completed my questionnaire sent notes of support and encouragement. It will not be possible to thank everyone who helped in this way, but I would like to thank the following for help in the design, piloting and administration of the questionnaires:

Rachel Appleby; Roger Bird; Jeremy Bradford; Steve Brady; Jonathan Brown; Ian Butler; Lyn Croft; Mark Durnford; Simon Gill; Sarah Jane Gould; Lucy Hale; Steve Henly; Kevin Keys; David Killick; Caroline Kirk; Beverly Lafaye; Dawn Leggott; Dawn Lindsay; Gareth Owen; Amol Padwad; Dave Parker; Janet Poveda; Wendy Price; Karl Ritson; James Roy; Becky Smith; Jim Stronach; Trevor Udberg.
For their help with evaluation of the materials, I would like to thank the following for taking the time to give me some thought-provoking feedback:
Hugh Dellar; Paul Emmerson; Simon Greenall; Jeremy Harmer; Luke Prodromou; Scott Thornbury; Brian Tomlinson.

Brian Tomlinson’s arrival at LMU was timely for me. Just as I was entering the materials design phase of the PhD, Brian arrived to show me what principled materials design was all about.

For invaluable help with the piloting of materials, I would like to thank the following:
Helen Barnes; Sue Birch; Charlotte Evans; Almut Koester; Janet Poveda; Carol Spoettl.

In this research I have been very much dependent on the goodwill of others. Occasionally that can be a frustrating position to be in, but one of the things I have enjoyed most about this PhD has been the uplifting contact it has brought me with friends and colleagues in the ELT world.
ABSTRACT

The main research question investigated in this thesis is:

In an era when English is increasingly used in international contexts, how relevant are the grammatical findings of native speaker spoken corpora in the ELT classroom?

In terms of original research data, the thesis draws, initially, on data from a large-scale quantitative survey into the attitudes of students and teachers to conforming to native speaker norms. The data from this survey shows that a desire to conform to native speaker norms is not restricted to learners with an obvious need to interact with native speakers. The research evidence also indicates that there is some interest among both teachers and students in conforming to native speaker spoken norms, though there is uncertainty about what these norms are, and reservations about whether they should be part of the learner’s productive repertoire.

The thesis includes a set of materials designed to be consistent both with the results from the attitudinal research and with current methodological insights from second language acquisition research. The thesis describes how these materials were evaluated and piloted, both to elicit further research evidence concerning the attitudes of learners and teachers to native speaker spoken norms, and to assess the potential viability of the materials in the classroom.
In the light of the theoretical arguments and research evidence presented, the thesis concludes that it is both possible and potentially desirable to design materials which raise awareness of aspects of native speaker spoken grammar, while respecting that English is no longer the exclusive property of its native speakers. The wider, concluding argument of this thesis is that it is both possible and desirable for the native speaker in contemporary ELT to be an object of reference without being an object of deference.
CHAPTER ONE
LITERATURE REVIEW:
CORPUS INSIGHTS AND SOCIOCULTURAL IMPLICATIONS

1.0 Introduction

An academic interest in spoken language is by no means a new development – Palmer and Blandford published ‘A Grammar of Spoken English’ as early as 1924 – but the advent of computerised corpora has dramatically improved the quality of evidence available to the linguist. Biber et al (1999: 1038) observe that “the grammar of conversation has been little researched until recently, when the advent of sizeable computer corpora has made such research feasible for the first time”. Carter and McCarthy (1995: 142–143) remark that “with relatively small but targeted corpora, much can be learnt about the spoken language, and small corpora can, in themselves, be directly exploited as a valuable resource in teaching”.

Given the widespread use of a communicative approach to language teaching, with an emphasis on developing spoken fluency, it might be supposed that the descriptive insights yielded by spoken corpora would be of obvious and immediate relevance to English Language teachers, syllabus designers and materials writers. McCarthy (1998), however, points out that the written language, because it has traditionally been easier to observe, analyse and describe, has taken on canonical status. Biber et al (1999: 1037) are explicit about this: “Western grammatical tradition is founded almost exclusively on the study of written language, a bias which still exists today.”
McCarthy (1998) notes that Chomsky’s rather dismissive view of spoken language as ‘performance data’ tended to devalue the status of the spoken language as a legitimate object of study. In addition, McCarthy and Carter (1995: 207) underline that the view of spoken language as a flawed medium is widely held: “Popular conceptions of the spoken language are often that it is corrupt, that its influence on grammatical norms is corrosive, and that ‘correct’ English grammar is what is codified in grammars of English; yet what is codified in grammars does not tell the whole story.” We are left with the potential paradox of a methodology which promotes the spoken word yet bases its descriptions of both grammar and lexis on the written word. McCarthy and Carter (1995) argue that for grammar teaching in the Communicative Approach to be more representative of the kinds of language use we are aiming to achieve, we need better descriptions of the spoken language and materials which reflect these insights.

There is, however, never an automatic transfer from description to pedagogy. Larsen-Freeman (2002) has spoken of ‘the reflex fallacy’: the [mistaken] idea that because a language feature exists, it must be taught. As a language cannot be taught in its entirety, descriptive insights are always subject to a pedagogic selection procedure: is the item described useful for our students? Is the item teachable and learnable? Gavioli and Aston (2001: 239) note that: “The point is that while corpora do not tell us what we should teach, they can help us make better-informed decisions, and oblige us to motivate these decisions more carefully.” In relation to the descriptive insights of spoken corpora, Prodromou (1996: 88) poses the question: “...What does the grammar of informal, spoken English mean for the non-native speaker of English, and what is the pedagogic relevance of this particular variety of English in the context of English as an international language?” In this literature review, we will address
Prodromou's question and make a preliminary assessment of the relevance of descriptive insights from spoken corpora to English language Teaching (ELT) on the basis of the relevant literature.

Before looking in detail at the specific findings of spoken corpora, we need to outline the fundamental principles of corpus linguistics. These principles are the focus of section 1.1. Sections 1.2 and 1.3 detail some of the specific findings of spoken corpora of potential relevance to ELT. In section 1.4 we look at the theoretical picture of spoken language which emerges from a study of the data. There is perhaps a case for looking at the theoretical picture before the specific findings, but in looking at the data before adducing the principles we are at least following the principles of corpus linguistics. Sections 1.5 and 1.6 place the question as to the relevance of insights into spoken language within the context of the debate about the appropriate model of English to offer in an era when English is increasingly used as an international language—a debate it is impossible to ignore in ELT. Section 1.7 details the specific hypothesis to be investigated in the light of the literature review.
1.1 Corpus Linguistics

1.1.1 Corpus Linguistics and Linguistic Tradition

"Looking through the computer, the whole state of a language can be passed before one's eyes" (Sinclair 1991: 25). Sinclair argues that computer corpora represent a powerful new body of evidence for the linguist. Indeed, Sinclair (1991) goes so far as to argue that, as regards quality of evidence, the linguistic sciences were in the same position as the physical sciences 250 years ago until the advent of computer corpora. Corpus linguistics has also been described as "a new approach to grammatical description which penetrates the parts of the language other grammars cannot reach" (Owen 1993: 164). Before looking in detail at what corpora might have to offer the pedagogically oriented linguist, however, we need to look at some of the important controversies which have attended the development of corpus linguistics.

McEnery and Wilson (1996: 10) note that corpus linguistics is not a new approach to research, but an approach which has been revived after facing a period of 'almost total rejection' when approaches based on introspection dominated linguistics. They emphasise that, before what they term 'The Chomskyan Revolution', which led to this period of rejection for corpus linguistics, most linguistic study was, in fact, based on naturally occurring data. McEnery and Wilson (1996: 2) use the term 'Early Corpus Linguistics' to describe pre-Chomsky linguistic research based on naturally occurring data, arguing that this term 'describes all linguistics before Chomsky and links it to the modern methodology of corpus linguistics to which it has affinity'.
An obvious link between early corpus linguistics and contemporary corpus linguistics is that the approach is essentially *empirical*: evidence for statements about language – judging the grammaticality of an utterance, for example – comes from a corpus of naturally occurring data. Influential work by Chomsky (1957; 1965), however, led many linguists to reject an empirical approach in favour of *rationalism*: an approach which uses artificial data and depends on the introspective judgements of the linguist. The aim of a rationalist approach is not only to model the effects of language processing, but also to represent how that processing is carried out (McEnery and Wilson 1996).

It was Chomsky’s famous distinction between *competence* and *performance*, in particular, which cast doubt on the value of using naturally occurring data. Competence, for Chomsky, was an individual’s internalised knowledge of a language, whereas performance was the external manifestation of that competence subjected to the non-linguistic phenomena attendant on the circumstances of production – the state of mind of the speaker, time pressure, for example. As performance was subject to non-linguistic phenomena, it was, for Chomsky, inevitably an inaccurate representation of competence. It is futile then, if one accepts Chomsky’s view, to study naturally occurring data if one wants to discover the systematic rules of a language, as one is likely to find a large amount of dysfluency and a large number of ungrammatical utterances in the ‘performance data’.

McEnery and Wilson (1996) summarise two further objections to a corpus-based approach to linguistics which arose from ‘the Chomskyan revolution’: 
1. Most early corpus linguists seemed to proceed on the basis that a language has a finite number of sentences. It can be shown, however, thanks to the existence of recursive rules and the huge number of syntactic and lexical choices we have, that the number of sentences in a language is, in fact, infinite. Any corpus, then, must be incomplete and will show what is frequent rather than what is possible.

2. For some judgements about grammaticality, we have to appeal to introspection. If a sentence has not yet found its way into the corpus, how do we judge if it is grammatical or not?

To what extent can these objections to a corpus-based approach to linguistics be countered? McEnery and Wilson (1996) contend that, for all purposes, naturally occurring data has the advantage of being publicly ‘observable and verifiable’ and that, for other purposes – second language acquisition studies, for example – naturally occurring data is essential, as introspection cannot come into play. There would also seem to be little doubt that corpus evidence will be superior to introspection when it comes to any kind of frequency count. An important objection to an exclusive use of an introspection-based approach is that, as it is limited by the imagination of the linguist, it cannot be comprehensive or systematic. Indeed, an argument we will be making in relation to spoken corpora is that there are important and systematic features of spoken language which seemed to have escaped the notice of linguists. Through the systematic examination of data, then, we may be able to reach the parts of language which intuition alone cannot reach. Countering Chomsky’s contention that much ‘performance data’ is ungrammatical, McEnery and Wilson (1996) cite Labov’s (1969) argument that the vast majority of sentences in a corpus are actually grammatical.
From a language teaching point of view in particular, we can argue that Chomsky's model of competence is too narrow. If we take into account, as applied linguists and language teachers surely must, Brazil's (1995) observation that speech is purposeful, then we will wish to account for all the factors which contribute to the achievement of that purpose. As applied linguists, and teachers who see communication as an important goal of language teaching, we will be interested in modelling communicative competence. We can get some idea of the kind of factors we will want to account for if we look at the 4-part model of 'communicative competence' outlined by Canale and Swain (1980). The 4 types of competence in their model were:

- Grammatical competence;
- Sociolinguistic competence;
- Discourse competence;
- Strategic competence.

Though this model not definitive, it is accessible and shows clearly that, from a language teaching point of view, we will be interested not only in establishing the rules native speakers know, but in other questions:

- On what basis, other than the need to convey ideational meaning, do speakers make certain grammatical and lexical choices?
- How do speakers manage interaction and how do they produce connected stretches of language?
- How do speakers compensate for inadequacies, temporary or permanent, in grammatical competence?
The corpus alone will not shed light on all these factors, but it will contribute useful evidence.

We will acknowledge now, and later, that a corpus-based approach has limitations, and we will also look in much greater detail at the potential benefits. For now, however, we will argue that we have addressed the fundamental objections to a corpus-based approach which arose from ‘The Chomskyan Revolution’.

1.1.2 What is a Corpus?

Biber, Conrad and Reppen (1998: 4) define a corpus as “a large and principled collection of natural texts.” A corpus can also be seen as a collection of ‘used language’, which Brazil (1995: 24) defines as “language which has occurred under circumstances in which the speaker was known to be doing something more than demonstrate the way the system works.” McEnery and Wilson (1996) note that in contemporary usage a corpus almost always refers to texts collected in a machine-readable form. Biber, Conrad and Reppen (1998: 246) underline the importance of design principles in constructing a corpus: “A corpus is not simply a collection of texts. Rather a corpus seeks to represent a language or some part of a language”. Biber et al (1999: 4) define a corpus as “A collection of spoken and written texts, organized by register and coded for other discourse considerations…”

1.1.3 Corpus Design

The task of constructing a truly representative corpus is not an easy one, as Biber, Conrad and Reppen (1998: 246) acknowledge: “We do not know the full extent of
variation in languages or all the contextual variables that need to be covered in order to capture all variation in texts.” Some of the questions relating to corpus design are simply concerned with size:

- What should the overall size of the corpus be?
- How many texts should be used from the different categories?
- How many samples should be used from each text?
- How many words should be used from each sample?

(Biber, Conrad and Reppen 1998)

Equally important, however, is the question of sampling. As Biber, Conrad and Reppen (1998) note, it would be possible to take a group of people selected on rigorous demographic principles and record all their language use. The weakness of this approach, however, would be that the corpus might not include enough language variation: “A key aspect of corpus design for most studies, then, is including the range of linguistic variation that exists in a language, not the proportion of variation” (Biber, Conrad and Reppen 1998: 247).

McCarthy (1998: 8) in describing the design principles of the Cambridge and Nottingham Corpus of Discourse English (CANCODE) refers to the need for both demographic and generic balance and representativeness: “The genre approach has to strike a balance between speaker, environment, context and recurrent features.” Rundell (1995) describes how the spoken element of the British National Corpus is designed taking equal account of demographic and contextual factors. McCarthy (1998: 28) concedes that the notion of genre is not without problems, but points out that useful working definitions of genre do exist: “Most linguists entering the debate
seem to accept the (theoretical) existence of genres as recognisable norm-governed activities comprising varying degrees of institutionalised linguistic and non-linguistic behaviour.” McCarthy (1998: 8) summarises the design aims of the CANCODE corpus thus: “The CANCODE corpus has tried to avoid opportunism and to follow design principles that will make its material maximally useful to teachers, pedagogically oriented researchers and materials writers.” These aims are facilitated by the genre-based approach which allows the researcher to compare samples above and beyond their original context of use: “The genre classification is important, since the grammatical features we shall look at are not evenly distributed across the genres, and we shall argue for a more genre-sensitive description of the spoken language as being the most useful resource for teachers and learners of English” (Carter and McCarthy 1995: 144).

Biber, Conrad and Reppen (1998) argue that the principles on which a corpus is constructed determine the research questions that can be legitimately addressed through the corpus evidence. While rigorous application of design criteria should allow the construction of corpora which are useful and valid for research purposes, it is worth noting the point made by McEnery and Wilson (1996) that corpus evidence can only ever be partial: it is, of course, impossible to include all the utterances made in a language. There is also the ever-present danger of a skewing of the data. McEnery and Wilson (1996: 8) quote Chomsky’s example that ‘I live in New York’ is inherently more likely to occur in a corpus than ‘I live in Dayton, Ohio’, simply because more people live in New York. Aston (1997) noted that the word ‘scum’ was over-represented in one corpus because they had used the Leeds United website as a source of data, where Manchester United and their followers are habitually referred to
as 'scum'. Cook (1998) makes the point that corpora are records of production, but not of reception – a text read by one person has the same status in a corpus as one read by millions. Having defined what a corpus is and reviewed the principles on which they are designed, we need to examine what the corpus-based approach is and what it has to offer.

1.1.4 The Potential Benefits of a Corpus-Based Approach to Linguistic Study

McEnery and Wilson (1996) stress that corpus linguistics is a methodology through which various aspects of linguistics can be investigated rather than being a separate area of linguistics. Biber, Conrad and Reppen (1998: 3) consider that the key feature of corpus-based approaches is that they focus on studies of language use rather than structure. Accordingly, the two central research questions of a corpus-based approach are:

- To what extent is a pattern found?
- What are the contextual factors which influence variability?

Biber, Conrad and Reppen (1998) argue that the search for typical patterns necessitates a reliance on corpus evidence and limits the value of intuitions or anecdotal evidence. In similar vein, McEnery and Wilson (1996: 12) argue that there are certain types of data, frequency information for example, which can only be obtained from corpora: "Corpora are sources of quantitative information beyond compare." McEnery and Wilson (1996: 12) also point out that: "Naturally occurring data has the principal benefit of being observable and verifiable by all who care to examine it." Four essential features of a corpus-based approach are identified by Biber, Conrad and Reppen (1998):
1. It is an empirical approach concerned with analysing language as it is actually used – we can relate this emphasis on an empirical approach to the 'theoretical shift' referred to by McEnery and Wilson (1996).

2. It uses a large and principled collection of texts – corpora containing hundreds of millions of words are now commonplace.

3. Both automatic and interactive computer techniques are used extensively for the analysis of data – we can relate this point, and point 2, to the 'technical shift' referred to by McEnery and Wilson (1996).

4. It depends on both qualitative and quantitative techniques.

It is these features which constitute the strength of the corpus-based approach: "Taken together, these characteristics result in a scope and reliability of analysis not otherwise possible" (Biber, Conrad and Reppen 1998: 4). The corpus-based approach is crucially concerned with studying association patterns: associations between a given linguistic item and other linguistic items, and associations between a given linguistic item and non-linguistic (contextual or generic) features. A focus on associations will necessarily lead to (statistically based) probabilistic statements rather than absolute, inviolate rules, but, argue Biber, Conrad and Reppen (1998: 9): "a crucial part of the corpus-based approach is going beyond the quantitative patterns to propose functional interpretations explaining why these patterns exist." McEnery and Wilson (1996) show that a corpus-based approach can be applied to good effect to many aspects of linguistic research.
For our purposes, however, it is particularly worth considering briefly the advantages which might accrue from applying a corpus-based approach to investigations in grammar and discourse analysis. Biber, Conrad and Reppen (1998: 59) note that grammar has not traditionally been the focus of empirical study and summarise the advantages to be gained form applying an empirical corpus-based approach: “The availability of large corpora and computer tools make it possible to study the patterned ways in which the speakers use the grammatical resources of a language – by investigating the frequency distribution of various constructions, the association patterns between grammatical structures and other linguistic and non-linguistic factors, and the factors that affect choices between structural choices.” Discourse features have not lent themselves so readily to corpus-based analysis, partly because discourse features are not always easy to identify, and partly because concordancers have tended to use sentential contexts. However, Biber, Conrad and Reppen (1998: 131) show that interactive computer programmes can contribute to the analysis of discourse characteristics and that automatic techniques can be used to track a surface grammatical feature over a stretch of text. They conclude with regard to discourse analysis that: “Interactive computer programmes and innovative output formats make it possible to investigate issues that have previously been considered intractable.”

McEnery and Wilson (1996: 16) stress that a corpus-based approach is not the definitive research method for linguistics and does not have to be used in isolation: “A corpus and an introspection based approach to linguistics are not mutually exclusive. In a very real sense they can be gainfully viewed as complementary.” Similarly, McCarthy (1998) notes that while computerised corpora make it easy to process a lot of data, it is not generally useful to approach the data with no idea of what you are
looking for. For McCarthy (1998: 23), an essential attribute of a corpus linguist is the ability to approach the data with an open mind, unencumbered by preconceptions from traditional sentence-based analysis. He quotes Chafe (1992) describing the role of the corpus linguist as being to try to understand language “by carefully observing natural samples of it and then, with insight and imagination, constructing plausible understandings that encompass and explain these observations”.

For pedagogic purposes, McCarthy (1998: 150) argues that qualitative data is the most important and that close attention must be paid to everyday speech functions: “...central to any investigation of language with a claim to pedagogical usefulness is the close observation of how the most common, banal, everyday functions of linguistic communication, such as reporting, are actually carried out.” Carter (1998) describes the focus of the CANCODE corpus as being the forms of language which we use for particular purposes and the interactional choices we make according to whom we are interacting with.

A corpus-based approach does not, of course, result merely in a series of discrete descriptive insights. Cook (1998: 57) summarises the more general insights gained into the nature of language from corpus evidence:

- Actual language use is not so much a matter of applying abstract grammatical rules in combination with lexical items, but more a question of collocation.
- Some utterances which are grammatically possible do not occur, while others occur with disproportionate frequency.
- The domains of grammar and lexis are less distinct and more mutually dependent than previously thought.
In similar vein, Hunston (2002: 138), drawing on Sinclair (1991), summarises the challenges to current views of language which have arisen from corpus studies:

- There is no distinction between pattern and meaning;
- Language has two principles of organisation: the idiom principle and the open-choice principle;
- There is no distinction between lexis and grammar.

Biber et al (1999: 4) argue that an important insight from corpora is “that structure and use are not independent aspects of the English language; analysis of both is required to understand how English grammar really functions in the day-to-day activities of speakers and writers.”

1.1.5 The Limitations of Corpus-Based Approaches

As we quoted Cook (1998: 57) on the important insights gained from corpora, we should also include his comments on the limitations of corpora: “If the traditional concern of linguistics – language in all its cultural and psychological complexity – could be replaced by a neat computer bank of data, life would be much simpler.” Cook (1998: 58) argues, however, that life can never be so simple, as many aspects of language use are not matters of fact but matters of individual perception at a given moment: “It is a truism to observe that there is no straightforward correlation between the words people use, the intentions they had in them, and the interpretations other people put on them.” Hunston (2002: 22–23) notes four main limitations of corpora:

1. Corpora will only tell you whether something is frequent, not whether it is possible.
2. Corpora, no matter how good the demographic and generic balance, can never be truly representative of a language: this point is echoed by Gavioli and Aston (2001: 238): “The largest corpora of English are still smaller than the average adult user’s experience of the language, and very different in their composition....”

3. Corpora can give us plenty of evidence in the way of examples, but do not give us information or interpretations. Interpretations must come from the corpus researcher.

4. Corpora cannot capture the whole context – visual, spatial or social – in which the language was used. And in relation to spoken language, it cannot (yet) capture all the accompanying prosodic and paralinguistic features.

1.2 The Contribution of Spoken Corpora to Linguistic Study

Carter, Hughes and McCarthy (1998) concede that work on spoken grammar is in its early stages and needs to be more clearly defined. Spoken corpora have, however, already highlighted many interesting features ignored to a greater or lesser degree in standard (written-based grammars): “...written-based grammars exclude features that occur widely in the conversation of native speakers of English, across speakers of different ages, sexes, dialect groups, and social classes, with a frequency and distribution that simply cannot be dismissed as aberration” (Carter and McCarthy 1995: 142). This notion of spoken grammar is defined explicitly by Biber et al (1999: 18): “We define standard spoken English as including grammatical characteristics shared widely across dialects, excluding those variants restricted to local or limited social/regional varieties. This approach recognises that conversation
has special grammatical characteristics not typically found in writing, and so we do not impose a written standard in our analyses of conversation.” Biber et al (1999: 11) observe that many differences between speech and writing might seem clear once attention has been drawn to them, ‘but many of them escape casual inspection and as a result are overlooked in the teaching and study of English grammar’. Biber et al (1999: 7) also note that speech is not as grammatically simple as has been previously supposed: “...we have found that speakers in conversation use a number of relatively complex and sophisticated grammatical constructions, contradicting the widely held belief that speech is grammatically simple.”

1.3 Specific Findings from Spoken Corpora

The purpose of this section is not to give an exhaustive account of the findings of spoken corpora, but to examine a selection of features which is broad enough to indicate the scope and the tenor of the findings. We look first, briefly, at some basic differences between speech and writing: the distribution of word classes. We then look at some insights from spoken corpora into specific grammatical features, subdivided into New Descriptions (1.3.1) and New Perspectives (1.3.2). New Descriptions examines features which have largely been ignored in standard grammars, whereas New Perspectives examines features where spoken corpora have been able to throw new light on existing descriptions. The division is not a watertight one, but it is convenient organisationally. While the focus of this thesis is on grammatical features, it would be perverse to ignore lexis, particularly as we have already noted that corpora have cast doubt on the validity of a sharp division between
lexis and grammar. Lexis and Vague Language are both dealt with under New Perspectives (1.3.2).

1.3.1 New Descriptions from Spoken Corpora

*Heads*

Heads involve the utilisation of a topic slot before the core constituents of a canonical sentence (Carter and McCarthy 1995). Aijmer (1989: 137) uses the illustrative example: “Our Maths chap our junior Maths chap up there, he’s an Indian” where the noun phrase in bold is the head, occupying the topic slot. Carter and McCarthy (1995: 148–149) point out that heads may involve any of the following:

- Pronoun copying;
- An indirect relation between the head noun phrase and the subject;
- Discord of person and number;
- A grammatically indeterminate relation between the head and the subject.

McCarthy (1998: 62) notes that this phenomenon is often referred to as ‘left dislocation’ (as is indeed the case with Aijmer 1989). He argues, however, that the very term ‘left dislocation’ accords the feature a deviance it does not deserve, and Carter and McCarthy (1995: 149) stress that heads are common in everyday conversation: “We would argue that left-placed or fronted items of this kind are perfectly normal in conversational language, and are quite within their ‘right place’.” Carter and McCarthy (1995) point out that heads are especially common in the narrative genre. Aijmer (1989) remarks that heads are not limited to informal conversation in standard English, but are also common in non-standard forms and in
regional dialects. McCarthy and Hughes (1998) refer to the existence of left dislocation in languages other than English.

The main function of heads according to Aijmer (1989) is to foreground a particular item, but she also lists exemplification, addition, contrast or temporal sequencing as possible functions. McCarthy (1998: 77) stresses the discourse function of heads and describes the use of heads as "an act of consideration to the listener" in that they take the listener from familiar information to a new entity. Heads then have a discoursal role in that they foreground new information, but also an affective role in that they help strike an informal tone: "This is a quintessential example of 'grammar as choice', where the speaker chooses to fill an available slot for textual and interpersonal motives" (Carter and McCarthy 1995: 150).

**Tails**

Structurally, tails are the mirror image of heads as they occupy a slot after the core constituents of the canonical sentence. The illustrative example used by Aijmer (1989: 140) is: "Well I think they very often are, these East Europeans", where the noun phrase in bold constitutes the tail. Typically, the slot is occupied by an amplificatory noun phrase (Carter and McCarthy 1995). Carter and McCarthy (1997) emphasise that "tail forms are not regionally restricted and may be found in a range of social contexts and by a range of different speakers". Structurally, tails are quite complex: Carter, Hughes and McCarthy (1998) list seven rules for the formation of tails. Tails tend to cluster with other attitudinal devices such as modal verbs, modal adverbs and hedges; they are likely to co-occur with verbs such as 'going to' or 'wonder', which modalise a proposition (Carter and McCarthy (1997)).
Aijmer (1989: 151) considers that the main function of tails is phatic, though in some cases they appeared to be used for postponed identification or disambiguation: “The phatic function (84%) of the tail outweighed the disambiguating function and can be regarded as the typical function of tails in spoken English.” Carter and McCarthy (1997) list four main functions for tails:

- They signal informality;
- They invite reciprocity;
- They are expressive and evaluative;
- They maintain coherence for the listener.

As with heads, tails have both a discoursal and an interactive/affective function.

**Ellipsis**

Carter (1998: 45) states that ellipsis, which typically involves the omission of the subject pronoun, copular or auxiliary, is “pervasive and endemic” in conversational data. It appears that ellipsis may also be common in international varieties of English: “Preliminary exploration of data from other varieties of informal spoken International English reveals that ellipsis is pervasive in these varieties” (Carter 1998: 45). Ellipsis is particularly common in lexical phrases, fixed and institutionalised expressions (Carter and McCarthy 1995). As Biber et al (1999: 1043) observe: “It is often a condition of this type of [situational] ellipsis that the elements are so stereotyped as to be predictable in any situation.” While ellipsis is associated with informality, Carter and McCarthy (1995) contend that it is more sensitive to genre than it is to questions of formality or informality – they note that it is common in language-in-action sequences and service encounters, but rare in narratives. Biber et al (1999: 1043)
remark of ellipsis: “Obviously such structure-erasing devices signal dependence of communication on contextual clues – which may or may not have been overtly signalled in the preceding discourse. The frequency of ellipsis in conversation...shows up especially in situational ellipsis, in ellipsis across turns, and also commonly in answers to questions.”

1.3.2 New Perspectives from Spoken Corpora

Data from spoken corpora have led to a reappraisal of some of the differences between speech and writing and a reappraisal of the sentence-based rules traditionally presented to students. We look below at some instructive examples.

**Word Classes**

Biber et al (1999: 11) observe that “...even basic word classes – such as nouns, adjectives, verbs – are far from evenly distributed across registers”. Differences in distribution between speech and writing can be attributed to the interpersonal nature of conversation and to the circumstances of its production: “…the interpersonal focus of conversation results in frequent use of verbs to narrate events and to present personal attributes, while the online production and context-dependent circumstances of conversation make it more appropriate to use pronouns instead of nouns.” A further insight from Biber et al (1999: 11) is that even structures with similar frequencies in speech and writing might be used in different ways. The example they cite is that ‘that clauses’ in speech tend to be used to ‘convey personal attitudes and feelings’; in writing, however, they are often used to introduce reported speech.
Reported speech

McCarthy (1998: 158) notes that speech reporting is common in conversational data and that there is some overlap with written resources for speech reporting; crucially, however, "...spoken data exhibit choices which are rarely, if ever, found in written text reports." Conversational resources, he contends, while different from written resources, are in no way a poor relation. To illustrate the richness of conversational resources for speech reporting, McCarthy (1998: 158–159) lists the following features:

1. The speaker uses 'say' to report both statements and questions.
2. The zero quotative option.
3. The reporting verb may be initial, medial or final.
4. The reporting verb may be in the historical present.
5. Reported conversation tries to replicate the actual conversation by including discourse markers.
6. The reporting verb is often in the past continuous form.

For our purposes, the use of the reporting verb in the past continuous is particularly interesting, both because it is very common (McCarthy refers to 136 instances in 1 million words of CANCODE) and because it is completely ignored in ELT materials. Through a study of the data a clear function can be assigned to this form of speech reporting and probabilistic judgements made about its occurrence in particular genres: "The past -ing form reports in the CANCODE corpus are genre-restricted and seem to belong to more general, non-narrative, casual, conversational contexts where they
seem to signal topic management...and contrast with the ‘focus-on-words-uttered’ function of past simple reports” (McCarthy 1998: 161–162).

Get passive

The ‘Get passive’ has been a problematic area for description, but McCarthy (1998) argues that spoken data throw interesting light on the problem. The statistics quoted by McCarthy (1998) do indeed seem to point in a clear direction: in the CANCODE corpus 124 out of 139 instances of the ‘Get passive’ are adversative and in 130 cases there is no agent. Where there is an agent, it tends to be impersonal or inhuman. It is not necessarily the case that the situation is adversative, it is more a question of how the speaker views the situation. In the example ‘We got caught up in the traffic’, it is fairly obvious that the situation is adversative. There are not many cases when being stuck in traffic is favourable. In the example ‘We got caught up in the excitement’, however, we would need to know the context and the speaker’s perception of it, before we could judge whether this situation was adversative or not. “The key to understanding the get-passive is that it reflects the stance of the speaker rather than the content of the message” (McCarthy 1998: 85).

Tense-Aspect Choices

McCarthy (1998) refers to the work of Zydattis (1986) on ‘hot news’ texts, which showed that the present perfect tended to be used in preview function with the past simple functioning to give the actual details. McCarthy (1998) argues that this preview/detail distinction holds good for oral narrative and applies equally to the use of used to/would in oral narratives – the choice of used to/would appears to depend on discourse factors rather than questions of formality as argued by Quirk (1985) (quoted
in McCarthy 1998). I would like to show an example of the preview/detail distinction with ‘used to’ and ‘would’ from an extract from a literary dialogue which I later used in class to illustrate a number of features of spoken discourse:

Thomas: Ach, everyone likes Irn Bru, but with vodka?
Leonard: I used to drink it that way at school. I’d steal some vodka from the drinks cabinet and then I’d mix it in an Irn Bru bottle.


Celce-Murcia (1991) extends the preview/detail distinction to going to/will, but according to McCarthy (1998), the CANCODE data does not fully support this observation. McCarthy and Hughes (1998) have shown that the past perfect is often used in situations where it does not seem to be structurally or lexically determined; it appears to be used to give explanations or justifications for the main events of the text. For McCarthy (1998) then, “The tense-aspect choices, therefore, fulfil important lexical and interpersonal functions rather than purely temporal-ideational ones in the developing text.”

**Lexis**

McCarthy (1998) provides a concise summary of the lexical findings of spoken corpora. In contrast to the written word, it seems that precise selection of vocabulary is not common in speech. There are also differences in word frequency between speech and writing: it appears initially that there are more lexical content words on the high frequency list for speech. On closer examination, however, these lexical content words often turn out to be embedded in discourse markers such as ‘You know’ or ‘You see’. Words may be used in a different way in speech than they are in writing: McCarthy (1998) quotes the example of ‘tend’, which is 9 times more common in
speech than it is in writing, and in speech is normally used to express habit rather than proclivity. As speech is normally rooted in a here-and-now context, there is generally a lower lexical density in speech than there is in writing (McCarthy 1998). Rundell (1995: 34) underlines how common fixed or prefabricated expressions are in speech: “What is becoming clearer is the astonishingly high degree to which speakers (as opposed to writers) rely on such word combinations as a way of maintaining fluency in what is, after all, a very demanding process. Recent research (Altenberg 1991) suggests that up to 70% of all words in spoken text occur as part of a ‘recurrent word combination’, and it is possible that the percentage may be even higher in completely unscripted conversation.” Biber et al (1999: 995) observe that “In conversation, about 30% of the words occur in recurrent lexical bundles; if two-word contracted bundles are also considered, almost 45% of the words in conversation occur in a recurrent lexical bundle.” Rundell (1995) also comments on the prevalence of circumlocution in speech and claims that there is enough data available to allow us to build ‘working grammars’ to explain the difference, for example, between ‘not particularly cheap’ and ‘not exactly cheap’. McCarthy (1998) observes that idiom use in speech is not random: “...real data seem to indicate ...that idiom selection is not random and unmotivated, and can be linked to features of language choice at the discourse level.” These discourse features appear to be that idioms are often used evaluatively, and in the context of oral narrative are common in the coda, which relates the anecdote back to life in general. McCarthy (1998) quotes Strässler (1982) showing that idioms often involve ‘self or other abasement’ and, therefore, constitute a risk to face. Vocabulary use in speech is influenced by all the participants; McCarthy (1998) describes the phenomenon of ‘relexicalisation’: “Where participants are trying to agree a topic, we often find a significant variation between exact repetition of vocabulary and what may
be called ‘relexicalisation’, where content is recast in different, but near-synonymous words.”

**Vague Language**

Channell (1994) has made a special study of the use of vague language. Although her study relates to both speech and writing Channell comments that vague language is particularly prevalent in speech. Channell (1994: 196) stresses the pervasiveness of vague language: “Vague language forms a considerable part of language use. The corpora and other texts studied show many examples occurring in a wide range of contexts. This means we cannot, in any theory of language, treat it as the exception rather than the rule.” Channell (1994: 197) is emphatic that vague language does not constitute impoverished language use: “Vague expressions are not empty fillers, inserted by speakers to give processing time. They are deliberately chosen for their contribution to the communicative message.” Among the functions ascribed by Channell (1994) to vague language are: self-protection; informality and atmosphere; politeness and giving the right amount of information. When a colleague of mine in a talk to a group of trainee teachers says: “IATEFL is like an organisation for teachers”, it is probably not because she is any doubt as to what IATEFL is. It is more likely to be because she is striking an informal tone and avoiding a didactic tone. Biber et al (1999: 1045) also note the positive characteristics of vague language: “Seen from the vantage point of written language, with its emphasis on specificity, such vagueness appears to be a culpable lack of precision. But from the viewpoint of conversational features, greater precision would not only be superfluous, but it would also need more processing and delay the ongoing dynamic of the conversation.” In the affective and discoursal functions attributed to spoken use of lexis by
commentators such as McCarthy (1998), Channell (1994), and Biber et al (1999), we can hear echoes of the functions we attributed to grammatical features in 3.2 and 3.3. It is time, then, to examine the common ground which emerges from a data-based study of features of the spoken language.

1.4 The Nature of Spoken Language

We noted in 2.3 that a corpus-based approach does not result simply in a series of interesting, but discrete descriptive findings. The cumulative effect of these findings is to produce a view of language which challenges existing notions. The same applies with particular reference to the findings of spoken corpora. A consistent thread in the literature on spoken language is that a sentence-based system of analysis is inadequate to provide a descriptive account of spoken data (McCarthy and Carter 1994; Channell 1994; Brazil 1995; McCarthy and Hughes 1998; McCarthy 1998; Carter and McCarthy 1997).

1.4.1 Spoken Grammar and the Sentence

Carter and McCarthy (1997: 422) contend that “spoken grammar requires separate descriptive articulation, not least because the forms would appear to be endemic to spoken dialogic exchanges.” Biber et al (1999: 18) refer to ‘standard spoken English’ and also imply the need for ‘separate descriptive articulation’: “...We define standard spoken English as including grammatical characteristics showed widely across dialects, excluding those variants restricted to local or limited social/regional varieties. This approach recognizes that conversation has special grammatical
characteristics not typically found in writing, and so we do not impose a written standard on our analysis of conversation.” Brazil (1995: 15) makes an observation, which is in a sense obvious, but of fundamental import for the description of spoken language: “In other words, we do not necessarily have to assume that the consideration of such abstract notions as sentences enters into the user's scheme of things at all.” If it is the task of a grammar to account for what speakers actually do, then a sentence-based approach appears to be fundamentally flawed. Channell (1994: 202) makes a similar point, with force: “...the goal of describing sentence meaning is no goal at all, since sentences and sentence meaning cannot, in principle, be isolated as objects of description.” If it is not legitimate to isolate sentences, what does a grammar of spoken language have to account for, what does fall within the legitimate purview of the spoken grammarian? As Brazil (1995) expresses it: “The notion of the sentence is so much part and parcel of what we take grammar to be about that it is not immediately obvious how we can dispense with it as a key part of a conceptual apparatus.”

1.4.2 Factors in Spoken Grammar

For Brazil (1995) a central feature of speech which it is essential to take into account is the conditions of production. Brazil (1995) is concerned to construct a ‘real-time grammar’ which takes into account that speech is linear and purpose-driven: “There is good reason to suppose, however, that many of the questions we want to ask about spoken discourse could be sensibly addressed on the basis of the rather unremarkable fact that the events that comprise such discourse occur one after the other” (Brazil 1995: 6). McCarthy (1998: 78) places equal emphasis on the real-time nature of
speech: "...the fact that spoken language is produced in time rather than space, for a here-and-now listener rather than a temporally displaced reader, becomes paramount in explaining grammatical phenomena." Biber et al (1999: 43) also observe that processing constraints influence grammatical choice: "...The patterns of use associated with a grammatical feature are often strongly influenced by differing production and comprehension circumstances." Indeed, they argue that many grammatical features are dual purpose in that they 'conventionally index a situation' and facilitate online production. Brazil (1995) proposes the 'increment', or unit of information as the basic unit of analysis for the description of spoken language. A further feature of speech which Brazil (1995: 30) considers it essential to include in a grammar is its interactive nature: "Sensitivity, both to situation and to the viewpoint of the other person within that situation, is constantly demanded of the speaker, and it is in this sense that we shall say that used language is interactive, even when one participant makes no observable contribution." Brazil (1995: 15) is explicit about what the goals of a grammar of speech should be: "It will offer one possible explanation of how speakers manage to do what they think it needful to do linguistically in all the multifarious situations in which they are called upon to act as communicators." As Brazil (1995) underlines, to treat speech as inherently purposeful and interactive represents a considerable departure from the tenets of sentence-based grammar. It is important to note, however, that while there is common ground between Brazil (1995) and other analysts in their criticism of the sentence-based approach, Brazil's (1995) 'process grammar' is avowedly preliminary and exploratory, and based only on one sample of monologue data.
Carter and McCarthy (1997) argue that the affective dimension of grammar has been unjustly neglected. This dimension is needed, they argue, to account for emotive, affective and interactive responses within contexts. Carter and McCarthy (1997: 406) quote Hopper and Thompson (1993) to stress the range of factors which come to bear on grammar: "[grammar] is shaped by the entire range of cognitive, social and interactional factors involved in the use of language." What is more, they emphasise, no single factor dominates. Biber et al (1999: 23) stress the influence of situational factors on grammatical choice: "Speakers express their own personal attitudes, feelings and concerns, and they interact with one another to build a shared discourse jointly. In conversing, a speaker's use of grammatical features is strongly influenced by situational characteristics of this type." We need, therefore, a grammar which accounts for the here-and-now linear construction of speech, its interactive and affective dimensions, in additional to traditional logical and ideational concerns. Channell (1994) stresses the important affective role of vague language and concludes that his affective function makes vague language an important part of the repertoire of any competent speaker.

1.4.3 Spoken Grammar as Discourse

Carter and McCarthy (1997) concede that a discourse-based approach does not explain all aspects of social meaning, but it has been argued (Carter and McCarthy 1994; McCarthy and Hughes 1998; McCarthy 1998) that there are considerable advantages to adopting a discourse-based description to spoken language. Indeed, we have seen in section 3 that we needed to refer to discourse level features both to properly describe a range of grammatical items from ellipsis to certain tense-aspect choices and to explain aspects of lexical choice. It is not surprising, therefore, that
McCarthy (1998: 69) should remark: "...applying discourse-grammatical criteria to the spoken language is not just an optional extra, but a necessary tool for adequate analysis and explication of real spoken data."

McCarthy (1998) summarises the benefits and implications of applying these discourse-grammatical criteria. A discourse approach enables us to give a more accurate and appropriate description of the kinds of choices a learner needs to make when constructing stretches of discourse: "...a discourse grammar focuses on the kinds of preoccupations that speakers routinely deal with in speech, that is, how can I best organise my message to make it clear, coherent, relevant, appropriately organised etc" (McCarthy 1998: 75). A discourse approach can help us to explain differences between speech and writing and to pay due heed to the influence of interactional factors on grammatical (and lexical) choice (McCarthy 1998). This emphasis on context of production, interpersonal considerations and units of information will allow the discourse approach to penetrate parts of the grammar which a sentence-based approach cannot reach. Discourse grammar will tend to produce probabilistic rather than deterministic rules, but such rules may still be of great use to the learner (McCarthy 1998). A discourse grammar tends to a more integrated view of language where the grammar of a clause or sentence contributes to the creation of higher order patterns. This integrated view applies just as much to vocabulary: "...the vocabulary of a language is an integrated resource...which serves the progression and development of topics and participants' goals and, just as importantly, the construction and maintenance of social relations" (McCarthy 1998: 128). The task of a discourse grammar is not, however, simply to provide a new perspective on features
already described in conventional grammars – it may need to identify and describe features not previously included in canonical grammar.

A recurrent theme in the literature on spoken language (McCarthy and Carter 1994; Channell 1994; Brazil 1995; McCarthy and Hughes 1998; McCarthy 1998; Carter and McCarthy 1997) is that it is neither possible nor desirable to abstract away from the data. Brazil (1995) remarks that we can expect speakers to take account of those very factors – interpersonal, affective, linear, here-and-now – that sentence grammarians wish to ignore. McCarthy (1998: 173) concludes that in the study of spoken language “it is simply impossible to idealise the data away from who said it, to whom, at what point, with what apparent goals and purposes, in the context of what relationship, and under what circumstances. Equally present have been concerns such as the mutual protection of face, the desire to converge socially, the joint construction of meanings and of generic activity, and the active roles of listeners”. Grammar does not exist as an abstract entity separate from speech; grammar is created through speech: “Grammar is sedimented conversational practices” (Hopper and Thompson 1993 in McCarthy 1998: 86).

1.5 Describing the English-Speaking World

In 1.0 we referred to arguments (Prodromou 1996) about the relevance of findings from native speaker corpora in the context of English as an international language. In this section (1.5) we describe some of the factors which are crucial to an understanding of the sociocultural debate about appropriate norms and models of English for the ELT classroom. The sociocultural debate is the focus of 1.6. In 1.5.1
we describe the growth of English. In 1.5.2 we examine geopolitical descriptions of the way English is used in different contexts in the world. In 1.5.3 we address the vexed question of defining the native speaker.

1.5.1 The Growth of English

"...world English exists as a political and cultural reality" (Crystal 1997: 10). A bold and eye-catching statement, but whether one goes as far as Crystal or not, it has become difficult to ignore the debate about the globalisation of English and its implications for English Language Teaching, particularly when we are concerned with selecting content for ELT syllabuses and materials. Crystal (1997) also points out that English is taught as the first foreign language in over a hundred countries and refers to a British Council estimate that by the year 2000 1 billion people will be learning English. For our purposes, though, perhaps the most significant estimate is this projection: "So, if current population and learning trends continue... Within 10 years there will certainly be more L2 speakers than L1 speakers. Within 50 years there could be up to 50% more" (Crystal 1997: 11). There have been estimates that up to 80% of communication in English is between non-native speakers. In assessing the sociocultural implications of the growth of English, we should note that Crystal (1997) considers that English, unlike other languages which have enjoyed a period of dominance, may already have gone beyond the point where politico-economic vicissitudes might arrest its rise to the status of established world lingua franca.
1.5.2 Contexts of English Language Use: Geopolitical descriptions

If we are interested in a context-sensitive pedagogy, then we will need to know something about the contexts in which our pedagogy may be applied, at least in terms of the status of English in that context, and the likely patterns of use of the speakers. Given the widespread and growing use of English, how can we categorise the various contexts and the various ways in which English is used? An early and well known classification of the English-speaking world is the division into 'three circles' proposed by Kachru (1982). As we shall see, Kachru's 'three circles' model has recently come under criticism and its validity for the contemporary world has been questioned. We will begin our review of geopolitical descriptions, however, by looking at this highly influential model, before looking at objections to the model. Finally, we will propose a working model of the English-speaking world for this thesis which takes account of recent objections to Kachru's model.

**Kachru's 3 Circles**

The three circles are characterised thus by White (1997: 1) and Crystal (1997b: 53/54):

1. The inner circle refers to the traditional bases of English, where it is the primary language. Included in this circle are the USA, UK, Ireland, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. The varieties used here are 'norm-providing'.

2. The extended circle includes countries and territories where English has long been established and plays an important institutional role and an important 'lingua franca' role in a multilingual setting. India, Pakistan, Singapore, Nigeria and over 50 other territories are included in this circle. The varieties in this circle are not 'norm-providing', but 'norm-developing'.
3. The expanding circle includes countries which recognise the current importance of English as an international language. However, these countries were not colonised by inner circle countries and English has no special status within the country itself. These varieties are 'norm-dependent'.

Kachru and Nelson (1996), quoted in Pennycook (2002: 34), argue that the 3 circle model is not only a useful way of conceptualising the English-speaking world for the purpose of studying it, but also a model which reflects the historical development of English and the sociopolitical contexts in which it is used: "This concentric-circle schematization is not merely a heuristic comparison or metaphor. Some examination of the various situations and case studies of English around the world, and of the history of the spread of English, will convince the reader that the circles model is valid in the senses of earlier historical and political contexts, the dynamic diachronic advance of English around the world, and the functions and standards to which its users relate English in its many current global incarnations" (Kachru and Nelson, 1996, p.78).

**Challenges to Kachru’s 3 Circles**

Although Kachru’s terms are common currency in applied linguistic discussion, we should note that the terms have not gone unchallenged. One obvious objection is that it is an oversimplification of a complex picture. Crystal (1997), for example, while he acknowledges the usefulness of the terms, notes that not all countries fit neatly into a particular circle. McArthur (2001: 8–10) outlines a number of developments which are already tending to undermine the 3-part model, and which will undermine it further in the future:
• The growth of multilingualism in inner circle countries;
• A greater awareness of variety among inner circle Englishes;
• Growing controversy about appropriate standards and norms for the classroom;
• Controversy about the definition of the native speaker;
• The growing codification of other native and non-native varieties of English;
• Conflicts in national language policy between the promotion of English and the protection of local languages;
• Increasing awareness of the phenomenon of ‘hybridization’.

Among other objections, Graddol (1997) also sees the 3 circle model as essentially ‘zeitgebunden’: “This [Kachru] model, however, will not be the most useful for describing English usage in the next century. Those who speak English alongside other languages will outnumber first-language speakers, and, increasingly, will decide the global future of the language” (Graddol 1997: 10). Graddol’s concerns, however, are also political: “One of the drawbacks of this terminology is the way it locates the ‘native speakers’ and native-speaking countries at the centre of global use of English and, by implication, the source of models of correctness, the best teachers and English-language goods and services consumed by those in the periphery” (Graddol 1997: 10). For Graddol, then, Kachru’s terminology will tend to reinforce the privileged status of the native speaker in ELT.

It is largely on political grounds that Pennycook (2002) has produced a sustained critique of what he calls ‘the World Englishes paradigm’ in general, and of the 3 circle model in particular. The main thrust of Pennycook’s (2002) argument is that
the model purports to be inclusionist, but is, in practice, exclusionist. He argues this case on three grounds:

1. The model confers a spurious political neutrality on a phenomenon – the growth of English – which cannot but have political implications.

2. The model will tend to serve the interests of the ‘inner circle’ nations.

3. The model does not address divisions within the outer circle.

Let us now look at each of these 3 points in turn:

Neutrality

Pennycook (2002: 30) quotes Kachru’s (1986) argument that English can be seen as politically neutral: “English does have one clear advantage” over other languages: “it has acquired a neutrality in a linguistic context where native languages, dialects, and styles sometimes have acquired undesirable connotations. Whereas native codes are functionally marked in terms of caste, religion region, and so forth, English has no such ‘markers,’ at least in the non-native context. It was originally the foreign (alien) ruler’s language, but that drawback is often overshadowed by what it can do for its users.” Pennycook (2002: 25) himself, however, argues that “English can never be neutral; it is always implicated in relations of power.” Drawing on the work of Dua (1994), Pennycook (2002) advances two reasons why English can never be seen as neutral:

1. English cannot operate in a social and cultural vacuum: “[it is] questionable to assume that a language can be considered entirely as a tool-like medium without being shaped and determined by the dynamics of social relations [and it would be] unrealistic to assume that [English] is expected to function in a cultural void of the

2 English will promote ‘linguistic inequality’ by operating to the detriment of local languages.

For Pennycook, then, the neutrality of English is a convenient myth for the ‘apolitical relativists’ involved in TESOL.

*Inner circle dominance*

Pennycook (2002) argues that the concentric circle model suggests that everything to do with the English language has emanated, and will continue to emanate from the inner circle countries. Indeed, Pennycook (2002: 25) objects to the very metaphor ‘spread’: “I suggest that English did not spread; it was appropriated.” To support this argument, Pennycook (2002) cites examples from an Indian context:

- The teaching of a canon of English literature began in Indian schools and was then transposed to English schools: “Once again, then, the simple centre-periphery model of expansion and spread simply cannot be sustained here.” (Pennycook 2002: 29).

- Many aspects of ELT practice, Prabhu’s procedural syllabus for example, began in India and were then ‘exported’.

This aspect of Pennycook’s (2002) argument is best encapsulated in his reference to Nandy’s (1988: 1) comment: “Cricket is an Indian game, accidentally discovered by the English” (quoted in Pennycook 2002: 37).
By its terminology e.g. 'norm-providing', and its concentric structure, the model reinforces the centrality and dominance of British and American English in particular. If these Englishes are norm-providing, the corollary is that other Englishes are deviational. Pennycook (2002) acknowledges that this is not the impression that Kachru would wish to give, but argues that, as the model has no time dimension, it seems to enshrine the dominance of the 'traditional bases' of English:

"[that other Englishes are deviational] is something that Kachru would want to reject: his work has been aimed predominantly at shifting precisely this perception and at raising the status of the Englishes of the outer circle. Yet, here, I think, we strike one of those ambivalences in this framework: Native speaker, norm-providing forms of English remain at the centre. If this is supposed only to be an historical description, we need a sense of temporal change in the model; but if, as it seems, it is a model describing continuing relations between types of English, we need to ask again why this ambivalent relationship to the centre continues" (Pennycook 2002: 35). There is a parallel contradiction in the way the proponents of the model would seek to question the native/non-native divide, while the model could be seen as sharpening the division:

"...although one of the most significant and quite successful agendas of the WE paradigm has been to question the NS/NNS divide in terms of the privileged status given to the former as arbiter over the forms used by the latter, the WE model ironically produces other problematic consequences by maintaining and even enhancing this distinction" (Pennycook 2002: 35).
**Differences within the Outer Circle**

One of the main objections to Kachru’s model is that, while it takes some account of social factors and social differences between circles, it “fails to take adequate account of social factors and social differences within the circles” (Holborow 1999 pp59–60) quoted in Pennycook (2002: 35). If we look, for example at Indian English in Kachru’s terms, argues Pennycook (2002), we will see it as ‘monolithic’ and nothing more than a variety of English. In reality, however, what we understand by Indian English – and this applies to other post-colonial Englishes – is simply a codified variety spoken by an educated elite. Any variety which is not easily codified is left out of the picture. In effect, then, the World Englishes paradigm is just as prescriptive as more traditional ways of looking at the English-speaking world. These arguments can be extended to the expanding circle: “Here, then, we find another crucial aspect of the WE paradigm: while claiming ground as an inclusionary paradigm, it remains insistently exclusionary, discounting creoles, so-called basilectal uses of languages, and, to a large extent, all those language forms used in the so-called expanding circle, since as uncodified varieties, non-standard forms still hold the status of errors.” (Pennycook 2002: 33)

**Moving beyond Kachru’s 3 Circles**

Pennycook (2002) acknowledges, despite his sustained critique of Kachru’s model, that it is actually very difficult to devise a model which accounts for all the different ways English is used in the world. Can we find, then, a model which addresses the criticisms outlined above, which, to use McArthur’s (2001: 8) phrase, ‘corresponds broadly to geopolitical and social reality’, and which will also be useful to us as teachers and applied linguists?
Graddol (1997) proposes that a model of three overlapping circles, rather than concentric circles, would be more appropriate to describe how English is used. While overlapping circles remove the implication that inner circle countries will always be at the heart of the development of English and related goods and services, Graddol himself (1997), however, uses a tripartite division into first, second, and foreign language speakers. These terms do not seem to be any clearer than Kachru’s, nor to have any less potential for discriminatory use.

Pennycook (2002: 37) prefers to speak of ‘post-occidental Englishes’. Drawing on the work of Mignolo (2000), Pennycook (2002: 39) argues that postoccidentalism ‘seeks to pull apart the West’s images of itself, its beliefs in its own centrality, its paradigms of knowledge, its conceit about its own spreadability’. The development of English must be seen in the context of two concurrent historical processes: globalization and ‘mundilizacion’ (which Pennycook translates as ‘worldliness’). What we currently call globalization is simply the most recent in a series of European ‘global designs for the world’ e.g. the spread of Christianity. ‘Mundilizacion’ refers to the different ways global designs are realized locally. For Pennycook (2002) this conceptualisation of the development of English has two advantages:

1. Embedded in this conceptualisation is a searching critique of colonialism and imperialism.

2. The concept of ‘mundilizacion’ allows us to see English as being appropriated by local communities, rather than seeing those communities as passive recipients of the spread of English.
Irrespective of the historical and political validity of Pennycook's arguments, there are two practical objections to adopting Pennycook's model in this thesis:

1. The arguments are at a level of abstraction that would militate against it becoming common currency in teaching and applied linguistic circles.

2. At risk of appearing to be an 'apolitical relativist', it is difficult to see how the model would be of use to us in applied linguistics (outside sociopolitical argument).

A Working Adaptation of Kachru's Model

If we are to claim that our pedagogy is context-sensitive, then we need to explain how we are conceptualising these contexts so that our claims can be subjected to principled scrutiny. Either we need to subscribe to one of the existing models of description, or we need to produce our own.

For the purposes of this thesis, I have produced below (fig.1) an adaptation of Kachru's model which takes account of criticisms made by, among others, Graddol (1997), McArthur (2001), and Pennycook (2002).

Figure 1.1 English-speaking circles: a flexible model

Notes on figure 1

The size of the circles is not intended to be an exact representation of the number of speakers in ENL, ENLF, and EILF countries. At this stage, I merely wish to show how the model could reflect the proportions of different types of speakers in each constituency. We are concerned here with the potential of the model rather than an accurate representation of the current English-speaking world.
ENL = English as a National language

ENLF = English as a National Lingual Franca

EILF = English as an International Lingua Franca

MSE = Monolingual Speaker of English

BSE = Bilingual (or habitual) Speaker of English

RL = Resident Learner of English

Flow of language norms and English language related ideas, goods and services
Rationale for the adapted model

Though the adaptations are minor, I believe this model has some significant advantages over previous models:

1. The model is hierarchical only in terms of quantity, not quality. The model does not portray the ENL countries as necessarily the best source of norms and English-language related goods and services. The model allows for the possibility, for example, that ENL norms could be affected by EILF norms over time. It also allows for the possibility that ELT methodologies devised and implemented in ENLF countries could enjoy favour in ENL and EILF countries. The three constituencies are seen to be interdependent.

2. The proportions within the circles can illustrate the distinctive nature of each circle, without conferring privilege or authority on any one variety.

3. By adapting the size of the circles and the proportions within the circles we can account for historical change.

4. The model does not preclude the possibility of people in ENLF OR EILF countries being native speakers.

In this thesis, then, while I am arguing that currently, and for the foreseeable future, native speaker varieties potentially have something distinctive and worthwhile to offer the learner, I am making no overall assumptions about the quality and authority of any one variety. When we look at issues in materials design for spoken grammar in chapter six, this model will form part of the sociolinguistic framework within which we design the materials.
1.5.3 Defining the Native Speaker

The Problem of Definition

Medgyes (1999: 9) has remarked that 'The native/non-division is one of the most complex and elusive areas in applied linguistics'. Given that this division is central to our thesis, it is incumbent upon us to acknowledge its problematic nature and to explain, as far as possible, how we are drawing the division for the purposes of this thesis.

Concise summaries of the problem of defining the native speaker are provided by Medgyes (1999) and Davies (1995). Medgyes (1999: 9) notes how far some commentators have gone in challenging the very notion of the native speaker:

- Paikeday (1985) entitled his work 'The native speaker is dead';
- Rampton (1990) entitled his article 'Discrediting the native speaker';
- Ferguson (1982: vii) suggested that the notion of 'the native speaker' had no place in applied linguistic discussion: 'In fact, the whole mystique of native speaker and mother tongue should probably be quietly dropped from the linguist's set of professional myths about language'.

Why should the terms 'native speaker' and 'non-native speaker', which are such common currency, and central to much discussion in applied linguistics, cause such consternation? Part of the difficulty undoubtedly lies in the difficulty of drawing up watertight criteria to define the native speaker, and, by implication, the non-native speaker. Medgyes (1999: 10), drawing on the work of Stern (1983), Crystal (1985), Richards et al (1985), and Davies (1991), provides a summary of the main criteria normally used to define the native speaker. The native speaker is someone who:
was born in an English-speaking country; and/or
acquired English during childhood in an English-speaking family;
speaks English as his/her first language;
has a native-like command of English;
has the capacity to produce fluent, spontaneous discourse in English;
uses the English language creatively;
has reliable intuitions to distinguish right and wrong forms in English.

However, none of these criteria turn out to be unproblematic. Davies (1995) argues that all those criteria which relate to proficiency e.g. criteria 4 – 7 above, are, at least theoretically, attainable by the learner, so we are left with acquisition during childhood as the sole defining criterion. But what is it that is gained by acquisition during childhood? It is, argues Davies (1995), simply proficiency! Davies (1995: 156) summarises his argument thus: “When we remove the criterial (sic) ‘first language learnt’, which is the bio-developmental definition, it appears that what we are left with is proficiency’.

**The Native Speaker and Proficiency**

The very notion of proficiency is in itself problematic. Davies (1995: 153) underlines the difficulty of measuring proficiency in any reliable way: “Proficiency scales are simulations, subjective, approximate and incomplete.” And even if we could measure proficiency accurately, as McNamara (1996) argues, it is not an all-or-nothing quality; it can only be measured on a cline. Nor is proficiency an absolute quality: it can improve or deteriorate and vary markedly according to the context in which it is tested. There is also a circularity to the proficiency argument on two levels:
1. The benchmark against which proficiency is measured is normally 'native speaker proficiency', which is exactly what we are trying to define.

2 Presumably we are trying to measure proficiency in Standard English rather than Lancashire English or Singaporean English, but what is Standard English except, as Davies (1991: 63) maintains, 'an operational definition of the native speaker'? We should note further that there is a contradiction between the criterion of proficiency in Standard English and the criterion of acquisition in early childhood: Standard English is a variety which is taught, not acquired (Milroy and Milroy 1991).

*The Native Speaker and Competence*

Given that proficiency, an obvious starting point for assessing native speaker status, turns out to be so problematic in practice, can we find other objective, watertight, defining criteria? Let us turn to Chomsky's notion of competence. Can we separate native speakers from non-native speakers on the basis of the reliability of their intuitions about what is possible in the language, and their intuitions about differences between their own idiolects and the standard language? It is soon obvious, however, that we come up against the same obstacles we came up against in looking at the criterion of proficiency:

1. Competence is not an absolute, all-or-nothing quality, but a relative quality, measurable on a cline.

2. Where do we draw the line between native speakers and non-native speakers when we don't know what constitutes perfect knowledge of a language? (Coulmas 1981)
If we still wish to define native speaker status in terms of some kind of ability, we may wish to turn to sociopragmatic competence in a language. However, given that sociopragmatic norms in a language vary within and between native speaker communities, we must concede that we are not likely to be able to find watertight defining criteria in the domain of sociopragmatic competence either.

The Native Speaker and Identity

It can be argued (Bartsch 1987) that native speaker status really hinges on an individual’s identification with a particular speech community, involving a tacit agreement on the part of the individual to subordinate his or her own idiolect to the emergent standard. While it is difficult to argue against the idea that identification with a particular speech community is one facet of native speaker status, we will not be able to find objective defining criteria for native speaker status if we rely on identification alone. There will surely, for example, be some people who claim native speaker status on the grounds of proficiency without identifying with the speech community. Conversely, there may be people who identify with a speech community without claiming native speaker status. We must also consider that one person identifying himself or herself as a native speaker may find his or her native speaker status challenged by other soi-disant native speakers.

Native Speaker or not? Some Case Studies

To illustrate how problematic the criteria are, I would like to look at some actual cases from my own experience:
Case 1

"A" was brought up in England from the age of 0-10 in an English-speaking family. From the age of 10-17, she lived in Finland and spoke Finnish, almost to the exclusion of English. When she returned to England at the age of 17 or 18 she enrolled on an English language course alongside students of various nationalities. Her accent was clearly that of a native speaker; her oral fluency in casual exchanges was way above the rest of the group, as was her knowledge of colloquial language. Her vocabulary, however, beyond everyday things, was impoverished compared with the rest of the group, and she seemed to have no grasp of formal register, especially when writing.

Commentary

"A" clearly satisfies criteria 1 and 2, which many would regard as the over-riding criteria. It is difficult to say whether she meets criterion 3: she did speak English as a first language in the past, and may do so again in the future. It is equally difficult to determine whether "A" meets criterion 4 (which, as Medgyes (1999) points out, is a tautology anyway): she has a native-like command of some aspects of English, but not others. Similarly with criterion 5, highlighting the relative nature of proficiency, she was able to produce fluent, spontaneous discourse in some contexts, but not, for example, when engaging in academic argument. I was unable to ascertain whether she met criterion 6, but she did not meet criterion 7.
Case 2

"B" is 8 years old and has been brought up in Barcelona by an English father and an Italian mother. Both English and Italian are spoken in the home, while "B" speaks Catalan with her friends in the community and learns (Castilian) Spanish at school.

Commentary

It is tempting to apply proficiency criteria and ask which language she is most fluent in. However, as we have seen above, fluency is variable and can change according to the context or topic of the discussion. It is possible, for example, that "B" is more fluent in Catalan when playing children's games, but more fluent in Italian when speaking about cooking.

Case 3

"C" was born in France, where she lived until she was 20, but has lived in England for over 20 years. She is head of the languages department in a university and operates in English in both her personal and professional life. In 7 years, I have never heard her make a grammatical error, and only very occasionally a vocabulary error. However, her accent is discernibly French and she pronounces the word 'money' like the French artist 'Monet'. When reading out the nursery rhyme 'Mary, Mary, quite contrary', she put the stress in 'contrary' on the first syllable, where it normally is, rather than, 'as every native speaker knows (?)' on the second syllable, where it is in the rhyme.

Commentary

This case raises 2 questions:
- How far does an identifiable 'foreign accent' disqualify somebody from native speaker status?
- How far does native speaker status involve cultural knowledge of phenomena such as ritual, ceremonial and playful language?

Case 4

Joseph Conrad did not begin to learn English until the age of 21 and yet wrote famous literary works in English.

Commentary

Clearly Conrad meets none of the 'birthright criteria' for native speaker status, but almost certainly meets all of the proficiency criteria, notably criterion 6 'The ability to use language creatively'. Indeed, the fact that absurd dramatists such as Ionesco, Artaud and Becket wrote in a second language suggests that creativity is not the exclusive domain of the native speaker. It has been speculated that the very fact that it was their second language, and that they were looking in from the outside, so to speak, made them more aware of the absurdity of some aspects of language use. In anticipation of the authenticity debate, we can note in passing that a famous Ionesco dialogue in which two apparent strangers discover, in the course of a conversation on a train, that they are, in fact, man and wife, was inspired by the elementary English coursebook he was studying.

Case 5

"D" speaks English with a pronounced Spanish accent and his oral delivery is ponderous and hesistant. He is, however, academically strong, and has strong language awareness. Armed with these qualities he is able to pass the Cambridge
Proficiency examination whose stated benchmark is near-native speaker standard. “E” has lived in England all his life and speaks no other language. However, he is not strong academically, expresses himself poorly in writing and can appear inarticulate on all but familiar topics. He would not pass the Cambridge Proficiency examination in my view.

**Commentary**

Two questions are raised here:
- Can proficiency be used at all as a criterion of native speaker status?
- If proficiency can be used as a criterion of native speaker status, (how) can it be measured?

**Is the Notion of the Native Speaker Necessary?**

We have seen how elusive an exact definition of a native speaker is, but does that mean we should dispense with the notion of the native speaker? Not according to either Medgyes (1999) or Davies (1995):

- “...however, I do not wish to challenge the existence of the native speaker or, logically, that of the non-native speaker. Fugitive concepts as they are, they may still be legitimate and in everyday use the native/non-native division does not normally pose problems” (Medgyes 1994: 11).

- “...the native speaker matters to us, theoretically in terms of universal grammar and sampling of data for grammatical description, and practically in terms of the content of teaching materials, of language tests and examinations, as well as in terms of implicit social norms which determine career selection and cause stigmatizing” (Davies 1995: 148).
We can argue, then that the native/non-native division causes far fewer problems in practice than it does in theory. Indeed, as will see later, the terms were scarcely questioned in the questionnaire research, and nobody appeared to have a problem with the question ‘What is your first language?’ Moreover, we seem to be happy to operate with other terms where exact definition and distinction is elusive, ‘hill’ and ‘mountain’, for example. We are content to use these terms, knowing that they capture some shared perception but prepared, in indeterminate cases, to verify that we are using a term in the same sense as our interlocutor. The problem of definition, then, should not prevent us from using a term which seems to be generally understood. We have also, with Davies (1995), taken the view in this thesis that the native speaker is a useful theoretical construct.

We need, however, to heed Davies (1995: 148) about ‘implicit social norms which determine career selection and cause stigmatizing’. The problem with the terms ‘native speaker’ and ‘non-native speaker’ is not so much that they are difficult to define with absolute clarity as the fact that they are ideologically and culturally loaded terms and difficult to define. In the Education Guardian of 13.11.02, for example, a Higher Education institute in Hong Kong advertises for ‘native speakers of English’. It seems that experience, teaching ability, language awareness, research expertise etc. are secondary factors. If you want to apply for the job, of course, the definition of ‘native speaker’ becomes important.

As with many issues of politically sensitive terminology, we are faced with a choice between developing alternative terms such as ‘expert user’ or trying to strip the existing terms of unwarranted connotations. The problem with the former course of
action is that the new terms may be equally difficult to define and may not be
generally understood; the problem with the latter course of action is that it may take a
long time. I have chosen in this thesis to continue with the terms ‘native speaker’ and
‘non-native speaker’ as they are useful and familiar, but I want to do so in as
egalitarian a way as possible. I am convinced, for example, that the German
footballer Juergen Klinsmann is a more effective, expert, articulate, persuasive user of
English than David Beckham. Undoubtedly, he would be a better model for learners
of English than Beckham for many purposes. With his fluency in other languages and
experience of living in other countries, he would arguably be a better teacher of
English too. However, it is likely that Beckham, simply because he is a habitual user
of the language for all communicative purposes, would have something to offer in
certain domains, most likely the interpersonal and interactive domains, that
Klinsmann does not. While Klinsmann might be more effective in television
interview, Beckham might be more effective in dressing- room banter. Neither the
native speaker nor the non-native speaker should enjoy a privileged position in ELT
by dint of their status alone. Native speakers and non-native speakers may have
different, but equally valuable strengths which relate to their status; or individuals in
either constituency may have important strengths for ELT, such as interpersonal and
communication skills, which are nothing to do with their native/non-native status.

A Working Definition of the Native Speaker

In 1.6 we will look at the sociocultural debate concerning the relevance of native
speaker norms and models of English for non-native learners. It is important, before
we engage in this debate, to explain the sense in which we will be using these terms,
or to define other terms.
In the light of the above discussion of the native speaker, I would like to propose a working definition of the native speaker of English for the purpose of this thesis:

A native speaker of English is:

1. Someone who uses English and no other language for all their normal communicative purposes;

or,

2. Someone who satisfies all the following criteria:

   a) S/he professes to be a native speaker of English.

   b) S/he was a habitual user of English for all normal communicative purposes in childhood and/or s/he is a habitual user of English for all normal communicative purposes.

   c) S/he does not attend a course which is designed for self-professed non-native speakers of English.

Commentary

If we accept that everyone is a native speaker of some language, then if s/he speaks only one language, that must be regarded as his/her native language.

2a) We have argued above that native speaker status is, at least in part, a question of cultural identity, and nobody is better placed than speakers themselves to judge whether they regard English as integral to their cultural identity.

2b) For reasons outlined above, I have tried to avoid bringing proficiency into the equation, preferring the more objective notion of 'habitual user for all communicative purposes' to that of 'expert user'. It is difficult to exclude proficiency entirely from
the picture, however, because we need to explain why habitual use is an important
criterion. Habitual use for all communicative purposes gives the speaker a high
degree of what I am going to call ‘surface fluency’: an oral/aural facility in everyday
exchanges and a large stock of automatic or prefabricated phrases. On this criterion,
then, a highly articulate user of English as a lingua franca would not count as a native
speaker, whereas a habitual user of English would, even if they were generally
regarded as inarticulate.

The importance of this criterion in ELT terms, I believe, is that we can see the
ultimate goal of teaching as being:
1. The surface fluency which is generally easier to find in the native speaker and
2. The articulate use of the language which we can find in some native speakers and
   some expert non-native speakers.

In terms of models of English for the classroom, this means that we will probably
need some native speakers to model aspects of surface fluency and articulate native
speakers or non-native speakers to model more sophisticated language use.

2c) Although there is some overlap between 2a) and 2c) I have included 2c) as I
would argue that a defining criterion for native speaker status is that you don’t need to
learn it consciously (any longer) for non-academic reasons. Thus the three spouses of
native speakers who attended my upper-intermediate class in Huddersfield would not
qualify as native speakers, although they clearly were habitual users.
Applying the Working Definition

Applying these criteria to the cases above, we would need to conclude:

- "A" is not a native speaker of English.
- It is too early to say for "B". It will probably depend on which speech community or communities she chooses to identify with as she grows up. Our criteria allow for bilingualism if the sense of identity is equally strong.
- "C" might be a native speaker. The question here is whether "C" regards herself as a native speaker. If she does, then, in my view, she is a native speaker. However, if one subscribes to the view that the persistence of a 'foreign accent' over such a long period indicates a (subconscious) unwillingness to relinquish her French identity and/or a (subconscious) unwillingness to embrace fully an English identity, one would not expect her to claim native speaker status.
- As above, we would need to ask Conrad, but as he became a British subject, we might expect him to claim native speaker status.
- "D" is not a native speaker, but "E" is.

As a rule of thumb, if someone is sound of mind and has no obvious motive for deceiving me, I am prepared to accept that s/he is a native speaker if s/he tells me s/he is.

The Native Speaker in this Thesis

Applying these definition criteria to this thesis, any student answering the questionnaires described in chapter two must be regarded as a non-native speaker as the questionnaires were distributed in classes designed for self-professed non-native
speakers. Any teacher who answered the question ‘What is your first language?’ with a language other than English must be regarded as a non-native speaker. In using the terms ‘native speaker’ and ‘non-native speaker’ in this thesis, then, I am making no overall presumptions about a speaker’s proficiency or suitability as a model or practitioner in ELT.

1.6 Models and Norms of English for the ELT Classroom

1.6.1 The Ownership of English

We referred in 1.5.1 to the rapid and continuing growth of English. This growth has led to some commentators (Widdowson 1994; Graddol 1998) raising questions about the ‘ownership’ of English. The question is clearly an important one for us as we are concerned with the pedagogic relevance of the findings of native speaker corpora, and it is argued that native speakers will soon be a minority constituency in the English-speaking world: “English speakers of North America, the British Isles and the Antipodes will become minority stakeholders in the language” (Graddol: 24 1998). Widdowson (1994) asks if standard British English has any genuine claim to be ‘the real thing’ among the different Englishes which have emerged. He points out that advocates of standard British English argue that the maintenance of this standard will facilitate international communication. He argues, however, that the features of standard English most vigorously defended by its proponents, the grammatical features, are precisely those which contribute least to communicability: “...grammatical conformity is actually not particularly crucial for many kinds of communicative transaction” (Widdowson 1994: 380). We seem to tolerate variation
in pronunciation and in lexis, but not in grammar. For Widdowson (1994: 381) advocates of standard British English may claim to be protecting standard English for the sake of communication, but what they are actually interested in is an expression of communal values: “Standard English, then, is not simply a means of communication, but the symbolic possession of a particular community, expressive of its identity, its conventions and values.”

That a community should express its values through the maintenance of its standard language is not in itself problematic. What is problematic, in the case of English, is that the language has grown beyond the legitimate control of the community. Alptekin (2002) argues that if preferred language patterns are socially determined, it is not appropriate to impose these on any other community. For Widdowson (1994) standard British English has no exclusive claim to be the norm or model for English as an International Language. Crystal (1997) points out that if a World Standard Spoken English emerges it is likely to be more influenced by US English, which has 4 times more speakers than British English. It is also likely to be influenced by L2 varieties. Willis (1999) cites examples of L2 varieties simplifying the grammar of Standard English without apparent detriment to communicative power. A clear example, and one which, according to Willis (1999) could become standardised in an international form of English, is dispensing with the countable/uncountable distinction.

1.6.2 The Challenge for Language Teaching

The challenge for language teaching then is to adapt to a situation where we cannot take it for granted that our students will have the need or motivation to use English to
communicate with native speakers. In this situation it is no longer axiomatic that a native speaker model of the language is the most appropriate for the classroom. McCarthy (1998: 20–21) has spoken of the “accusation that studying real speech is part of yet another conspiracy to impose southern British speech habits (or American speech) on a global community desirous of using English in culturally independent international contexts”. The choices and problems facing teachers are succinctly described by the 3 commentators quoted below:

- “It is surely unrealistic, and at the same time an imposition, to expect learners to acquire naturalistic, real native speaker English when they simply don’t need it” (Carter 1998: 50).
- “Why should the attested language use of a native speaker community be a model for learners of English as an international language” (Cook 1998: 60).
- “It may be that eventually students will wish to acquire the cultural knowledge and the idiomatic fluency which enable them to engage authentically with the language use of a particular native-speaking community by adapting their identity in some degree, but there seems to be no sensible reason for insisting on them doing this in the language learning process” (Widdowson 1994: 386).

1.6.3 Teaching English for International Communication

Alptekin (2002: 63) challenges the validity of the native speaker model on a broad level, arguing that, given the increasing international use of English, we should be aiming for ‘intercultural communicative competence’ rather than a version of communicative competence based on the native speaker: “With its standardised norms, the [native speaker] model is found to be utopian, unrealistic, and constraining
in relation to English as an International language (EIL)” (Alptekin 2002: 57). It is utopian, he argues, as it perpetuates the ‘linguistic myth’ of the native speaker and tends to a ‘monolithic portrayal’ of native speaker culture. It is unrealistic in that it does not take proper account of the lingua franca status of English, and constraining in that it ‘circumscribes both teacher and learner autonomy by associating the concept of authenticity with the social milieu of the native speaker’ (Alptekin 2002: 57).

Jenkins (1998: 119) is concerned with the implications of the international use of English for pronunciation teaching: “The recent growth in the use of English as an International Language has led to changes in learners’ pronunciation needs and goals.” Jenkins (1998) is unequivocal that the majority of learners no longer aspire to a native-like accent and that their main motivation is not to communicate with native speakers. Although Jenkins (1998) refers exclusively to pronunciation concerns, her arguments, as they are concerned with questions of sociocultural appropriateness and international intelligibility, are central to the wider debate about which model of English we should offer our learners.

Jenkins (1998) observes that there has not been much research into the English used among non-native speakers and that as far as pronunciation is concerned the emphasis has been on intelligibility for the native speaker receiver. Her focus, however, is on intelligibility in an international context and her recommendations are clear and specific: “We should concentrate the productive focus of pronunciation teaching on the three areas that appear to have the greatest influence on intelligibility in EIL i.e. certain segmentals, nuclear stress (the main stress in the word group) and the effective
use of articulatory setting to the extent that it underpins the first two areas” (Jenkins 1998: 121).

A further reason for focusing on these 3 areas is that they are teachable and learnable, whereas “...most other aspects of phonology are neither easily learnable nor necessary for most EIL contexts” (Jenkins 1998: 123). The native speaker model is not dispensed with in Jenkins’ (1998) approach to teaching pronunciation for EIL, but she is at pains to distinguish between a norm and a model. For her, a norm is a target for 100% attainment whereas a model is something to approximate to more or less according to the demands of the situation. What Jenkins (1998: 124) is advocating then is “A universal, realistically learnable and teachable core, based on the native speaker model (‘model’ being singular in the sense that the designated areas are common to all native varieties) which are then fleshed out according to a wide range of acceptable, local non-native norms.”

Willis (1999), as he acknowledges, takes up Jenkins’ arguments about the need to adapt goals and models in the context of English as an International Language and applies these arguments *mutatis mutandis* to grammar. Willis (1999) introduces another dimension to the traditional accuracy/fluency distinction with the notion of conformity. ‘Conformity’ is the attainment of native speaker norms, whereas ‘accuracy’ is consistent and intelligible production so that the speaker communicates what he or she wants to say.

Willis (1999) has two key questions for teachers which question the validity of aspiring to native speaker norms on the grounds of both principles and pragmatism:
1. Are you aiming at conformity to native speaker standard? If so, which native speaker standard are you aiming at and can you define it?

2. How many of your students need to achieve this native speaker standard and how many are likely ever to achieve it?

Willis' (1999) argument is, then, parallel to Jenkins' (1998) argument: we should concentrate on a few productive and generalisable rules, on what is teachable and learnable. The particular example he gives is the 'verb+object+infinitive' pattern (ask/order/force/beg etc. someone to do something). In his eyes this is the kind of generative rule we should focus on, but in his view, teachers and testers tend to spend a disproportionate amount of time on exceptions such as 'suggest'. Willis (1999) also considers that teachers spend a disproportionate amount of time on forms such as question tags which have little 'communicative value': "We sometimes insist on learners producing forms which conform to idealised native speaker norms, even if these forms have little value."

Gavioli and Aston (2001: 239) also focus on a pedagogic cost-benefit analysis. While they agree with McCarthy and Carter (1995) that 'tend to' to indicate frequency is both common and worth teaching, they argue that 'tails' may be common, but not worth teaching: "While their frequency in conversation suggests they should be included in the syllabus, other considerations may argue against this, at any rate from the perspective of spoken production. Their use being highly context-dependent, they seem difficult to teach and harder to master than other markers of affect with similar functions." Prodromou (1997: 19) argues, in similar vein, that it may be unrealistic to expect learners ever to gain a native-like grasp of phrasal verbs.
and that such a grasp may in any case be unnecessary. Phrasal verbs, he argues, are “inseparable from the matrix of experiences and competencies that define what it is to be a native speaker”. Alptekin (2002: 58) points out that in the communicative approach: “Learners are not only expected to acquire accurate forms of the target language, but also to learn how to use these forms in given social situations in the target language setting.....” Rather than aiming at native speaker conformity, then, “What we should be doing is helping them to develop a negotiable dialect of English......Provided they have this ability their deviations from the standard form are no more important than the deviations displayed by native speakers” (Willis 1999). It is interesting in this respect that Graddol (1998: 24) considers that these skills of negotiation may, in themselves, form an important part of the learning process: “Learners will need to examine some of the strategies required for negotiating understanding with others who use either different varieties of English or who speak very little of the language. Such skills will be a basic requirement of world citizens.”

1.6.4 The Cultural Integrity of the Learner

Enculturation

“Do we want the native speaker as our model, particularly if it means we have to take the native speaker culture too?” (Carter 1998: 43). There is clearly a danger that a native speaker model of the language will act as a Trojan horse for the native speaker culture. The validity of exposing learners to the risk of enculturation is especially open to question if the learners are unlikely ever to come into contact with the native speaker culture. Modiano (2001: 343) notes that global communication and cultural diversity are competing forces: “While on the one hand there is a call for a language
of wider communication, for a common space, we have on the other hand a sincere
desire to preserve cultural diversity. These two movements, which are contradictory,
are bound to result in conflict and irresolution.” Prodromou (1997) and Carter (1998)
have pointed out that a native speaker model will tend to sustain the cultural and
linguistic predominance of the native speaker teacher and work to the disadvantage of
the non-native teacher. Prodromou (1997: 13) is concerned about English as a vehicle
for American domination: “but to put it even more directly, the teaching and learning
of English today, though not completely identified with the pursuit of the American
dream, are inseparable from United States hegemony worldwide – English is both an
instrument for furthering American interests and in turn it is furthered by the
successful promotion of those interests.” It seems, then, that the native speaker model
carries with it the threat of cultural and linguistic imperialism. Modiano (2001: 339)
summarises this threat: “Those who view the spread of English as linguistic
imperialism question the English language teaching and learning enterprise because,
from their point of view, it compromises the cultural integrity of the non-native
speaker.” Modiano (2001: 340) goes on to link this threat to cultural integrity
specifically with conformity to native speaker models: “For learners who primarily
want to acquire the language because it is a cross-cultural communicative tool,
pressure to attain near-native proficiency may result in establishing them as auxiliary
members of the culture which is represented by the prescriptive educational standard,
something not in harmony with their own self-image.” Alptekin (2002: 58) speaks of
the dangers of ‘enculturation’ if learners are forced to ‘convey appropriate, coherent
and strategically effective meanings for the native speaker’. Enculturation, for
Alptekin (2002: 58) involves acquiring ‘new cultural frames of reference and a new
world view, reflecting those of the target language culture and its speakers’.
Authentic Materials as a Cultural Trojan Horse

An extra facet has been added to this debate by the discussion about the use of ‘authentic’ corpus-based materials which some see as one more unnecessary intrusion of the native speaker culture into the classroom. Carter (1998: 50) asks, however, whether it is realistic to ‘culturally disinfect materials’: “Is this realistic, when learners seem to want to know what real English is and are generally fascinated by the culturally-embedded use of language of native speakers?” Carter (1998: 50) suggests that the language should be a vehicle for a critical investigation of the native speaker culture, “reading and learning how to interpret all cultural features and products whether that culture be constructed with a small or large ‘c’”. Widdowson (1996) refers to the tension between authenticity and autonomy. If we want our learners to achieve real-life communication, we need to show them real-life communication in action. However, if as a methodological goal we want our learners to make the language their own, corpus-based material will seem anything but real.

1.6.5 Native Speaker Models and English as an International Language

Will International English be Enough?

We have examined above some of the questions raised about using a native speaker model to teach English for use in an international context. We need to recognise, however, that there may be dangers in moving away from a native speaker model. Let us begin with a warning note sounded by Jenkins (1998: 125): “In this context, it is important that we should all guard against political correctness in the sense of telling our learners what their goals should be: in particular that they should not want
to sound like native speakers if they clearly wish to do so.” It is quite possible that
our learners will actually want a native speaker model. One may find their views
uninformed, quaint or reactionary, but is it part of our job to re-educate our students
politically. Do we have the right to proselytise? Willis (1999), though he argues that
a low premium should be set on testing for conformity concedes that in some
circumstances – for example, a Japanese selling to an American–it might be in the
student’s interests to conform closely to a native speaker model. Harder (1980) makes
the interesting observation that while it has generally been accepted that all languages
are equally expressive, this may not be the case with students’ interlanguage or with
International English. In similar vein, Cook (2002) noted that any fully-fledged
language, whether it is widely spoken or spoken only by a small community, must be
rich enough to fulfil all the varying communicative needs of its speakers. Davies
(1991) has argued that, for example, a speaker of Singaporean English may simply
not get enough exposure to the language to achieve full competence. Similarly, to
anticipate evidence from the research, when my Nigerian interviewee tells me that she
uses English formally, at work, but a local language for all other purposes, is it not
likely that her variety of English will lack an affective dimension simply through lack
of exposure? Carter (1998) argues that students are capable of making their own
decisions and choices and will not accept unquestioningly all that is set before them.
While Jenkins (1998) argues that we should focus on those aspects of phonology that
are teachable and learnable, there is a danger of confusing ‘what is teachable and
learnable’ with what can be conveniently systematised for teaching purposes. We
should note, however, Jenkins (2002) insistence that she is not arguing for some kind
of minimalist lingua franca, but for a mutually intelligible core to be the focus of
teaching with non-core elements supplied by local varieties. It is not clear, however,
where, for example, a Hungarian student would look for non-core elements, unless we are going to class European English as a variety – but this itself is could be classed as a lingua franca short on non-core elements. Kramsch (2002) neatly sidesteps the argument about what kind of English to teach by noting that the most important factor in intercultural communication is goodwill and the willingness to negotiate meaning. But is communicative goodwill teachable?

“Though this topic needs a great deal of research, intuitively one can say that when an Italian and a Japanese use English as a lingua franca at an international conference they probably use a minimum of phrasal verbs, idiomatic collocations or structures typical of informal British or American English” (Prodromou 1997: 12). Now it may well be that Prodromou’s intuition is largely right, but corpora have shown us that intuition is not wholly reliable and the extent to which he may be wrong could be significant. It is an interesting coincidence that there seems to be some move to paring down the syllabus for EIL at the same time as corpora are offering ever more descriptive insights into the language, highlighting the problems of selection.

We can take one of the structures “typical of informal British or American English” – ellipsis – and illustrate the potential dangers of a precipitate paring down of the syllabus for EIL. Scarcella and Brunak (1981) showed that non-native speakers did not use ellipsis in the same way as native speakers and that this could lead to them sounding inappropriately formal. Carter (1998: 49), describing the use of ellipsis in the chip shop, remarks that the use of full forms “would be unnecessarily elaborated and even long-winded”. It seems that control of ellipsis would be useful for non-native speakers at least in their interactions with native speakers, but perhaps of more significance is Carter’s 1998 report: “Preliminary exploration of data from other
varieties of informal, spoken, International English reveals that ellipsis is also pervasive in these varieties." We need to be careful that in paring down the syllabus, we do not force the learner to "accept a role which is less desirable than he would ordinarily achieve" (Harder 1980: 268). To illustrate what may be lost by a precipitate paring down of the syllabus, I would like to take an example from my own experience which shows the affective function of ellipsis. While writing to a professional colleague from another institution, I was uncertain whether to end the letter:

'Look forward to seeing you shortly.'

or

'I look forward to seeing you shortly.'

I felt they struck quite different tones and I was not sure which to use as I had friendly relations with this colleague, but he was in a formal relationship to the university (external examiner). Such grammatical choices are not a matter of life and death, but they can make a difference to how relationships are established and maintained.

We referred earlier to Willis' (1999) argument that question tags were of little communicative value. It depends, of course, how one defines communicative value, but when a student of mine writes: "My mother and sister are both doctors. That's strange, isn't it?", the question tag seems to have definite communicative value in the way it engages the reader and I would not wish to deprive my students of this expressive resource.

There is nothing wrong, of course, with trying to focus on those structures which will be maximally useful to our students in EIL, but we need to be careful that we do not
focus exclusively on the transactional to the detriment of the interactional. We do not want our students to be reduced, in Harder’s (1980: 268) words, to the status of ‘a coarse and primitive character from an interactional point of view’. We cannot neglect the ‘pragmatic competence of the learner’ (Scarcella and Brunak 1981: 59).

1.6.6 Classroom Options for Models of English

We have seen from the arguments above that serious questions have arisen as to what model of English it is appropriate to offer in our classrooms given current and predicted patterns of use of English worldwide. Indeed, it can be argued that it is incumbent on those who are sceptical about the influence of corpora on ELT to justify the basis on which they select language to teach, errors to correct, and models to offer in the classroom. To anticipate research evidence from chapter seven we can look at this comment from a materials writer who is clearly a ‘corpus sceptic’:

I teach and write books based on International English. I have no corpus to tell me what this is, but I help my students to be simple, clear and direct, nothing more and nothing less. If I find what they say difficult to understand (or if other students do) I give them feedback on their errors to make them easier to understand. If they can communicate their meaning accurately although the form/lexis is not native-speaker like I’m not too worried.

We are entitled to ask how he knows what International English is, and to what norms he is guiding his students when he gives them feedback on their errors. We must assume that those who completely reject the value of evidence from native speaker corpora take one of three positions:

1. It is possible to teach International English.
2. Teachers’ intuitions are reliable.
3. Existing ‘non-corpus-based’ descriptions of English are accurate and adequate.
We are, however, far from having an adequate pedagogic description of International English, and we have already argued that corpus studies have shown intuition to be unreliable and existing descriptions of English to be inadequate.

Willis (1999) looks at this very question of the concrete options available to the English language teacher in the light of current debates. The options for models of English in the classroom proposed by Willis (1999) are summarised below.

Option 1: Teach Standard British English

Willis (1999) considers this to be both 'undesirable and impractical'. It is certainly undesirable to force British English on our students and probably impractical to expect many of our students to approximate to native speaker standard. British English does seem, however, still to be an attraction for many students. There are extensive, but not, of course, complete grammatical descriptions of British English, so it represents a definable target for students and one which, rightly or wrongly, they recognise as 'authentic'. The same arguments would, of course, apply to American English. It is an irony, of course, that even when we are avowedly presenting a native speaker model, corpus evidence questions how accurately we are achieving this. Di Vito (1991), for example, highlights a number of discrepancies between the French presented in text books and the French actually used by native speakers. If we are to present native speaker norms, surely it would be as well to present authentic norms rather than idealised ones.

Option 2: Define a form of 'International English' and teach that

There is, as Willis (1999) acknowledges, a formidable problem of description to be overcome before this becomes a viable option. Willis (1999a) is also concerned that
even if we could satisfactorily describe International English, to teach it would be simply to 'substitute one form of tyranny for another'. Crystal (1997) is far more positive about this option: "Eventually, I imagine, we will all be teaching World Standard English, once it exists, rather than British, American, or any other regional English, unless there are grounds for not doing so." The international English option is also supported by Modiano (2001: 344): "The teaching and learning of a geographically, politically and culturally 'neutral' form of English, which is perceived as a language of wider communication and not as the possession of the native speaker, is one of the few options we have at hand if we want to continue to promote English language learning while at the same time attempting to 'neutralize' the impact which the spread of English has on the cultural integrity of the learner." Widdowson (1994: 385) suggests that given the desire to be mutually intelligible and the global communication network, International English will tend to 'stabilise'.

**Option 3: Offer a range of Englishes in the Classroom**

The problem here, as Willis (1999) points out, is that there is likely to be confusion, even frustration in the classroom.

**Option 4: Offer successful L1 speakers as models**

What Willis (1999) has in mind here is that a group of French learners of English could be offered successful French learners of English as models. Alptekin (2002: 63) also argues that 'successful bilinguals' would make good models, especially because of their 'intercultural insights and knowledge'. Willis (1999) concedes that this may be a hard option to sell, and we can also ask how this applies to the multilingual classroom. It is legitimate to ask, too, why the native speaker should be left completely out of the picture if it turns out that students want exposure to native speakers.
Option 5: Give learners exposure to Native speaker English but adopt a C-R [consciousness-raising] methodology which places a very low premium on conformity.

As this is clearly Willis' (1999) favoured option I will quote him in full on this one:

"See language as a meaning system and encourage learners to develop their own systems. Carry out C-R [consciousness-raising] work which encourages learners to focus on form, but place a very low premium on testing for conformity. Cut out the focus on forms which have little communicative value (e.g. question tags). Look for productive generalisations (e.g. V+N+Infin) and pay much less attention to exceptions like suggest."

The potential problem here is that it may appear that the teacher is imposing a low premium on conformity and to be running the risk of offering an impoverished syllabus.

We are always faced with problems of selection when teaching, but as Carter (1998: 51) remarks: "Learners should not be patronised by being told that they do not need to bother with all this real English. They should not be disempowered and syllabuses should not be deliberately impoverished. Also, learning a language should, in part at least, involve developing something of a feel for that language."

Option 6: Include the study of language and dialects in a language teaching programme

There seems to be a lot to be said for some gentle awareness raising in this area, provided that it doesn’t give way to proselytising. In pragmatic vein, we can also ask if this would be the first component to be dropped from a crowded language programme.
1.7 Chapter Summary

In this literature review we have been concerned with two major developments: the advent of spoken corpora and the growing international use of English. On the one hand, we have seen that descriptive insights from spoken corpora have given us a more accurate picture of what native speaker norms actually are. We have also noted that there are grammatical features which are common in native speaker discourse and yet currently ignored in ELT materials. These features have defined discourse and affective functions and are thus of at least potential use to the learner. Quite apart from specific insights, corpora have suggested that, when looking at grammar, more account needs to be taken of all the whole range of discourse, interpersonal and situational factors which influence grammatical choice.

On the other hand, we have observed that the increasing use of English in international contexts has led many to question the validity of presenting native speaker norms as a target in the classroom. In this respect, some commentators believe that native speaker spoken corpora will serve to reinforce the dominance of the native speaker. In the context of ELT, then, there is clearly potential for tension between the two developments we have focused on: the advent of spoken corpora and the growing international use of English.

The question which emerges from the literature review is: how far are the findings of spoken corpora relevant to ELT? If we incorporate the findings of spoken corpora in our materials, are we automatically guilty of perpetuating an unjust native speaker
dominance in the ELT world? If we ignore the findings of spoken corpora, do we risk offering the learners an impoverished learning experience and risk providing them with only skeletal affective resources. The question is clearly of great academic interest, but it is not a purely academic issue. There are direct implications for the design of materials and syllabuses, and for questions of classroom practice (most obviously, correction). This question also has clear ramifications for the relative status of native and non-native speaker teachers.

In my own experience as a language teacher and language learner, I have long been interested in the differences between the language we teach and the language as it is used by its native speakers, particularly in the ‘affective gap’. Given the importance of the question of which norms and models we should teach in contemporary ELT, and given my own personal interest in the topic, the hypothesis I have chosen to investigate in this thesis is:

It is possible, and potentially desirable, to raise awareness of corpus-attested native speaker spoken grammatical norms, while respecting that English is no longer the exclusive property of its native speakers. This hypothesis does not only apply in contexts where there is an obvious wish to conform to native speaker spoken norms.
2.0 Introduction: the Applied Linguistic Perspective

The literature review showed that the question of which models and norms of English should be presented in the ELT classroom has been much debated. Given the potential impact which this debate about norms and models of English has on both teachers and students, it would seem vain, in both senses of the word, to try to reach a principled position without some systematic attempt to gauge the views of students and teachers. In adopting this stance, we are taking the view that applied linguistics is not simply the application of theory to practice, but an interaction between theory and practice, or as Cook and Seidlhofer (1995: 8) express it: “The relationship of applied linguistics and language teaching is symbiotic.” This allows us to claim consistency in our approach to grammar and to pedagogy: just as we have argued that the grammarian needs to take account of human variables such as affect, we will argue that the applied linguist with an interest in pedagogy must take into account human variables such as students’ and teachers’ attitudes. To paraphrase the politician David Steel, we are not interested in practice without principles, nor are we interested in principles without effective practice.
In this chapter we look in detail at what is involved in researching students' and teachers' attitudes to native speaker norms:

- The relative merits of quantitative and qualitative research paradigms for our research purposes;
- The precise questions we need to ask and who we need to ask them to;
- The rationale for selecting questionnaires and interviews as our research tools;
- General issues of questionnaire and interview design;
- The process of designing, piloting, administering and validating questionnaires and interviews for students and teachers;
- The final versions of the four research instruments we are going to use:
  1. A quantitative questionnaire designed to research students' attitudes to native speaker norms.
  2. A quantitative questionnaire designed to research teachers' attitudes to native speaker norms.
  3. An interview schedule designed to triangulate the data from the student questionnaire and to obtain qualitative data.
  4. A follow-up questionnaire for teachers designed to discover more about their attitudes to spoken language.

2.1 Research Design: Quantitative and Qualitative Paradigms

Thus far our research has fallen within what Creswell (1994: 1) describes as the quantitative research paradigm. That is, we have, through a detailed review of the literature determined the questions we want to research: we will be approaching informants for the most part to seek answers to our questions, rather than to help us to
find research questions, as might happen in the qualitative paradigm. As Creswell (1994: 22) notes, a characteristic of quantitative studies is that they 'include a substantial amount of literature to provide direction for the research questions or hypothesis'. Creswell (1994: 2) defines quantitative research thus: "...a quantitative study, consistent with the quantitative paradigm, is an enquiry into a human or social problem, based on testing a theory composed of variables, measured with numbers, and analyzed with statistical procedures, in order to determine whether the predictive generalisations of the theory hold true." This is contrasted with qualitative research: "this study is defined as an enquiry process of understanding a social or human problem, based on building a complex, holistic picture, formed with words, reporting detailed views of informants, and conducted in a natural setting" (Creswell 1994: 3). Creswell (1994: 7) recommends that the researcher 'Identify a single research paradigm for the overall design of the study'. He recommends the selection of one overall research paradigm on the grounds that full integration of quantitative and qualitative approaches is expensive, time-consuming and very demanding on research skills.

If we are to be consistent with our approach thus far, and if we are to be realistic in our research aims, we will rely, at least in the main, on quantitative research methods. Creswell (1994: 10) describes 2 main categories of quantitative research methods: experiments and surveys. A survey design is defined as "...a quantitative or numeric description of some fraction of the population – the sample – through the data collection process of asking questions of people" (Creswell 1994: 117). As we are interested in people's attitudes, a survey design would seem to suit our purposes admirably.
Taking a quantitative approach overall, however, does not preclude us from making judicious use of qualitative research methods. Creswell (1994: 174) notes that triangulation of data is an important reason for considering some combination of quantitative and qualitative research methods: “The concept of triangulation was based on the assumption that any bias inherent in particular data sources, investigations and method would be neutralised when used in conjunction with other data sources, investigations and methods.” Triangulation involves the use of different types of data collection and analysis. The researcher may choose to use both quantitative and qualitative data collection methods as, for example, when a questionnaire survey is followed by in-depth interviews.

Creswell (1994: 175) quotes Greene et al (1989) on the advantages of combining quantitative and qualitative research methods:

- Triangulation in the classic sense of seeking convergence of results;
- Complementary, in that overlapping and different facets of a phenomenon may emerge;
- Developmentally, wherein the first method is used sequentially to help inform the second method;
- Initiation, wherein contradictions and fresh perspectives emerge;
- Expansion, wherein the mixed methods add scope and breadth to the study.

Creswell (1994: 177) describes three models of integrating quantitative and qualitative research methods:
• The 2-phase design, where a problem is first investigated using one method, and then investigated using the other method;

• The dominant-less dominant design, where one method is used for the overall design and the other is used in a supporting role;

• The mixed methodology design, where both methods are used at every stage of the research.

We have argued the case above for using quantitative methods ‘driving’ our research, but we have now discussed the advantages of combining methods. The dominant-less dominant model would, thus, best suit our purposes.

Oppenheim (1992) distinguishes between research design and research techniques, while acknowledging that the 2 affect each other. Research design, according to Oppenheim (1992: 6), “is concerned with making our problem researchable by setting up our study in a way that will produce specific answers to specific questions”. It is the design of the research which will “determine whom we should question and what questions we should ask” (Oppenheim 1992: 7). We will consider here, then, the broad questions to be asked, and the constituencies to whom the questions should be addressed. Later we will consider the specific variables to be taken into account.

2.2 Researching Students’ Attitudes to Native Speaker Norms

In terms of our research hypothesis, the most pertinent question to ask students is: “How far do you want to conform to corpus-attested native speaker spoken norms?” It will be of value to us, however, if we want to see if there is anything distinctive
about their attitude to *spoken* norms, to set this question in a broader context. To achieve this broader context, we will need to ask a more general question: "How closely do you want to conform to native speaker norms?"

We will also need to add to this two related subsidiary questions:

1. How far do you want to conform to native speaker pronunciation norms?
2. How far do you want to conform to native speaker canonical grammar norms?

If we are to take into account the global nature of English and its different status in different countries – first language, second language, official language, additional or foreign language – we need to ask our questions to students from what we have defined as ENL, ENLF and EILF countries.

### 2.3 Researching Teachers' Attitudes to Native Speaker Norms

In terms of our research hypothesis, the most pertinent question to ask teachers is: "How far do you want your students to conform to corpus-attested native speaker spoken norms?" As was the case with students, it will be of value to us, however, if we want to see if there is anything distinctive about their attitudes to *spoken* norms, to set the question in a broader context. To achieve this broader context, we need to ask a more general question: "How closely do you want your students to conform to native speaker norms?"

We can add to this two related subsidiary questions:
1. How far do you want your students to conform to native speaker pronunciation norms?

2. How far do you want your students to conform to native speaker canonical grammar norms?

Again, if we are to reflect the global nature of English, we need to ask the question to teachers from ENL, ENLF and EILF countries and to include both native and non-native teachers in our survey.

We will also be interested in a comparison of the teachers’ and students’ responses. If their responses differ widely, we will need to ask whether it is the teacher’s responsibility simply to respect the aspirations of the students or whether the teacher is entitled to try to change these views.

2.4 Research Techniques for Attitudinal Research

Oppenheim (1992: 6) defines research techniques as “the methods used for data generation and collection”. In quantitative research which involves asking questions to ascertain attitudes there are two obvious techniques at the researcher’s disposal: self-completion questionnaires and interviews. Other techniques such as observation or experiments would not be practical for our purposes on anything but the smallest scale, and it is at least questionable whether they would provide equally reliable data.

We now review the general advantages and disadvantages of questionnaires and interviews, relating these advantages and disadvantages to the type of research study in question here. We also take a preliminary look at how some of the disadvantages
might be addressed, although the practical methodology of both questionnaires and interviews is discussed in more detail later.

2.5 Questionnaires as a Research Instrument

Oppenheim (1992: 102) summarises the advantages of postal self-completion questionnaires thus:

1. The relatively low cost of data collection and processing.
2. The avoidance of interviewer bias.
3. The ability to reach geographically diverse respondents.

It is immediately obvious that the third point is of vital importance for the study in question. If responses are to be secured from ENL, ENLF and EILF countries, it seems inevitable that the postal self-completion questionnaire will have a role to play.

The main disadvantages of postal self-completion questionnaires listed by Oppenheim (1992: 102) are as follows:

1. There is the potential for low response rates and, consequently for ‘self-selection bias’: that is, the questionnaire may only be filled in by those with a strong interest in the topic, thus distorting the results.
2. Questionnaires may be unsuitable for people with low language ability.
3. There is no opportunity to correct misunderstandings.
4. There is no control over the order in which questions are answered, over incomplete responses or incomplete questionnaires.
5. There is no opportunity to make assessments based on observation.
While these are potentially serious drawbacks, we can argue that they are either surmountable or not serious enough to invalidate the study. Let us consider the points above one by one to see how serious they might be in our case:

1. In the case of a questionnaire addressed to students (from now on referred to as 'Student Questionnaire'), self-selection bias will not operate if the questionnaires are sent to teachers who are asked to administer the questionnaire to their class. While it is true that the questionnaire is more likely to be administered by teachers with a keen interest in the topic, there is no guarantee, nor even likelihood, that their views will be shared by their students.

In the case of a questionnaire addressed to teachers (from now on referred to as 'Teacher Questionnaire'), the problem of self-selection bias is more pertinent. We can argue that the problem of self-selection bias is not so serious if we are looking more at the range of attested views rather than trying to prove statistically where the weight of opinion lies. If we do not receive a range of attested views, however, we will need to try to administer the questionnaire to one or more 'captive markets' to ascertain whether self-selection bias is skewing the results markedly.

High response rates cannot, of course be guaranteed, but we can follow the advice of Oppenheim (1992) and Cohen and Mannion (1994) on improving response rates. Among the steps suggested in these sources are:

- Giving respondents advance warning that you will be sending them a questionnaire;
The use of a carefully worded letter of introduction;
Using light pastel shades for the questionnaire;
Sending reminder letters;
Offering an incentive, or something in return;
Ensuring confidentiality.

2. In dealing with learners of English through the Student Questionnaire, the question of low language ability comes into play. However, the researcher can specify to the administering teacher the level at which the questionnaire can be used. In addition, this researcher has 15 years experience of TESOL so can be expected to show some sensitivity to language level in the wording of the questionnaire. This potential problem can further be addressed through the piloting process.

While the question of language ability is not relevant to the Teacher Questionnaire, we can note that it will be advisable to avoid too much culture-bound language such as idioms and proverbs if we wish to include in our survey both native and non-native speaker teachers working in a variety of different cultural settings.

3. It is not, of course, possible to correct misunderstandings on the spot through a self-completion questionnaire, but we can minimise the chance of this happening through a piloting and field trial process.
4. Low (1997) suggests that where there are incomplete responses or questionnaires, we can either try to retrieve the missing information (for example from marginal jottings) or make a principled decision to exclude from a data questionnaires which are, say, 30% incomplete.

5. In the case of the Student Questionnaire, the administering teacher can report back on their observation.

While we acknowledge at this stage, and later, that self-completion questionnaires have some flaws, it seems they still represent a useful potential technique for the kind of study we have in mind, especially if they are not the sole source of data, but are supported by other research techniques too.

2.6 Interviews as a Research Instrument

Cohen and Mannion (1994: 272–273) outline three main purposes that interviews can serve:

1. They can be used as the main research instrument to gather information about what people think, what they know and what they like or dislike.

2. They can be used to test hypotheses, to suggest new hypotheses or, in an exploratory role, to identify variables.

3. If they are used in conjunction with other methods they can explore more deeply the motivation of respondents and be used to validate other methods. As McDonough and McDonough (1997: 181) express it: “Interviews may be used as
the primary research tool, or alternatively, in an ancillary role, perhaps as a checking mechanism to triangulate data from other sources.”

We have noted above that it is important to get wide geographic coverage from our responses. If we also want a large number of responses from our study, it is unlikely that we can use the interview as our primary research instrument. It seems, though, that the interview may have something to offer us in an ancillary role.

Cohen and Mannion (1994: 275) quote Cicourel (1964) on 5 weaknesses of interviews:

1. Certain factors, such as mutual trust, social distance and interviewer control will inevitably differ from interview to interview.

2. Respondents may feel uncomfortable and adopt avoidance tactics if probed too deeply.

3. Both interviewer and respondent are bound to hold back something they could say.

4. Many of the meanings which are clear to one participant will not be clear to the other, even when there is a sincere desire to communicate.

5. It is not possible to bring every aspect of the interview under rational control.

Cohen and Mannion (1994: 275) summarise Cicourel’s (1964) views on the weakness of interviews thus: “...no matter how hard an interviewer may try to be systematic and objective, the constraints of everyday life will be a part of whatever interpersonal transactions she initiates.” We cannot, it seems, totally exclude bias, but we can minimise it if we are aware of the sources.
If we look at the sources of bias listed in Cohen and Mannion (1994) we can form some ground rules for the conduct of interviews which, in conjunction with the detailed practical steps we discuss later, will help us to address its potential weaknesses as a research instrument:

- Interviewers must avoid projecting their own attitudes on to the respondents;
- Interviewers must avoid asking ‘leading questions’ which support preconceived ideas;
- Interviewers must take care to ensure that the respondent understands what is being asked and that the interviewer has correctly understood the respondents answer;
- Interviewers must make it clear to respondents that they are not looking for particular preferred answers;
- Interviewers should take care to ask only questions which the particular respondents could reasonably be expected to have an opinion on.

2.7 The Case for Using Questionnaires and Interviews

In our research design, we stipulated that the basic question we wanted to ask to teachers and students was: “How far do you want (your students) to conform to native speaker norms?” From the discussion above it can be seen that a postal self-completion questionnaire would allow us to address the question to respondents over a wide geographic area. It also offers us the possibility of getting sufficient responses to be able to get a feel for whether there is any kind of consensus or not on the issue.
If, in conjunction with our postal self-completion questionnaire, we use interviews three advantages accrue:

1. We can triangulate the questionnaire data.
2. We can probe the reasons behind the responses.
3. We have the opportunity to find further directions for our research.

A combination of quantitative and qualitative techniques appears to offer us a principled and practical way forward. As Drever (1995: 8) puts it: “Because interviews can provide depth of explanation within a particular context, while questionnaires paint a broad though possibly superficial picture, it is often a good idea to use both.” We will now examine exactly what is entailed in applying these techniques.

**2.8 Issues in Questionnaire Design**

Having decided on the broad research question we want to investigate and the research techniques we want to use, we now need to consider what is involved in creating a valid and effective data collection instrument for our purposes. We begin with questionnaires.

Oppenheim (1992: 10) describes the research questionnaire as a ‘measurement tool’:

“A questionnaire is not just a list of questions or a form to be filled in. It is essentially a measurement tool, an instrument for the collection of particular kinds of data.” For this reason, there must be a specific reason for the inclusion of every question; we
must not include a question unless we are clear what we are going to do with the responses.

To decide on what questions we are to include, we must specify the variables we are investigating: "Instrument building and questionnaire composition cannot proceed until we have a complete specification of the variables that need to be measured and the types of instruments that will have to be built (scales, check-lists, open-ended questions etc)" (Oppenheim 1992: 101).

2.8.1 From Variables to Questions

Once we have specified the variables we want to investigate, we need to consider what is involved in framing appropriate and effective questions.

The basic choice we have to make is the balance between 'open' questions and 'closed' questions. Open questions are questions where respondents are free to choose their own response e.g. "Why are you learning English?" Closed questions are questions where the respondents are forced to choose between alternatives e.g.:

"Why are you learning English?"

a) for your job  b) for your studies  c) for pleasure

Of open questions, Oppenheim (1992: 113) writes: "Free response questions are often easy to ask, difficult to answer, and still more difficult to analyse." The difficulty in analysis lies in the need to develop a coding frame to classify the answers. The obvious advantage of open questions, however, is that they allow scope for
spontaneity and expressiveness and may, indeed, suggest further directions for research.

Closed questions which, Oppenheim (1992: 114) notes, can be factual or attitudinal, “are quicker to answer...require no writing, and quantification is straightforward”. The danger with closed questions, however, is that they may constrain respondents by forcing a choice on them which they would not otherwise have made. In addition, there is no opportunity to probe the motives which lie behind the answers.

2.8.2 Question Framing

Oppenheim (1992: 121) stresses the importance of question wording: “...the questions we ask, the possible misunderstandings they provoke in the respondent, the choice or phrasing of the answers, and the recording procedures all have influences on the final result that we could well do without.” The problem of question wording is, of course, particularly pertinent in our case when we are dealing with non-native speaker respondents, as is Oppenheim’s (1992: 124–125) warning: “When drawing up a questionnaire we tend to forget how circumscribed our own experience is, and we take for granted that whatever the word means to us, it will mean the same to everyone else.” We need to be aware of this, of course, with the key word in our research question ‘native speaker’: “Words and phrases that are more or less neutral in one context or to one group may be highly loaded in another context or to another group.”

Oppenheim (1992: 128) has the following practical advice on framing questions:
Questions should generally be under 20 words;

Double-barrelled questions should be avoided;

Double negatives should be avoided;

"Don't know" and n/a categories should be included;

Jargon and technical terms should be avoided;

Memory should not be over-taxed;

Ambiguous words, 'loaded' words and words with alternative usage should be avoided;

Leading questions should be avoided.

As many of the questions we will be asking are attitudinal and non-factual we need to be aware that these questions "are generally much more sensitive to bias by wording, by response sets, by leading, by prestige and by contextual effects" (Oppenheim 1992: 143). One way we can address this susceptibility to bias is to build in internal checks for consistency by including sets of questions which relate to the same issue, and by using attitude scales such as the Likert scale.

2.8.3 Question Sequence

Cohen and Mannion (1994) suggest that personal information questions should be placed at the end of the questionnaire so that respondents do not begin by feeling that they have been tricked into answering the same old questions. Oppenheim (1992) suggests that the two criteria according to which we sequence our questions: internal logic and the likely reactions of the respondents to the sequence may conflict and that we have to strike a balance between these two criteria. Robson (1993: 228) stresses the importance of sequence when dealing with questions of attitude and suggests the
use of multiple questions: "Beliefs and attitudes form a very important part of self-report techniques and are relatively difficult to get at. They are often complex and multi-dimensional and appear particularly prone to the effects of question wording and sequence. These problems point to the use of multiple questions related to the belief or attitude and can be best attacked by the construction of appropriate scales." Layout is another feature we cannot afford to neglect in the design of the self-completion questionnaire.

2.8.4 Piloting Questionnaires

Oppenheim (1992: 47) is emphatic about the value of piloting questionnaires: "Questionnaires do not emerge fully-fledged; they have to be created or adapted, fashioned and developed to maturity after many abortive test flights." The function of piloting is not just to check the effectiveness of the question wording, but also to check the effectiveness of the question sequence, the method of coding and quantifying the responses, and even the letter of introduction. Oppenheim (1992: 47) cautions against premature issue of the definitive questionnaire: "We must allow a substantial period of time for the construction, revision and refinement of the questionnaire." In the case of data, we can say, "better late than invalid".

2.9 The Student Questionnaire

2.9.1 Design Specifications

In order to maximise the potential responses, and minimise the possibility of language-based misunderstandings, I decided to design a questionnaire which could
be administered to a group of students by a teacher. Again with the idea of maximising responses, I decided to design a questionnaire which could be completed by students of intermediate level (or above, of course).

Two obvious consequences of these decisions were that the questionnaire needed to be short, so that it did not take up too much class time, and carefully graded linguistically, so that it could be done by intermediate students. To ensure that the questionnaire could be completed quickly, and to make sure that it was not linguistically taxing, I decided to use mainly closed questions. As we have already acknowledged (4.1), the use of predominantly closed questions sets limits on the richness of the responses we will receive. However, given that the questionnaires were to be followed up by interviews, I felt that more would be gained than lost by designing a relatively straightforward questionnaire in the first instance. We should note, however, that a questionnaire which is straightforward to complete, is not necessarily unchallenging or uninteresting in its content.

2.9.2 Variables in the Student Questionnaire

We decided that the research questions we wanted to ask students were:

1. How far do you want to conform to corpus-attested native speaker spoken norms?
2. How far do you want to conform to native speaker norms (in general)?
3. How far do you want to conform to native speaker pronunciation norms?
4. How far do you want to conform to native speaker canonical grammar norms?
Let us examine the variables we need to take into account which might influence students’ answers:

1. Learning context

Hypothesis
It is a reasonable hypothesis that students in ENL countries, living in a native speaker community, would have a stronger desire to conform to native speaker norms.

Rationale

Commentators such as Widdowson (1994, 1996), Prodromou (1997, 1998), Jenkins (1997, 1998) and Willis (1999) have questioned whether students who have little or no contact with native speakers need or want to aspire to native speaker norms. The corollary is that those students who do have contact with native speakers will have a greater desire to conform to native speaker norms.

2. Patterns of use

Hypothesis
It is a reasonable hypothesis that students who interact mainly with native speakers, or predict that they will interact mainly with native speakers would have a stronger desire to conform to native speaker norms.

Rationale

As above, commentators such as Widdowson (1994, 1996), Prodromou (1997, 1998), Jenkins (1997, 1998) and Willis (1999) have questioned whether students who have little or no contact with native speakers need or want to aspire to native speaker norms. The corollary is that those students who do have contact with native speakers will have a greater desire to conform to native speaker norms.
3. Motivation

Hypothesis
It is a reasonable hypothesis that students whose main motivation in learning English is transactional (e.g. mainly for business or professional purposes) would not have such a strong desire to conform to native speaker norms.

Rationale

Carter and McCarthy (1995), Carter (1998) suggest that the many features of spoken grammar constitute part of the affective (rather than transactional or ideational) grammar of the learner.

4. Learning priorities

Hypothesis
It is a reasonable hypothesis that students for whom speaking is a high priority will have a stronger desire to conform to corpus-attested native speaker spoken norms than students for whom speaking is not a priority. It is also arguable that students for whom speaking is a high priority will have a stronger desire to conform to native speaker norms in general.

Rationale

It has been argued (Brazil 1995; Carter and McCarthy 1995; Biber et al 1999) that there are many features of grammar which are far more common in speech than writing, or even peculiar to speech.

5. Perceptions of attainability

Hypothesis
It is a reasonable hypothesis that students who perceive native speaker norms as unattainable will not have as strong a desire to conform to native speaker norms as students who perceive them as attainable.

Rationale

It has been argued (Prodromou 2000 – conversation with the author) that students who profess a desire to conform to native speaker norms do so in ignorance of how difficult this will be to attain. The corollary is that those students who perceive native speaker norms as attainable will have a stronger desire to conform to them.

6. Country of residence

Hypothesis

It is a reasonable hypothesis that students living in ENLF and EILF countries will not have such a strong desire to conform to native speaker norms as students in ENL countries.

Rationale

Graddol (1997: 3) has referred to ‘growing assertiveness’ among ‘countries adopting English as a second language that English is now their language, through which they can express their own values and identities, create their own intellectual property and export goods and services to other countries’.
2.9.3 Piloting the Student Questionnaire

*Pre-Pilot Version of the Student Questionnaire*

The first step was to draw up a rough draft of the questions I intended to ask based on the variables listed above. These were then passed to a colleague with several years experience of designing and administering questionnaire to see if the type of questions I had in mind would produce analysable results. When this was confirmed, I gave thought to the layout and format of the questions and produced the first pilot questionnaire for the students (see pilot 1 in the appendix).
Student Questionnaire Pilot I (see appendix 1.1)

Pilot I was administered to a multilingual group of 9 upper-intermediate students by a colleague at Leeds Metropolitan University (1.10.99). As well as completing the questionnaire, the students were asked to evaluate the questionnaire:

1. Were there any questions you found difficult to understand?
2. Were there any questions you found difficult to answer? Which ones?
3. Were there any questions where you needed more options? Which ones?
4. Did you find any of the questions interesting to discuss or think about? Which ones?
5. How long did it take you to complete the questionnaire?
6. Do you think there should be other questions on the questionnaire?

After looking at the evaluations and discussions with the administering teacher I decided to make a number of minor changes:

- To move the personal information questions to the end of the questionnaire;
- To allow students to rate their learning priorities on a scale rather than against each other;
- To include more options in the multiple choice question about reasons for learning English;
- To provide a footnote defining ‘native speaker’;
- To add a question to the evaluation section: “Are the instructions and presentation clear?”
- To use a different font for the quotations

Reviewing the questionnaire against the research questions and the main hypothesis, I decided that there needed to be more emphasis on the question of conforming to corpus-attested native speaker spoken norms. Accordingly, I decided to make three further changes:
1. An extra question was added which focused on attitudes to spoken grammar:

13. For each sentence please circle (✓) one number
1=strongly agree 2=agree 3=unsure 4=disagree 5=disagree strongly

a) When native speakers speak to each other, they sometimes use grammar we don’t
learn in class.

b) To speak English as well as I want to, I want to learn the informal grammar
native speakers use when they speak to each other

c) To speak English as well as I need to, I need to learn the informal grammar native
speakers use when they speak to each other

2. The quotations which related to students’ attitudes to grammar were changed and
an extra option was added:

9. Please read what Student C says then underline one answer to each question
Student C: “I can say everything that I want to say. Native speakers and non-
native speakers understand me wherever I go, but I use English my
own way and sometimes I say things which native speakers think are
grammar mistakes”.

a) Do you think you could ever be like Student C?
   Yes   No   I don’t know

b) Would you like to be like Student C?
   Yes   No   I don’t know

10. Please read what Student D says then underline one answer to each question
Student D: “I know all the grammar rules I need so that I can say anything I want. I
use these rules correctly, but sometimes English people use
grammar that isn’t in the grammar books and I don’t want to learn
this”.

a) Do you think you could ever be like Student D?
   Yes   No   I don’t know

b) Would you like to be like Student D?
   Yes   No   I don’t know

11. Please read what Student E says then underline one answer to each question
Student E: “I use all the grammar rules that native speakers use, even the
informal grammar native speakers use when they speak to each
other”.

a) Do you think you could ever be like Student E?
   Yes   No   I don’t know

b) Would you like to be like Student E?
   Yes   No   I don’t know

12. Please underline one answer
Would you prefer to be like Student C, Student D, or Student E?
3. An extra question was added relating to student’s global attitudes to native speaker English. This question, I felt, would act as a lead-in to the more detailed questions and, with an eye to analysing the data, it would allow for internal consistency checks between the general and the specific questions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>5. For each sentence please circle (〇 one number</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1=strongly agree 2=agree 3=unsure 4=disagree 5=disagree strongly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a) I want to learn any kind of English that is easy to learn and helps me communicate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) I want to learn the kind of English that will help me communicate with non-native speakers all over the world</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) I want to learn the English that native speakers use</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Student Questionnaire Pilot 2 (see appendix 1.2)

The revised version (pilot 2) was administered to a multilingual group of seven upper-intermediate students by the researcher. No problems were observed or reported with this pilot version so it was decided that the questionnaire could now be given a field trial.

The Student Questionnaire Field Trial

The field trial differed from the piloting process in three ways:

1. It was on a larger scale;
2. The students were not asked to evaluate the questionnaire;
3. A preliminary analysis of the responses was carried out.
The questionnaire was given a field trial with four different upper-intermediate groups. One group was external to Leeds Metropolitan University so that the administration procedure could also be trialled.

**Analysis of the Student Questionnaire Field Trial**

**Operational**

1. The field trial indicated that the questionnaire would be able to generate data:
   - It proved possible for teachers from within and without my own institution to administer the questionnaire to intermediate groups in 10 to 15 minutes.

2. The field trial indicated that the students had understood the questionnaire and had not experienced undue difficulty in completing it:
   - In 36 completed questionnaires, only one respondent left one question uncompleted.
   - The questionnaires showed a good degree of internal consistency.

3. The field trial indicated that students had clear opinions on the issues:
   - Only question 13, especially 13c and 13d produced a large number of neutral responses. While a large number of neutral responses can be taken as a sign that a question has not been understood, this is not necessarily the case, of course: respondents may be genuinely uncertain about their attitudes.

4. The very small sample in the field trial indicated that there was a strong, but far from unanimous predilection for native speaker norms.

**Changes after the Student Questionnaire Field Trial**

On the basis of the field trial I decided to make two changes:
1. Question 2, relating to motivation for learning English, I felt could be turned into an open question and 'relegated' to the personal information section at the end of the questionnaire. Some respondents had ticked two boxes although instructed to tick one, and the number of options made the question look rather cumbersome.

2. Question 13 could be redrafted to produce a clearer question, and the part relating to culture omitted to focus more on the spoken grammar issue.

**Changing Question 13 in the Student Questionnaire (see appendix 1.3)**

I decided to provide an example of spoken grammar to ensure that students had some idea of what was meant by the term. The example chosen was one noted down verbatim by the researcher while observing a trainee teacher teach:

"Disaster last night. Sat at home on the sofa watching TV. The phone rings. It's my mum. I'm like "Oh no!" she's going "Do you want to come to the USA?"

The example was chosen for three reasons:

1. It was a genuine example of unscripted, naturally occurring, native speaker speech.

2. It was short but exhibited a number of features typical of spoken grammar: ellipsis; the dramatic use of the present simple and present continuous; non-canonical ways of introducing reported speech.

3. Lexically it was within the range of intermediate students, though I decided to provide a definition of 'disaster' as it may not be known by some students.
An added advantage of the extract was that it was spoken by a graduate in the course of a lesson. It would be more difficult, then, for it simply to be dismissed as ‘uneducated’ speech or dialect.

I then ‘translated’ the extract into the type of canonical grammar typical of coursebooks:

I had a disaster last night. I was sitting at home on the sofa watching TV when the phone rang. I wasn’t very pleased to find out that it was my mum, but she was asking me if I wanted to go to the USA with her.

(note: It is a “disaster” when something very bad happens)

Using these extracts I then drafted a different version of question 13 (because of the repositioning of question 2, it now became question 12):

12. Please look at Example A and Example B below and decide which example was actually spoken by a native speaker of English.

Example A
I had a disaster last night. I was sitting at home on the sofa watching TV when the phone rang. I wasn’t very pleased to find out that it was my mum, but she was asking me if I wanted to go to the USA with her.

(note: It is a “disaster” when something very bad happens)

Example B
Disaster last night. Sat at home on the sofa watching TV. The phone rings. It’s my mum. I’m like “Oh no!” she’s going “Do you want to come to the USA?”

Please underline one answer

a) Which of the examples do you think was spoken by a native speaker?

Example A  Example B

Now check your answer at the bottom of the page, please, before doing question 13

13. For each sentence please circle (○) one number

1 = strongly agree 2 = agree 3 = unsure 4 = disagree 5 = disagree strongly

a) It is important for me to be able to use the kind of English in example B

1 2 3 4 5

b) It is important for me to study the kind of English in example B in class

1 2 3 4 5

c) It is better for me to use the kind of English in example A than the kind of English in example B

1 2 3 4 5

I Example B is the example actually spoken by a native speaker, but example A is also correct English, of course.

The new question was piloted with a group of 12 upper-intermediate students. In
addition to completing the question, students were asked:

Did you understand the examples?
Did you understand the questions?

No problems were reported or observed. After two pilot versions, a field trial, and a piloted amended question, the definitive version was produced.

2.9.4 The Final Version of the Student Questionnaire (see appendix 1.4)

I would like now to review the final version of the questionnaire, showing how the questions included relate to the research questions and the specified variables. For ease of reference the variables are repeated below.

The Variables

1. Learning context

It is a reasonable hypothesis that students in ENL countries, living in a native speaker community, would have a stronger desire to conform to native speaker norms.

2. Patterns of use

It is a reasonable hypothesis that students who interact mainly with native speakers, or predict that they will interact mainly with native speakers would have a stronger desire to conform to native speaker norms.

3. Motivation

It is a reasonable hypothesis that students whose main motivation in learning English is transactional (e.g. mainly for business or professional purposes) would not have such a strong desire to conform to native speaker norms.

4. Learning priorities
It is a reasonable hypothesis that students for whom speaking is a high priority will have a stronger desire to conform to corpus-attested native speaker spoken norms than students for whom speaking is not a priority. It is also arguable that students for whom speaking is a high priority will have a stronger desire to conform to native speaker norms in general.

5. Perceptions of attainability

It is a reasonable hypothesis that students who perceive native speaker norms as unattainable will not have as strong a desire to conform to native speaker norms as students who perceive them as attainable.

6. Country of residence

It is a reasonable hypothesis that students living in ENLF and EILF countries will not have such a strong desire to conform to native speaker norms as students in ENL countries.

Rationale for the questions in the final version

For each sentence please circle (O) one number

1 = very, very important! 2 = very important 3 = quite important 4 = not very important 5 = unimportant

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>For me,</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>learning to speak English is</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>learning to write English is</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>learning to read English is</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>learning to listen to English is</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Comment: This question relates to variable 4: learning priorities. It is included at the beginning as it is the sort of question that students will be familiar with and quite easy for them to answer.
2. Please tick (✓) one box
At the moment, when I am outside class, I use English

- more with native speakers
- more with non-native speakers
- I am not sure if I use English more with native speakers or non-native speakers

Comment: This question relates to variable 2: patterns of use. It is included at this point as part of a gentle lead-in to attitudinal questions. A simple definition of the term 'native speaker' is provided as a footnote, based on the definition in the Collins Cobuild English Dictionary. We can recognise that 'native speaker' is in some senses a problematic term, but acknowledge, along with Davies (1995) and Medgyes (1999), that for some purposes it is difficult or impossible to work without the notion.

3. Please tick (✓) one box
In the next 3 years, I think I will use English

- more with native speakers
- more with non-native speakers
- I am not sure if I will use English more with native speakers or non-native speakers

Comment: This question also relates to variable 2: patterns of use. It is also included at this point as part of a gentle lead-in to attitudinal questions.

4. For each sentence please circle (O) one number
1=strongly agree 2=agree 3=unsure 4=disagree 5=disagree strongly

a) I want to learn any kind of English that is easy to learn and helps me communicate

- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5

b) I want to learn the kind of English that will help me communicate with non-native speakers all over the world

- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5

c) I want to learn the English that native speakers use

- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5
Comment: This question relates to the research question: How far do you want to conform to native speaker norms? It is included at this point as in accordance with what Oppenheim (1992: 110) terms 'the funnel approach', moving from the general to the specific”. It also allows checks to be made for internal consistency. We can expect, for example, students who choose a 1 rating for c) above to choose A for question 7 below.

5 Please read what Student A says then underline one answer to each question
Student A: “I can pronounce English just like a native speaker now. Sometimes people think I am a native speaker”.

a) Do you think you could ever be like Student A?
   Yes No I don’t know

b) Would you like to be like Student A?
   Yes No I don’t know

Comment: This question, and questions 6 and 7, relate to the research question: How far do you want to conform to native speaker pronunciation norms? The quotations were constructed to contrast native-like accent and accented intelligibility. Questions 5a) and 6a) relate to variable 5: perceptions of attainability.

6. Please read what Student B says then underline one answer to each question
Student B: “I can pronounce English clearly now. Native speakers and non-native speakers understand me wherever I go, but I still have the accent of my country.”

a) Do you think you could ever be like Student B?
   Yes No I don’t know

b) Would you like to be like Student B?
   Yes No I don’t know

See comment above.
7. Please underline one answer

Would you prefer to be like Student A or Student B?

Student A  Student B

Comment: It would have been possible to include a 'no preference' category here, but I felt information about preference was important and that the choice not too forced: a student, for example, expressing a preference for Student A could express contentment with Student B in 6b).

8. Please read what Student C says then underline one answer to each question

Student C: "I can say everything that I want to say. Native speakers and non-native speakers understand me wherever I go, but I use English my own way and sometimes I say things which native speakers think are grammar mistakes".

a) Do you think you could ever be like Student C?
   Yes  No  I don't know

b) Would you like to be like Student C?
   Yes  No  I don't know

Comment: This question, and questions 9, 10 and 11, relate to the research question: How far do you want to conform to native speaker canonical grammar norms? Questions 8a), 9a) and 10a) relate to variable 5: perceptions of attainability. The quotations were designed as follows:

Student C: Designed to represent what Willis (1999) describes as a stable and consistent interlanguage.

Student D: Designed to represent a student with a native-like command of canonical grammar.
**Student E**: Designed to represent a student with native-like command of canonical and non-canonical grammar.

9. **Please read what Student D says then underline one answer to each question**

**Student D**: "I know all the grammar rules I need so that I can say anything I want. I use these rules correctly, but sometimes English people use grammar that isn’t in the grammar books and I don’t want to learn this."

a) Do you think you could ever be like Student D?
   - Yes
   - No
   - I don’t know

b) Would you like to be like Student D?
   - Yes
   - No
   - I don’t know

See **comment** above.

10. **Please read what Student E says then underline one answer to each question**

**Student E**: "I use all the grammar rules that native speakers use, even the informal grammar native speakers use when they speak to each other."

a) Do you think you could ever be like Student E?
   - Yes
   - No
   - I don’t know

b) Would you like to be like Student E?
   - Yes
   - No
   - I don’t know

See **comment** above.

11. **Please underline one answer**

Would you prefer to be like Student C, Student D, or Student E?

   - Student C
   - Student D
   - Student E

**Comment**: As we argued in relation to question 7, it would have been possible to include a ‘no preference’ category, but it was felt that the choice was not too constrained in view of the options in preceding questions. This question also allows a check for internal consistency with 13a) below. A student opting for Student E could be expected to choose a 1 or 2 rating in 13a).
12. Please look at Example A and Example B below and decide which example was actually spoken by a native speaker of English.

Example A
I had a disaster last night. I was sitting at home on the sofa watching TV when the phone rang. I wasn't very pleased to find out that it was my mum, but she was asking me if I wanted to go to the USA with her.
(note: It is a “disaster” when something very bad happens)

Example B
Disaster last night. Sat at home on the sofa watching TV. The phone rings. It’s my mum. I’m like “Oh no!” she’s going “Do you want to come to the USA?”

Please underline one answer

a) Which of the examples do you think was spoken by a native speaker?
   Example A  Example B

Now check your answer at the bottom of the page, please, before doing question 13

Comment: It was felt that asking the students to choose which example was a genuine example of native speaker speech would focus the students on the nature of spoken grammar, and also give the researcher valuable information about student awareness of the nature of spoken grammar.

13. For each sentence please circle (☑) one number
1 = strongly agree 2 = agree 3 = unsure 4 = disagree 5 = disagree strongly
a) It is important for me to be able to use the kind of English in example B
   1  2  3  4  5
b) It is important for me to study the kind of English in example B in class
   1  2  3  4  5
c) It is better for me to use the kind of English in example A than the kind of English in example B
   1  2  3  4  5

Comment: This question relates to the research question: How far do you want to conform to corpus-attested native speaker spoken norms?

Personal Information
It will help us to analyse the information, if you could answer these questions
1. Why are you learning English?

Comment: This question relates to variable 3: motivation
2. In which country are you studying English now?

Comment: This question relates to variable 1: learning context

3. In which country do you normally live?

Comment: This question also relates to variable 6: country of residence.

4. How long have you been learning English?

Comment: This question allows the researcher to check that respondents have the requisite level of English to understand the questionnaire.

2.9.5 The Sample for the Student Questionnaire

It has been estimated (Crystal 1997) by the British Council that there are 1 billion people learning English. Clearly this presents a sampling problem. There is no demographic profile available for this population and thus it is clearly impossible to draw an accurately representative sample. I chose to focus on adults as I felt that they would more likely to have views on the subject, or at least be better able to articulate them, but this does not really simplify the picture. It will reduce the number, of course, but still there is no accurate demographic profile. In this situation we have to fall back on what Oppenheim (1992: 43) terms a ‘judgement sample’: “This really means that accurate parameters for the population are lacking but that the investigators have done their best to obtain as wide a spread of individuals as possible.” Robson (1993: 141) refers to ‘purposive sampling’: “The principle of purposive sampling is the researcher’s judgement as to typicality or interest.” The researcher’s aim is to construct a sample, which meets the needs of a particular
project. While we have acknowledged that we cannot construct an accurately representative sample, we will be able to claim that we have tried to avoid the obvious dangers of being unrepresentative. Sample size is not an easy issue either. We need a sample that is large enough to ensure "as wide a spread of individuals as possible" and large enough so that it will not be distorted by one 'rogue' group, but not so large that we cannot conveniently process it.

There are certain practical steps we can take to ensure "as wide a spread of individuals as possible":

- We can seek responses from a variety of ENL, ENLF and EILF countries;
- We can seek responses from students in different types of institution (this should ensure that we cover different motivations);
- We can ensure that males and females are represented and that there is some variation in age range.

In spite of these steps, however, we will need to acknowledge that sampling problems will set limits on the generalisability of our findings. We will not be able to claim that we have 'proved' anything in terms of where the weight of opinion lies. We should be able to say with some confidence, however, that we have evidence of the types of attitude people have and whether there is a high degree of consensus or not. In other words, we should be able to sustain the more modest claim that our findings are 'indicative' and may suggest directions for further research.

2.9.6 The Administration of the Student Questionnaire

In order to maximise response, and to ensure a geographic spread, I decided to ask personal professional contacts in the ELT field to administer the questionnaire to their
students on my behalf. In areas where I had no personal professional contacts, but felt it important to get coverage, Singapore and South Africa, for example, I used the contacts list of professional organisations such as IATEFL or the British Council. In most cases the procedure followed was to contact colleagues by e-mail with the questionnaire attached. Colleagues were asked to look at the questionnaire to see if it would be suitable for one of their groups and then to let me know if they were prepared to help. If they were prepared to help, they could either print off the questionnaire or wait for a batch to be sent.

I did not feel able to dictate the way the questionnaire was administered, but I offered the following suggestions:

- The questionnaire could be administered at the beginning of the lesson and used as a basis for discussion;
- The questionnaire could be used as a filler at the end of a lesson or while waiting for students to arrive;
- The questionnaire could be taken away and returned to the teacher by the students.

The administration could be said to be successful in that it generated the requisite number of responses and there was little danger of self-selection bias on the part of the students. Only 1 colleague reported problems in administering the questionnaire and it turned out that this was because he had given it to a group at a lower level than intermediate. Other colleagues reported that their students had found the questionnaire interesting.
2.10 The Teacher Questionnaire

2.10.1 Design Specifications

I decided to construct the Teacher Questionnaire, as far as possible, as a mirror image of the Student Questionnaire. This would allow for some comparison of the results and also allow me to capitalise on what had been learned from the process of constructing and piloting the Student Questionnaire.

To maximise potential responses I wanted a questionnaire which could at least be minimally completed in 10 to 15 minutes. Again, this constraint entailed relying largely on closed questions, but, given that the questionnaires were to be supported by interviews, this seemed a reasonable course of action.

2.10.2 Variables for the Teacher Questionnaire

We decided that the research questions we wanted to put to teachers were:

1. How far do you want your students to conform to corpus-attested native speaker spoken norms?

2. How closely do you want your students to conform to native speaker norms (in general)?

3. How far do you want your students to conform to native speaker pronunciation norms?

4. How far do you want your students to conform to native speaker canonical grammar norms?

We need now to look at the key variables which can reasonably be expected to influence respondents' answers:
1. Own Variety of English

Hypothesis

It is a reasonable hypothesis that teachers will present to teachers the norms of English they themselves are most comfortable with.

Rationale

Both Prodromou (1997) and Carter (1998) have argued that there is a risk that an attachment to native speaker models will tend to favour the native speaker teacher. Presumably one reason for this is that non-native teachers will be less comfortable presenting native speaker models than native speaker teachers.

2. Native or Non-Native Speaker Teacher

Hypothesis

It is a reasonable hypothesis that Native Speaker Teachers will have a greater awareness of the norms of informal spoken English and therefore be more likely to be willing or able to teach these norms.

Rationale

As above, both Prodromou (1997) and Carter (1998) have argued that there is a risk that an attachment to native speaker models will tend to favour the native speaker teacher. Presumably one reason for this is that non-native teachers will be less comfortable presenting native speaker models than native speaker teachers.

3. Materials used

Hypothesis

It is a reasonable hypothesis that the materials used will influence the norms presented, particularly where the materials used are imposed by the institution.
Rationale

In my teaching experience, I have come across very few examples of non-native models in mainstream coursebooks. Most of the coursebooks I have come across tend to a sanitised version of British or American English. It is difficult for teachers to break the mould without any materials to help.

4. Teaching Context

Hypothesis

It is a reasonable hypothesis that the national/cultural setting will influence the norms presented. It can be expected, for example, that teachers working in ENL countries will be more likely to aim for native speaker norms than those working in ENLF or EILF countries.

Rationale

We have already noted Graddol's (1997) reference to growing assertiveness in outer circle countries that English is their own language. We also need to consider whether institutional restraints in the form, for example, of exam syllabuses or prescribed coursebooks might influence the norms presented.

5. The Teacher's Perception of Teaching/Learning Aims

Hypothesis

It is a reasonable hypothesis that the teacher's aims and the teacher's perception of the students' aims will influence the norms presented.

Rationale

As we noted in 5.2 it has been argued (Brazil 1995; Carter and McCarthy 1995; Biber et al 1999) that there are many features of grammar which are far more
common in speech than writing, or even peculiar to speech. If the teacher does not regard the ability to speak English to be important for the students, then he or she will be unlikely to aim for corpus-attested native speaker spoken norms. It is also important to consider the teacher’s overall conception of the purpose of language teaching (Willis 1999). If teachers regard the ability to be taken for a native speaker to be the ultimate, if unattainable, goal of language teaching, this will clearly influence the norms presented.

2.10.3 Piloting the Teacher Questionnaire

The Teacher Questionnaire was not piloted with as many respondents as the Student Questionnaire for a number of reasons:

- As the decision had been taken to create a ‘mirror image’ questionnaire, the basic content had already been largely specified. In addition, lessons learned from piloting the Student Questionnaire could, to a large extent, be applied to the Teacher Questionnaire;
- The problem of grading the language of the questions was less pertinent with teachers;
- More extensive feedback could be sought from the close colleagues who piloted the early versions.

I will argue, however, that the number of revisions and amendments through the piloting and field trial process demonstrate that the process was rigorous.
**Teacher Questionnaire Pilot 1 (see appendix 2.1)**

The first pilot version (see appendix) was drawn up to mirror the Student Questionnaire and piloted with two colleagues. As a result of their remarks the following changes were made:

1. Comment boxes were added so that respondents could qualify, explain or amplify their responses;

2. The wording of question 6 was changed:

   * **Version 1**

   > 6. It is important that the coursebook and teaching materials I use in my teaching context accurately reflect recorded examples of native speaker speech

   * **Revised version**

   > 6. It is important that the coursebook and teaching materials I use in my teaching context are based on recorded examples of native speaker speech

   I felt it was possible for someone to be strongly in favour of native speaker models without insisting that materials *accurately reflect* these models.

- Questions 10a) and 10b) which originally asked about the importance of receptive and productive knowledge of spoken grammar were conflated to one question:

   10. Please look at the example of informal native speaker spoken grammar before answering the questions below

   "Disaster last night. Sat on the sofa watching TV. The phone rings. It’s my mum. I’m like “Oh No!” She’s going “Do you want to come to America?”"

   It is important to raise my students’ awareness of this kind of informal native speaker spoken grammar

   5 4 3 2 1

- The wording of question 12 was changed to make it less leading:
Version 1

12. It is important for my students to be exposed to this kind of informal native speaker spoken grammar

| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

Revised version

12. Students should be exposed to this kind of informal native speaker spoken grammar

| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

Teacher Questionnaire Pilot 2 (see appendix 2.2)

This version (see appendix) was piloted by one colleague. The most important changes after this were:

1. To reverse the ranking order for the Likert scale:

First version

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

became

Revised version

| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

Two colleagues had commented that they found it easier to have the high number as the positive response.

2. To drop the question about culture

Though the question is not without relevance to the research, I considered it, on reflection, to be too difficult to deal with this question in the space of a short questionnaire, especially as two respondents had asked me to define what I meant by 'culture'. There was also a danger that it might deflect respondents from the main research questions.
3. To add a question about the production of spoken language

Dropping the question about culture freed up space to add a question about the production of spoken language which was more central to the research questions.

4. The wording of questions 8a) and 9a) was changed so that ‘worthwhile long-term target’ became ‘worthwhile standard for my student to aim at’.

I wanted to be clear that having a native speaker model as a goal did not imply that it had to be reached.

**Teacher Questionnaire Pilot 3**

This version was piloted by one colleague. Two small changes were made:

1. ‘In my teaching context’ was added to question 12 dealing with the importance of students being exposed to native and non-native varieties of English.

2. A footnote was added explaining Crystal’s (1997) term ‘World Standard English’.

**The Teacher Questionnaire Field Trial (see appendix 2.3)**

20 respondents took part in the field trial. To make sure both native speaker and non-native speaker teachers were included I gave the questionnaire to colleagues at Leeds Metropolitan University and to the MEd TESOL group at Leeds University.
Analysis of the Field Trial

It was clear from the field trial that the Teacher Questionnaire could generate data. Only one questionnaire was not completed in the way envisaged which indicated that the questions had generally been understood.

From comments made on the questionnaires I felt, however, that there was minor potential for confusion in questions 5-10 and that some reworking would be beneficial. In particular, it seemed that the term ‘native speaker command of grammar’ was not clear for some respondents. I also felt that I needed to add another option to the multiple choice question 7, but that this would make the question look rather unwieldy.

I decided that I would be able to avoid the use of terms such as ‘native speaker command of grammar’ and ‘native-like accent’ if I used the same invented quotations which I had used in the Student Questionnaire. An added benefit would be that there would be more direct comparability between the questionnaires.

Piloting the New Versions of Questions 5 – 10 (see appendix 2.4)

The new and reordered versions of questions 5 to 10 were piloted with 4 colleagues and no problems were reported. I decided, however, on one final change:

- To drop the Likert scale for questions 5 and 6 and to ask teachers to choose from options instead:

5. Please read the comments by Student A and Student B and then answer the question below by circling as many answers as you want

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Student A:</th>
<th>Student B:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;I can pronounce English just like a native speaker now. Sometimes people think I am a native speaker&quot;.</td>
<td>&quot;I can pronounce English clearly now. Native speakers and non-native speakers understand wherever I go, but I still have the accent of my country&quot;.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Which of these students represent(s) for you the ideal long-term outcome of your teaching?

  - Student A
  - Student B
  - Neither Student A nor Student B
Although this format does not constrain respondents to make a choice, I considered that it would be more likely to get them to express a preference if they had one.

*A False Start with the Teacher Questionnaire (see appendix 2.5)*

Having made the amendments above, I administered this questionnaire to delegates at the IATEFL 2000 conference in Dublin, intending this to be the definitive version. It soon became evident, however, that asking respondents to ‘circle as many answers as you want’ in questions 5 and 6 was confusing and would produce data that was difficult to analyse. I decided, then, to treat this as a second field trial and in the definitive version to ask respondents to circle one answer only. Accordingly, this meant a slight change in the wording:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Neither Student A nor Student B and None of these Students</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

became

| I have no preference |

Although this false start was frustrating, the second field trial did mean that I could feel more confident in the final version and the data it generated, consistent with our principle that data is ‘better late than invalid’.

2.10.4 The Final Version of the Teacher Questionnaire (see appendix 2.6)

I would like now to review the final version of the Teacher Questionnaire and to examine the rationale for the questions in relation to the research questions and variables specified. For ease of reference the variables are repeated here:
The Variables for the Teacher Questionnaire

1. Own Variety of English

It is a reasonable hypothesis that teachers will present to teachers the norms of English they themselves are most comfortable with.

2. Native or Non-Native Speaker Teacher

It is a reasonable hypothesis that Native Speaker Teachers will have a greater awareness of the norms of informal spoken English and therefore be more likely to be willing or able to teach these norms.

3 Materials used

It is a reasonable hypothesis that the materials used will influence the norms presented, particularly where the materials used are imposed by the institution.

4. Teaching Context

It is a reasonable hypothesis that the national/cultural setting will influence the norms presented.

5. The Teacher’s Perception of Teaching/Learning Aims

It is a reasonable hypothesis that the teacher’s aims and the teacher’s perception of the students’ aims will influence the norms presented.

The Rationale for the Final Version

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. What variety of English do you speak?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) American English □</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) British English □</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) Other (please specify) □</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Comment: This question relates to variable 1, Own Variety of English. It is placed at the beginning, as it is a familiar, factual question.

2. What is your first language?

Comment: This question relates to variable 2, Native or Non-Native speaker, though these potentially emotive terms are deliberately avoided.

3. What variety of English do the coursebook and teaching materials you use mainly present?
   a) American English □
   b) British English □
   c) Other (please specify) □

Comment: This question relates to variable 3, Materials used

3. Please circle one number
   5 = strongly agree 4 = agree 3 = not sure 2 = disagree 1 = strongly disagree

4. It is important for my students to learn to speak English

Comment: This question relates to variable 5, Teaching/Learning Aims

5. Please read the comments by Student A and Student B and then answer the question below by circling as many answers as you want

Student A: “I can pronounce English just like a native speaker now. Sometimes people think I am a native speaker.”

Student B: “I can pronounce English clearly now. Native speakers and non-native speakers understand me wherever I go, but I still have the accent of my country.”

• Which of these students represent(s) for you the ideal long-term outcome of your teaching?

Student A  Student B  Neither Student A nor Student B

Comment: This question relates to the research question: How far do you want your students to conform to native speaker pronunciation norms? The quotations are the same ones used in the Student Questionnaire. I felt it important not to constrain teachers to select one option as they may feel that they should be guided by their students' wishes on this issue.
6. Please read the comments by Student C, Student D and Student E and then answer the question below by circling as many answers as you want.

Student C: “I can say everything that I want to say. Native speakers and non-native speakers understand me wherever I go, but I use English my own way and sometimes I say things which native speakers think are grammar mistakes.”

Student D: “I know all the grammar rules I need so that I can say anything I want to. I use these rules correctly, but sometimes English people use grammar that isn’t in the grammar books and I don’t want to learn this.”

Student E: “I use all the grammar rules that native speakers use, even the informal grammar native speakers use when they speak to each other.”

* Which of these students represent(s) for you the ideal long-term outcome of your teaching?

   Student C   Student D   Student E   None of these Students

Comment: This question relates to the research question: How far do you want your students to conform to native speaker canonical norms? Again the quotations were the same used in the Student Questionnaire and the teachers are not constrained to choose only one option.

7. Please look at the actual recorded example of native speaker speech below and then answer the questions.

“Disaster last night. Sat on the couch watching TV. The phone rings. It’s my mum. I’m like “Oh No!” She’s going “Do you want to come to America?”

a) What are the features that, for you, mark this as native speaker speech?

b) The materials I use for listening and speaking practice show the students examples of the features I have noted above.

   5   4   3   2   1

c) I think the materials I use for listening and speaking practice should show the students examples of the features I have noted above.

   5   4   3   2   1

Comment: This question relates to the research question: How far do you want your students to conform to corpus-attested native speaker spoken norms? Question 7a) also gives the researcher information about the levels of awareness of spoken language among teachers.

8. Please read the quote below and then answer the question.

“It has been estimated that 80% of communication in English is between non-native speakers.”

This estimate, if reasonably accurate, should influence the kind of English we teach.

   5   4   3   2   1
Comment: This question relates to the main research question: How far do you want your students to conform to native speaker norms? It gives the researcher information about whether teachers regard patterns of use as being an important factor in determining the norms to be presented in class.

9. Students should be exposed to different native and non-native varieties of English in class

Comment: This question relates to the research question: How far do you want your students to conform to native speaker norms? It gives the researcher information about whether teachers are aware of the classroom implications of a move away from native speaker norms. It also checks for internal consistency in that one would expect a 5 or 4 response from anyone who opted for B in question 5, or C in question 6 or 5 in question 8.

10. I make a conscious effort to expose my students to both native and non-native varieties of English

Comment: This question relates to the main research question: How far do you want your students to conform to native speaker norms? It gives the researcher information about whether teachers are carrying through the classroom implications of a move away from native speaker norms. It also checks for internal consistency in that one would expect a 5 or 4 response from anyone who opted for B in question 5, or C in question 6 or 4 in question 8, or 5 or 4 in question 9.

11. Please read the comment by David Crystal and then answer the 2 questions below

"Eventually, I imagine, we will all be teaching World Standard English, once it exists, rather than British, American or any other regional English, unless there are grounds for not doing so."

a) We will all teach World Standard English one day

   5  4  3  2  1

b) I would be happy to teach World Standard English
Comment: This question relates to the main research question: How far do you want your students to conform to native speaker norms? It gives the researcher information as to whether teachers regard it as important to associate the language they teach with a national culture or cultures.

12. Please complete the following sentence in any way you like:

Ultimately, I would like my students to be able to ......................................................................................................................

Comment: This question relates to variable 5, Teaching and Learning Aims. It might be expected that teachers who consider that their students need English largely for transactional purposes would not be concerned that their students conform closely to native speaker norms.

Personal Information

1. What nationality are you?
2. In which country are you teaching?
3. What kind of institution do you teach in?
4. Do you teach multilingual or monolingual groups?

Comment: These questions relate to variable 4, Teaching Context

2.10.5 The Sample for the Teacher Questionnaire

Although the English language teaching population is not as high as the English language learning population, no demographic profile exists, so I had, again, to use a 'judgement sample' to ensure 'as wide a spread of individuals as possible'. I wanted, as a minimum, to include in my sample teachers based in ENL, ENLF and EILF
countries. It was also vital to include both native and non-native teachers. With an individually administered questionnaire, rather than a group administered questionnaire, it would not be as easy, of course, to generate as many responses. As a minimum sample size I opted for (the mathematically significant figure of) 30 from each of the ENL, ENLF and EILF constituencies. I also wanted to include in this minimum at least 30 native and 30 non-native teachers.

2.10.6 The Administration of the Teacher Questionnaire

To try to ensure the kind of sample outlined above I decided to use as the basis for my sample the conference participants list from the IATEFL Dublin 2000 conference. Over 400 teachers from over 40 countries were included on this list. I also reasoned that my chances of a good response were higher from a group with the motivation to attend a professional conference. One could perhaps expect this group to be better informed on the issues than the average, and thus not exactly representative of English language teachers as a whole, but we have already said that we are more interested in gauging the range of views held than any exact statistical representation.

The administration procedure was simple. Questionnaires were posted to the individuals on the participants list, along with a letter of introduction and an addressed reply envelope. In view of the expense involved in worldwide postage, I did not feel that either advance warning letters or reminders could be sent, even those these have been shown to have a significant effect on response rates (Oppenheim 1992).
2.11 Validating the Data from the Student and Teacher Questionnaires

We have defined the research question we want to investigate, the procedures we are going to adopt to collect data, and the principles upon which those procedures are based. Before we look at the results, however, we need to be sure that we can have confidence in our data, that our data is 'valid'. As Low (1997) remarks: "...you cannot draw any conclusions unless you can be confident about the quality of your data; and you cannot communicate your conclusions unless you can convince the reader that he/she can be as confident as you are." We need to know, quite simply, that respondents have understood our questions and been honest in answering them.

We have already built some validity checks into our research methodology:

- The self-completion questionnaires are to be followed by interviews. Even if we use different respondents for the questionnaires and the interviews, we will be suspicious of our data if the general tenor of the responses is markedly different between questionnaires and interviews.

- We included questions to check for internal consistency. Internal inconsistency, as Low (1997) points out, does not necessarily invalidate data: it is perfectly possible for people to understand questions, be honest in answering them, and yet inconsistent. However, if there is a high degree of inconsistency in our responses, we will at least need to account for it.

Low (1997) seeks to outline "a theory of validity which is surprisingly powerful and which gives as viable a role to the classroom teacher as the research/measurement expert." Such a theory of validity would seem to be well suited to our purposes: we
have already conceded that we are not trying to prove a case, but we do want indicative results to which we can attach some credence.

Low (1997) takes as a starting point Messick’s (1980) view that “data is valid to the degree that it is appropriate for the task in hand”. Low (1997) goes on to argue from this that “Validity is thus a general, holistic kind of notion. It is also variable, in the sense that a set of data can be more valid for one task and less valid for another”. Moreover, the variability is relative, rather than absolute”. I can argue, for example, that the data from my Student Questionnaire is highly valid as a measurement of how far students want to conform to native speaker norms, but I cannot argue that it is highly valid as a measure of student motivation, even though some of the questions cover this topic.

The key, according to Low (1997), to validating questionnaires is to think of the many different ways data could be problematic e.g. poor question wording; respondents using face-saving strategies; contamination in group administered questionnaires; poor administration procedures. In a sense, one has to act as devil’s advocate to one’s own questionnaire and think of all the grounds on which the results could be questioned. Low (1997) summarises the role of the teacher/researcher in validating questionnaires thus: “With respect to questionnaires each researcher needs to create an appropriate set of angles/aspects. The teacher is in just as good a position to do this as the measurement expert.”
2.11.1 ‘eminently askable validation questions’

Low (1997) sets out 15 ‘eminently askable validation questions’. Let us apply these questions, as far as they are applicable, to our data, and ascertain the degree of confidence we can have in our data. It is worth reiterating that we are not trying to show that our results are valid for all English language teachers and students; we are simply trying to establish that the results fairly reflect the views of those teachers and students whose views we canvassed. Robson (1993: 125–126) distinguishes between ‘internal validity’ and ‘external validity’: internal validity is concerned with whether we have genuine information about our respondents, whereas external validity is concerned with how far we can generalise from these results. In this section, clearly, we are concerned with internal validity. If we can establish that our data is internally valid, we can then look at how representative our sample is in order to assess external validity.

1. **How many questionnaires were excluded from analysis?**

40 questionnaires were excluded from the analysis of the Student Questionnaire. They were excluded on one or more of the following grounds:

1. Respondents had failed to complete 4 or more complete questions.

2. Answers in the personal information section indicated that the respondents had not been learning English for long enough and/or

3. The English in their open responses indicated that their level of English was not high enough to have properly understood the questionnaire.

4. The majority of their responses were ‘don’t know’.
Only two questionnaires were excluded from the analysis of the Teacher Questionnaire. One of these had no completed comment boxes and almost all the responses were ‘don’t know’; the other seemed to be a copy—perhaps a rough draft—of another questionnaire in the same batch.

2. Did the administration go wrong?

There was one clear administrative error concerning the Student Questionnaire: the batch of questionnaires sent to South Africa were not collated in the correct order (question 8 was followed by question 12). This undoubtedly led a number of this group to miss out a whole page containing 4 questions. One teacher reported that her large group of Japanese students had taken considerably longer to complete the questionnaire than I had anticipated, but ‘intermediate’ is a broad brush term and will mean different things in different parts of the world. I had already rejected the idea of translating the questionnaire into the respondents’ first language on the grounds that this would not be feasible given the coverage of nationalities I was aiming for. As the questionnaire was administered ‘by proxy’, as it were, other administrative problems cannot be ruled out, but the high return rate suggests that these could not have been serious.

There were no particular administrative problems relating to the teacher questionnaire.

3. Did the subjects take the task seriously?

In the case of the student questionnaire I must again rely on reports back from the teachers who administered the questionnaire who indicated that the students had
found the questionnaire interesting. There were no frivolous comments on the questionnaires but a few did write positive remarks.

The evidence that the teacher questionnaire was taken seriously is more concrete: the completion rate for the optional comment boxes was very high and many teachers sent accompanying notes or e-mails to say how interesting or thought-provoking they had found the questionnaire. Two respondents even volunteered to administer the questionnaire to other groups (an M.Ed group at Manchester University and a group of Indian teachers).

In both cases, as we shall see, internal consistency checks also indicate that respondents took the questionnaires seriously.

4. **Is there evidence of fatigue?**

No. For both the teacher and student questionnaires later questions were completed as much as earlier questions.

5. **How do you know all the responses have been coded/transcribed correctly?**

For the student questionnaire I coded and recorded the responses manually in the first instance. They were then recorded in machine-readable form on SPSS by a data input operator at Leeds Metropolitan University. This served as a cross-check.

For the teacher questionnaire I coded and recorded a large sample manually first. Later I recorded all the responses in machine readable from on SPSS. I was then able to compare the manually recorded responses and the machine-readable responses and ascertain that there were no unexpected discrepancies in the results.
6. Were any missing answers recoverable?

No, but there were not many missing responses.

7. Is there evidence of self-selection bias?

We have already noted that for the student questionnaire the problem of self-selection bias does not really arise as, in a sense, the questionnaire was ‘imposed’ by their teachers.

We have acknowledged, however, that the problem of self-selection bias is pertinent for the teacher questionnaire. The results, however, indicate, in view of the breadth of opinion represented, that teachers from all sides of the argument have self-selected. Given that those who favour a move away from native speaker norms are challenging the status quo and showing awareness of quite recent sociolinguistic arguments, it could be argued that this constituency is more likely to be over-represented among our respondents.

8. Is there evidence of unfamiliarity with the format/task?

No. The Likert scale and multiple choice questions, which were extensively used in the questionnaires, are a familiar device for all kinds of questionnaires from course evaluations to magazine personality tests.

9. Is there evidence of hostility to the format or the content?

There was very little evidence of hostility to either questionnaire. It was reported to me that a small number of students felt that they already had achieved levels such as
‘accented intelligibility’ or a ‘stable and consistent interlanguage’, but my questions only allowed them to say if they aspired to these levels or not.

One teacher objected to the hypothetical nature of the question about World Standard English and one teacher pointed out how context-dependent answers to the questions must be, writing the following injunction in the margin: “As for doing stats with these ‘whoa boy!’” Another marginal injunction urged me to ‘lighten up’.

10. Did the subjects have problems answering?
There were some crossings out in both questionnaires, but the high question completion rate suggests that problems were not too serious (see question 15 relating to consistency).

11. Is there evidence of confusion/misinterpretation?
Evidence from the interviews suggests that some respondents to the student questionnaire chose, despite the wording of the question, to select goals they saw as realistic rather than ideal. Remarks in the comment boxes of the teacher questionnaire indicate that some teachers also chose to focus on what was realistic rather than what was ideal.

As we will see from question 15 (relating to consistency) there is evidence that the term ‘informal grammar’ was not properly understood by either all students or all teachers.
12. Is there evidence of face-saving strategies?

There is no direct evidence of this, although one plausible interpretation of the fact that UK based teachers seem to be most ‘liberal’ about native speaker norms is that they are more open to, and perhaps more sensitive to, accusations of cultural and linguistic imperialism. This interpretation is consistent with Rajagoplan’s (1999) observation that “The concerted rhetoric currently being orchestrated against the pretensions of English...can understandably lead to an increasing unease and a nagging guilt complex among those who are involved...in the enterprise of spreading the English language”. It is true that Rajagoplan does not single out native speaker teachers for this guilt complex, but it is plausible that they would feel it more acutely.

13. Did item 4 affect item 5?

The range of opinion reflected in both questionnaires indicates that the responses were not conditioned by the sequence. I also took care to guard against the danger that respondents might simply choose to select the most ‘desirable’ letter e.g. A rather than B, perhaps associating this with school grades. In one question the native speaker option is A rather than B, but in a later question it is E rather than C or D.

14. Is there evidence of acquiescence?

This is a difficult question to answer for the student questionnaire, but as I have argued above, the questionnaire was constructed so that no particular responses or set of responses would seem favoured.

In the teacher questionnaire remarks in the comment boxes indicate that teachers had strong and well articulated views on a number of issues and were anything but acquiescent. One exception appears to be the question about World Standard English,
where the majority of respondents agreed they would be happy to teach it, though the tenor of the remarks in the comment boxes was generally lukewarm, or even negative about the proposition.

15. Were the subjects inconsistent?

Questions which allow the researcher to check the consistency of respondents' answers were deliberately included in the research design. We will now look at the degree of consistency these questions show, while bearing in mind Low's (1997) argument that inconsistent responses do not necessarily mean that respondents were not sincere in their answers or had not understood the question. We will need, however, to account for any apparent inconsistencies.

2.11.2 Consistency Checks for the Student Questionnaire

Consistency check 1

- In the sequence of questions below, it would be highly inconsistent for a respondent to choose 'no' in 5b, 'yes' in 6b and Student A in question 7. Of the 269 students who opted for Student A, only 3 followed this inconsistent sequence.

- We would also expect the preference rate for Student A to be higher amongst those who answered 'yes' to 6b. In fact, while the preference rate for Student A among the sample as a whole was 67%, among those who answered 'yes' to 6b it was 78%.

- Conversely, we would expect the preference rate for Student B to be higher among those who answered 'no' to 6b. In fact, while the preference rate among the sample as a whole for Student B was 32%, among those who answered 'no' to 6b it was 84%.
Question sequence

5 Please read what Student A says then underline one answer to each question
Student A: "I can pronounce English just like a native speaker now. Sometimes people think I am a native speaker."

a) Do you think you could ever be like Student A?
   Yes  No  I don’t know

b) Would you like to be like Student A?
   Yes  No  I don’t know

6. Please read what Student B says then underline one answer to each question
Student B: "I can pronounce English clearly now. Native speakers and non-native speakers understand me wherever I go, but I still have the accent of my country."

a) Do you think you could ever be like Student B?
   Yes  No  I don’t know

b) Would you like to be like Student B?
   Yes  No  I don’t know

7. Please underline one answer
Would you prefer to be like Student A or Student B?
Student A  Student B

Consistency check 2

In the sequence of questions below, one would expect there to be a higher preference rate for Student A (question 7) and Student E (question 11) among those respondents who circled I in question 4c i.e. they would be consistently taking the native speaker option.

In fact, while the general preference rate for Student A was 67%, among those who circled 1 in 4c it was 75%. There is not total consistency here as 22% chose the non-
native speaker option, but, as we have noted, it may well be that these students were choosing the option they regarded as realistic rather than ideal.

The picture is similar in relation to question 11. While the general preference rate for Student E was 68%, among those who circled 1 in question 4c it was 75%. Again there is not total consistency as 9% chose the non-native speaker option.

*Question sequence*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>c) I want to learn the English that native speakers use</th>
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<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
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7. *Please underline one answer*

Would you prefer to be like Student A or Student B?

Student A Student B

11. *Please underline one answer*

Would you prefer to be like Student C, Student D, or Student E?

Student C Student D Student E

Consistency check 3

In the sequence of questions below, we would expect students who chose Student E to circle 1 or 2 in questions 13a and 13b i.e. they would be consistent in opting for native speaker spoken grammar.

In fact, for question 13a only 53% of those who opted for Student E circled the 'strongly agree' or 'agree' options. Similarly, for question 13b only 46% of those who opted for Student E circled the 'strongly agree' or 'agree' options. At first sight this might appear an alarming inconsistency. However, in many ways, if we recall the
arguments we made in the literature review, it can be seen as a very predictable and normal inconsistency. We have already argued that detailed research into spoken grammar is a relatively new development and that suspicions about the legitimacy of spoken grammar as an object of study have not been entirely allayed. If we add that 26% of the students who opted for Student E were in the unsure category for both questions. It seems likely that the inconsistency arises from unfamiliarity with the notion of spoken grammar. This means that we need to re-examine their attitudes by giving students a clearer idea of what we mean by spoken grammar. It does not mean, however, that we need assume that the questions were completed randomly and unthinkingly.

**Question sequence**

11. Please underline one answer

Would you prefer to be like Student C, Student D, or Student E?

Student C Student D Student E

13. For each sentence please circle (○) one number

1=strongly agree 2=agree 3=unsure 4=disagree 5=disagree strongly

a) It is important for me to be able to use the kind of English in example B

1 2 3 4 5

b) It is important for me to study the kind of English in example B in class

1 2 3 4 5

The evidence from the consistency checks on the student questionnaire indicates that the questionnaire was taken seriously and that most students considered their answers carefully. This conclusion is also supported by the interview data.

2.11.3 Consistency Checks for the Teacher Questionnaire

Consistency check 1
In the following sequence of questions, one would expect a 5 or 4 response in question 11 from:

- Anyone opting for B in question 6;
- Anyone opting for C in question 8;
- Anyone opting for 5 or 4 in question 10.

89% of those opting for B and 89% of those opting for C chose 5 or 4 in question 11.

96% of those choosing 5 or 4 in question 10 chose 5 or 4 in question 11.

**Question sequence**

- Which of Student A or Student B is preferable in your view as an ideal long-term outcome of language learning? Please tick one option.

- Which of Student C, Student D or Student E is preferable in your view as an ideal long-term outcome of language learning? Please tick one option.

1. Please read the quote below and then answer the question
   
   "It has been estimated that 80% of communication in English is between non-native speakers."

   This estimate, if reasonably accurate, should influence the kind of English we teach

   Students should be exposed to different native and non-native varieties of English in class

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Here again, the consistency checks indicate that we can have confidence in the results.

No questionnaire can claim that it has precisely reflected the views of every single one of its respondents – it is difficult to verify absolutely that any human communication has taken place exactly as it was intended. We can now argue, however, that we have constructed our questionnaires on sound principles and subjected the data collected to a rigorous validation procedure. We can proceed to the results confident that we have taken every reasonable precaution to ensure that our respondents’ views are not misrepresented and that these results will fairly reflect the opinions of the majority of our respondents.
2.12 Designing Interviews

2.12.1 Types of Interview and their Purposes

In our discussion of research techniques we looked in general terms at the advantages and disadvantages of interviews as a research tool. We need now to look at what type of interview would best suit our purposes, and at the principles we need to observe in planning our research procedure. It would be useful first to recapitulate what we hope to gain from the interviews:

1. We can triangulate the questionnaire data.
2. We can probe the reasons behind the responses.
3. We have the opportunity to find further directions for our research.

It is common to distinguish at least 3 different types of interview: structured, semi-structured, and unstructured. At one extreme, structured interviews involve no more than the oral administration of a questionnaire; at the other extreme, unstructured interviews involve discussion of a topic with no set agenda. The semi-structured interview is a compromise insofar as it involves a pre-determined set of questions, but the interviewer has some latitude to ask unscripted follow-up questions. Dreyer (1995: 1) defines the semi-structured interview thus: “The name ‘semi-structured’ means that the interviewer sets up a general structure by deciding in advance what ground is to be covered and what main questions are to be asked. This leaves the detailed structure to be worked out during the interview. The person interviewed can answer at some length in his or her own words, and the interviewer responds using prompts, probes and follow-up questions to get the interviewee to clarify or expand on answers”.
2.12.2 The Semi-Structured Interview

The semi-structured interview would seem, then, to suit our purposes admirably: if we follow the discipline of asking a pre-determined set of main questions, which relate to the questions on our questionnaires, we can be sure of triangulating our questionnaire data; if we allow ourselves the latitude to ask scripted and unscripted follow-up questions we can probe the reasons behind the responses and follow up any responses which particularly interest or surprise us.

Drever (1995: 13) outlines the main characteristics of a semi-structured interview:

- It is a formal encounter on an agreed subject, and 'on the record';
- The main questions, set by the interviewer, create the overall structure;
- Prompts and probes fill in the structure: prompts by encouraging broad coverage; probes by exploring answers in depth;
- There can be a mixture of closed and open questions;
- The interviewee has a fair degree of freedom: what to talk about, how much to say, how to express it;
- The interviewer can assert control when necessary.

Robson (1993: 231) stresses the flexibility of the semi-structured interview: "...the interviewer has worked out a set of questions in advance, but is free to modify their order based upon her perception of what seems most appropriate in the context of the 'conversation', can change the way they are worded, give explanations, leave out particular questions which seem inappropriate with a particular interviewee or include additional ones."
2.12.3 The Interview Schedule

Dreyer (1995: 18) stresses the importance of the interview schedule: "Nothing is more important to the success of an interview study as than having a good interview schedule." He also describes what should go into the interview schedule: "It includes the main questions, the prompts and probes, and possibly short checklists to ensure coverage of important details" (Dreyer 1995: 18). The main functions of the interview schedule are to guide the interviewer, to underline the formal nature of the interview and to act as research evidence.

2.12.4 Interviewer Conduct

Dreyer (1995: 49–50) points to the advantages of a 'minimalist' approach in interviews: "In a successful interview, you get your data. The interviewees get to state their case. For both purposes, it is what they say that matters." Dreyer (1995: 51) also advises an approach where the interviewer is "fairly anonymous but friendly; tidy and businesslike, but not aggressively smart". Robson (1993: 232) has the following specific tips on interviewer conduct:

- Listen more than you speak
- Put questions in a straightforward, clear and non-threatening way
- Eliminate cues which lead interviewees to respond in a particular way
- Enjoy it (or at least look as though you do)
So as not to introduce bias, the interviewer should not indicate agreement with anything the interviewee says and should emphasis that s/he has not formed a view on the topic, but is conducting research to get more information about the topic.

2.12.5 Question Formulation for Interviews

Many of the points we discussed in relation to question formation for questionnaires apply mutatis mutandis to interviews, but it will be useful to remind ourselves particularly of the need to avoid leading questions and to make some points specific to interview questions. Drever (1995: 26) stresses the importance of the first question: “The first question should allow them to talk at some length. It should not be threatening, and it should not be too important for the rest of the interview. It should allow you to judge what kind of respondent you have got (nervous, talkative, opinionated?).” In this connection, Drever (1995: 27) recommends using a ‘cluster of questions’ so that the respondents feel that the interviewer is interested in whatever they have to say rather than seeking highly specific information which they do not have. At the end of the interview, Drever (1995: 27) recommends a ‘sweeper question’, which invites respondents to say anything else they would like to about the topic and to ask any questions to the interviewer. The researcher has to be particularly sensitive in the use of probes. We want to find the reasons behind responses, but without supplying answers or probing aggressively: “They (probes) should, however, be low-key and neutral, encouraging interviewees to expand on what they think but neither leading them nor challenging them” (Drever 1995: 25).
2.12.6 Transcription of Interviews

Dreyer (1995: 60–61) points to the practical and scholarly advantages of transcription:

- It is commonly acknowledged as providing a true record of an interview;
- Respondents can check the transcript for errors;
- Quotations can be highlighted;
- The cut and paste and search facilities of a word processing programme can be used to help with analysis.

Dreyer (1995: 61) concludes: “A transcript can both enhance and demonstrate the soundness of your research.”

2.12.7 Piloting Interviews

As with questionnaires, piloting is an invaluable part of the research process. The interviewer can gauge:

- The effectiveness of the interview schedule;
- How long the interview will take;
- His or her own competence in conducting the interview.

Dreyer (1995: 57) recommends that pilot interviews be conducted under realistic conditions and that the respondents are asked after the interview:

1. Did you feel comfortable with the questions?
2. Did you have enough time to think about the answers?
3. Did you feel you were being led?
4. Did you feel under pressure?
2.13 The Student Interview

2.13.1 The Administration of the Student Interview

The interview was designed so that it could be administered either to students who had already completed the questionnaire or to students who hadn't. Before the interview, I gave the students the Interviewee Information: I felt it important to give them a few moments to gather their thoughts on the key topics so that the interview itself would be less stressful. All the interviews were recorded. We look below at the questions used and the rationale for each question.
2.13.2 The Student Interview Schedule

Interviewee Information

Thanks for agreeing to be interviewed. The interview will be recorded, but the information you give is confidential. I am doing these interviews to help me with my PhD research and I am trying to find out what kind of English students want to learn to speak. There are no right answers. I am just interested in finding out your opinion on this topic. If you don’t understand any of the questions, please let me know.

Ivor Timmis

Before the interview could you please look (again) at the questions below

1. Please read what Student A and Student B say, then think about the question below

   Student A: “I can pronounce English just like a native speaker now. Sometimes people think I am a native speaker”.

   Student B: “I can pronounce English clearly now. Native speakers and non-native speakers understand me wherever I go, but I still have the accent of my country.”

   • Would you prefer to be like Student A or Student B?

      Student A       Student B

2. Please read what Students C, D and E say, then think about the question below

   Student C: “I can say everything that I want to say. Native speakers and non-native speakers understand me wherever I go, but I use English my own way and sometimes I say things which native speakers think are grammar mistakes”.

   Student D: “I know all the grammar rules I need so that I can say anything I want. I use these rules correctly, but sometimes English people use grammar that isn’t in the grammar books and I don’t want to learn this”.

   Student E: “I use all the grammar rules that native speakers use, even the informal grammar native speakers use when they speak to each other.”

   • Would you prefer to be like Student C, Student D, or Student E?

      Student C       Student D       Student E

3. Please look at Example A and Example B below and decide which example was actually spoken by a native speaker of English.

   Example A
   had a disaster last night. I was sitting at home on the sofa watching TV when the phone rang. I wasn’t very pleased to find out that it was my mum, but she was asking me if I wanted to go to the USA with her.

(note: It is a “disaster” when something very bad happens)

   Example B
   Disaster last night. Sat at home on the sofa watching TV. The phone rings. It’s my mum. I’m like “Oh no!” she’s going “Do you want to come to the USA?”

   • Which of the examples do you think was spoken by a native speaker?

      Example A       Example B

4. Please read the (true) case below and then think about the question below.

   A girl was born in England and lived in England until she was 8 years old. Her family then emigrated to Finland, where she spoke only Finnish. She now speaks Finnish perfectly. She came back to England to do a course in English at the age of 17. She was put in an upper-intermediate class. Her pronunciation was perfect, but her vocabulary was limited and she made mistakes with grammar, especially in writing.

   • Is this girl a native speaker of English in your opinion?
   • Is she a native speaker of Finnish?
Interview Questions (Questions in bold refer to the interviewee information sheet)

1. Tell me something about your experience of learning English. How long have you been learning English? Why are you learning English? What kind of course are you doing?

Comment: Following Drever (1995), the purpose of this ‘cluster of questions’ was mainly to relax the students and get them talking about something familiar, but not of crucial importance.

2. At the moment do you use English more with native speakers or with non-native speakers?
   • How do you feel about this?

Comment: Refer to Student Questionnaire (q2)

3. Do you find it easier to talk to native speakers or non-native speakers?
   • Why?

Comment: Here I wanted to find out if there was anything in the nature of the language used by native and non-native speakers – e.g. the degree of idiomaticity – which made interaction more or less difficult.

4. In the next 3 or 4 years, do you think you will use English more with native speakers or with non-native speakers?
   • How do you feel about this?

Comment: Refer to Student Questionnaire (q3)

5. Do you think the girl in the example is a native speaker of English (Finnish)?
   • Why (not)?
   • What do you think “native speaker” means?
   • Can you give examples?

Comment: A colleague in South Africa commented that the Student Questionnaire seemed to be drawn up with an EFL context in mind, and that the notion of ‘native
speaker’ was more problematic in his context. I was particularly interested in student perceptions of the notion of native speaker in ENLF countries.

6. Is it important to you to use the English that native speakers use?
   - Why? Which native speakers? Why not?
   - Even if you are communicating mainly with non-native speakers?

Comment: Refer to Student Questionnaire (q4c)

7. If it was possible to learn a kind of International English, which was perhaps simpler than native speaker English, but still allowed you to communicate with people anywhere in the world, would you like to learn this?

Comment: Refer to Student Questionnaire (Qs 4a and 4b)

8. Would you prefer to be like Student A or Student B
   - Why (A/B)?
   - Why not (A/B)?

Comment: Refer to Student Questionnaire (q7)

9. Would you prefer to be like Student C, D or E?
   - Why (C/D/E)?
   - Why not (C/D/E)?

Comment: Refer to Student Questionnaire (q11)

10. Which example did you think was spoken by a native speaker, A or B?
    - How did you know it was B? Why did you think it was A?

Comment: Refer to Student Questionnaire (q12)

11. Do you think you need to understand the kind of English in Example B?
    - Why (not)?

Comment: Refer to Student Questionnaire (q13)

12. Do you think the teacher should show you examples of the kind of English in Example B?
    - Why (not)?

Comment: Refer to Student Questionnaire (q13)

13. Do you want to be able to use the kind of English in Example B?
    - Why (not)?
14. Is there anything else you would like to say about the topics we have discussed?

Comment: Following Drever (1995), this is a ‘sweeper question’.

15. Are there any questions you would like to ask me?

Comment: Following Drever (1995), this is a ‘sweeper question’.

2.14 The Follow-up Questionnaire for Teachers

2.14.1 The Rationale for the Follow-up Questionnaire for Teachers

It was originally envisaged that, in parallel with the research into students' attitudes, a number of teachers would be interviewed as a follow-up to the original questionnaire. However, given the wealth of comments that teachers added in the comment boxes, I decided that this was no longer the best course of action. These comments had already provided the evidence that a general interview would provide: the comments, with very few exceptions, indicated that teachers had fully understood the issues involved and thus validated the quantitative data; just as importantly, teachers had explained the reasons behind their choices on their questionnaires. In some cases, their comments had also suggested further lines of enquiry.

For this reason, I decided to design a follow-up questionnaire which focused more closely on teachers' attitudes to native speaker spoken grammar. Although attitudes to native speaker spoken grammar are a main focus of the study as a whole, only one question on the original questionnaire related directly to this issue.
2.14.2 The Design of the Follow-up Questionnaire for Teachers

To maintain a link with the original questionnaire, and to ensure that respondents did not feel that the topics and issues were being arbitrarily imposed by the researcher, I decided to use quotations from the original questionnaire (and a small number from the student interviews) to elicit further responses from teachers. I also felt that teachers would find it interesting to engage with the actual opinions of fellow teachers (and students) and would thus be more motivated to do the questionnaire.

The main criterion for selecting the quotations was that they represented strands of opinion which emerged from the data. A subsidiary criterion was that quotations reflected themes raised in the literature review. The main purpose of the quotations was to probe more deeply into the reasons why teachers might hold particular views. Although the questionnaire was designed to be qualitative rather than quantitative, and was only to be administered to a small number of teachers, the questionnaire might indicate whether a particular quotation genuinely represented a strand of opinion or was simply a maverick view.

2.14.3 Piloting the Follow-up Questionnaire for Teachers (see appendix 2.7)

The questionnaire was piloted with 4 colleagues (see appendix for the different pilot versions). As a result of the piloting process, I decided to make three main changes:

1. To drop the 1–5 Likert scale. I had not intended to do quantitative analysis of the questionnaire and I had only included the Likert scale as I felt respondents might be more likely to complete the questionnaire with a familiar format and an (apparently) easy route through the questionnaire. However, underlining the value of the piloting process, one pilot respondent noted that many of the quotations contained 2 or more
ideas and were, thus, not appropriate for the Likert scale. It could, therefore, be more of an irritant than an incentive.

2. To drop the question where respondents were asked to rewrite the spoken extract. The rationale for this question was to identify those features of spoken grammar which teachers perceived to be more useful or accessible for students. However, all the pilot respondents had reported that the questionnaire was time-consuming, so I decided that this activity, as the most time-consuming had to be dropped. I still considered the question of teachers' perceptions of the usefulness of various features of spoken grammar to be an important one, but decided that this could be addressed through the piloting and evaluation of materials at a later stage.

3. To drop three quotations in order to shorten the questionnaire. I dropped quotations where I felt there was overlap with other quotations in the questionnaire e.g. I chose to drop ‘When I speak like Raymond Murphy book nobody understands me’ because I felt it covered the same ground as ‘We learn a lot of grammar, but in real life people didn’t use it’.

Three out of the four pilot respondents reported that they had found the questionnaire challenging but interesting. The fourth was rather more hostile, but I felt the changes made would address most of his objections.

2.14.4 The Final Version of the Follow-up Questionnaire (see appendix 2.8)

We will now look at the rationale behind the quotations chosen:

Section A: Teachers' Views

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quotations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1a) [the English in this example is] “informal, elliptical, not grammatical”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1b) [the English in this example is] “elliptical but grammatically correct”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1c) [The speaker in the example is] “a young – probably uneducated person.”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Rationale

These three quotations were selected on the grounds that they reflected different attitudes to the grammaticality of the spoken extract.

Quotation

2. [Students should be exposed to the kind of language in the example because] “authenticity of teaching materials demands it. Students should be exposed to a “real life” language. They should know that the use of the language is culturally influenced”

Rationale

This quotation was selected because it reflected the views of a significant body of teachers who felt that students should be exposed to spoken grammar.

Quotation

[the kind of language in the example] “shouldn’t be presented as a model for speaking as it doesn’t aid communicative efficiency”

Rationale

This quotation was selected because it reflected the views of a significant body of teachers who felt that students should not be expected to produce spoken grammar.

Quotation

“[the kind of language in the example] would make the oral language much more vivid”

Rationale

This quotation did not reflect a significant body of opinion. It was selected, however, because it touched, albeit indirectly, on a theme from the literature review. Certain features of spoken grammar might usefully be included in the affective repertoire of any speaker of English.

Quotation

4a) “This kind of language is too complex for ss unless they are living in an English-speaking country. Non-native to non-native speakers don’t use this kind of language”
Rationale

This quotation was selected because it reflected the views of a significant body of teachers who felt that spoken grammar was the exclusive province of the native speaker and, therefore, likely to be irrelevant to the many international users of English.

Quotation

b) “I've heard non-native speakers use these forms as well”

Rationale

This quotation did not reflect a significant body of opinion. It was selected, however, because it reflected a theme from the literature review: certain features of spoken grammar e.g. ellipsis may also be present in international English (Carter 1998).

Quotation

5. a) “Depending on the level, it would be very useful, for example, if students used present simple for historical past but some colloquial expressions such as those above would be less useful especially in an EFL context”

Do you agree with Teacher x that some features of informal grammar might be useful/important for students to use?

Rationale

This quotation did not reflect a significant body of opinion. It was selected, however, because it reflected a theme from the literature review: it might be possible to identify certain features of spoken grammar which it would be useful for learners to produce (Carter 1998).

Section B: Students’ Views

Quotations

- “for me, I don’t want to learn it [informal grammar], because I’m a foreigner. I just want learn to speak and use English correctly”.
- “when you talk to native speakers you try to say whole sentences...it becomes boring...people lose concentration easily”
- “we learn a lot of grammar, but in real life native speakers didn’t use it”
Rationale

These three quotations were selected because they reflected different attitudes students hold to both canonical and spoken grammar.

Section C: Final Thoughts

Quotations

• The estimate that 80% of communication in English is between non-native speakers should maybe leave us somewhat more tolerant; on the other hand, you should equip your learners for more than mere survival, and for contact with native speakers.

• Spending lots of time with business people, who may never meet a native, teaching colloquial language, is a waste of valuable time. More time should be spent with natives teaching them to adjust their speech.

Rationale

These two quotations were selected as they reflect different attitudes to the effect that the increasing international use of English should have on our teaching.

2.15 Chapter Summary

In this chapter, we have explained how we are going to investigate the hypothesis specified in the literature review. We have made the case for situating our research in the quantitative paradigm, while acknowledging that we can include qualitative research in an important supporting role. From the hypothesis, we generated specific research questions and then explained the rationale for our choice of questionnaires and interviews as research instruments to investigate these questions. We assessed in general terms the strengths and weaknesses of these research instruments before describing in detail the process of designing, piloting and administering the questionnaires and interviews. We also described the steps we took to ensure that the data which emerged from our research was valid. Throughout the chapter we have been at pains to emphasise that we are not claiming that we can produce a statistically
accurate picture of attitudes in the ELT world as a whole in relation to our research questions. We have, however, established the internal validity of our data and explained our use of a 'judgement sample' – one which is designed to avoid the most obvious pitfalls of unrepresentativeness – in order to ensure some external validity. If, then, our figures show, for example, that around 70% of students would ideally like to have a native speaker accent, we will not be able to claim that this figure is at all accurate for the ELT student population as a whole. We will, however, be able to say that a substantial number of students hold this view. In other words, our aim is to find the kinds of attitudes which obtain among students and teachers in relation to our research questions, and to ascertain whether there is a high degree of consensus or not. We will then be able to decide what other research needs to be done to address our hypothesis. We have shown that our research methodology is principled and robust enough for the aims we have set. It is 'fit for purpose'.
CHAPTER THREE

STUDENTS’ ATTITUDES TO NATIVE SPEAKER NORMS

3.0 Introduction: Review of the Survey

In this chapter we present and discuss the results of the questionnaire survey of students and the accompanying interviews. We focus on our main research questions in this area:

1. How far do students want to conform to native speaker pronunciation norms?
2. How far do students want to conform to native speaker canonical grammar norms?
3. How far do students want to conform to corpus-attested native speaker spoken norms?

We will look at a comprehensive, but not exhaustive summary of the questionnaire results: bar charts showing the basic frequencies for all questions are in appendix 3.1. The quantitative data is supplemented by qualitative evidence from the interviews. In some cases the interview evidence helps to reveal the reasons behind choices; in other cases it encourages us to view the statistics with circumspection. It is important to note that, while the questionnaires have wide geographic coverage, the interviews were only carried out with students studying in the UK (in Leeds). The interviews cannot, therefore, be taken as representative of the respondents as a whole.
Where relevant, we will cross-tabulate results relating to the research questions addressed in this chapter to the key variables we have identified:

1. Learning context
2. Patterns of use
3. Motivation
4. Country of residence
5. Perceptions of attainability
6. Learning priorities

As the number of potential cross-tabulations is enormous, we will cross-tabulate the results to a given question only with those variables which are most likely to have an influence on that particular question, and with those variables which appear to have had a significant effect on the results. In some cases, of course, it will be significant if a variable does not have the expected influence on the results. The statistics disk (SPSS 10.0 for Windows) is available in the appendix so that the reader can cross-tabulate any variables which are not dealt with in this chapter. As motivation is a variable which is likely to affect all choices, and as we have some qualitative data in this area, we will devote a section to a discussion of this question.

3.1 Profile of the Respondents

In order to put the results immediately into context, it will be useful to have a brief profile of the respondents.
The results below are based on the analysis of 402 questionnaires from students studying in 15 different countries: Brazil, The Czech Republic, Egypt, England, Germany, India, Indonesia, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Pakistan, Poland, Slovakia, South Africa, Sweden. Well over 50 nationalities were represented. In terms of representation from ENL, ENLF and EILF countries, the figures were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country grouping</th>
<th>Resident</th>
<th>Studying</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ENL (UK/Ireland)</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ENLF (South Africa, India, Pakistan)</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EILF (all other countries listed above)</td>
<td>77%</td>
<td>55%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 3.2 Student Survey Results: Pronunciation and Grammar

#### 3.2.1 Student Survey Pronunciation Results

**Pronunciation Results from the Questionnaire**

Although the question of pronunciation does not, strictly speaking, relate to the findings of spoken corpora, it is so important in terms of attitudes to cultural identity that we are justified in discussing the results in some detail.

#### Question

- **Student A:** "I can pronounce English just like a native speaker now. Sometimes people think I am a native speaker."
- **Student B:** "I can pronounce English clearly now. Native speakers and non-native speakers understand me wherever I go, but I still have the accent of my country."

7. Please underline one answer
Would you prefer to be like Student A or Student B?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Student A</th>
<th>Student B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Students who currently use English more with non-native speakers (162)</td>
<td>68%</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students who predict they will use English more with non-native speakers in the next 3 years (102)</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students from South Africa, India and Pakistan (73)</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>63%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students from India (31)</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>77%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students with an interest in international communication (117)</td>
<td>66%</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Discussion

It is interesting to note that the figures were not very different for 3 groups of respondents analysed separately: those who estimated that they currently used English more with non-native speakers than native speakers; those who predicted that they would do so in the next three years, and those with an interest in English for international communication... Though the figures as a whole do not accord with Jenkins (1997: 73) assertion that “the majority express a desire to retain something of their L1”, this was the case with the students from South Africa, Pakistan and India. The preference for ‘accented intelligibility’ over native speaker pronunciation seems to be particularly marked among the Indian students, although we must emphasise that the sample is very small. It may be then, that this issue is especially context-sensitive. Indeed, one of the questions posed by this research is: “How far are attitudes to the kinds of questions we are investigating influenced by national-cultural attitudes (or even policy) to language and language learning?” Might we expect, for example, students and teachers from Arab countries, where the written word is traditionally revered, to be more hostile to the idea of conforming to spoken language norms? Unfortunately, it is beyond the scope of this thesis to answer the question.

Pronunciation Results from the Interviews

The purpose of the interviews was, of course, to get at the reasons behind the choices. It was clear that some students saw native speaker pronunciation as a benchmark of achievement:

- “It would be a sign of a good level of English.”
- “If you can speak English very well, other people can’t hear your accent.”

For others, their motivation was more integrative:
• “I live in this country. I want to be natural.”
• “If I work in an English company, maybe some nasty client would insult me: ‘ah, she’s non-native’.”

What was also suggested by the interviews was that some of those who had opted for Student B had done so out of realism rather than preference, despite the wording of the question:

• “Because I was born in China and not born in Britain, so I cannot pronounce English like a native speaker... but Student A this is ideal aim, I try my best to achieve that aim.”

None of the students I interviewed expressed a positive preference for Student B, but 48% of the students in the questionnaire survey said they would be happy to be like Student B i.e. to achieve ‘accented intelligibility’.

3.2.2 Student Survey Grammar Results

**Grammar Results from the Questionnaire**

**Question**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Student C: “I can say everything that I want to say. Native speakers and non-native speakers understand me wherever I go, but I use English my own way and sometimes I say things which native speakers think are grammar mistakes.”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Student D: “I know all the grammar rules I need so that I can say anything I want. I use these rules correctly, but sometimes English people use grammar that isn’t in the grammar books and I don’t want to learn this.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student E: “I use all the grammar rules that native speakers use, even the informal grammar native speakers use when they speak to each other.”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

11. Please underline one answer

Would you prefer to be like Student C, Student D, or Student E?

Student C  Student D  Student E
Table 3 Student Grammar Results

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Student C</th>
<th>Student D</th>
<th>Student E</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All students (402)</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>68%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students who currently use English more with non-native speakers (162)</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students who predict they will use English more with non-native speakers in the next 3 years (102)</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>72%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students from South Africa, India and Pakistan (73)</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students from India (31)</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students with an interest in international communication (117)</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Discussion

There are obvious parallels here with the pronunciation question. The native speaker option is clearly the most popular with the students as a whole. Current and predicted patterns of use do not seem to make any significant difference to the results; nor does a stated interest in using English for international communication. The data from the ENLF countries is distinctive, however, with far fewer students choosing the native speaker option. Once again, this tendency appears to be more marked among (the small sample of) Indian students.

Grammar Results from the Interviews

In the interviews an obvious line of questioning was to ask students why they aspired to native speaker norms when they didn’t need to conform to them. The idea of a benchmark of achievement was once again apparent:

- “Your English level and your hope of your English level, there’s sometimes a distance and I really know some students, they just tell me there’s no point to say it perfectly, anyway that’s not my opinion, I think...when you do something you should do something as best you can.”
- “I don’t need it [native speaker level], but you feel better. If you speak the language fluent without mistakes you can express everything you want...you’ve got another feeling... you know ‘I can speak the language’, I am satisfied.”
Rather traditional views were also expressed:

- "The language was born in England."
- "I want to study real English [as opposed to international English]. I don’t want to make mistakes in grammar."

One of the students interviewed opted for Student D:

- "I study English only for business, after my study I will go back to China."
3.2.3 Student Survey Spoken Grammar Results

Spoken Grammar Results from the Questionnaire

12. Please look at the 2 examples below and then underline one answer to the question.

Example A
I had a disaster last night. I was sitting at home on the sofa watching TV when the phone rang. I wasn’t very pleased to find out that it was my mum, but she was asking me if I wanted to go to the USA with her.
(Note: “disaster” = a very bad experience)

Example B
Disaster last night. Sat at home on the sofa watching TV. The phone rings. It’s my mum. I’m like “Oh no!”, she’s going “Do you want to come to the USA?”

Which of the examples do you think was spoken by a native speaker?

Example A
Example B

Now check your answer at the bottom of the page please, before doing question 13

Table 4 Student Spoken Grammar Results - Recognition

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Example A</th>
<th>Example B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All students (402)</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students who currently use English more with native speakers (124)</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>69%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students who are currently studying in an ENL country (99)</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>61%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students who are currently studying in an ENLF country (73)</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students who are currently studying in an EILF country (222)</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>69%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Discussion

There are only two main points to note here. Firstly, while it appears that a clear majority of the students were able to identify which was the spoken example, we need to bear in mind that the correct answer was given at the bottom of the page (to help with a subsequent question). Secondly, the figures seem to be remarkably consistent across the variables we have selected.

Question

It is important for me to use the kind of English in example B

1 2 3 4 5
Table 5 Student Spoken Grammar Results - Use

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>All students (402)</th>
<th>strongly agree</th>
<th>agree</th>
<th>unsure</th>
<th>disagree</th>
<th>strongly disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students who correctly identified the spoken example (268)</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students who incorrectly identified the spoken example (128)</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students who chose Student E (273)</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students studying in ENL countries (99)</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students studying in ENLF countries (73)</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students studying in EILF countries (222)</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students who currently use English more with native speakers (124)</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Discussion

The figures suggest that around half of the students surveyed feel that it is important to use the kind of English in example B. However, the most interesting point to emerge from this set of data is that the students who failed to identify the spoken example appear to be the most hostile to the idea of using this kind of English. It is surprising that context of study makes so little difference to the results, and even more surprising that the results are hardly different for those students who currently use English more with native speakers. We should also note that those students who opted for Student E in a previous question, apparently committing themselves to
informal grammar, gave remarkably similar responses to other groups of students.

This indicates that the term ‘informal grammar’ was probably not understood by the students, or at least not identified with the language in example B. This uncertainty about the nature and value of informal grammar is confirmed by the relatively high number of ‘unsure’ responses.

**Question**

| It is important for me to study the kind of English in example B in class |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

**Table 6 Student Spoken Grammar Results - Study**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>strongly agree</th>
<th>agree</th>
<th>unsure</th>
<th>disagree</th>
<th>strongly disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>All students (402)</strong></td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students who correctly identified the spoken example (268)</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students who incorrectly identified the spoken example (128)</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students who chose Student E (273)</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students studying in ENL countries (99)</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students studying in ENLF countries (73)</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students studying in EILF countries (222)</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students who currently use English more with native speakers (124)</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Discussion**

The figures indicate that just under a half of the students surveyed feel that it is important to study the kind of language in example B in class. The most striking feature of the results, however, is that they are very similar to those for the previous question in that the ability to identify the spoken example is the most sensitive variable. We can note also that while the figures for the students in ENLF countries were broadly similar to other groups, the number of students in the ‘strongly disagree’
category is markedly higher than for most other groups. Once again, there were many
‘unsure’ responses.

**Question**

It is better for me to use the kind of English in example A than the kind of English in example B

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**Table 7 Student Spoken Grammar Results - Preference**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>strongly agree</th>
<th>agree</th>
<th>unsure</th>
<th>disagree</th>
<th>strongly disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All students (402)</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students who correctly identified</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the spoken example (268)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students who incorrectly identified</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the spoken example (128)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students who chose</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student D (56)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students studying in ENL countries</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(99)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students studying in ENLF countries</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(73)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students studying in EILF countries</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(222)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students who currently use English</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>more with native speakers (124)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Discussion**

A clear majority of all the students surveyed feel that it is better for them to use the
kind of (written-based) English in example A than the kind of (spoken) English in
example B. Given that so few students opted for Student D – control of written-based
grammar – in a previous question, it is surprising, at first sight, that the majority opt
for written-based grammar in this question. We should note, however, that this
question asks students to choose between written-based grammar and spoken
grammar. This preference for written-based grammar is particularly strong among
those students who failed to identify the spoken example correctly. This confirms the
picture which has emerged from the 2 questions above relating to the spoken language.
sample: the key variable in students' attitudes to learning and using spoken language is the degree of familiarity with what spoken language looks like.

**Spoken Grammar Results from the Interviews**

The interviews threw up some interesting observations and disagreements about the value of spoken grammar. Some students clearly saw it as a valuable tool, but only for interacting with native speakers:

- "When I speak like Raymond Murphy book, nobody understands me." Turkish student
- "When you speak to native speakers you try to say whole sentences...it becomes boring...people lose concentration easily." Turkish student
- "[It makes it] more easy to get in communication with these people [native speakers]. It is sometimes harder to laugh with these people." Japanese student

These students' perceptions may not, of course, be true. There may be other reasons why the Turkish students' interlocutors were confused or bored, and other reasons why the Japanese student was unable to join in the laughter. Nonetheless, they are interesting as perceptions.

Other students, however, saw no value for them in learning this kind of English:

- "For me, I don't want to learn it because I am a foreigner. I just want to learn to speak and use English correctly." Chinese student
- "Non-native speakers need to go the extra mile to speak correctly." Nigerian student
- "In my country we only use English in formal contexts. If I want to be informal I use my own language." Nigerian student

It is worth noting that the first two comments above raise the question of what is meant by 'correctly'.
3.3 Student Survey Results: Motivation and Aspiration

3.3.1 Defining Motivation

This is not the place for a detailed academic review of the question of student motivation. We are only interested in motivation insofar as it influences attitudes to conforming to native speaker norms in general and spoken norms in particular. Before we look at the data and discuss the results, however, it will be useful to clarify the way we are conceptualising motivation here. Dörnyei and Otto (2002: 32) define motivation thus:

"...motivation can be defined as the dynamically changing cumulative arousal in a person that initiates, directs, coordinates, amplifies, terminates, and evaluates the cognitive and motor processes whereby initial wishes and desires are selected, prioritised, operationalised, and (successfully or unsuccessfully) acted."

There are two elements in this definition which will be important for our discussion. Firstly, the description of motivation as 'dynamically changing' is significant. Dörnyei and Otto (2002: 1) are explicit about this: "...motivation is not static but dynamically evolving and changing in time." Secondly, the distinction between 'dynamically changing cumulative arousal' and 'initial wishes and desires' is of interest to us. Dörnyei and Otto (2002) use Heckhausen's (1991: 170) terms 'choice motivation' and 'executive motivation' to distinguish between the reason for deciding to take an action and everything that is actually involved in implementing that action. By conceptualising motivation in this way, we will be able to account for the Spanish student who decides to learn English to qualify as an air traffic controller, but during the course declares an interest in learning British native speaker English in all its
aspects. We might also like to see the distinction in terms of motive – the reason for taking an action – and aspiration – the goals you actually want to achieve when taking the action.

Before we analyse the data, it is also worth reiterating why we are interested in motivation: if, for example, students are only interested in English for transactional communicative purposes, they are unlikely to be interested in the more affective grammatical features highlighted by spoken corpora. Similarly, it may be that students who are only, or primarily interested in using English in international contexts will not wish to acquire the full interactional repertoire of the native speaker.

3.3.2 Student Motivation Results

Motivation Results from the Questionnaire

Question

The question we asked about motivation could not have been more obvious and predictable:

Why are you learning English?

The answers too were obvious and predictable to the extent that it was not difficult to devise broad categories into which responses could be classified (the categories were devised after an initial reading of the responses rather than in advance of reading the responses). The most interesting feature of the results, however, and one we need to emphasise before looking at the figures, is that many students cited more than one reason for learning English. Indeed, one reason why this became an open question on the questionnaire was that in pilot versions students ticked more than one option on
the multiple choice question, despite the instructions. We will return to the implications of this ‘mixed motivation’ later. For now we need to bear in mind that the categories below, which are explained in the discussion section, are not mutually exclusive.

Table 8 Student Motivation Results

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>REASON FOR LEARNING</th>
<th>PERCENTAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>International communication</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional/academic/utilitarian</td>
<td>51%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-development/interest</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communication with native speakers</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General or other</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Discussion

Clearly for the majority of respondents utilitarian purposes play a part in their motivation. The other salient figures are those for international communication and communication with native speakers: while a desire to use English to communicate internationally does not preclude a desire for contact with native speakers, it is interesting to note that relatively few respondents explicitly stated that they were learning English to be able to communicate with native speakers. These figures lend some weight, at least at first sight, to the argument that it is unnecessary (or even undesirable) to associate learning English with a particular national native speaker culture. We will look now at each category of motivation with (verbatim) examples of how students have expressed their motivation.
3.3.3 Student Motivation: from Results to Categories

International communication

I included in this section all responses with references to ‘all over the world’, ‘global/world language’, ‘communicate with foreigners/non-native speakers’.

Representative comments were:

- “Because I want to be a person who can speak to people all the world so everyone can understand me as English is the main language of the world so everyone from different countries must learning to can speak.” Qatari student
- “English is an international language. Especially it’s business language. I don’t want to be behind of the world.” Turkish student.
- “English is the language to communicate all over the world. By this we get opportunity, good job, status and honour. And this helps you to make your own place in this world wide competition.” Indian student
- “It’s part of global knowledge now that people travel further each time.” Ecuadorean student
- “I want to communicate with non-native speakers all over the world.” Danish student

It is perhaps not too precious to note a slightly worrying tone of compulsion which comes through in some of these comments.

Professional/academic/utilitarian

There is nothing in this section which should surprise us, but we can note that the utilitarian demand can be highly specific:

- “I want to be an air traffic controller.” Spanish student

or it can be rather vague and general:

- “I think it’s useful in my future life.” Chinese student.

or it can be in response to national demands:

- “Because in my country you have to know how to speak english at work especially that I’m going to work in computing.” Omani student
Self-development/interest

I included in this section all responses which mentioned learning English for enjoyment or for personal development and broadening of the mind, perhaps a neglected category we will argue. Representative comments were:

- "To expand my view of the world and communicate with ease." South African student
- "I want to learn how the native speakers or non-native speakers who use English think something in the world." Japanese student
- "To raise my mind." Japanese student
- "Because I can know new things, for example a variety of culture, nationality, custom, thought and so on." Japanese student
- "Because I love English. It's very nice to communicate in English. Sometimes I think English is telling me more about myself than Portuguese." Brazilian student.

Contact with native speakers

I included in this section all responses which mentioned being in an ENL country, travelling to an ENL country, or contact with native speakers. Representative comments were:

- "I want to communicate with native speakers." Japanese student
- "For the purpose of immigration to Australia." Egyptian student
- "Because I intend to travel to the UK." Egyptian student.

General/other

I included in this section responses which referred only to a general desire to improve in English or a general ability to communicate without specifying the context. Representative comments were:

- "I learned English because I want to speak, write and understand English. Well, I want to learn every form of English language." Indian student
- "To be able to communicate whatever I want in an appropriate way for the occasion." Swedish student

There were also one or two comments which were difficult to classify:

- "Filling my spare time rather than sitting around." Indonesian student
3.3.4 The Significance of Mixed Motivation among Students

We referred above to the fact that many students cite more than one reason for learning English. This mixed motivation has one very important implication. While it might be convenient for syllabus designers and course planners to ‘pigeonhole’ students according to motivation, it is actually quite difficult to adopt this ‘horses for courses’ approach in practice. In other words, we cannot make too many assumptions about students’ motivation, as we see from the following examples:

1. We cannot assume that a student whose motivation is professional does not also need to prepare for contact with native speakers:
   - “I need English for my job and at this moment I’m living in England.” Spanish student

2. We cannot assume that a student whose motivation is idealistic does not also have a utilitarian motive:
   - “Because I think it is a beautiful language. Nowadays it makes part of our lifes and we can’t survive without it.” Brazilian student

3. We cannot assume that a student whose motivation is intranational does not also have an international motive:
   - “I am learning English because I think it will help me to communicate with the average people in my country and moreover because of its globalisation which no other language is able to achieve.” Indian student

4. We cannot assume that a student who has international and intranational motives does not also have an idealistic motive:
   - “For good communication internationally and countrywide. And to help the growing mind.” South African student
5. We cannot assume that a student who needs English for communication with non-native speakers does not want to be able to speak English like a native speaker:

- “I’m fascinated by this language and I’d really like to be able to communicate like Student E and I need it for communication with non-native speakers.” Czech student

### 3.4 Chapter Summary

While keeping in mind the limitations of our data we can now draw some preliminary conclusions from our study of the results:

1. There is clearly some desire among students to conform to native speaker norms of English and this desire is not necessarily restricted to students with an obvious need to interact with native speakers.

2. One of the ideas which appears to underpin this desire to conform to native speaker norms is the rather traditional notion of ‘mastering a language’.

3. When it comes to conforming to corpus-attested native speaker norms the picture is not clear. While many students support the idea in theory of learning native speaker informal grammar, they are less enthusiastic when confronted with a real sample. Familiarity with the nature of spoken language seems to have a strong influence on attitudes towards it.

4. The data from ENLF countries is distinctive with a marked disinclination to conform to native speaker norms. We do not have a great deal of empirical evidence as to why this should be so, but two quotations from Indian students in the motivational data suggest that linguistic and cultural identity are involved:

- “[I am learning English because] English is becoming a common language in day to day communication, though not for our emotional feelings.”
• “I am learning English only as a mean of universal way to speak. And not as a impression upon our regional and national languages.”

5. The picture from the motivational data is complex. On the one hand the number of students who have an international or utilitarian motive for learning English suggests that it would be precipitate to incorporate, indiscriminately, the kind of grammatical features highlighted by spoken corpora in our syllabuses and materials. On the other hand, the fact that motivation is mixed, and that stated motivation does not seem unduly to influence attitudes to native speaker norms, suggests that it would be equally precipitate to reject such features out of hand.

I would like to conclude this chapter with a summary of an interview with a Nigerian student, an interview which for me encapsulated a number of the issues relating to students’ attitudes to native speaker norms:

“R” lives in Nigeria where she is a women’s group leader. Her work involves giving seminars and workshops in different parts of the country. She conducts the seminars and workshops in English, so she is effectively using English as a lingua franca for professional purposes. Her stated motivation for coming to England, however, was to ‘improve her pronunciation’, ‘to learn how words are said’. It emerged that the people in her workshop groups had no problems understanding her, but she felt the need to improve her pronunciation because the workshops were sometimes attended by Nigerian doctors and lawyers. It is interesting that though she came to England to improve her pronunciation, she had no particular desire to ‘sound like these people’. On the other hand, she admitted to being quite gratified when a neighbour remarked that she was making progress and beginning to sound like ‘one of us’. When I put it
to her that adopting a native speaker accent might compromise her cultural identity, she was quite emphatic: "I know I’m black, I know I’m African, I just want to speak English like you" (this was not captured on the tape). “R” also mentioned on a number of occasions that she would not use all she had learned in England when she returned to Nigeria: if she used colloquial language, for example, that would not be understood, and would be regarded as showing off.

This interview then highlighted a number of themes which have emerged from this aspect of the research:

- The weak link between stated motivation and actual aspiration as a language learner;
- The idea that there is, somewhere, one correct way to speak English (The use of the passive in ‘to learn how words are said’ is interesting in this respect);
- The notion that native speaker English confers prestige;
- The notion that acquiring native speaker proficiency is a benchmark of achievement;
- The fact that it is difficult to disentangle the prestige notion from the benchmark notion;
- The fact that students seem to be less worried about and less sensitive to issues of cultural identity than teachers and expert commentators are on their behalf;
- The idea that students can be flexible communicators who know when and when not to use certain forms.

We need now to look at teachers’ views on the issues we have discussed above.
CHAPTER FOUR

TEACHERS' ATTITUDES TO NATIVE SPEAKER NORMS AND INTERNATIONAL ENGLISH

4.0 Introduction: Review of the Survey

In this chapter we present and discuss the results from the main teacher questionnaire. We focus first on two of our main research questions in this field:

1. How far do teachers want their students to conform to native speaker pronunciation norms?

2. How far do teachers want their students to conform to native speaker norms of canonical grammar?

Our third main research question was: “How far do teachers want their students to conform to corpus-attested native speaker spoken norms?” Although this question is addressed in the first teacher questionnaire, we will postpone discussion of it until the next chapter so that, as the specific focus of our research, it can be given the attention it merits.

As the questions discussed in this chapter are parallel to the questions we investigated from the students' perspective in the previous chapter, the main results from the student survey will be reproduced for ease of comparison.

After looking at the questions 1 and 2 above, we will look at the questions relating to teachers' attitudes to using native speaker and/or non-native speaker models of
English in the classroom. Finally we will discuss what it is teachers would ideally like to achieve with their students in the long term. In the previous chapter we argued that students' motivation would be likely to influence their attitudes to all our research questions, and we make a parallel argument with teachers.

The main variables we will use for cross-tabulation of results in this chapter are:

1. Native or non-native speaker teacher?
2. Teaching context: ENL, ENLF, or EILF?

Again, it would not be practical to present all the frequencies and their possible cross-tabulations in the body of the chapter. However, bar charts with all the basic frequencies (percentages) for every question are available in appendix 3.2. The reader can also use the statistics disk in the appendix (SPSS 10.0 for Windows) to find any cross-tabulations not dealt with in the chapter which s/he thinks may be relevant. Though we do not have interview data, we have a considerable amount of qualitative data from the comment boxes, and we will make use of this data to shed further light on the quantitative data.

4.1 Profile of the Respondents

There were 240 responses from over 40 countries. The vast majority of the respondents were from the participants' list at the IATEFL 2000 conference in Dublin. In a few cases, however, the recipient passed the questionnaire on to a colleague. In the case of the Indian data, one respondent volunteered to administer
the questionnaire to a group of colleagues. Below is a breakdown of the respondent
group.

Table 9 Teacher Respondent Profile

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total number of teachers</th>
<th>240</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Native/non-native speakers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Native speakers (111)</th>
<th>111 (46%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Non-native speakers (129)</td>
<td>129 (54%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Teaching monolingual/multilingual groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total number of teachers</th>
<th>240</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Teaching monolingual groups</td>
<td>72 (30%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teaching multilingual groups</td>
<td>139 (58%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teaching mono- and multilingual groups</td>
<td>29 (12%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Teaching in the public/private sectors

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total number of teachers</th>
<th>240</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Teaching in the public sector</td>
<td>170 (71%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teaching in the private sector</td>
<td>60 (25%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teaching in the public and private sectors</td>
<td>10 (3%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.2. Teacher Survey Results

4.2.1 Pronunciation Results

Pronunciation – Statistical Results

The question in this section is parallel to that asked to the students, the only difference
being that the teachers were given a ‘no preference’ option.
Question

Student A: “I can pronounce English just like a native speaker now. Sometimes people think I am a native speaker.”

Student B: “I can pronounce English clearly now. Native speakers and non-native speakers understand me wherever I go, but I still have the accent of my country.”

Which of Student A or Student B is preferable in your view as an ideal long-term outcome of language learning?

Please tick one option.

Student A  Student B  I have no preference

Table 10 Teacher Pronunciation Results

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Student A</th>
<th>Student B</th>
<th>No preference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All teachers (240)</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native speakers</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>47%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-native speakers</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teaching in the UK (39)</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>62%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teaching in India (24)</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>88%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teaching in other countries (176)</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALL STUDENTS</td>
<td>66%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Discussion

The most striking feature of the results here is that while Student B is a more popular option than Student A for all teacher groups, we know that for students the native speaker option was clearly more popular. We can also note that almost twice as many non-native teachers as native speaker teachers opted for Student A. The high ‘no preference’ score for UK-based teachers suggests that they are the most relaxed about this issue. The ENLF data is once again distinctive, with the vast majority opting for Student B.

Pronunciation Results – Teachers’ Comments

We will look now at the reasons teachers gave for their choices. We will look at each of the options in turn: Student A, Student B, and ‘I have no preference’.
Student A

An unquestionable goal

For some teachers it is axiomatic that native speaker pronunciation is the ultimate goal:

- "In a perfect world, one aims at perfection. Oral FL perfection is, to all intents and purposes, unattainable, but it is worth aiming at it. Where one actually arrives is another matter."
- "St A of course it would be ideal."
- "What a question! Of course Student A!"

Empowerment

Other teachers, however, had a more specific reason for opting for Student A. They felt that the student would be empowered:

- "Accents are perfectly acceptable but students have greater acceptance/status with a NS accent."
- "People with accents have no sociopolitical power in English dominant countries."

It is interesting that one teacher explicitly acknowledged the arguments in favour of Student B, yet was prepared to buck what she regarded as the 'current trend'. There is a hint here too, that questions of identity seem to preoccupy teachers and other commentators more than students:

- "I know the current trend is for 'intelligibility' and there is a lot of debate about learners' personal identity, but I also know that a native speaker-like accent confers a large amount of prestige and can lead listeners to perceive it as 'extremely good English' more so than, say, a native ability in spoken grammar would...so as an ideal, I would say a native accent is a slightly preferable goal (and reminding students they are unlikely ever to reach this might spur them on to prove you wrong)."

Student B

Identity
The positive reason given by most teachers for opting for Student B was that the student was asserting his/her identity:

- "I think an accent is attractive and belongs to their personality."
- "Important not to produce imitations and to recognise the importance of retaining individual and cultural identities."
- "My personal preference is that my students retain a little of the accent of their country – as that is where they were born and signals their identity."

For a few teachers, however, it seemed to be more a case of seeing dangers in being like Student A, the dangers of assuming a 'false' identity.

- "I myself was taught to be near-native. I found that actually that was a drawback in my contacts with British and other foreign contacts for various reasons, but mostly mistrust."
- "They (international auditors, journalists, lawyers) don't want to come across as less intelligent in the foreign language, and are almost always very concerned that their English should be impressive (which, paradoxically it wouldn't be if they were mistaken for native speakers)."
- "I'm cautious about this (A) in my case since my students don't live in English speaking countries. They would no longer have 'Narrenfreiheit' if they spoke native like English – something they need."

**Realism**

Analysis of the comments indicated that a number of teachers opted for Student B because they regarded this as the only realistic option, irrespective of what was ideal. This suggests that the figures we have got for Student B as an ideal long-term goal should be treated with caution. One teacher who actually opted for Student B wrote:

- "Of course Student A is preferable but in reality it is impossible to achieve so student B can be a good standard."

One teacher’s comment revealed an interesting combination of both realism and idealism:

- "[I chose B because it is] achievable by majority of learners – will contribute to international understanding while maintaining healthy differences."

---

1 Literally 'fool’s freedom’. Presumably in this context the idea that people will make allowances for you if they don’t regard you as a native speaker.
I have no preference

Students' Wishes

The main reason given for expressing no preference was that the wishes of the students were paramount and these wishes would depend on the reasons why students were learning the language and the context in which they were learning it:

- "The ideal outcome rests with the learner’s desires not the teacher’s.”
- "It depends on the context and reasons why they are learning English, and the students’ own desires and aims.”

Identity

The question of identity and the dangers of assuming a ‘false’ identity surfaced again.

- "The ideal long-term outcome is the one that is best for the student both in terms of what (s) he wants to achieve by means of the foreign language and in terms of his/her sense of identity. University teachers of English in my experience are delighted to be mistaken for native speakers despite the hazards this involves if they’re not completely au fait with cultural mores.”
- "If you live in a country where the target language is spoken, an accent is a distraction.... If you are interested in international contacts, appearing to come from a different area than your real origin may be a distraction...”

Teachers’ and Students’ Ideals Differ

Our results have already indicated that teacher and student ideals may differ in important ways. Only a few teachers commented on this possibility, but it is interesting that three explicitly acknowledge that their students may be more in favour of conforming to native speaker norms.

- “My goal as a teacher is that they are able to use their English and be understood, but most of my students want to sound native too.”
- “Student A because that would please my student and student B because they won’t have lost their national character. This would be preference to me personally.”
- “My students are mostly like student B and that is absolutely fine with me. For myself: I aspire to a (near) native speaker level.”

Who is easier to understand?

The question of what kind of English best facilitates international understanding is a fascinating one and one we touched on in the literature review. It is beyond the scope
of this thesis to deal with the question, but we can note in passing the different positions people hold:

- "Student A is preferable as more non-native speakers would be able to understand."
- "There are many variants of 'native speaker' – like language. Our students travel to various countries where English is a first or second language of the people and need to communicate with not only native speakers, but speakers of all proficiencies. Therefore, B is more desirable because communication is taking place."
- "In the context of India, communication WITHIN the country is the priority (and by far the only possibility/need for most learners). So native-like pronunciation may not be a desirable goal."

4.2.2 Teacher Survey Grammar Results

Grammar Results – Statistical

**Question**

Student C: "I can say everything that I want to say. Native speakers and non-native speakers understand me wherever I go, but I use English my own way and sometimes I say things which native speakers think are grammar mistakes."

Student D: "I know all the grammar rules I need so that I can say anything I want to. I use these rules correctly, but sometimes English people use grammar that isn't in the grammar books and I don't want to learn this."

Student E: "I use all the grammar rules that native speakers use, even the informal grammar native speakers use when they speak to each other."

Which of Student C, Student D or Student E is preferable in your view as an ideal long-term outcome of language learning? Please tick one option.

- Student C  
- Student D  
- Student E  
- I have no preference  


Table 11 Teacher Grammar Results

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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Student C</th>
<th>Student D</th>
<th>Student E</th>
<th>No preference</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All teachers (240)</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>20%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Native speakers (111)</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-native speakers (129)</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>18%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Teaching in the UK (39)</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>26%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Teaching in India (24)</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>13%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Teaching in other countries</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>19%</td>
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<tr>
<td>All students</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>68%</td>
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Discussion

There is remarkable consistency in the figures across teacher groups with the exception of the Indian group where the native speaker goal again appears less popular. There are other points of interest: among teachers the native speaker goal is more popular for grammar, at least on the face of it, than it is for pronunciation. Certainly one teacher was explicit about this: “Long-term outcome of language learning should be as native-like competence (NOT ACCENT).” When we look at spoken grammar in more detail in the next chapter, however, we will see that – as with the students– there is confusion about what spoken grammar is, and it is not so clear whether teachers really do want their students to master informal grammar. A stable and consistent interlanguage (student C) represents a positive choice for more teachers than students. Let us now look at the reasons teachers gave for their choices and see what light these comments throw on the figures.
Grammar Results – Teachers’ Comments

We will now look at the reasons behind teachers’ choices for each option in turn:
Student C, Student D, Student E and ‘I have no preference,

Student C

Assertiveness and Independence

Teachers who opted for Student C referred to qualities of assertiveness and independence:

- “this student is an ‘independent’ assertive user of L2.”
- “people have their own identities. Our job is not to produce little native speakers. My students are Chinese/Taiwanese, not Americans.”
- “Student C sounds confident of his/her own decisions.”

There is also a hint of the question we mentioned above about the most appropriate kind of English for international communication:
- “‘Informal’ grammar is often too local.”

Student D

‘Correctness’

A particular notion of ‘correctness’ and the idea that the goal of second language learning is for students to speak ‘correctly’ were cited as reasons for opting for Student D:

- “To learn grammar is the right for teaching English. There could be broken spoken language in UK or USA, but my students follow mostly the rules of the grammar.”
- “He sticks to the rules of grammar and speaks grammatically correct English which is the most important thing in language learning and expression.”
Questioning the Native Speaker Model

It is interesting, in view of our arguments in 1.5 about the relative merits of native and non-native speakers as models, that one respondent questioned the value of taking the native speaker as a model:

- "Native speakers are not necessarily the best English language users. I have reservations in taking them as models."

Objections to Student D

Some respondents, however, felt that in practice Student C and Student D would not be able to communicate as they wished:

- "Student D doesn't sound like s/he has really made the language his/her own; s/he is playing safe – fair enough."
- "People are entitled to 'own' language as they see fit – although I think C, D will in reality find their communication impaired by their beliefs."
- "Language is alive and changing – I've had all kinds of students – the ones like C and D create their own stumbling blocks to learning and usually plateau fairly quickly, but the other like E continue to learn culture through language and continue to communicate along the way."

Student E

Flexibility

Many respondents who opted for Student E referred to qualities of openness, flexibility and adaptability:

- "I chose E because she reveals a more open mind in terms of learning a language through its cultural changes."
- "English is now becoming a 'global' language and therefore the ability of adapting is very important."

Noticing

The importance of curiosity about language and the ability to 'notice' was noted by two respondents:

- "Any language is under constant change. If my students are able to notice and pick up colloquialisms, they are open to change, are not very dogmatic, are well trained to differentiate formal and informal languages."
I think curiosity about a language is important, and that there are many different ways of communicating. Real proficiency lies in having a sense of appropriacy as well as accuracy.

**Reservations about Student E**

We should note that some respondents, even when they had opted for Student E, expressed some reservations. The question of international intelligibility was again present:

- "Student E would be my ideal option, on the condition that's/he would be capable of adjusting his/her speech to the level/register of English his/her interlocutor is using (e.g. not using 'informal' grammar if the other person couldn't understand it)."
- "Native speakers of where? (What happens if they need English for a more varied/international purpose in which idiomatic usage from one region is incomprehensible in another). Awareness of this is the key and point above about individual needs is relevant again here."

Other respondents felt there were dangers in trying to use native speaker informal grammar.

- "Student E might fall into cultural traps."
- "E would be my preferred outcome, but so often, language learners attempting to speak very colloquially and not carrying it off, or using inappropriate language for the situation may fail to achieve true communication."
- "I tend to warn my students that as non-natives they can't get away with the 'creativity' that native speakers can because it will be assumed that they are making grammar mistakes (there's a personality factor here, so they need to be aware of the pitfalls, and other people's perceptions)."

**I have no preference**

**Students' Wishes and Needs**

The comments made to justify the 'no preference' option were, naturally, similar to those given in the pronunciation section, prioritising the students' needs and wishes and taking the learning context into account:

- "If we are interested in student autonomy, we have to go along with their perceived wishes, don't we?"
- "Each learner should set his/her learning objective."
"Speaking to a native speaker, non-native variations ('ungrammatical' or otherwise) are a distraction. Talking to a non-native speaker 'informal' regional variations can be a distraction."

One respondent argued that teachers have no right to make such important choices:

- "How can mere technicians make decisions for their learners in areas of skill, belief and core ego?"

4.2.3 Teacher Survey Results: Native and Non-Native Speaker Models

**NS and NNS Models – Statistical Results**

We have three questions which relate to the same issue: given that English is increasingly used in international contexts, should we use both native and non-native models of English in class? This is clearly of relevance to our interest in spoken native speaker spoken grammar: if there is a widespread belief that far greater use should be made of non-native models, then we cannot expect teachers to see much pedagogic relevance in the findings of spoken corpora. As the three questions below address the same issue, we will comment briefly on the results to individual questions and then discuss the three questions together.

**Question**

2. Please read the quote below and then answer the question

"It has been estimated that 80% of communication in English is between non-native speakers"

This estimate, if reasonably accurate, should influence the kind of English we teach

| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
Table 12 Teacher Results: which models?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Strongly agree</th>
<th>agree</th>
<th>unsure</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly disagree</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All teachers (240)</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>4%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Native speakers (111)</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>2%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Non-native speakers (129)</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>16%</td>
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<td>Teaching in the UK (39)</td>
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<td>15%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teaching in India (24)</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teaching in other countries (176)</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>5%</td>
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Discussion

The most significant aspect of these results is that they show a high degree of awareness of the issues raised by the increasingly international use of English. A clear majority of teachers believe that changing patterns of use should influence what we teach. This belief seems to be particularly strong among the small group of Indian respondents, and there is at least an indication that more native speakers than non-native speakers feel we should be influenced by changing patterns of use.

Question

Students should be exposed to different native and non-native varieties of English in class

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<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
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</table>

Table 13 Which models for exposure?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly agree</th>
<th>agree</th>
<th>unsure</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>52%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>1%</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Discussion

An overwhelming majority of teachers believe that students should be exposed to different native and non-native varieties of English. It is, perhaps, a figure we should
approach with some caution as a two-part question has slipped through the piloting process. However, the results to this question are broadly consistent with the other two questions in this set.

**Question**

| I make a conscious effort to expose my students to both native and non-native varieties of English |
|------|------|------|------|------|
| 5    | 4    | 3    | 2    | 1    |

*Table 14 Which models in class?*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly agree</th>
<th>agree</th>
<th>unsure</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly disagree</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>31%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>4%</td>
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</table>

**Discussion**

Clearly most teachers feel that they make a conscious effort to expose their students to different native and non-native varieties of English, though at least some of those who feel it is a good idea in principle, do not apply it in practice.

**NS and NNS Models – Teachers’ Comments**

We discuss below the main themes which emerged from comments relating to the use of NS and/or NNS models in the classroom.

**Transferability**

Among those teachers who were in favour of students being exposed to different native and non-native varieties of English, the most common reason given was transferability. This issue of the transferability of classroom language to the students’ real world needs and contexts of use is an important one, and one which will resurface as we focus more closely on spoken grammar. For the present, we can look more closely at what teachers mean by ‘transferability’:
• "Yes! English is out there! Not everyone speaks it the same, and thus what they learn needs to be transferable if it'll be useful at all."

The idea of distinguishing between models for production and models for comprehension is present in this area of our survey and in others. Even in the rather liberal attitude expressed here, however, we need to question what is meant by 'properly' and 'correct grammar':

• "Classroom English MUST be transferable outside the class, otherwise it's useless. They should learn it properly (correct grammar, pronunciation etc) but be able to understand different accents, slang, idiomatic expressions etc."

Another idea to emerge in response to different questions is the idea that much classroom interaction, both between students and between students and non-native teachers, necessarily involves legitimate exposure to non-native varieties of English:

• "This is the English they'll meet when travelling or in their jobs...otherwise it'll be hard to comprehend non-native speaker varieties. Also, I teach mixed nationality classes, so if I felt that English/English was better, it would undermine all communicative activities in the classroom."

• "Encouraging cross-cultural exchange in and out of class is also valid."

Awareness-raising and adaptability

A number of teachers stressed the importance of developing an awareness of variety and a positive attitude to it. Such teacher attitudes, as we will see in the next chapters, will be important in developing an approach which raises awareness of corpus-attested native speaker spoken norms in a framework of raising awareness of variety and variation within English:

• "... need to stimulate students awareness of the whole question of what is correct English and the need (and useful ability) to code switch."
• "Turning language students into linguists (as in students of linguistics) is always beneficial I think."
• "Language awareness is crucial."

One respondent seemed to advocate something beyond awareness-raising:
“Diversity should be taught, as should intercultural topics, for a ‘well-rounded’ understanding.”

Reservations about exposure to non-native models

We argued above that we should keep the raw figures in perspective by seeing what light the qualitative data threw on the statistics, and this is certainly true in relation to attitudes to native and non-native models of English. A number of respondents chose to qualify their agreement that exposure to non-native models was desirable:

Some respondents considered that we should simply become more tolerant in response to changing patterns of use:

- “...Depending on how you interpret ‘influence’: it should maybe leave us somewhat more tolerant; on the other hand, you should equip your learners for more than mere survival, and for contact with native speakers.”
- “Yes, I agree – except that the old hoary chestnut of whether you can teach a language devoid of its culture (and whether learners want this) raises its head. It might mean we should be more tolerant of alternative vocab/structures etc.”

Other respondents felt that it was important for native speaker models to predominate and to be the models for production:

- “students should speak correct Br. Or Am. English (ideally) but should be able to understand a larger variety.”
- “Yes, but native speaker’s English should be a model.”
- “To different native varieties, yes.”
- “yes, with native varieties in preponderance.”
- “Definitely we should be teaching students a kind of English they will need or find useful. However, we need certain generally intelligible norms to aim for, and native speaker English of one kind or another is the obvious candidate.”

Even among those in favour of varied exposure, there was some concern about the effect this might have on ‘standards’ of English:

- “Intelligibility, fluency, range of expression in lexis and structure should be more important than ‘native speaker’ factors for students whose need is for general/global use, but we have to recognise that this compromise will result in ‘dumbing down’ and some shades of meaning will be lost.”

Impoverishment
This fear of 'dumbing down' was most commonly cited by those opposed to or equivocal about exposure to varied models:

- "everyone needs a standard to compare their knowledge to...in ESL teaching the standard is necessary so that non-native speakers have a point of reference to go back to...otherwise chaos degrades the language learning experience."
- "If non-native speakers are isolated from native speakers you will eventually get a new language."
- "We should be aware that English is used largely as a lingua franca. But I don't think it should be oversimplified to compensate for this. I realise that language is an ever-changing thing but English is a beautiful language...and I sometimes worry at the rate in which it is changing and becoming simplified due to its role as an international language."
- "I am still concerned about the quality of English we hear among non-native speakers."

Pro native speaker

Some surprisingly conservative attitudes were expressed by non-native teachers of English:

- "I am sentimentally attached to native English."
- "I want to teach English the way I learnt it."
- "I think they should, be exposed to as much native speaker speech as possible. When students ask me how they can improve their English, I always say 'watch the BBC'. In my opinion they learn more from e.g. the BBC than from me."

One or two teachers were very dismissive of the whole notion of 'international English':

- "No, I don't want to teach EFLese. I want to teach English."

The point we mentioned in the previous chapter about the need to take into account students' attitudes to native speaker models was also raised:

- "...for marketing reasons you still have to teach more defined varieties of English. People (learners or clients) still like to learn and speak certain varieties of English which seem to be better accepted or have a greater prestige."
Student wishes

This need to take into account students' attitudes was extended by some respondents to a need to take into account students' aims, needs, and context of learning or use:

- "It depended on the student. I always asked at the beginning of courses what varieties of English they were/would be exposed to, and then I tried to include material that would cover this."
- "It depends on the students. Do they want to be taught a non-native model?"
- "Are my students concerned with the 80% or the 20%?"
- "This estimate should qualify our decisions about any 'model' of English to be presented. It should also underpin any attempts of needs analysis, defining of objectives, selection of materials and so on."

Who is easier to understand?

The question of whether students find it easier to understand native or non-native varieties has been something of a leitmotif in our discussions in this chapter and it reappears here, but there is still no sign of consensus:

- "Native speaker models should still be our mainstay as they are widely understood e.g. general American English and British English."
- "Non-native speakers tend to have difficulties in understanding each other in my experience."
- "Students don't care much about non-native varieties of English — simple reason = there is no problem to make themselves understood with non native speakers."
- "Many students report problems understanding natives not non natives."
- "If you know correct English you'll understand non-native speakers."
- "No. I don't see why this should influence what we teach. Plus I think non-native speakers usually communicate quite well with each other (maybe because they are less afraid of making mistakes)."

Changing attitudes

In this section and in other sections we need to keep in mind that there is nothing definitive about our results and that attitudes are likely to be in flux. Two respondents give us a brief but interesting insight into this process of change:

- "I am increasingly aware of, e.g., Australian English or African English as legitimate and rich varieties."
- "I'd have said not ten years ago but I try to do this quite often now [expose my students to non-native varieties]."
4.2.4 Teacher Survey Results: Neutral Models of English

**Neutral models – Statistical Results**

We noted in 1.6.4 that one reason why Prodromou (1997) questioned the relevance of the findings of spoken corpora was that the study of such features entailed a focus on native speaker cultures. It will be interesting for us, therefore, to see how important it is for teachers to situate English language teaching within a national native speaker culture and whether they find the hypothetical prospect of teaching a culturally neutral (at least in national terms) international form of English tenable or appealing (cf. Modiano 2001).

We need to emphasise that the question is hypothetical and to acknowledge that some research literature (Oppenheim 1992) questions the validity of such hypothetical questions. Indeed, one respondent, in a marginal note, kindly referred me back to the research literature in this respect. We should note, however, that the objection to hypothetical questions is that people are often poor predictors of behaviour. In this case, it is of far more importance to us how respondents feel about the issue and why they feel how they do, than how they would in fact react should such a phenomenon as World Standard English ever exist. We have already acknowledged that attitudes are probably in flux.

**Question**

We will all teach World Standard English one day

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<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
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</table>

214
Table 15 Which models in class?

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Strongly agree</th>
<th>agree</th>
<th>unsure</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly disagree</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>19%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>9%</td>
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Discussion

We can see that there is considerable doubt among teachers that Crystal’s (1997) prediction will come true, but it is of more importance to us to see whether teachers view the hypothetical prospect favourably.

Discussion

There appears to be a consensus that most teachers (particularly those from India) would be happy to teach World Standard English. Here again, however, we see the value of having both quantitative and qualitative data, because, as we will see below, consideration of the comments teachers made suggests that it would be more appropriate to interpret ‘happy’ as ‘acquiescent’ rather then ‘enthusiastic’.
Neutral Models – Teachers’ Comments

In this section, we look at the themes which emerged from the questions relating to World Standard English.

Pro WSE (World Standard English)

There were some teachers who were positively enthusiastic about the idea of teaching World Standard English. Two respondents pointed to the advantages of teaching WSE in particular national contexts:

- “More and more Chinese would take English as an international language, rather than a foreign or second language.”
- “A lot of my Hong Kong students (English teachers) would agree very strongly with this statement and in fact the current move in HK to benchmark all secondary English teachers accords with idea of a standardized English.”

Other respondents highlighted the need to acknowledge the international nature of English:

- “English has long stopped being the language of the British, so yes, of course, WSE!”
- “I think we need to teach a more neutral English, not so much aimed at specific countries, but aimed at international purposes that our learners have.”

We ought also to note pragmatic arguments in favour of WSE from people involved in Business English:

- “Business people need a sophisticated yet ‘no-nonsense’ language skill to be able to communicate globally.”

Indeed, while Business English is not our focus, we should acknowledge that questions of international intelligibility are very pertinent in this area.

The cultural aspect
It was clear from the tenor of their comments that many teachers do regard the association of a language with a national culture or cultures as important, if not indispensable:

- "it would be rather sterile, almost like teaching Esperanto – a language without a single cultural home or base."

Again it is difficult to ignore students' wishes:

- "...I find that learners mostly prefer a cultural element in their language learning, whether the orientation is British, American or whatever."
- "There will always be local variety and 'colour' which students will want to familiarise them selves with, and teachers will want to teach."

**Impoverishment**

The fear that we would end up teaching an impoverished version of the language, fit only for transactional communication, is again present:

- "[WSE would be a] bit bland and superficial – vehicle for information exchange but language is more than that."
- "It will be like finding M and S and Body Shop wherever you go. BORING!"
- "If standard means an impoverished sort of newspeak, stripped of all the figurative language, interesting idioms, I would be very sad."

**World culture?**

Two respondents pointed to the possibility that while the national cultural element might be lost, the cultural element as a whole need not be:

- "I cherish the richness of all the various forms of 'Englishes' and the cultural implications they carry."
- "I think that language cannot be divorced from culture, but perhaps world English is a culture in itself" (cf. Alptekin 2002)

**Cultural imperialism**

Only one respondent showed overt signs of the cultural imperialism that Prodromou (1997) fears:
British English and American English are closely connected to cultural values I find important to teach.

Will WSE ever exist?

Many respondents doubted that WSE would ever exist, either because particular interest groups (including non-native speaker teachers and Daily Telegraph readers!) would not allow it to happen, or because it could never be free from influence by the dominant social group at a given time:

- "My non-ns colleagues are more keen on NS like English than I am. I think the conservatism of the nns may prevent this happening."
- "People one day might claim there is a WSE for their own particular reasons (ideological and otherwise) but it will never exist in actuality."
- "Not sure if there will ever be a WSE. It's too egalitarian and Utopian. Daily Telegraph readers would never allow it to happen."
- "Personally I do not believe there will ever be one uniform variety of English, but rather more and different varieties with their own cultural characteristics. However, it would be desirable if those characteristics which might cause misunderstanding or offense to speakers of other cultures could be minimized when necessary."
- "The question is: to what extent would this WSE be influenced/dominated by particular cultures?"

4.2.5 Teacher Survey Results: Teachers' Goals

Teachers' Goals – Introduction

This is the counterpart to our section in the previous chapter about student motivation. What teachers regard as the ultimate goal of their teaching will influence their attitudes to all our questions. If, for example, they share the attitude of this Kenyan teacher, they will be unlikely to see any pedagogic relevance in spoken corpus findings:

- "There are no standards in English language today. The language should be transactional. World English is a phenomena that can't be ignored."
If, on the other hand, they see interaction with native speakers, or equipping their students with the full interactional resources of native speakers as important, they are likely to take a different view.

**Teachers’ Goals – Statistical Results**

With these considerations in mind, and after examining the data, the categories used in the results table below were drawn up. The categories are explained in the discussion section below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ultimately, I would like my students to be able to...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 16 Teachers’ Goals – Results</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Goal</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International communication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General communication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Depends on students</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expression</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attitude</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native speaker communication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Correctness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ESP or other</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Teachers’ Goals – Teachers’ Comments**

We discuss below the categories which emerged from an analysis of the comments.

*International communication*

Included in this category were all responses which mentioned communication with both native and non-native speakers, or communication worldwide:

- “Communicate effectively with both native and non-native speakers while still retaining their own accent and with a level of vocabulary and grammar that allows them to achieve the above objective.”
The notion of speaking English internationally and retaining one’s own national/cultural identity was mentioned by a number of respondents:

- “Communicate effectively with people from a variety of cultures and not be disadvantaged for using non-standardized English.”
- “Understand a wide variety of spoken English and to be able to express themselves freely in the language without their communication partners making oral or even mental comments about the English they speak or write in.”
- “Communicate in English the world over with respect for other cultures and their own.”
- “Communicate effectively not being ashamed of their own native culture and language.”

Kramsch (1995: p10) spoke of the need for learners to be flexible communicators with ‘adaptability to choose which forms of accuracy and which forms of appropriateness are called for in which contexts of use’. Two respondents referred explicitly to this kind of flexibility (another theme to which we will return):

- “To use English as a global lingua franca AND as a medium of access to native anglophone cultures.”
- “Switch between a sociopolitically dominant variety of English and ‘accent of their country’ and use this ability both for advancement and resistance.”

**General communication**

Included in this category were all responses which mentioned communicating effectively or efficiently but did not specify the context of communication. Unsurprisingly, this rather general category drew the largest number of responses. We cannot criticise the respondents for vagueness as they were not asked to be specific, but we can argue that responses in this section ask more questions than they answer. The important question, of course, is: What is ‘effective communication’? Do these teachers mean simply the ability to convey the content of a message, or is it something more sophisticated than this. Do teachers have similar views about what constitutes ‘effective communication’ and if not, how and why do these views vary?
This is an important area for research in itself, but not one we can follow through adequately here.

It depends on the students

Included in this category were all responses where teachers defined their goals as achieving what their students wanted to achieve.

Expression

Included in this category, quite simply, were all responses which used the word 'express'. As we have been interested in 'expressive resources', we should note that there are not many responses in this category, but we should also remind ourselves that we are unclear whether 'expression' is included in teachers' notions of 'effective communication'. We can, however, get some idea of what teachers mean by 'expression':

- "express themselves in a way which enables them to take the place in society which they aspire to."
- "Express all their thoughts fluently and be able to come across with their personality when speaking English."
- "Express what they are able to say in their own language with the same nuances and pick them up from other speakers."

Attitude

Included in this category were all responses where developing certain attitudes, appeared to be as important, if not more important, than certain abilities. As the attitudes teachers describe fit well with the ideas of flexible communication and language awareness we have referred to above, it is worth looking at how teachers describe these attitudes. We must keep in mind, however, that only a very small group of teachers described their goals in these terms:
• "understand and be understood by both native and non-native speakers of English and also to be interested in variations in English spoken by native and non-native speakers."
• "Confidently use the additional language so that it opens up new awareness of who they are, how they relate to others through language and what they wish to learn and express."
• "Use all basic skills communicatively, to know basic language rules, to be aware of some cultural issues and phenomena, traditions, ideas, to be aware of otherness and develop tolerance to otherness."

Native speaker communication

Included in this category were all responses which explicitly referred to contact with native speakers. It is important to acknowledge that it is a very small number, but we must also remain aware that none of the other categories preclude the idea of contact with native speakers.

Correctness

Included in this category, quite simply, were all responses which used the word 'correct'. As with 'general communication', responses in this category raise more questions than they answer, as we need to understand what teachers mean by 'correct'.

ESP or other

Included in this category were responses from teachers who clearly had very specific professional or vocational goals for their students, Finnish lift engineers or Dutch agricultural students, for example.

Conclusion on Teachers' Goals
This section gives us an interesting but not sharply defined picture of teachers’ attitudes to what they aim to achieve as English language teachers. It is interesting in the sense that we see a range of views expressed; it cannot be a sharply defined picture because responses were only given to a sentence completion task at the end of the questionnaire. Nevertheless, we can argue that there are some useful insights:

1. It is clear that ‘effective communication’ is the goal for the majority of teachers, even if we do not know exactly what they understand by ‘effective communication’. It is also clear that the idea of ‘effective communication’ internationally is at least more prominent than the idea of communication (exclusively) with native speakers.

2. The question of cultural and linguistic identity is salient for many teachers in this context, if less so than in the pronunciation context.

3. A small group of teachers have more ambitious aspirations than ‘effective communication’, with flexibility, self-expression, and linguistic and cultural awareness among their goals.

4.3 Chapter Summary

The first thing to note is that the sheer weight of responses to the questionnaire, and the willingness to complete comment boxes, indicate considerable interest in the topic of conformity to native speaker norms and awareness of the issues involved. However, we can also draw some more specific preliminary conclusions:

1. With teachers, as with students, it is not always clear that they are expressing what they regard as ideal, rather than what they regard as achievable. Nevertheless, there is
a strong indication that issues of linguistic and cultural identity are more salient for
teachers than they are for students: the results in the pronunciation section in
particular showed that students had a stronger preference for native speaker
conformity than teachers. Although the issue of identity is mentioned by teachers in
relation to grammar, and in relation to their ultimate goals, it is especially prominent
with regard to pronunciation.

2. There seems to be a slightly stronger preference for conforming to native speaker
norms among non-native teachers than among native speaker teachers. As with the
student data, the ENLF responses are distinctive: the small group of Indian teachers
showed a markedly stronger preference for the non-native options in the
questionnaire.

3. There is a consensus among teachers that changing patterns of use of English mean
that students should be exposed to a variety of native and non-native models in the
classroom. However, even those who agreed with the idea of ‘varied exposure’
expressed some reservations. Notable among these reservations were the idea that the
native speaker model should remain the model for production, the idea that native
speaker models should predominate, and the fear that a proliferation of models might
lead to a ‘dumbing down’ and impoverishment of the language.

4. The entirely hypothetical notion of a neutral World Standard English is regarded as
acceptable by the majority of teachers, but is not generally greeted with great
enthusiasm. There is a fear that it would be anodyne, acultural and transactional.
5. There is some evidence that attitudes are in flux and evidence of increasing interest in flexibility and language awareness as important qualities for global communication.

Among teachers, then, we see some move away from native speaker norms and a concern with the issue of identity. We also see, however, some attachment to the native speaker model, especially where grammar is concerned, and especially as a model for production.

Thus far, we have looked on a general level at teachers' attitudes to native speaker norms; in the next chapter, we will look at teachers' attitudes to corpus-attested native speaker spoken grammatical norms and see if a similar picture emerges.
CHAPTER FIVE

TEACHERS’ ATTITUDES TO SPOKEN GRAMMAR

5.0 Introduction: Data Sources

In the previous chapter we looked at teachers’ attitudes to conforming to native speaker norms in general. In this chapter we focus on their attitudes to conforming to corpus-attested native speaker spoken norms. Specifically, the questions we address are:

1. Do teachers think that students should be exposed to materials which include features of native speaker spoken grammar?
2. Do teachers think that students should use features of native speaker spoken grammar?
3. Do teachers regard the language in the spoken extract as grammatical?

Questions 1 and 2 above relate directly to our original research question: “How far do teachers want their students to conform to corpus-attested native speaker spoken norms?” Question 3, however, illustrating the benefits of combining quantitative and qualitative research, emerged from analysis of the data.

Again exploiting the qualitative dimension of our data, we look briefly at two further issues:

1. Teachers’ attitudes to students’ views on spoken language;
2. Teachers' attitudes to spoken grammar and international communication.

We use two sources of data: question 9 from the original teacher questionnaire (see below) and a follow-up questionnaire. For the questions 1–3 above we use data from both sources; for the other two issues we use data from the follow-up questionnaire only. The follow-up questionnaire is described in detail in the methodology section, but it will be useful to remind ourselves here that it was based on teachers' responses to the original questionnaire and students' comments in interviews. It was designed to probe more deeply into attitudes to spoken grammar. As the same issue tended to surface in different parts of the follow-up questionnaire, I have chosen to select quotations from various parts of the questionnaire as they fit with the themes of the chapter rather than go through the follow-up questionnaire on a question by question basis. The number in brackets after such quotations will allow the reader to refer to the follow-up questionnaire to see what prompted the comment quoted.

5.1 Profile of the respondents

5.1.1 Respondent Profile for Question 9

Clearly the profile is the same as that for the teacher questionnaire in the previous chapter, but it is repeated here for ease of reference.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Native speakers</td>
<td>46%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-native speakers</td>
<td>54%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teaching in the UK</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teaching in India</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teaching in other countries</td>
<td>73%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Teaching monolingual groups 30%
Teaching multilingual groups 58%
Teaching mono- and multilingual groups 12%
Teaching in the public sector 71%
Teaching in the private sector 25%
Teaching in the public and private sectors 3%

5.1.2 Respondent Profile for the Follow-up Questionnaire

There were two main groups of respondents to the follow-up questionnaire: people who had responded to the original questionnaire and had expressed an interest in helping further, and professional contacts of the researcher drawn from the CELTA assessors’ list. The advantage of using these two groups was that I was able to secure a good number of responses to a challenging questionnaire. We will need to bear in mind, however, when we look at the results, that the volunteer respondents are likely to have a particular interest in the topic, and the other respondents are likely to be better informed on the issues than the average teacher. We will need, therefore, to be careful not to extrapolate too far from our data. As we will see, the follow-up questionnaire does give us a good indication of some of the attitudes which obtain among teachers, and perhaps of attitudes which are beginning to develop. It will not, however, on its own, tell us how typical these attitudes are. As the questionnaire was anonymous, and as I admitted to code these questionnaires, we will not be able to say how many were volunteer respondents and how many were CELTA assessors. The only breakdown we can give is as follows:
Table 17 Profile of Respondents to the Follow-up Questionnaire

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Native speaker teachers</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-native speaker teachers</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teaching in ENL countries</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teaching in ENLF countries</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teaching in EILF countries</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total number of respondents</strong></td>
<td><strong>19</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As the structure of this section of the chapter is quite complex, drawing on different sources, it will be useful to have an overview of the section:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section number</th>
<th>Theme</th>
<th>Data source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5.2.1</td>
<td>Grammaticality</td>
<td>Question 9 – teacher questionnaire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2.2</td>
<td>Grammaticality</td>
<td>Follow-up questionnaire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3.1</td>
<td>Exposure to Spoken Grammar</td>
<td>Question 9 – teacher questionnaire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3.2</td>
<td>Exposure to Spoken Grammar</td>
<td>Follow-up questionnaire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4.1</td>
<td>Students Using Spoken Grammar</td>
<td>Question 9 – teacher questionnaire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4.2</td>
<td>Students Using Spoken Grammar</td>
<td>Follow-up questionnaire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>Spoken Grammar and International communication</td>
<td>Follow-up questionnaire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>Teachers’ Reactions to Students’ Comments</td>
<td>Follow-up questionnaire</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.2 Grammaticality Results

5.2.1 Grammaticality: Analysis of Question 9 from the Teacher Questionnaire

Question 9a)

9. Please look at the actual recorded example of native speaker speech below and then answer the questions

Disaster last night. Sat on the couch watching TV. The phone rings. It's my mum. I'm like "Oh No!" She's going "Do you want to come to America?"

a) What are the features that, for you, mark this as native speaker speech

Results and Commentary

Although respondents were not specifically asked to comment on the grammaticality of the utterance, the most interesting feature of the responses in this section was the attitudes they revealed to grammatical status of the utterance. We will now look at these attitudes.

In fact only 8% of respondents described the utterance as wrong or ungrammatical. McCarthy and Carter (1995) remark that: “Popular conceptions of the spoken language are often that it is corrupt, that its influence on grammatical norms is corrosive, and that ‘correct’ English grammar is what is codified in grammars of English...” The evidence here suggests that these popular conceptions are not so widespread amongst teachers we surveyed, or at least not so extreme. But we must bear in mind that we have already argued (4.1) that our sample is likely to be better informed than the average.

There were, however, teachers who were unequivocal that the utterance was wrong, and who were in some cases quite dismissive of the kind of language used. The features that mark this as native speaker speech were described as:

- “Laziness, inarticulateness etc.”
• “1) Tense change incomprehensibly 2) Too colloquial 3) Smacks of the lower classes.”

• “Wrong use of tense. A sentence follows a preposition (e.g. like).”

The inverted commas used by the respondents in the next two quotations indicate a more equivocal attitude:

• “The ease with which the speaker ‘murders’ the grammar rules – yet communicates.”

• “{The way s/he} flouts grammar ‘rules’.”

It is to this more equivocal attitude that we turn next.

A number of respondents felt that the language used in the extract showed that the speaker was making flexible use of grammar and adapting appropriately to the communicative circumstances:

[The features that mark this as native speaker speech are]

• “flexible but not incorrect use of grammar rules.”

• “adapted use of grammar to the situation, shows language changes course books can’t show – living, spoken language.”

• “Her ability to circumvent standard grammatical structures to produce a coherent text.”

Although these respondents are not claiming that there is anything wrong with the language used, the terms they use: ‘flexible use’, ‘adapted use’, ‘circumvent’, suggest that they have in mind canonical grammatical norms to which the speaker is not adhering. Presumably these norms must be the norms of the written language. One respondent refers implicitly to two types of grammar:

• “Formal grammar rules are not followed, but the sentences are grammatically correct, short and crisp...a smooth conversation without involved sentences.”

We will look now at the way teachers see spoken language in relation to written grammatical norms, with the implication that spoken grammar is a deficit model.
It is interesting that 43% of respondents described the extract in what I am going to call 'deficit terms'. That is, they referred to what they felt to be missing from the extract. Key words in this respect were:

- 'lack'
- 'missing',
- 'abbreviated',
- 'short',
- 'no'

We should note that this figure of 43% must include respondents in both the above categories: those who were dismissive of the language used in the extract and those who seemed to regard it as perfectly acceptable. Typical examples of deficit terms were:

[The features that mark this as native speaker speech are]

- "Deleting understood words."
- "Length of sentences, lack of articles, pronouns, verbs."
- "Short 'broken' sentences, tense/time disagreement... lots of missing information (which has to be inferred by the listener/reader."

Now it can be reasonably objected that the question set invited a comparison with the written language i.e. 'What are the features that, for you, mark this as native speaker speech' can be interpreted in two ways:

1. 'What are the features that, for you, mark this as native speaker speech as opposed to non-native speaker speech."

2. 'What are the features that, for you, mark this as native speaker speech as opposed to native speaker writing."

The first is how I intended it to be understood and, I would argue, the more obvious interpretation in the context of the questionnaire as a whole, but I would have to concede that the second is also a legitimate interpretation. However, even allowing for
possible misinterpretations of the question, it is still striking, given that the extract is self-evidently complete, that respondents can refer to:

- "Incomplete sentences"
- "Incomplete utterances."
- "Grammatically incomplete sentence structure."

The numerous references to 'sentences' in the responses tend to support Carter's (2001) claim that 'as a profession we are hooked on sentences'. There is certainly an indication that written grammar remains the basic point of reference even for teachers favourably disposed to spoken language.

The responses also give us some interesting insights into teachers' knowledge of spoken grammar. Significantly, only one respondent actually used the term 'spoken grammar' to characterise the language in the extract. We can also look at recognition of particular features of spoken grammar. We have argued that the extract shows three features typical of spoken discourse: ellipsis, dramatic use of the present tenses for narrative, and spoken reported speech markers. The figures for explicit recognition of these features were:

*Table 18 Teachers and terminology*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feature</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ellipsis</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narrative present</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spoken reported speech</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We cannot argue that these figures, in themselves, show teachers to be ignorant of these grammatical features of speech, as we did not ask teachers to give a technical description of the language in the extract. However, we can argue that these terms do not appear to be common currency amongst teachers. Indeed, many teachers did try
to identify specific features in the extract, but did so in non-technical or even inappropriate terms:

[The features that mark this as native speaker speech are]

- "Wrong use of tense. A sentence follows a preposition (e.g. like)."
- "Incomplete sentences, inconsistency in use of tenses but structured so all makes sense."
- "Irregular but logical use of verb tenses."

Other respondents chose only to describe the extract in the most general terms:

- "this is a simplified short hand English which is the style of the native speaker."
- "Lots of street cred and yoof vernacular."

Many respondents used a combination of technical and non-technical terms to describe the language in the extract. Typical examples were:

- "Ellipsis; Present tense for recounting past events. Use of 'going' plus direct speech. Abbreviated form of communication with 'non-standard' structures such as 'I'm like' 'Oh no'."
- "V. informal style of reporting using 'to go' instead of 'to say' – inclusion of verbal tics (I'm like) Lack of pronouns, jumping between tenses. This kind of speech is usually 'cleaned up' before students ever get to hear it in class."

There were varying opinions as to how 'standard' or widespread the features in the extract are. The most extreme view was:

- "he's/she's a young – probably uneducated person."

Another respondent felt that some of the features were restricted to a particular region and to a particular social group:

- "Use of quirky regional expressions 'I'm like', 'She's going'...desire for membership of a certain subgroup."

While most respondents did not discriminate between features, a small number were able to identify that some features were restricted to particular groups, while others extended to all native speakers, and perhaps even fluent non-native speakers:
• "‘I’m like’ and ‘she’s going’ – informal, young native speaker usage. The rest could be a fluent non-native."
• "idiomatic/adolescent/fashionable use of ‘like’, verb ‘to go’ meaning utterance."

Although respondents were not asked to evaluate the language in the extract, we should note that a small group (5%) chose to comment favourably on the value of spoken grammar.

[The features that mark this as native speaker speech are]
• "Capacity to convey feelings."
• "The speaker is skillfully using a register in talking to a peer."

None of the respondents, however, referred explicitly to the affective or interactional function of spoken grammar.

5.2.2 Grammaticality: Analysis of the Follow-up Questionnaire

Question

The selection of quotations is explained in the methodology section, but for ease of reference the quotations used to probe further into teachers’ attitudes to grammaticality are repeated below:

1a) [The English in this example is] “informal, elliptical, not grammatical”

1b) [The English in this example shows] “flexible, but not incorrect use of grammar rules”

1c) [The speaker in the example is] “a young – probably uneducated person.”

The number in brackets after the comments below shows the quotation which prompted the response.
Results and commentary

We discuss below the themes which emerged from an analysis of the comments.

We saw above that very few teachers (8%) dismissed the language in the extract as plain wrong or 'ungrammatical'. The picture is similar in the follow-up questionnaire data, where none of the respondents considered the extract to be ungrammatical. We do, however, have the curious comment:

- "Not true [that it is ungrammatical] – grammar rules are not applicable." (1b)

This can only mean that the grammar rules of written language are not applicable.

We also have one respondent who appears to suggest that the test of grammaticality is whether s/he would say if her/himself:

- "I would say rather it's informal than 'not grammatical' – apart from the unusual 'I'm like' – which I've probably never said." (1a)

One respondent stopped just short of endorsing the extract as grammatical:

- "I'd agree that the language is informal and elliptical. I wouldn't say it's ungrammatical." (1a)

while another stopped just short of calling it ungrammatical:

- "I agree with informal and elliptical, but the utterance is not fully ungrammatical."

Overall, however, the respondents to the follow-up questionnaire took a broad view of grammar:

- "Definitely informal and elliptical. Whether or not it is grammatical depends on how you define this." (1a)

This question of what kind of grammar we are referring to was echoed by a number of respondents:

- "I agree on the fact that it is 'informal and elliptical' but I have reservations as concerns 'non-grammatical'. What grammar are we referring to here? Written grammar? If so, I agree. But what about the rules of spoken grammar?" (1a)
- "I agree! But I'd add 'not grammatical' in terms of prescriptive conventional grammar. But I reckon from a semantic, pragmatic and communicative point of view it is grammatical as it manages to convey the message." (1a)
There was one tentative reference to discourse grammar:

- “Discourse rules?”

Three respondents were unequivocal that the extract was grammatical in its own terms and that it followed the rules appropriate for this kind of speech:

- “It does have its own ‘grammar’, ‘I’m like’ and ‘she’s going’ are modern day ‘reported speech markers’” (1b)

The question as to who uses spoken grammar emerged. One respondent, foreshadowing the argument we make later that awareness of spoken grammar in the first language might prove a useful starting point for increasing awareness of spoken grammar in a second language, made the point that the notion of spoken grammar is not restricted to English and that he often heard the equivalent version in Turkish.

Another respondent, however, made the interesting distinction that the extract could only be regarded as grammatical for a native speaker and that the same utterance made by a non-native speaker might be ‘badly regarded’. The idea that the speaker was ‘uneducated’ enjoyed no support among the follow-up respondents, though some acknowledged that the use of ‘like’ probably indicated that she was young:

- “Probably a young person. Don’t know how you can so definitely judge the level of a person’s education by their speech! It’s clear that the speaker is changing register according to the social context.” (1c)
- “The use of ‘like’ suggests to me that it’s a young person, but impossible to say whether he/she is highly educated. He/she may well be!” (1e)
5.3 Exposure to Spoken Grammar – Results

5.3.1 Exposure to Spoken Grammar: Analysis of Questions 9b) and 9c)

Question

Please look at the actual recorded example of native speaker speech below and then answer the questions.

Disaster last night. Sat on the couch watching TV. The phone rings. It's my mum. I'm like "Oh No!" She's going "Do you want to come to America?"

b) The materials I use for listening and speaking practice show the students examples of the features I have noted above.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>5</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

c) I think the materials I use for listening and speaking practice should show the students examples of the features I have noted above.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>5</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Statistical Results 9b

Table 19 Materials and spoken grammar

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Strongly agree</th>
<th>agree</th>
<th>Not sure</th>
<th>disagree</th>
<th>Strongly disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All teachers</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native speakers</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-native speakers</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK teachers</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian teachers</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other countries</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Discussion

The figures seem remarkably consistent across the different groups. There is an indication that native speaker teachers and UK based teachers are slightly more inclined to use materials which show features of spoken grammar, but this should not surprise us. Perhaps the most surprising figure is that around a quarter of respondents in all groups are ‘not sure’ if their materials show features of spoken grammar or not.
As this appears to be a matter of fact rather than opinion, it raises the question of teachers’ knowledge of spoken grammar which we discussed above.

**Statistical Results 9c**

*Table 20 Materials and spoken grammar 2*

9c)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Strongly agree</th>
<th>agree</th>
<th>Not sure</th>
<th>disagree</th>
<th>Strongly disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All teachers</td>
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<td>37%</td>
<td><strong>23%</strong></td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native speakers</td>
<td>29%</td>
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<td><strong>25%</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Non-native speakers</td>
<td>33%</td>
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<td><strong>22%</strong></td>
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<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian teachers</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other countries</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td><strong>22%</strong></td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Discussion*

Once again the results are remarkably consistent across different groups. We need to note that here too around a quarter of all respondents are ‘not sure’ if their materials should show features of spoken grammar. There is, however, a clear majority who believe that their students should be exposed to such features.

*Teachers’ Comments*

We discuss below the themes which emerged from an analysis of the teachers’ comments relating to materials and spoken grammar.

The most common reason teachers gave to explain why they felt that students should be exposed to the kind of language in the extract was simply that it was ‘real life’ and that teachers have an obligation to prepare their learners for **real life communication**.
• "Authenticity of teaching materials demands it. Students should be exposed to a 'real life' language. They should know that the use of the language is culturally influenced."

The teachers who expressed this view seem either to presuppose that their students will have contact with native speakers or to believe that exposure to native speaker spoken grammar is important irrespective of their students' patterns of use. Not all teachers took this view:

• "Depends on students' needs. If living in UK and keen on culture and language, then yes. If overseas where English is lingua franca then no unless the culture element is required."

The most common reservation expressed by teachers was that only students at a higher level should be exposed to such language. It is interesting that one respondent who expressed this view also acknowledged that it is difficult to define what, if it does not include spoken grammar, core English is:

• "basic, neutral, 'standard' (all dangerous terms here!) English needs to be under control before trying to learn native speaker variations, if these need to be learnt at all."

5.3.2 Exposure to Spoken Grammar: Analysis of the follow-up questionnaire

The quotes used to probe more deeply into teachers' attitudes to spoken grammar in the classroom were:

3 [Students should be exposed to the kind of language in the example because] "authenticity of teaching materials demands it. Students should be exposed to a 'real life' language. They should know that the use of the language is culturally influenced."

3a) [The kind of language in the example] "shouldn't be presented as a model for speaking as it doesn't aid communicative efficiency."

3b) [If students used the kind of language in the example it] "would make [their] oral language much more vivid."

4a) "This kind of language is too complex for ss [students] unless they are living in an English-speaking country. Non-native to non-native speakers don't use this kind of language."

Again, the number in brackets after the comments below shows the quotation which prompted the response.
Comments in the follow-up questionnaire echoed those in the main questionnaire regarding the importance of exposing students to spoken language for the purpose of preparing them for real life communication:

- "Students should be exposed to ‘real life’ language otherwise when they hear it for the first time they are truly shocked." (2)

Other responses indicated that it was important for students to be exposed to native speaker spoken grammar whether or not their students anticipated contact with native speakers. These respondents noted that the students might come into contact with spoken grammar through the media, the internet, or even literature.

Similar reservations to those made in the main questionnaire were also expressed regarding the importance of taking into account level, and distinguishing between reception and production:

- "yes but care should be taken in the approach. This kind of language has very specific usage. Exposure, yes – but I wouldn’t recommend this as the standard to teach as the norm." (2)
- "Yes, for students with a high level of English. At lower levels it only confuses and discourages learners." (2)

Three respondents noted that even for the purposes of reception it was important to take into account the needs and wishes of the students, particularly in terms of their anticipated patterns of use of English in the future.

5.4 Using Spoken Grammar – Results

5.4.1 Students Using Spoken Grammar: Analysis of Question 9

- "In my opinion this is essential to improve my students ‘speaking’ skills. They should be exposed to ‘real’ spoken English not to ‘fake’ spoken English i.e. ‘written dialogues’"
It is implicit in this teacher's comment that the model to which the students are exposed should also be a model for production, but a reservation expressed by a number of teachers was that we should distinguish between language for reception and language for production. In fact, 14% of the respondents who completed this comment box referred to a distinction between reception and production. Although this is not in itself a large number, we need to bear in mind that the respondents were not asked to comment on production in the question: they raised the question themselves.

Two respondents pointed to specific difficulties for the non-native speaker in trying to use spoken grammar, arguing that 'playing' with language was the domain of the native speaker and that it was easy for students to misuse spoken grammar by using it in a formal context.

Two other respondents, however, made the interesting point that we might be able to discriminate between features of spoken grammar. *Some* features of spoken grammar – the use of the present simple in past narratives, for example, might also be useful for production.

The figures show that very few teachers were totally hostile to the idea of their students being exposed to native speaker spoken grammar. There are, however, a few teachers who obviously regard spoken grammar as irrelevant or inimical to their students:

- "this kind of language is too complex for ss unless they are living in an English-speaking country. Non-native to non-native speakers don't use this kind of language."
- "they don't need that for understanding. They don't need it to communicate effectively with people they need to speak English with (Non-natives)."

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5.4.2 Students Using Spoken Grammar: Analysis of the Follow-up Questionnaire

Respondents to the follow-up questionnaire were able to go into more detail about whether it would be useful for learners to produce spoken grammar. Some thought that it could, at least potentially, add something useful to their students' communicative repertoire:

- "Depends on what you mean by 'communicative efficiency' and purpose for and context in which the utterances are used." (3a)
- "In my opinion the kind of language in the extract is very effective and therefore achieves 'communicative efficiency'." (3a)

One teacher made the simple point that it might be interesting and fun to look at spoken grammar and might give the students cause to reflect on what communicative efficiency actually is.

With production as with reception, some teachers pointed out the need to take into account the needs, wishes and interaction patterns of the learners. There is also a hint that the learning styles/aptitudes of the learners are important:

- "Depends on the age of the learner - also depends on the level. Teenage, fairly advanced, linguistically aware learners are likely to hear it and assimilate it naturally."
- "...if the needs of the students necessitated integration with young people in informal situations, then the model could be replicated."

Some teachers had strong reservations about the desirability or possibility of students producing spoken grammar. One of the main fears seems to be that students would use spoken grammar inappropriately and/or incorrectly. Another fear was that students would not be able to use such language and sound natural:

- "...students need to be made fully aware of when it is appropriate to use such language and when it is not. I doubt really if there are that many occasions for a NNS when using this type of language would be appropriate - just with friends." (3b)
• "...it might be alien to the way in which they would operate in terms of their own personalities and communicative strategies."

Three respondents, however, noted that what makes it difficult for students to use spoken grammar appropriately is that **spoken grammar is not taught** and it is not taught because teachers are not familiar with the rules, and publishers will not produce materials that teachers are not comfortable with.

Another (non-native) respondent considered that spoken grammar could be useful even outside a native-speaking context as **some non-native speakers do use spoken grammar.**

**Discriminating between features of spoken grammar**

The respondents to the follow-up questionnaire were also asked to say if they thought any particular feature or features of spoken grammar might be useful for their students to produce. The quotation used to prompt a response was:

5 “Depending on the level, it would be very useful, for example, if students used present simple for historical past but some colloquial expressions such as those above would be less useful especially in an EFL context.”

*Which (if any) grammatical features typical of informal spoken English do you think it might be important for students to use?*

Not many teachers made specific suggestions here, but all the features in the extract enjoyed some support:

• "Tense shift can be useful for advanced learners – earlier levels will probably understand. Ellipsis is essential for understanding and probably for use in learners who wish to attain NS status. Fronting is commonly used in NS conversation."
• "Ellipsis – subject – 'see you soon' [ellipsis] – existential there+vb 'dreadful news, eh? ' delexical verbs + progressive 'She's going'."
• "All the examples you've provided, but in particular dramatic use of present tenses and spoken reported speech forms."
• "Not sure! I guess ellipsis is OK, but most of the others would sound odd in a person who doesn't master the language."

It is interesting that one teacher specified certain *types* of ellipsis:
“Features like:
- Leaving out the subject or object: *sat on the couch*
- Absence of ‘to do’ or other auxiliary in a question: *Want a cig? Been abroad before?*
- Echoing parts of another speaker’s remark, e.g. to indicate surprise: *(Again?; To Paris?)*"

Two respondents made the interesting suggestion that the students’ first language might be a good point of departure for teaching aspects of spoken grammar. In the case of Italian students, for example, as they often use subject ellipsis wrongly, it could be salutary to look at when it is appropriate to use ellipsis in English. In this sense, we can see that teaching spoken grammar need not necessarily be a distraction from teaching canonical grammar, but may actually reinforce it.

It is not really clear, however, on what basis the respondents were selecting certain features of spoken grammar (other than comparison with first language). Again, none of the respondents really mention the interactional or affective function of spoken grammar.

### 5.6 Teachers’ Reactions to Students’ Comments

*Speaking ‘correctly’*

1. “For me, I don’t want to learn it [informal grammar], because I’m a foreigner. I just want learn to speak and use English correctly.”

This student’s point of view received unqualified support from one respondent:

- “Fully agree.”

and a very sympathetic hearing from at least one other:
• “I can understand the student’s reaction. The danger for NNS when using such language is that NS may think they haven’t learnt the language very well in the first place – at least, that’s what I think NNS might think.”

Other teachers, while broadly sympathetic, suggested that teachers need to raise such students’ awareness of the nature of spoken language and specifically to raise their awareness of what ‘correct’ English is:

• “I think we should honour the sentiments expressed, while gradually making clear that there is a difference between spoken and written English.”
• “Correct (appropriate) English varies according to context. Ss should be able to recognise/ascertain the suitability of language to a particular situation.”

Other teachers were actually more dismissive of the student’s attitude, arguing that the student was condemning himself to ‘a blinkered view of language’, ‘a limited communicative range’, and a ‘risk-avoiding strategy’.

The limitations of canonical grammar

2. “When you talk to native speakers you try to say whole sentences… it becomes boring… people lose concentration easily.”

This view enjoyed sympathy from two teachers, one appearing to have had a similar experience:

• “This is true. I experienced hardship when I was in the USA doing my studies. In contexts where people got together to have fun, I felt very much out of it and got embarrassed.”
• “This is possibly a fault of teaching – expecting students to speak ‘text-book’ language.”

Two other respondents, however, made the plausible argument that it may be this student’s pronunciation and not her inability to use aspects of spoken grammar which is causing her interlocutors’ eyes to glaze over.

Classroom Grammar and ‘Real’ Grammar

3. “We learn a lot of grammar, but in real life native speakers didn’t use it.”
This view was unequivocally endorsed by one respondent:

- "I agree. What should be noted is that the grammar of spoken language is never taught. The grammar foreign students learn is the grammar of written English so they speak like written books!"

and received a sympathetic hearing from another:

- "Half way there – appreciation of what native speakers ‘do’ with grammar when speaking is the next step."

One teacher, however, made the important point that, although native speakers might not always use canonical grammar in speech, they know it, and know when to use it. Two respondents noted that this student’s view simply showed a narrow view of grammar, whether on the part of the student or his teacher, arguing that ‘grammar permeates all language use’ and that good teaching should focus on ‘use not usage’.

5.5 Spoken Grammar and International Communication

The quotations used to prompt responses in this section were:

- [The estimate that 80% of communication in English is between non-native speakers] “should maybe leave us somewhat more tolerant; on the other hand, you should equip your learners for more than mere survival, and for contact with native speakers.”

- [Spending lots of time teaching colloquial language to business people, who may never meet a native] “is a waste of valuable time. More time should be spent with natives teaching them to adjust their speech.”

Two respondents argued that communication is a shared responsibility and that we need to learn how to ‘deal with people from other language and cultural backgrounds’. Part of this shared responsibility might involve native speakers learning to ‘adjust’ their language to avoid too many colloquialisms.

The theme of flexible communication highlighted in earlier chapters re-emerged:
• “I think what we need to equip our students with is the ability to get their meaning across to the listener – whether NNS or NS. This may not necessarily mean lots of grammar, but the ability to circumlocute, use synonyms/near synonyms, speak appropriately in different contexts, and negotiate meaning.”

The idea that teaching spoken grammar could simply be interesting and fun, whether or not it was necessary for communication was also raised. While one respondent pointed to the need to be aware of the international status of English, and to ‘tolerant and not prescriptive’, it is interesting that another teacher questioned the assumption that the English used between non-native speakers is some kind of minimalist lingua franca:

• “.... who says the communication between non-native speakers is for ‘mere survival’?”

And we are reminded of the dangers of drifting towards such a minimalist lingua franca:

• “As teachers we should be aware of the danger of contributing to creating a type of English which is sterile and does not reflect the living language as it is used in countries where it is the first language.”

5.7 Chapter Summary

Before looking at specific conclusions from our data, we must acknowledge its limitations: the respondents to the original teacher questionnaire based their comments on only a tiny sample of spoken data. We should also note, on the other hand, that teachers were happy to volunteer responses based on this sample. They raised interesting and important issues, but they were not constrained to discuss these issues in response to a tiny sample.
We can argue, then, that our evidence is robust enough to support the following conclusions:

1. While the evidence from the previous chapter suggested that most teachers wanted their students to be able to use both formal and informal grammar, there is strong evidence in this chapter that teachers have serious reservations about their students using features of native speaker spoken grammar. This shows once again the value of having qualitative data, and of having 2 angles on the same question. It also suggests that the term ‘informal grammar’ was too vague to allow teachers to make an informed judgement.

2. There is a good degree of consensus that students should be exposed to materials which incorporate features of native speaker spoken grammar. However, around a quarter of teachers were in the ‘not sure’ category. This suggests that we need to revisit the question and give teachers more data on which to base their judgements.

3. There is little evidence of outright hostility to native speaker spoken grammar, but there is some uncertainty among teachers as to the grammatical status of features which corpora have shown to be widespread in native speaker spoken English. Even among teachers who regard such features as perfectly acceptable, there is a tendency to use the written norm as a point of reference. The ambivalence of some teachers’ attitude towards spoken grammar is neatly encapsulated in the following descriptions which seem to have internal contradictions (the highlighting is mine):
4. Terminology to describe features of spoken grammar is not common currency among teachers. Teachers are not very familiar with the notion of interactional or affective grammar and tend to label spoken grammar features as 'informal' and bracket them with idioms and colloquialisms. Very few teachers entertain the idea of identifying certain features of spoken grammar which might be more useful than others.

5. Some teachers take a broad view of what grammar is and feel that students should do likewise.

I would like to finish this chapter with 2 further comments from teachers. One provides an interesting summary of the position of spoken language of teaching, a summary which does not exactly reflect, but is not totally at variance with our data. It is, at any rate, an interesting insight into one teacher’s perceptions:

- “Real ‘spoken’ English is something teachers know very little about. They don’t know where to start from to teach it (supposing they wanted to do so). There are no textbooks on the market to help them. The dialogues we get as models are ‘written speech’ and they are a ‘genre’ of their own. They offer a model of something that does not exist outside school classrooms. It’s only now that people are starting to realize that there’s a difference between spoken and written language. But it will take time before there may be a real change in teaching practice.”

The other quotation points to the difficulty of finding an appropriate model for the classroom:

- “By all means expose students to the language for comprehension but I don’t think we want them to reproduce it. Having said all that, I tend to avoid teaching ‘traditional’ reported speech nowadays (except for formal writing) because fewer and fewer people use it in informal speech.”
This teacher seems prepared to reject an aspect of canonical grammar, yet not ready to embrace corpus-attested native speaker grammar as a model for production. This rather sums up the dilemma for the researcher interested in corpus-informed materials design: can we cater for teachers who recognise that the forms currently taught are not those used by native speakers in speech, but are not (currently) willing to accept the corpus-attested forms as a model for production?
6.0 Introduction: The Case for Spoken Grammar Materials

Through the literature review, and through our research questionnaires, we can argue that we have made, at the least, a strong *prima facie* case for developing ELT materials which raise awareness of features of spoken grammar hitherto neglected. We can also argue that, if we are mindful of concerns expressed by teachers, students, and other commentators, such materials need not, to use Modiano’s (2001: 339) phrase ‘compromise the cultural integrity of the learner’. In 1.5.2 and 1.5.3, when we looked at geopolitical descriptions of the English-speaking world, and at definitions of the native speaker, we outlined a sociolinguistic framework for our materials which addressed such concerns about the ‘cultural integrity’ of the learner.

It is worth briefly recapitulating the evidence on which our case rests:

1. In the literature review we discussed insights from spoken corpora which showed that pervasive features of spoken grammar, for example ellipsis, were either ignored or scantily treated in ELT materials. We noted that such features were of potential value to learners, at least receptively, as they constituted part of the affective or interactional grammar of native speakers.
2. Our research indicated that there was significant, but not unanimous desire, on the part of both teachers and students, to conform to native speaker norms. This desire was stronger for grammatical norms than for pronunciation norms.

3. Both students and teachers expressed an interest in conforming to 'informal spoken grammar', though it is important to remember that they were less committed to spoken grammar norms when confronted with an example.

4. There was a consensus among teachers that students, at least at higher levels, should be exposed to features of grammar which are typical of native speaker speech.

We must also acknowledge that some of our research findings set limits on how far we can go with the teaching of spoken grammar, a point to which we return later.

This would seem to be an opportune point in our research, then, to develop materials, consistent with our research findings, which raise awareness of features of spoken grammar. At least three advantages should accrue from the process of developing materials:

1. We will be able to see if the theoretical position we have adopted can be translated into effective practice.

2. Constructing our materials in line with research-based principles should show these principles in sharp relief.

3. If we get teachers and students to evaluate the materials, we will have further evidence against which to test our *prima facie* case. In particular, we will be able, through our materials, to present teachers and students with more examples of
spoken grammar and thus get more reliable evidence of their attitudes towards spoken grammar.

We need to acknowledge here that in deciding to develop pilot materials for the purposes of our research, we are committing ourselves to a particular approach to teaching spoken grammar. That is, we will need to deliberately seek out a text which includes examples of the type of features we are interested in. It is important to note, however, that this is not the only, nor necessarily the best approach for pedagogic, rather than research purposes. Another approach, without the constraints of research purposes, would be to provide teachers and materials writers with the language awareness and methodological template necessary to be able to teach spoken grammar opportunistically. That is, to enable them to teach spoken grammar when they come across it in texts selected according to other criteria, rather than texts which have been selected because they contain specific linguistic features. There is, of course, no reason why both approaches should not be used in harness in the real teaching world.

To illustrate the potential of 'opportunistic' materials development for spoken grammar, I would like to point out some features of a unit of materials I recently wrote as part of a materials writing project for Singaporean secondary schools. For reasons of space, I have not been able to include the unit in this thesis.

The key features were:

1. The texts were chosen initially because they fitted the theme of the unit and were likely to interest the local target audience (Singaporean teenagers), not because they included spoken grammar features.
2. The unit forms part of a secondary school coursebook (*Life Accents 4*) which prepares pupils for the Singapore 'O' level English examination. This demonstrates the possibility, then, of integrating spoken grammar work in mainstream coursebooks.

3. The unit has been accepted by Times publishers – arguably a form of piloting in itself.

4. The spoken grammar features are used by local speakers, including a famous Asian pop star, Coco Lee, a nightclub owner and a radio presenter.

Before developing the pilot materials for this thesis, we need to discuss the important issues involved in this kind of materials design and to produce a set of design specifications with a clear rationale. The issues in materials design for spoken grammar can be encapsulated in two fundamental questions:

1. What kind of spoken data are we going to provide in the classroom?
2. What are we and, more importantly, the students, going to do with this data in the classroom?

We will look, then, at these issues of spoken data and methodology.

### 6.1 Spoken Data in the Classroom

As we have argued that the features of spoken grammar in which we are interested are crucially discourse-sensitive, there will be a natural preference to illustrate them through texts rather than isolated sentences, at least for the students' first encounter with the features. We will also want the students to hear the text. Although we may
not be able to make precise observations about the pronunciation characteristics of spoken grammar, the pronunciation features will at least give important clues as to the type of interaction taking place and the emotions and attitudes of the speakers. We will also be able to use the texts as straight listening work which, as we will argue later, might form part of a ‘soft sell’ integrated approach to teaching spoken grammar. Carter, Hughes and McCarthy (1998) express the concern that text-based work on spoken grammar will confound the expectations of learners and teachers for sentence-based work on grammar. However, even within traditional presentation models of canonical grammar, it is not unusual for the initial encounter with a target item to be through a text, and the increasing use of task-based methodologies should make learners and teachers more familiar with the idea of looking at grammar in discourse context. Nor need we completely rule out sentence-based work. It might, for example, be useful as supplementary work for those who want to get productive control of an item.

An obvious and crucial question for a materials designer with an interest in spoken grammar is whether to use naturally occurring texts, or specially constructed texts, or some combination of both. Given that our interest is in grammatical features which are common in corpus-attested discourse, but neglected, we have argued, in teaching materials, the case for using ‘authentic texts’ looks compelling at first sight. Let us examine, then, the case for using authentic texts before looking at what objections there might be to their use.
6.2.1 The Case for Authentic Texts

The notion of what constitutes an authentic text is, in one sense, unproblematic. Different commentators have produced quite straightforward definitions with a good degree of consensus between them:

- "[An authentic text is] created to fulfil some social purpose in the language community in which it was produced" (Little et al 1989: 25).
- "[An authentic text is] A text which is not written or spoken for language teaching purposes" (Tomlinson 1988: viii)
- "Authentic texts (either written or spoken) are those which are designed for native speakers: they are real texts designed not for language teachers, but for the speakers of the language in question" (Harmer 1983: 146)

What are the advantages of using texts which meet these criteria for authenticity? Sinclair (1991: 6) stresses the importance of studying real language: "One does not study all of botany by making artificial flowers." This emphasis on reflecting reality is echoed by Carter, Hughes and McCarthy (1998: 69) who argue that while specially constructed texts may have their value, they do not give a true picture of how the language is used in real life: "...the language of the coursebook represents a ‘can do’ society in which interaction is generally smooth and trouble-free; the speakers cooperate with each other politely; the conversation is neat, tidy and predictable; utterances are almost as complete as sentences and no-one interrupts anyone else or speaks at the same time as anyone else."

It is one thing to argue that only authentic texts can show real language use, but why do learners need to be exposed to real language use? Guariento and Morley (2001: 257)
347) refer to the ‘expectation that exposing students to the language of the real world will help them acquire an effective receptive competence in the target language’. They also refer to the potential motivational value of authentic texts: ‘...The use of authentic texts is now considered to be one way of maintaining or increasing students’ motivation for learning. They give the learner the feeling that he or she is learning the ‘real’ language; that they are in touch with a living entity, the target language as it is used by the community which speaks it’ (Guariento and Morley 2001: 347). Yuk-chun Lee (1995: 324) notes that the fact that authentic texts were produced for a communicative purpose means that they will be suited to ‘provide for their [the students’] longer term communicative needs’. Tomlinson (1998: 13) argues that ‘exposure to authentic use of the target language is necessary but not sufficient for the acquisition of that language’. He is quite specific about the kind of authentic data to which learners should be exposed: ‘Ideally materials at all levels should provide frequent exposure to authentic input which is rich and varied. In other words the input should vary in style, mode, medium and purpose, and should be rich in features which are characteristic of authentic discourse in the target language’ (Tomlinson 1998: 13). Widdowson (1996: 67) summarises the case for using authentic texts thus: ‘The argument runs along the following lines. If you are going to teach real English as it functions in contextually appropriate ways, rather than a collection of linguistic forms in contrived classroom situations, then you need to refer to, and defer to, how people who have the language as an L1 actually put it to communicative use.’
6.2.2 The Case against Authentic Texts

**Authenticity and Autonomy**

Reservations about and objections to the use of authentic texts in the classroom have been made on two main and related grounds: students will not be able to relate to the context and students will not be able to make sense of the language. Widdowson (1996,1998) and Alptekin (2002) have pointed to a fundamental contradiction between the goal of using authentic texts to expose students to real native speaker use, and the pedagogic goal of autonomous learning which requires us to 'appeal to the learners' own experience and get them engaged on their own terms' (Widdowson 1996: 67). Before looking at their arguments in detail, we need to be clear about what is meant by 'learner autonomy' in this context.

Though 'learner autonomy' has become a fashionable word in recent years, it seems to be a multi-faceted phenomenon with no single accepted definition. Benson and Voeller (1997: 2) describe 5 different ways in which the term is used:

1. for situations in which learners study entirely on their own;
2. for a set of skills which can be learned and applied in self-directed learning;
3. for an inborn capacity which is suppressed by institutional education;
4. for the exercise of learners' responsibility for their own learning;
5. for the right of learners to determine the direction of their own learning.

As we are concerned with the relation between learner autonomy and materials for classroom use, we will primarily be interested in learner autonomy in the sense of learners taking responsibility for their own learning and determining the direction of
their own learning (4 and 5 above). Thansoulas (2002) notes that it is useful to look at concepts of learner autonomy in the context of dominant philosophical approaches to learning. Learner autonomy, in the sense we are now using it, is consistent with both constructivist and critical theory philosophies of learning. Constructivism rejects a transmissive model of learning and stresses the active role of the learner in making meaning from 'the perplexing maelstrom of events and ideas in which they find themselves caught up' (Candy 1991: 254). In common with constructivism, critical theory approaches to learning also see the learner as actively engaged in the process of learning, but they see knowledge not as reflecting reality, but as reflecting 'competing ideological versions of that reality expressing the interests of different social groups' (Benson and Voeller 1997: 22). It is, as Thansoulas (2002) remarks, the 'social and political character' of critical theory approaches which distinguish them from constructivism.

Against this background, we can define learner autonomy as 'essentially a matter of the learner's psychological relation to the process and content of learning...a capacity for detachment, critical reflection, decision-making and independent action' (Little 1991: 4). And we can see the autonomous learner as '...a self-activated maker of meaning, an active agent in his own learning process. He is not one to whom things happen; he is the one who, by his own volition, causes things to happen. Learning is seen as the result of his own self-initiated interaction with the world' (Rathbone 1971 quoted in Candy 1991: 271).
In terms of classroom materials, then, to be consistent with learner autonomy, they will need to encourage learners to invest themselves in the learning process. To achieve that goal, the materials will need to meet the following criteria:

1. They will need to produce a positive psychological reaction from the learner.
2. They will need to offer learners choice in what they learn and how they learn it.
3. They will encourage learners to adopt a critical stance to what they are learning.

In relation to the authenticity debate, the question is: can authentic texts, which are necessarily from a context which is alien to the learner, produce a positive psychological reaction?

For Alptekin (2002: 61) the use of authentic texts necessarily has a detrimental effect on learner autonomy: “Clearly, with authenticity being dependent on the authority of the native speaker, the notion of learner autonomy suffers dramatically, as it focuses on the activation of the learners’ own experience in the use of language as part of their learning.” Authentic texts, according to Widdowson (1998: 705) will not allow students to engage with language on their own terms because they are embedded in a local discourse context: “Its [real language] reality is local, pragmatically realised in relation to the contexts of particular communities. Members of the community, insiders, can understand what is going on and participate in the achievement of meaning in the discourse process. But outsiders, who are not in the know, cannot make the necessary contextual connection to make appropriate meaning.”
What is Real English?

Alptekin (2002: 61) objects that 'Real communicative behaviour [in the communicative approach] is defined strictly in terms of 'the parochial milieu and the fuzzy notion of the native speaker'. He goes on to argue that the notion of real English should be extended to include interactions between non-native speakers: "It is becoming increasingly apparent that real communicative behaviour ought to be redefined in relation to the reality of English as an International language, entailing not only the uses of English that are real for its native speakers in English-speaking countries, but also the uses of English that are real for its non-native speakers in communities served by languages other than English" (Alptekin 2002: 61).

Widdowson (1998: 705) disputes whether we can talk about real English at all when it has been removed from its discourse context: "The real English that its promoters talk about refers not to the discourse reality of communicative uses of the language but to its textual trace." In similar vein, O'Keeffe (2000) has challenged the notion of 'real English' and noted the dangers of using real spoken interaction in the classroom. Taking up Sinclair's analogy of artificial flowers, quoted above, she remarks: "...in the case of studying real spoken interaction data in the classroom, we are dealing with dried flowers: spoken interactions plucked from their natural contexts and modes (written down etc). When interactions are 'dried' of life, transcribed into print and put before a language learner, there is latent danger of not only misinterpretation semantically, but also pragmatically." As authentic texts come from native speaker contexts, they can never be real for the learner: "Authenticity concerns the reality of native speaker language use...But the language which is real for native speakers is not likely to be real for learners." (Widdowson 1996: 67). This point about the relativity
of real language is taken up by Prodromou (1998: 266): “What is real for the native speaker may also be real, say, for the learner studying in Britain, but it may be unreal for the EFL learner in Greece and surreal for the ESL learner in Calcutta.” Widdowson (1996: 67) underlines the contradiction between “The authenticity idea [which] gives primacy to the goal of learning... [and] The autonomy idea [which] gives primacy to the process of learning”. He argues for the use of specially constructed texts where “the emphasis is not on the language which will be appropriate in contexts of use, but on the language that can be appropriated in contexts of learning”. Authenticity is not a quality inherent in the text, but one bestowed by the learners and thus he argues “against using authentic language in the classroom on the fairly reasonable grounds that it is actually impossible to do so. The language cannot be authentic because the classroom cannot provide the contextual conditions for it to be authenticated by the learners” (Widdowson 1998: 705).

Perspectives on Authenticity

Widdowson is not alone in presenting a complex picture of authenticity and in seeing it as a relative rather than an absolute quality. Yuk-chun Lee (1995: 323) distinguishes between ‘text authenticity’ ‘defined in terms of the origin of materials’ and ‘learner authenticity’ which ‘refers to the learner’s interaction with them, in terms of appropriate responses and positive psychological reaction’. This distinction is parallel to Widdowson’s (1978: 80) between ‘genuineness’ and ‘authenticity’:

“Genuineness is a characteristic of the passage itself and is an absolute quality. Authenticity is a characteristic of the relationship between the passage and the reader and it has to do with appropriate response.” Carter (1998: 46) prefers to talk about
texts which contain real language and texts which have 'pedagogically reality'. Breen (1985: 61) (cited in Taylor 1994) describes four different types of authenticity:

1. Authenticity of the texts which we may use as input data for our learners.
2. Authenticity of the learners' own interpretation of such texts.
3. Authenticity of the tasks conducive to language learning.
4. Authenticity of the actual social situation of the classroom.

The relativity of authenticity is stressed by Bachmann 1990: 310 (cited in Taylor 1994): “When one claims that this is real, another will quickly ask to whom, in whose eyes, where, when, with what intent, at what level of proficiency, perceived level of proficiency and so on? It's a more or less affair, dependent on this and that.”

The Linguistic Accessibility of Authentic Texts

Even if we can find authentic spoken texts with contexts accessible to our learners, there may well be practical linguistic difficulties which make them pedagogically ineffective. Gavioli and Aston (2001: 240) have noted that it is difficult to find a particular corpus text which illustrates typical usage: “The chances of finding a corpus text which illustrates typical usage is (sic) minimal, so if we want to propose a model of conversation at the hairdresser’s, we will almost certainly do better to use an invented dialogue than a corpus extract – though we may want to compare it with corpus extracts before using it.” Similarly, Willis and Willis (1996: 68) remark that it is not usually possible to find an authentic text which has sufficient examples of a target feature: “It is usually necessary to supplement a given text from other sources in order to find enough illustrative examples of a particular language item.” Lexical difficulty and the ‘discourse world of reference’ are other factors which, as Carter,
Hughes and McCarthy (1998) note, can affect the accessibility of an authentic text. Though not strictly linguistic in nature, discourse references such as place names or brand names will appear as unknown items to the learner and can be just as off-putting as lexical problems. Carter, Hughes and McCarthy (1998) note that features of spoken grammar tend to occur in clusters, which might make it difficult to isolate one feature for attention.

Reservations have also been expressed about the use of real spoken interaction data on the grounds of the pedagogic usefulness of the language used. Widdowson (1998: 705) argues that often 'authentic language' is "linguistically inexplicit because it is context dependent". Cook (1998: 61) is rather more judgmental and complains that much everyday language use is 'inarticulate, impoverished and inexpressive'. Biber et al (1999: 1052) observe that 'it is commonly supposed that dysfluency is so pervasive a feature of ordinary speech that, by the standard of written language, spoken language is grammatically inchoate'. McCarthy (1998) concedes that many of the structures which are interesting for spoken grammarians are present in the most banal exchanges. As Phillips (2000), commenting on the language of postcards, remarks, it is difficult to recapture 'the authenticity of the inconsequential'.

6.2.3 Principled Text Selection

We have seen, then, that there has been much debate about the nature and value of authenticity. Indeed, Taylor (1994: 6) complains that there has been too much: "It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that much of this debate is sterile, since the only satisfactory position must be the relativist one of 'It all depends'. We therefore do well not to worry too much about such matters and to concentrate instead on the use
and interpretation of texts which alone can make them authentic." While describing the debate as 'sterile' overstates the case, it is certainly possible to argue that the notion of authenticity has been over-problematised and that terms such as 'learner authenticity', 'task authenticity' and 'genuineness' are not particularly helpful to the teacher, though they may sustain academic debate. It is quite possible to challenge the merits of authenticity without trying to redefine it. If students don’t respond well to authentic texts, it doesn’t make the texts 'learner inauthentic' or mean, to use Nunan’s term, that the students have 'de-authenticated' them; it simply means that they haven’t found them useful or interesting. If a student responds well to a specially constructed text, it doesn’t make the text 'authentic' in any real sense. It simply makes it effective. For all the proliferation of terms, there seems to be one common, straightforward message from different commentators: authentic texts are not necessarily pedagogically effective, and inauthentic texts are not necessarily pedagogically ineffective.

We should also note that those who question the validity of using authentic texts need to be clear about the alternatives they are proposing: on what basis should specially constructed texts be designed? There would seem to be 3 alternatives:

1. A corpus-informed approach i.e. modelling texts on authentic data as suggested by Carter, Hughes and McCarthy (1998).

2. Intuition-based texts i.e. texts composed by materials writers based on their intuitions as to what is 'normal, natural English'.

3. Language-driven texts i.e. texts composed to illustrate a particular language point or points without particular regard for naturalness.
The first of these alternatives will not satisfy those who are sceptical in general about the influence on language teaching of native speaker corpora. The second depends on intuition being reliable which, we have already argued, it is not. And even if intuition could be shown to be sufficiently reliable, we would surely not want the language experience of the learner to be circumscribed by the idiolect of the particular materials writer or writers, most of whom, in my experience are white, middle class, native speakers. The third alternative seems to offer the learner impoverished exposure to the language and to be in potential conflict with the need to make texts intrinsically interesting.

There is certainly a case, then, for following the pragmatic line advocated by Hutchinson and Waters (1987) and Kramsch (1993) (both cited in Taylor 1994):

"We should not be looking for some abstract concept of authenticity, but rather the practical concept of fitness to learning purpose" (Hutchinson and Waters 1987, p159)

"All pedagogy is an artefact of educational discourse. Therefore we need to measure what goes on in the classroom against the communicative and educational goals of the particular context, not against some notion of authenticity" (Kramsch 1993, p184).

If we adopt such a pragmatic line, we can argue that, irrespective of authenticity, our texts should meet two criteria:

They should have the potential to engage students.

They should show our target features in their natural discourse contexts.
Including authentic texts

I am going to argue that we should make selective use of authentic texts (henceforward I will use the term 'authentic' in the sense of Widdowson's (1978) 'genuine'). I will argue this on the grounds that, in dealing with spoken grammar, some authentic texts will be particularly fit for our purposes. While acknowledging some of the reservations about the use of authentic texts, it is difficult to gainsay two simple but powerful arguments in favour: they provide preparation for real-life communicative encounters and they are at least likely to show target features in their natural contexts of use and with their natural co-text. These arguments have particular resonance in the context of teaching features of spoken grammar. Nor should we ignore the fact that authentic texts have the potential to engage students. Despite her distinction between 'text authenticity' and 'learner authenticity', Yuk-chun Lee (1995: 324) remarks that "Because of their intrinsically communicative quality, textually authentic materials tend to have greater potential for being made learner authentic than textually inauthentic materials".

We can also allay some of the reservations expressed about the use of authentic texts. Widdowson (1996, 1998) appears to contend that discourse constructed in native speaker contexts will *ipse facto* be inaccessible to learners. This view seems to credit the learner with no curiosity about a different context and no ability to recreate, at least partially, that context from his/her experience or imagination. McCarthy (2002)\(^2\) has remarked that linguists spend a great deal of their time 'recontextualising' language. Are we to suppose that this is a skill unique to professional linguists?

Tomlinson (2000), discussing the use of literature in language teaching, has argued that a context which, at first sight, appears ‘culture-bound’ (vinegar in a fish and chip shop, for example) can be made accessible if it can be related to a parallel context in the learner’s culture. Gavioli and Aston (2001: 241) consider that the problem of relating to an alien context can be overcome by ‘adopting a critical, analytic perspective’. The learner becomes an observer, not an absorber of the culture. Unfortunately, they add another dimension to authenticity: “...there is an alternative way of authenticating discourse, by adopting the role of an observer.” It is worth questioning what the alternatives to native speaker contexts are. Alptekin (2002: 62) notes that the cultural content can come from the “familiar and indigenous features of the local setting so as to motivate the students and enhance their language learning experience”. On the other hand, he notes that the weakness of such approaches is that “they fall short of recognising the international status of English, and fail to provide an alternative to the conventional view that a language cannot be taught separately from its culture” (Alptekin 2002: 62). We can add that there is no guarantee whatsoever that students will find this approach ‘motivating’ and that, in the absence of any supporting evidence, Alptekin may simply be projecting his own views onto the students. Further, it can be argued that the autonomy argument cuts both ways: if it turns out that students do want to find out about native speaker cultures and to use authentic texts, then denying them this access will have a detrimental effect on learner autonomy. Alptekin (2002: 62) remarks that the culture of international English can be seen as the ‘world itself’. We can acknowledge that while pointing out that native speaker cultures are a part of that world, and that our research suggests that many students retain an interest in native speaker varieties of the language.
We can also argue that the use of authentic texts does not mean that, to use Widdowson’s (1996: 67) term, learners have to ‘refer and defer to’ the native speaker model. While there are certainly ‘expert users’ outside native speaker communities, it is always likely that, by dint of practice, there will be a large number of ‘expert users’ within native speaker communities who will provide a useful point of reference for learners. However, as we have already noted that production will not be a high priority in our materials, we will not be asking learners to defer to native speaker models. Similarly, we can respond to the question posed by Carter, Hughes and McCarthy (1998: 86): “Is it unrealistic to expect non-native speakers to be able to or even want to express feelings, attitudes, interpersonal sensitivity in the target language?” It probably is unrealistic to expect learners to want to do those things, but, our research has shown, it is probably quite reasonable to expect them to show an interest in how those things are done. Indeed, as Gavioli and Aston (2001: 240) point out: “There is, however, no reason to assume that the materials we present to learners should constitute models for imitation (were this the case, it would be difficult to imagine a role for literature, advertising or other ‘creative’ genres in the classroom) and it would be wrong to expect corpus data to do so either.”

6.2.4 Criteria for Selecting Authentic Texts

We noted above the need for selective use of authentic texts. We need now to look at the criteria we might use to select appropriate authentic texts. We will be able to add to and refine these criteria as pilot materials.
1. Engagement

Tomlinson (1998: 7) outlines a set of principles for materials design, and his first principle is that “Materials should achieve impact.” They need to attract the learner’s ‘curiosity, interest, and attention’. While we can agree with Gavioli and Aston (2001) that some students can be interested as observers of language, we must not fall into the trap of assuming that learners will be interested in any spoken language simply because it is authentic.

2. Accessibility of the context

We have argued above that learners may be more robust in their ability to relate to and take an interest in alien contexts than some commentators allow. We should acknowledge, however, that there are limits: a conversation in a cricket changing room, for example.

3. Density of spoken features

Clearly we need texts which include examples of the features we are interested in. As we have noted above, however, there may be a problem if there are clusters of spoken features which make it difficult to isolate one or two features for attention. It is possible for texts to be either too dense or too sparse in target features.

4. Linguistic explicitness

Where meaning in the interaction is highly context-dependent, as in certain language-in-action encounters, for example, it may be impossible for the learner to make sense of the text.
5. Density of cultural reference

If the text is too dense with local cultural reference, it may be impossible for the learner to make sense of the text.

6. Lexical difficulty

If the text is too dense with unknown lexis, it may be impossible for the learner to make sense of the text.

Widdowson (1996: 68) asked the following challenging question: "Authentic language is, in principle, incompatible with autonomous language learning. Or is it? Are there ways of reconciling these contraries?" I am going to argue that if we can satisfy the criteria above, we can reconcile the contraries.

6.2.5 Including Specially Constructed Texts

In this category, I include texts written by the materials designer, adaptations of authentic texts and literary dialogues. The case for including specially texts rests quite simply on the difficulty of finding sufficient texts which meet the above criteria, if rigorously applied. As Carter (1998: 45) remarks: "There is a tension between truth to the language and pedagogic judgement." If we cannot find sufficient authentic texts which are also pedagogically effective, we will have to modify these texts or use specially constructed texts. In modifying or constructing texts we should, however, keep in mind the findings of spoken corpora: "One conclusion reached so far in the preparation of discourse materials is that a middle ground needs to be occupied which involves modelling data on authentic patterns" (Carter, Hughes and McCarthy 1998: 82).
6.3 Methodology for Spoken Grammar Materials

6.3.1 Principles from Second Language Acquisition Research

Having selected our texts, how can we then exploit them in a principled way? Tomlinson (1998: 5–6), while acknowledging that findings from second language acquisition research are provisional, and not always consistent, argues that it is important to ground our materials in research-based materials: “It is true that we should not expect definitive answers from second language acquisition research (SLA), nor should we expect one research-based model of language acquisition to triumph over all others...But that should not stop us from applying what we do know about second and foreign language learning to the development of materials designed to facilitate that process.”

The first conclusion that we can draw from second language research is that it is unlikely to be sufficient simply to expose our students to spoken data: “Recent findings seem to indicate that an orientation which aims solely to develop communicative competence in language learners may deprive them of the opportunity to focus on form, both at the macro/discourse level and at the micro/grammatical level” (Riggenbach 1990). In this respect, even allowing for the fact that production of spoken grammar features is not a priority for us, Basturkmen’s (2001: 7) observation is interesting: “Some published ELT materials are devoted almost entirely to general spoken activities and communication tasks, and scarcely incorporate any language focus. For example, the speaking syllabus in Headway Advanced (Soars and Soars) consists entirely of topics for discussion. By contrast, the writing syllabus comprises a number of specific language focused items...” The
danger here, as Basturkmen (2001: 7–8) notes, is that: “By focusing on practice alone, the learner can remain tied to a limited awareness and a potentially fossilized repertoire of interactive strategies and language use.”

Carter, Hughes and McCarthy (1998: 79), drawing principally on work by Ellis (1991) and Fotos (1994), summarise the results of recent research in second language acquisition which are of relevance to spoken grammar materials design:

- A focus on structure may have long-term benefits;
- A precipitate emphasis on production may be counter-productive;
- It can be beneficial to use tasks which focus first on meaning then on form;
- It is helpful to use personal interpretive strategies.

If a precipitate emphasis on production is counter-productive, the traditional PPP – presentation-practice-production – paradigm would seem to be theoretically unsound. While noting this, we need not become too embroiled in the general theoretical debate about the merits of PPP, as there are at least two other reasons why this paradigm does not suit our purposes:

1. In spoken grammar, in particular, it is hard to produce hard, fast, digestible production rules.
2. Production is not a high priority for us anyway.

If we are not primarily concerned with getting our students to produce our target forms, what do we want to happen? Recent research has produced a number of different terms to describe processes which seem to be very similar: ‘noticing’, ‘consciousness-raising’, ‘awareness-raising’, ‘language awareness’. Let us see first
what is involved in these processes and then where they might take us in terms of classroom practice.

6.3.2 Awareness-Raising Approaches

Batstone (1996, p273) quotes a definition by Schmidt (1990) of noticing: "In psycholinguistic research, there is a particular interest in the intake of grammar as a result of learners paying conscious attention to the input; this kind of intake is known as noticing."

Batstone (1996, p273) goes on to provide a more detailed description of noticing: "Noticing is a complex process: it involves the intake both of meaning and of form, and it takes time for learners to progress from initial recognition to the point where they can internalise the underlying rule." For acquisition to take place, two types of noticing are necessary according to Thornbury (1997: 326):

1. Learners must attend to linguistic features of the input that they are exposed to, without which input cannot become 'intake'.

2. Learners must 'notice the gap' i.e. make comparisons between the current state of their developing linguistic system, as realized in their output, and the target language system, available as input.

Consciousness-raising is summarised by Willis and Willis (1996: 64), drawing on the work of Ellis (1993) thus:

- The attempt to isolate a specific linguistic feature for focused attention;
- The provision of data which illustrate the target feature;
- The requirement that learners utilize intellectual effort to understand the targeted feature.
Tomlinson (1998: x.) provides the following definition of language awareness approaches: “Approaches to language teaching which emphasise the value of helping learners to focus attention on features of language in use. Most such approaches emphasise the importance of learners gradually developing their own awareness of how the target language is used through discoveries which they make themselves.”

We can see that these different terms – noticing, consciousness-raising, language awareness – overlap more than they differ. There is an emphasis on drawing students’ attention to a contextualised target feature and asking them to ‘discover’ its form, meaning and use. Students are not necessarily required to produce the target form. Henceforward I will refer to an ‘awareness-raising approach’ to describe an approach which embraces these common elements. Apart from being sound in terms of second language acquisition research, such an approach seems to be well suited to the teaching of spoken grammar we propose: in our case, production is not necessarily either a short-term or a long-term goal and we are not in a position to offer the relatively straightforward (if sometimes meretricious) rules which typify the teaching of canonical grammar. What are the implications for practice if we adopt such an approach?

6.3.3 Awareness-Raising and Double Processing of Texts

An important tenet of this approach is that ‘we should process the texts for meaning so that the texts become part of the learner’s experience of English’ (Willis and Willis 1996: 67), before we use the texts for specific language work particular features are
analysed. Van Patten (1990), cited in Batstone (1996: 273) argues that ‘tasks which require simultaneous processing of meaning [and form] may overload the learner’s system, leading to less intake rather than more’. Tomlinson (1998: 11) also advocates that particular features should only be analysed after the text has been processed globally: “In my experience, one of the most profitable ways of doing this [facilitating learner self-investment] is to get learners interested in a spoken or written text, to get them to respond to it globally and affectively, and then to help them to analyse a particular linguistic feature of it in order to make discoveries for themselves.” An awareness-raising approach, as Batstone (1996) notes, requires the learner to have multiple opportunities to notice a particular item: learning is not a linear, once-and-for-all process, but partial, provisional and cumulative.

6.3.4 Tasks in an Awareness-Raising Approach

Guarente and Morley (2001) underline the crucial importance of tasks, unfortunately further obfuscating the simple notion of authenticity by adding another dimension: task authenticity. Of task authenticity they remark: “Ultimately, this is probably the most crucial type of authenticity, for unless a learner is somehow ‘engaged’ by the task, unless they are genuinely interested in its purpose and understand its relevance, then the other types of authenticity may count for very little” (Guarente and Morley 2001: 350–351). What kind of tasks will raise awareness effectively?

Thornbury (1997: 327) describes the characteristics of good awareness-raising tasks: “Tasks that provide opportunities for noticing are ones that, even if essentially meaning-focused, allow the learner to devote some attentional resources to form, and,
Moreover, provide both the data and the incentive for the learner to make comparisons between interlanguage output and target language models.” He goes on to argue the case for two types of awareness-raising task: reformulation and reconstruction tasks. Reformulation tasks require the teacher to recast the learner’s output and offer the learner the opportunity to compare their own version with the teacher’s version. Thornbury (1997: 328), drawing on the work of Johnson (1998) maintains that the rationale for reformulation tasks is that learners will be ‘predisposed to look out for (and notice) those features of the modelled behaviour that they themselves had found problematic in the initial trial run.’ Reconstruction tasks require the learner to reconstruct a given text, or elements of a given text, either with prompts or unaided. The rationale for reconstruction tasks is that: “In reconstructing a text, learners will deploy their available linguistic competence, which (depending, of course, on the choice of text) is likely to fall short of the model” (Thornbury 1997: 330). Most pertinently for our purposes, Thornbury (1997: 330) goes on to note that ‘the real benefit may be in the matching: the comparison by learners of their version with the model provides them with positive evidence of yet-to-be-acquired features...’ We should also note that Thornbury (1997) considers that such tasks can be applied both to authentic and specially constructed texts. Jones (2001) describes what I will term ‘comparison tasks’ in “A consciousness-raising approach to the teaching of conversational storytelling skills”. In his example, learners are presented with two versions of an anecdote, one which is a simple narration of events and one which includes discourse features typical of native speaker oral narrative. The learners are then given questions which facilitate a comparison between the texts and draw attention to the discourse features of anecdotes.
What might be the long-term aims of adopting such tasks? Basturkmen (2001: 12) considers that ‘becoming aware of others’ more sophisticated use of interactive strategies can be a catalyst for change and development’ and argues that “...encouraging learners to become active observers of language in use in settings relevant to them, may be more productive than offering potentially misleading language descriptions or yet another activity to practise speaking”. More specifically for our purposes, Carter, Hughes and McCarthy (1998: 83) suggest that “…an applied linguistic goal would be to help learners to know and to understand the choices available to them when communicating in speech and in writing, more formally or informally, more or less interpersonally”. In this respect, we should note Thornbury’s (1997) observation that noticing skills may be amenable to training.

6.4 Design Specifications for the Pilot Materials

In this section, we will draw on conclusions from the discussion in this chapter, and on research findings from previous chapters to produce design specifications for our materials. We will begin with implications we can draw from our previous research findings.

6.4.1 Design Specifications from our Research Findings

We will summarise the main research findings from previous chapters and make explicit the implications where necessary.
Research into students' attitudes

1. Many students stated that they wanted to learn 'informal spoken grammar', but they were less inclined to do so when confronted with an actual example. Students who recognised the spoken grammar sample were more inclined to learn it.

One of the aims of the materials should be to familiarise students with what spoken grammar is. The materials should be flexible enough to allow students choice in how far they want to go in both receptive and productive competence in spoken grammar. Materials should adopt a 'soft sell' approach to spoken grammar. This can be achieved if, for example, the texts we use are intrinsically engaging and are valid in their own right as listening practice.

2. Most students state that their motivation is to learn English for international communication or instrumental purposes. However, many students have more than one reason for learning English.

Materials should not assume that students will have a need or wish to communicate with native speakers, but it is reasonable, our research shows, to assume some curiosity on the part of students as to how native speakers interact.

3. Students in ENLF countries seemed less inclined to learn spoken grammar than other students.
Materials should be flexible enough to allow for different levels of engagement from different groups of students. Where one group, for example, may be content simply to listen to and understand a dialogue, another may wish to study certain features of the grammar or even experiment with production.

Research into teachers' attitudes

1. There is a consensus that students should be exposed to authentic language use.

*Materials should use some authentic texts.*

2. Teachers have serious reservations about students using spoken grammar.

*Production exercises should only be an optional element in our materials.*

3. There is uncertainty about the status of spoken grammar and the descriptive terminology for spoken grammar is not common currency among teachers.

*One of the aims of the materials should be to familiarise teachers with what spoken grammar is.* As we noted above, materials should adopt a 'soft sell' approach to spoken grammar by using texts which are intrinsically engaging and valid in their own right as listening practice. Materials may need to be accompanied by a rationale for teachers and extensive language notes.

Teachers are concerned by issues of cultural and linguistic identity.
Materials which raise awareness of spoken grammar will work best in an approach which encourages interest in variation within English and between Englishes. It is likely that the degree of interest in native speaker models will very greatly according to the teaching context and perceptions of the native speaker culture in that society.

4. Teachers feel that students should be exposed to a variety of Englishes, but some feel that native speaker varieties should predominate.

*Materials should use largely native speaker models, but it may be fruitful to use some non-native speaker models for comparison purposes.*

5. Teachers are not enthusiastic about the hypothetical notion of World Standard English.

*Materials should offer the option of exploiting the cultural content of the texts used.*

Overall, we can summarise the main implications of our research thus:

Materials to raise awareness of spoken grammar should:

1. Focus on reception rather than production.
2. Be dual purpose.
3. Use intrinsically engaging texts.
4. Be flexible in the sense of offering optional routes.
5. Form part of an approach which encourages an interest in variation within English and between Englishes.
6.4.2 Design Specifications from Materials Design Theory

In this section we draw conclusions from the theoretical arguments in this chapter.

**Spoken Data in the Classroom**

1. We will use recorded spoken texts, at least for the initial focus on spoken grammar.

2. Texts should be intrinsically engaging and the language used should be consistent with the findings of spoken corpora.

3. We will use both authentic and specially constructed texts, with a preference for authentic texts where these meet our criteria (see 6.2.5)

**Methodology**

The materials will be consistent with an awareness-raising approach:

1. Tasks will help students to understand the text as a whole before particular features are highlighted.

2. Tasks which encourage production, or form a bridge to production, will only be optional.

3. Tasks will encourage ‘noticing’ of spoken grammar features through the processes of reformulation, reconstruction and comparison.

4. Tasks will help to foster the skill of noticing.

We have now a clear set of criteria against which to design our materials. In the next chapter we will put these criteria into practice.
6.5 A Unit of Pilot Materials

Note

The unit of materials reproduced below, together with the rationale, is the version of the materials initially sent to materials writers for feedback. As will be seen in the next chapter, a number of changes were made in response to the feedback from materials writers. The changes made, and the rationale for the changes, are described in detail in the next chapter. For the present we need to remind ourselves that the version of the materials in this chapter is not identical to the version which was piloted with teachers and students, though it is similar in many respects.
6.5.1 The Pilot Materials: Text

Pilot Materials Text

From the BBC Series: people and Places

Trudy Harris in Port Isaac

00:0 Introduction

After aerial views of the north Cornish coast, Chris Serle introduces the programme from a hill overlooking Port Isaac.

Chris Cornwall, in the south-west corner of Britain, has one of the most rugged and dangerous coastlines in the world. There is little shelter here from the wild and ferocious storms which come in from the Atlantic.

There are just a few natural harbours. On the north coast of Cornwall is one of them, Port Isaac. Just a tiny cluster of houses around a rocky inlet. Port Isaac has been a flourishing port for at least a thousand years. Now it has two main trades. One of them is fishing – crabs, lobsters and mackerel are the catches which come in with every tide. The other trade is tourism, and one of the reasons it’s so popular with tourists is that its ancient charm and character have been preserved for ever by the National Trust.

Trudy Harris was born and brought up in this area.

01:30 Around Port Isaac

Chris This is a lovely spot. This is where…this is where you spent a lot of your childhood, I should think, wasn’t it?

Trudy Yeah. It was fantastic. All my family, all my friends around.

Chris Yeah?

Trudy Really lovely. Come on, I’ll come and show you around.

Chris I’d love to see it. Is this the main street here?

Trudy This is the main street. Up in the post office that we just passed, that used to be the old lifeboat house.

Chris Really?

Trudy Yeah. So they used to have to wheel all the lifeboats all the way down the street.

Chris All the way down here?

Trudy Yeah. All by hands and on big rollers.

Chris All the way round there to get it into the sea? That’s incredible.

Trudy Not like these modern days when it’s just launched from the lifeboat house. (She stops outside a building. ) This is the Golden lion here, our local pub.

Chris Oh, this one here on the right?

Trudy Yeah. Down below they’ve got a cellar bar, which we used to go when we were younger, called the Bloody Bones bar.

Chris The ‘Bloody Bones bar’!

Trudy Mmm.

Chris Wonderful.

Trudy That’s where the smugglers and that used to keep the tobacco and loot.

Chris Really! In the old days. That’s a real slice of history there, isn’t it?

Trudy Yeah. This is my sister-in-law’s shop. Oh, here she is, look. Enid. Hi Enid, meet Chris.

Chris Oh, hello, Enid. Nice to meet you too. (Shakes hands.)

Trudy Hello. How’s the family?

Enid Very well. And your lot?

Trudy Yes, smashing.

Chris Beautiful day, isn’t it?

Enid It’s lovely, isn’t it?

Chris Business booming, is it?

Enid Well, not too bad. You know.

Chris Good Good.

Trudy Bye.

Enid Bye.

Chris I’m having a look round your town. It’s beautiful. So this is…they used to have to get the
lifeboat all the way round here?

Trudy Yes.

Chris That's crazy, isn't it?

Trudy You'll see on many of the houses that you'll find these cuts put in, just like here, This is where it was made to bring the lifeboat down through.

Chris Oh, I see, yes. Gosh. So it could get through round the corner. Amazing. This is right down by the harbour now, isn't it?

Trudy Yeah. It's a shame 'cos all of this... this all closes down in the winter.

Chris Really? It shuts?

Trudy Yeah, it's dead. Just the fishing carries on.

Chris The fishing keeps going, yes.

*In the local fish market, a fishmonger tries to sell today's catch.*

Man Well, ladies, what do you all want today? We've got some lovely stuff here, look. Look at this, we've got a lovely bit of skate here today, as landed this morning. That's a good buy. We can wing that out and do it for you for about £1.20 a pound. Small gurnets here, ideal for a barbecue, if anybody's going barbecuing tonight. Or, if you want a little bit of something else a bit more exotic, you got a bit of monk. What about this lovely monkfish, look? This didn't come out the abbey, it come out the sea. Cut it into squares and egg and breadcrumbed, it's like scampi. Better than scampi, it's more expensive now. £1.20 a pound. Now you've seen all this beautiful fish. I've told you all the prices. Now, come along, let's have you. Let's have a good go. Let's clear the lot so I can go home and see mother.

03:52 At Trudy's house: Interview

Trudy Port Isaac's just an old, quaint fishing village. We live at Trelights, which is a cute little village just outside of Port Isaac - about three miles. All my friends down there, we all went to school together and have just generally grown up together, which is nice.

Chris What's an average day like for you?

Trudy I have a husband, who goes out to work every day. I have four children: Benjamin, six, Shane, five, Leanne, three, and William, one. Two of those are off to school, tow at home. Early morning start.

Chris What time does your day start?

Trudy Get up six o'clock. Breakfast. They demand breakfast, the children - as soon as they're up it's breakfast.

04:32 Breakfast

Lionel Ben, do you want some milk?

Child Yes, please.

Lionel Good boy. *(Pours milk.)*

Trudy Could you pass me the butter, please?

Lionel There you are.

Trudy Will you be back in time for me to go to work?

Lionel Yeah. Yeah. I'll be home, five. Normal time should be today.

Trudy Very good.

05:01 Off to school and work

Trudy All fed, and then I get the two ready for school. Take them out, get them on the taxi to go to school.

Ben Good morning.

Lionel Be good at school today, boys.

Trudy Morning.

Child Good morning.

Lionel Here we are, then, in you go. Do as I said. Good boy. In you go. Bye, See you tonight.

Shane Bye.

Lionel Bye then. Bye.

Shane See you later.

Lionel Bye. See you tonight. Bye.
Lionel OK (Kisses Trudy.) Got a kiss for Daddy? Give us a kiss. (Kisses Leanne.) Thank you. Goodbye.

Trudy See you later.

Lionel See you tonight. Bye.

Trudy See you later.

05:52 Interview

Chris Lionel, Cornwall is an area of high unemployment but you’ve got a job. What do you do?

Lionel Basically, a vehicle fitter, working for the South Western Electricity Board. Maintain vehicles, keep them running and other little problems that arise.

Trudy Then come in a get the two little ones sorted out. Then it’s the housework – washing, cleaning, ironing.

Chris Four children is nowadays bigger than the average family, isn’t it? Is there a tradition for big families in Cornwall?

Trudy Lionel came from a big family – one of seven. I come one of four. It did quieten down. Everybody was having two in families, but I think it’s creeping up now – that they’re going in for bigger families.

Chris Do families tend to stay in this area?

Trudy Most of my friends are still around here. A lot, a lot have moved off. But locally they do marry local people and settle down.

Chris There’s still quite a strong sense of community so you’d never think of moving away?

Trudy Never. Never.

Lionel It’s lovely to go away to other places where you’ve got a fantastic night life but it’s always lovely to come home.

Trudy It is. We’ve not got the worries down here, not like up-country.

Chris There’s more money to be made in a big city though, isn’t there?

Trudy Money’s not everything. I’m happy with just the family and a house. Quite happy.

Chris And do you feel as if Cornwall is separate from the rest of the country?

Lionel Oh, absolutely. Absolutely.

Chris You’re proud to be a Cornishman?

Lionel Oh, true, true all the way.

Chris So the rest of the... the rest of the country, or another country starts at the River Tamar?

Lionel Oh, yes. Always cross the border into Plymouth.

Chris Plymouth?

Trudy That’s foreign. (Laughs.)

Chris That’s foreign?

Trudy That’s foreign.

Chris Why is Cornwall different?

Lionel It’s right on the southern tip of England, isn’t it? It’s always been sort of right at the other end of the country and very isolated. So we have a tendency to think we’re a little bit different.

Chris There was even a different language once, wasn’t there?

Trudy Yes. That’s something I would have liked to have learnt. Proper Cornish. But...and Cornish names are coming back in.

Chris What sort of names?

Trudy Tristram and Trevelyan and things like that. They’re all coming back in.

Chris What’s the attitude towards outsiders?

Trudy A lot of foreigners are coming over now. But they’re very nice. Very nice.

Chris Of course, people buy property who don’t really live here.

Lionel No, no, that is absolutely true. Most of the properties on the coast are owned by up-country people, which is solely there for holiday let. And then, of course, they lie empty all through the winter.

Chris Is that bad?

Lionel ‘Course it’s bad. It means to say that the local people can’t afford to pay the price what up-country people will pay and then subsequently these properties are left dormant in the winter.

Trudy We’re in council property at the moment. And we’re just now thinking about building a bungalow. Because there’s no way that we could look at prices of actual built buildings.

Chris You say this house is council property. What does that mean in fact?
Trudy: It's owned by the local authority. We pay rent for it, but we have the right to buy it if we wish.

Chris: Is there a big difference between the way the place is in the winter and the way it is in the summer?

Trudy: In the summer it's bustling. Port Isaac's absolutely bustling. In winter you can walk down through and it's like a ghost town - there's nobody down there, all the shops are shut.

Chris: What are your hobbies, Lionel?

Lionel: Spare time I like gardening because it's a total change from normal work activities. Keep bees, as a...as a little hobby, and...

Chris: You're very modest. There's one thing you haven't mentioned and I know you do, which is support the lifeboat.

Lionel: The...the only thing actually I do for the lifeboat is help to raise money and also, when they have a...very often they have a little lifeboat drill in the evenings at Port Isaac, we very often make an excuse to have a game of darts and a couple of jugs to, you know, wet the lip, like.
6.5.2 The Pilot Materials: Tasks

Section 1: 00.00–03.52

Preview task

Listen to what Chris says about Cornwall, then discuss:

a) Which areas of your country still have traditional industries such as fishing?
b) Which areas of your country depend on tourism?
c) Do any areas of your country have their own language? Are there any languages in your country spoken by only a few people?

Comment 1: The main purpose of this task is to ensure that the material is not too ethnocentric. Although the unit foregrounds aspects of English culture, this task ensures that the learners’ culture(s) is/are not marginalised. The other purpose of this task is to facilitate the learner’s engagement with the text and its themes.

Listening for understanding

a) What changes have there been in Port Isaac?
b) Is Port Isaac a lively place?

Comment 2: The task facilitates global understanding of the text before students focus on particular language features.

Listening for language

1. Put these words in the order that you think Chris said them:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Where</th>
<th>this</th>
<th>think</th>
<th>is</th>
<th>you</th>
<th>a</th>
<th>your</th>
<th>should</th>
<th>it</th>
<th>lot</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>spent</td>
<td>of</td>
<td>childhood</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>wasn't</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Comment 3: A reconstruction task which focuses on the relatively free word order of ‘online speech’

2. Look at the dialogue below and then listen to it.

a) Do you think any of the words are unnecessary in spoken English?
b) Change anything which is different on the video dialogue.

Chris: Oh, hello Enid. It’s nice to meet you.
Trudy: Hello, how’s the family?
Enid: They’re very well. How are your family?
Trudy: They are smashing
Chris: It’s a beautiful day, isn’t it?
Enid: Yes, it is
Chris: Is your business booming?
Enid: Well, it’s not too bad you know.
Comment 4: The task focuses on ellipsis. The prediction question a) is optional and would probably only be used with students who have already looked at ellipsis before.

Talking point

a) Did any of the differences surprise you?
b) Would you speak in a similar way in your language?
c) Would you like to speak in English like this? Why? Why not?

Comment 5: The task allows the students to express their attitudes to spoken grammar and is designed to foster the noticing skill.

3. Which of these sentences does Chris say?

a) That's where the smugglers used to keep the tobacco and loot.
b) That's where the smugglers, they used to keep the tobacco and loot.
c) That's where the smugglers and that used to keep the tobacco and loot.

Comment 6: The task focuses on heads and on vague language ('and that'). Again the task can either be used as a straight 'listen and notice' task, or the students can be asked to 'predict' what Chris says.

4. Look at the different ways of responding with interest below. Listen and underline the ones Chris uses.

Really?  Is that so?  Amazing!  You're joking  That's incredible
Wonderful  Well I never  That's crazy, isn't it?

Comment 7: this task focuses on common ways of responding with interest in spoken English

Section 2 03.52–04.32

Preview

a) What are the advantages of being brought up in one place?
b) Were you brought up in one place or in a number of different places?

Comment 8: The task encourages the students to engage with the theme of this section and thus makes it more accessible.

Listening to understand

True or false?

a) Trudy was brought up in Port Isaac
b) Trudy has a very relaxed lifestyle

Comment 9: This task facilitates global understanding of the text before the students are asked to focus on particular language features.
Listening for language

Listen and add the words Trudy uses to the sentence below

All my friends went to school together

Comment 10: This task focuses on heads

Which of these sentences are possible in spoken English?
Which one does Trudy actually say?
The children, they demand breakfast
They demand breakfast, the children
The children demand breakfast, they

Comment 11: This task focuses on tails. The first question encourages discussion of possibilities in spoken grammar i.e. there may be differences between canonical grammar and spoken grammar, but there are rules and limits in spoken grammar too.

Section 3 05.52-09.54

Preview

a) What is the difference between quality of life and standard of living?
b) Which is more important to you?

Do you feel proud of the area you come from? What makes it special?

Comment 12: The task encourages the students to engage with the theme of this section and thus makes it more accessible.

Listening to understand

1. Which is more important to Trudy and Lionel, quality of life or standard of living?

2. What is special about Cornwall? What problems does Cornwall have?

Comment 13: This task facilitates global understanding of the text before the students are asked to focus on particular language features.

Listening for language

Look at the extract below. As you listen, you will need to delete some words and add others.

Comment 14: The general purpose of this task is to raise awareness of how language is used in speech which adds little or nothing to the propositional content of the message. Awareness is raised as the extracts as they stand make sense, but in most cases students have to listen and add something. The specific features highlighted are in italics after each extract.
Chris: Lionel, Cornwall is an area of high unemployment but you've got a job. What do you do?
Lionel: I'm a vehicle fitter, working for the South Western Electricity Board. I maintain vehicles, I keep them running and other little problems that arise

i) Use of adverb 'basically'
ii) Ellipsis

Chris: Do families stay in this area?
Trudy: Most of my friends are still around here. A lot have moved off. But locally they marry local people and settle down

i) Modal use of 'tend to'
ii) Emphatic use of 'do'

Lionel: It's right on the southern tip of England. It's always been right at the other end of the country and very isolated. So we think we're different.

i) Vague language 'sort of', 'a little bit'
ii) Modal use of 'tendency'

Chris: There was even a different language once, wasn't there?
Trudy: Yes, I would have liked to have learnt proper Cornish. But...and Cornish names are coming back in.
Chris: What sort of names?
Trudy: Tristram and Trevelyan

i) Vague language 'and things like that'

3. How many of Chris' questions are:
   a) Simple questions
   b) Question tags
   c) Statements pronounced as questions

Comment 15: A straightforward observation task to focus on the use of question tags and intonation questions in speech.

4. What does 'like' mean in these examples:
   a) We've not got the worries here, not like up-country
   b) In winter you can walk down through and it's like a ghost town
   c) We very often make an excuse to have a game of darts and a couple of jugs to, you know, wet the lip, like

Comment 16: This task asks students to work out meaning from context and focuses on 3 different uses of 'like':
   i) in the same way as
   ii) similar to
   iii) as a spoken discourse marker
6.5.3 Rationale for the Materials

**Rationale for Text Selection**

I chose this text, from the BBC Video series, People and Places, for the following reasons:

1. It is an authentic text in the sense that it is unscripted. It is not, authentic, however, in the sense of being naturally occurring, as the conversations may not have taken place without the demands of making a film.

2. It contains a number of features of spoken grammar which we discussed in the literature review:
   - Heads
   - Tails
   - Ellipsis
   - Questions with statement word order

3. It contains a number of other lexico-grammatical features typical of speech:
   - Question tags
   - Vague language
   - Different uses of 'like'
   - Agreement by synonym
   - Modal use of 'tend to'

4. The text has the potential to engage the students. It is set in Cornwall, so the material is visually engaging, and the unit features a real Cornish family. It is possible for the students to engage with the speakers in the text.
5. The video makes the context of the interactions clear.

6. Though the text is rich enough in spoken language features to offer good scope for exploitation, it is not so dense as to be inaccessible for students.

7. The text does not contain a great deal of unusual or difficult lexis. Lexically, it should be well within the range of upper-intermediate students.

8. The themes of the text – regional identity, traditional industries, quality of life v standard of living – can be ‘globalised’.

Reservations about the Text

1. Although it is unscripted and does contain features found in natural speech, it would be difficult to describe the text as wholly authentic. The presenter speaks with exaggerated clarity and tends to repeat or recast the words of the interviewee to an unnatural degree, perhaps under the impression that he is being helpful to the learners at whom the video is aimed.

2. The ‘natural interactions’ come over as slightly contrived.

3. We cannot guarantee interest in the local context. The text has some mild intrinsic interest, but is not gripping.
Summary on Text Selection

The text, though not ideal in every respect, meets the criteria we set out in the previous chapter closely enough for us to be able to demonstrate our approach to the teaching of spoken grammar.

The 'day in the life of' format, used in the BBC series People and Places, I would argue, has considerable potential for materials writers with an interest in spoken grammar. The significant advantage of taking a unit which focuses on the lives of individuals is that it is possible for students to relate to these individuals and, therefore, take an interest in the language they use. We can address, then, the dilemma of important features of spoken grammar appearing in quite commonplace interactions. It is also possible to look at, and compare the individuals' language use in different contexts, settings and genres.

A well resourced materials writer would doubtless be able to implement the 'day in the life of' format better than the BBC did in this case.
Rationale for Task Selection

The purpose of each task is described in the sample materials below. However, there are two main types of task:

1. Tasks which facilitate global understanding: ‘Listening for understanding’ in the materials below.

2. Tasks which help students to notice the difference between canonical written norms and spoken norms and/or between their expectations of spoken norms and actual spoken norms: ‘Listening for language’ in the materials below. Most of the tasks are of the comparison type which we defined in the previous chapter.

All the tasks are intended to provide challenging and interesting listening practice and thus meet our criterion of being dual purpose. The language tasks all focus on reception rather than production. The emphasis is on raising awareness.

Flexibility

The materials are designed to be flexible, particularly on the language work. Students and teachers are given choices in how far they want to go in noticing and discussing features of spoken language. The options are broadly as follows:

1. Listening for language task only.
2. Listening for language task + focus question(s)
3. Listening for language task + focus question(s) + language analysis tasks
4. Listening for language task + focus question(s) + language analysis tasks + talking point tasks
5. Listening for language task + focus question(s) + language analysis tasks + talking point tasks + extension activities

These are the broad options, but there are, of course, other options e.g. which language points to focus on; which of the talking point or extension tasks to do.

**Rationale for the Selection of Language Features**

My first priority was to select features of spoken grammar which, we argued in the literature review, are frequent but neglected in ELT materials. There are, therefore, tasks which focus on heads, tails and ellipsis. I have, however, focused on other linguistic features typical of speech e.g. ways of responding with interest; showing agreement by the use of synonyms. I have chosen to do this on both principled and practical grounds:

1. As we have argued in the literature review that grammar and lexis are more closely linked than had previously been supposed, it would seem perverse to maintain a sharp division in our materials.

2. Given the difficulty of finding authentic texts, it would be uneconomical to use a suitable text only to highlight grammatical features.

**Progression in the Materials**

One would not expect to see progression within one unit, but it is reasonable to assume that students and teachers would be interested in the notion of progression over a course of materials. Given the emphasis we have placed on awareness-raising rather than presentation and production, it would not be desirable to offer a
hierarchical structural syllabus working from simple to difficult, even if that were possible.

In our materials, progression will come in two main ways:

1. The onus we put on students to do the noticing. We can, for example, make increasing use of 'prediction' tasks e.g. 'Which of these phrases do you think x will say in this context?', 'Which of these words do you think will be missed out in speech?'

2. Students will achieve breadth of coverage in terms of meeting a wider range of features in different genres and contexts. It is also possible for them to gain more information about the 'rules of use' of particular features in subsequent units.

6.5.5 Ethnocentricity

Although this unit focuses on native speaker English from a particular region of England, it would be perfectly possible to include a course of materials units in different settings with different Englishes: 'Trudy from Port Isaac' could sit alongside 'Ed. From Edinburgh', 'Joe from Johannesburg', 'Sid from Sidney' etc. We could extend this to include second language contexts in Bombay or Singapore, for example. Teachers and students would be able to select from these options the settings which interested them, either for cultural or linguistic reasons. We would have, then, a democratic and intercultural approach to English language and teaching.
6.5.6 Structure of the Materials

The video has been divided into three sections. For each section there are preview tasks, listening for understanding tasks, and listening for language tasks. It is not intended that students would work through all the listening for language tasks. These 3 video-focused sections are followed by a language analysis section, a talking points section and an extension activities section. The purpose of the latter two sections is to offer opportunities for language review.

6.6 Chapter Summary

In this chapter we have shown a unit of materials which was designed in accordance with the theoretical arguments made earlier in the thesis:

- We have focused on features of spoken language, and of spoken grammar in particular, which are not generally treated in ELT materials but which, we have argued, are of potential value to students;

- The methodological approach we have adopted, with its emphasis on experiencing the text in its own right before language work, and its emphasis on encouraging noticing rather than forcing production, is consistent both with the Second Language Acquisition theory we have reviewed, and with the sociolinguistic attitudes our research has revealed.

In the next two chapters, in line with our position that a theoretical approach must take account of the views of the practitioners, we will put these materials to the test.
and seek the views first of materials writers, then of the consumers: students and teachers.
7.0 Introduction

In seeking feedback on the materials, the main initial objective was to get feedback from experienced, published ELT materials writers with a variety of perspectives on the materials. This I was able to do, as outlined below, by asking personal professional contacts to help and by using the contacts of my supervisor.

7.1 Profile of the Respondents

The perspective of experience

Materials writers “A”, “B” and “C” were chosen as respondents because they are all current materials writers with great breadth and depth of experience:

Materials Writer “A” has written 4 coursebook series, books of supplementary materials and readers for both Longman and Cambridge University Press. He is also the general editor of a series of methodology books.

Materials Writer “B” has written about 20 coursebook series, video materials, CD ROMs and other supplementary material.
Materials Writer “C” has 34 years experience of writing materials all over the world. He is president of a professional association devoted to innovation in materials design and has published a book on issues in materials design.

An ESP perspective

Materials Writer “D” was chosen because he writes materials for Business English and I thought it would be useful to have an English for Specific Purposes perspective on the issue of spoken grammar.

A corpus commentator’s perspective

Materials Writer “E” was chosen because he is an experienced materials writer and I knew that he had an interest in the application of corpus findings in ELT.

A lexical perspective

Materials Writer “F” was chosen because he was a co-author of a coursebook which advertised that it was ‘lexical’ in approach and that it paid more attention to the spoken language than the norm.

A methodologist’s perspective

Materials Writer “G” was chosen as an experienced materials writer with a particular interest in ‘noticing tasks’, a topic on which he has published articles.

Materials writers “A”, “B” and “C” reviewed the materials and completed a simple questionnaire which asked them to comment on the following aspects of the materials: the level; the text; the language points focused on; the tasks/methodology; the clarity of the materials. “D”, “E” and “G” replied by e-mail and focused on particular aspects of the materials rather than making comments on all the questionnaire topics.
“F” wrote notes on the materials which he expanded on in conversation with me. We will now look at a summary of the feedback from materials writers “A”, “B”, “C”, “D”, “E”, “F” and “G” under the questionnaire headings before discussing my response to the feedback.
7.2 Summary of the Feedback

7.2.1 Feedback on the Level

“A”, “B”, “C” and “E” agreed that the material could be used at the suggested level – upper-intermediate – but could also be exploited at lower levels. This view was perhaps best summarised by Materials Writer “A”:

- “I agree that Upper intermediate/advanced are good levels for work of this kind. However, it is perfectly possible to make students aware of features of spoken language at much lower levels. I’m thinking of more ‘obvious’ features such as questions with affirmative sentence order, tags and ellipsis. Indeed, I think it is incumbent on materials writers to provide samples of spoken English which either are (or replicate) ‘real’ spoken English at all levels.” (“A”)

Materials Writer “E” also considered that certain features could be introduced at lower levels, though his criterion for selection was that the features should be ‘culturally accessible’ rather than ‘obvious’. Presumably by ‘obvious’ Materials Writer “A” meant ‘structurally simple’. It is interesting that Materials Writer E felt that ‘for practical motivational purposes’, it would be better to have a production stage. For Materials Writer “B”, the key issue in introducing the material at lower levels was grading the tasks.

7.2.2 Feedback on the Text

“A”, “B” and “C” agreed that the text was at least workable, though Materials Writer “A” considered that it was only ‘moderately engaging’ and added the caveat that it was difficult to make a proper judgement without seeing the video. As we have stressed the importance of engaging the learner’s interest in the text before focusing on language, this comment by Materials Writer “B” is significant for us:

- “I agree that the text engages the interest of the learner very successfully, and so overcomes one of the main initial problems in teaching, that of motivation to listen or read, without which not much learning can happen.” (“B”)
Materials Writer “E” thought that the materials, particularly the pre-tasks, had gone some way to ‘squaring the circle’ by providing an interesting topic and a focus on ‘the trivia of everyday conversation’, but felt that the attempts to raise interest in the topic could be taken further. Materials Writer “F” expressed the view that the text did not actually model normal spoken language and was, in fact, ‘transactional’ in nature.

7.2.3 Feedback on the Language Points

Materials Writer “D” was unconditionally hostile to the language content of the materials. As he raises a number of points which are important to us, it is worth quoting him in full:

- “I would like to just say one important thing – as a teacher and writer in the field of Business English I have absolutely no desire for my students to talk like native speakers and consider this to be a major side-track. Native speakers are difficult to understand – why should I take time in class making my students more difficult to understand than before? I teach and write books based on International English. I have no corpus to tell me what this is, but I help my students to be simple, clear and direct, nothing more and nothing less. If I find what they say difficult to understand (or if other students do) I give them feedback on their errors to make them easier to understand. If they can communicate their meaning accurately although the form/lexis is not native-speaker like I’m not too worried. And I certainly don’t waste their valuable time and money teaching them idiomatic expressions, ellipsis etc. that will make them more difficult to understand and therefore less effective interlocutors with other non-native speakers. Life is too short. L1-L1 conversations that can serve as a useful language model/object of study to help learners take part in L2-L2 conversations are too small a part of it.” (“D”)

Materials Writer “F” was also sceptical about the value of teaching ‘the minutiae of spoken grammar’, which he considered to be less useful and teachable than lexis ‘unless it was highly patterned’. He argued for teaching lexicalised instances of patterns, rather than trying to teach the patterns themselves. He also noted that the text was rich in collocations, lexical chunks and fixed phrases to which the tasks drew no attention.
On a specific level, Materials Writer “F” objected to the teaching of ellipsis because this was ‘teaching absence’. He objected to teaching questions with statement word order on the grounds that ‘there’s nothing to teach here’, and argued ‘tend to’ ought to be taught through lexicalised instances.

“A”, “B” and “C”, however all considered the language points to be a legitimate focus of study, though “A” and “B” added interesting caveats: Materials Writer “A” argued that ‘some of these features (e.g. ‘have a tendency to’, ‘that’s something etc) are not unique to the spoken corpus’, while Materials Writer “B” argued that ‘if this material was being commercially produced, it would benefit from a very clear statement of what features you are focussing on’.

7.2.4 Feedback on the Tasks

**Language Awareness Tasks**

“A”, “B”, “C” and “G” agreed that the awareness-raising tasks were valid and worthwhile. “A” and “C” highlighted the noticing value of the tasks, with Materials Writer “A” ‘especially keen on the translation in and out of L1’. Materials Writer “G” noted that the tasks were ‘logically staged and psycholinguistically viable’.

Both “A” and “C”, however, noted that the adding and deleting exercise in section 3 was difficult to understand and complex to carry out. Materials Writer “A” felt strongly that further tasks were needed to ensure that noticing took place. As he makes practical suggestions as to the kind of tasks needed, I would like to quote him in full on this point:
"On a more important point (given the focus of these materials) my own feeling is that 'noticing' probably requires more than just 'drawing students' attention to'. I would like to see more 'why?' questions for students. Why do you think the dialogue looks different in speaking and writing? Write a written and a spoken version of a similar exchange in your own language. What differences are there? (Most languages behave in this kind of way, don't they?). I would get students changing dialogues in an out of the vernacular, and adding or subtracting language to exchanges other than those which arise from the text. What I mean is that just saying 'which of these sentences does Chris say?' (actually it's Trudy) is, of course interesting, but is not enough for real noticing. Students should be asked to speculate on what 'and that' means and why she uses a phrase like that. They need to see – or try out – different contexts where 'and that' could be added. Then there really is a chance they'll notice it next time around! I am not suggesting that students need to produce this kind of informal native-speaker discourse. I am fully aware (and have some sympathy with) Luke P's worries about the usefulness (?) of this kind of data. Nevertheless, just showing students something probably isn't enough to get the message across." ("A")

Materials Writer "E" considered that the tasks were too difficult for the general English language learner, and more suitable for trainee teachers, or perhaps adult EFL learners, because the tasks were too 'sophisticated' for younger learners.

Materials Writer "B" also felt the students needed more opportunity to discuss the language features they had been exposed to through task which provided an 'invitation for reflection' about what they had noticed in previous sections. Similarly, Materials Writer "E" argued that learners needed more guidance on the context which made the language used appropriate through tasks which highlighted 'the pragmatic dimension of the choices you give them'. He also made the point that the emphasis on noticing might actually be frustrating for students:

- "Another point might be how frustrating a learner might find receptive work stopping short of production: they might feel: why are we doing this if we can't use it?" ("E")

"F" appeared somewhat dismissive of the awareness-raising methodology with his marginal note "Same old!" next to 'raise awareness'.
Feedback on Comprehension and Speaking Tasks

“A”, “B” and “C” all suggested changes or amendments to these tasks: Materials Writer “B” considered that the ‘Listening for understanding’ tasks, as they stood, tested comprehension rather than supported it:

“...the tasks could be supplemented in initial position with ‘access’ or ‘enabling’ tasks, which are designed not to test comprehension but to support it and to lead the learner to the heart of the passage... These access tasks allow the students to deal with the artificial circumstances of being told what to read or listen to in the classroom, and encourage them to connect (Only connect!) with the passage. Without this, the rest of your work is less efficient.” (“B”)

Materials Writer “A” suggested more variety in the tasks and more exploitation of the content of the video. More unusually, Materials Writer “C” suggested that the preview discussion tasks should have an ‘inner voice’ phase. “B” and “C” thought that the initial preview discussion task should live up to its name, and come before the first viewing of the video.

We should also note that Materials Writer “E” had reservations about the methodology as a whole:

- “So, useful as far is it goes but for me not far enough. I find the cognitive, consciousness raising approach towards teaching spoken grammar intuitively too limiting in classroom terms.” (“E”)

7.2.5 Feedback on the Clarity of the Materials

“A” and “C” both thought the material was quite clear. “B” made a number of detailed suggestions to improve the clarity and consistency of the rubric and the transparency of the layout. As these relate to presentational matters rather than matters of principle I will not describe them here, but I chose to implement them.
7.3 Summary of the Main Points from the Feedback

Level
None of the respondents suggested that upper-intermediate was unsuitable, but some felt that the language could be introduced at lower levels too ("A", "B", "C" and "E").

Text
- The text is not a good example of spoken language ("F").

Language
- "D" considered that the focus on spoken grammar features was a waste of time for most students.
- "B" thought that, at least for publication purposes, the language focus features would need to be better signposted.
- "F" argued that you cannot teach absence e.g. ellipsis or statement questions.
- "F" thought that spoken language features e.g. the use of ‘tend to’ should be lexicalised and that more attention in general should be paid to lexis.

Tasks/Methodology

General
- More tasks to encourage noticing ("A").
- More tasks to encourage discussion of language points ("A"/"B"/"E").
- Better comprehension tasks – ‘access’ and ‘enabling tasks’ ("B").
- Inner voice tasks ("C").
- More variety in the comprehension tasks ("A").
- Use post tasks ("A").
- Include production tasks ("E").
• Use fewer cognitive consciousness-raising tasks ("E").

Specific

• Do the initial preview discussion task before viewing the video ("B"/"C").
• Clarify the 'add and delete' task in section 3 ("B"/"C").

7.4 Responding to the Feedback

7.4.1 Responding to the Feedback – in Principle

Throughout this thesis we have taken the view that we must take account of the views of the major stakeholders in ELT — students, teachers, and materials writers — if we are to produce spoken grammar materials which are both principled and workable. We have consulted materials writers as they represent one important strand of opinion about what is desirable and feasible in the production of spoken grammar materials. This presents us, of course, with something of a dilemma as to how to respond to the feedback. It would be rather pointless to consult experienced materials writers and then blithely dismiss their views if they don’t correspond with our principle-driven materials. Equally, if we simply adjust our materials to meet current expectations we would not be producing innovative materials. We will need to see, then, if we can incorporate some of their suggestions without compromising our principles. And if we choose not to incorporate their suggestions, we will need a principled justification.
7.4.2 Responding to the Feedback: in Practice

We will now respond point by point to the suggested amendments/improvements above, either describing the action taken or explaining why the suggestion was not taken up:

Text

- "F" argued that the text was not a good example of spoken language.

I would concede that some of the interview material is rather stilted. As we have shown, however, it does contain, both in the interview and in the family scenes a number of features typical of spoken language: heads; tails; ellipsis; question tags; vague language; different uses of 'like'; agreement by synonym; modal use of 'tend to'.

Finding texts which are rich in the natural use of spoken language features and intrinsically interesting is not, as we have conceded, going to be easy, and I would argue that this text is a reasonable compromise, or at least good enough to be put to the test in piloting.

Language

- "D" considered that the focus on spoken grammar features was a waste of time for most students.
If we acted on "D’s" suggestion we would, of course, be undermining the point of the whole thesis, so it is incumbent on us to explain in some detail why we do not agree with “D”. In a sense this is opportune as it allows us to recapitulate some important arguments. “D’s” case rests on 4 assumptions:

1) Non-native speakers find native speakers more difficult to understand than other non-native speakers.

2) Spoken grammar necessarily exacerbates the difficulties non-native speakers have in understanding native speakers.

3) It is possible to isolate a body of students whose motivation is purely utilitarian.

4) It is possible to isolate a body of students who only have the need or wish to speak to other non-native speakers.

None of these assumptions is self-evident and no research evidence is quoted to support them. Indeed, our own research evidence casts doubt on three of these assumptions. Let us deal with each of these assumptions in turn:

1) This would be an interesting topic for research, though it would be difficult to isolate native speaker status from general communication skills such as sensitivity to the listener in ascertaining what contributes to comprehensibility. However, when I put this question to the students interviewed in this study, opinion was divided. Such a small sample cannot provide conclusive evidence either way, but it is enough to show that the assumption is not self-evident and warrants further investigation.

2) There seems to be no obvious reason why features such as ellipsis should undermine comprehensibility. Indeed, if, as McCarthy (1991) argues, ‘Heads are an act of consideration to the listener’, it may be that some features of spoken
grammar facilitate comprehension at all levels. Again, it is an area where it is
dangerous to make assumptions and where further research is needed.

3) While our research showed that the primary motive for many students is
utilitarian, we also showed that it is not safe to assume that this represents the
limit of their motivation.

4) Our research showed that many students find it difficult to predict their future
patterns of use. More significantly, many of those who predicted that they would
use English primarily with other non-native speakers retained an interest in the
native speaker model.

- “B” thought that, at least for publication purposes, the language focus features
would need to be better signposted.

At first sight, this seems a small point and an easy one to address: it would be quite
easy to put in sub-headings such as ‘ellipsis’ at appropriate points. If, however, we
are keen to promote a view of learning as holistic, partial and cumulative, rather than
discrete, incremental and once-and-for-all, we will want to avoid at all costs giving
the impression that ‘this unit is about ellipsis and when we’ve mastered that we can
move on’. Having said that, we can concede that there is a need for a more
transparent sense of purpose and go some way to accommodating this need for
explicit language focus. Accordingly, I decided to recast the talking point activity so
that it offered more opportunity for reflection and review and to add an extension
activity, which, to some extent, systematised the language focus work. Together,
these activities offer students and teachers the opportunity to summarise the language
work of the unit and even add labels if they so wish. I also decided to include some
grammar summaries in the teacher’s notes so that they would be clear about what they were dealing with. Finally, we can add that the materials are not designed for publication, but to gather evidence for our hypothesis.

- “F” argued that you cannot teach absence e.g. ellipsis or statement questions.

In a sense, this is a curious point. Most English language teachers (including “F”) seem happy to teach contractions, which could equally well be seen as teaching absence, as indeed could the zero article, and even irregular plurals e.g. sheep/sheep. Rather than teaching absence we are teaching choice, and the choice between using ellipsis and not can make a difference, as I experienced when agonising over whether to end a letter ‘I look forward to hearing from you’ or ‘Look forward to hearing from you’. There is an important difference in tone.

- “F” thought that spoken language features e.g. the use of ‘tend to’ should be lexicalised and that more attention in general should be paid to lexis.

I would agree that the more we know about how spoken grammar features are routinely lexicalised the better. Unfortunately there is not a great deal of research information on this area as yet. In devising the extension activities, however, I did try to think of lexically typical examples of the target grammar features e.g. ‘Good job I brought mine’ as a lexically typical example of ellipsis.

If I were using the material myself, and not for piloting purposes, I would indeed focus on all the lexical features in the text as well as the spoken grammar.
purposes of piloting, however, I felt it important to keep the focus on the spoken grammar.

**Tasks/Methodology**

**General**

- More tasks to encourage noticing ("A").

"A's" point that one activity where students identify a sentence with a tail is not sufficient for noticing is clearly valid. However – and this is a point I should have made in the rationale – this unit is envisaged as one of a series which focus on spoken grammar so that all the points should be revisited a number of times. We have already argued (6.1) that a planned approach to teaching spoken grammar could be used in conjunction with an opportunistic approach. If, for example, a class which has used our materials are, later in the course, using a listening text which happens to include an example of tails, it would not be difficult to supplement the given tasks with a suitable 'listening for language' task. While "A" is not suggesting intensive practice, I feel it important, given the current state of readiness among teachers and students for spoken grammar revealed by our research (chapters 3, 4, and 5), that we err on the side of 'light and often', rather than 'practise it until you've got it'. To put it another way, when it comes to spoken grammar, we need frequent light showers, rather than occasional heavy thunderstorms. To some extent, however, the talking point and extension activities mentioned above will also address the need for 're-noticing' "A" has highlighted.

- More tasks to encourage discussion of language points ("A"/"B"/"E").
We have already highlighted the need for students to discuss and give their reactions to spoken grammar, so it is more a question of how we address this point rather than whether. I chose not to include many of these questions in the body of the unit as I thought it would make it look top heavy on questions about language and somewhat repetitive. I also felt that teachers would be in a better position to judge which questions would be suitable for a particular group and how far they could go with this kind of discussion. I decided, then, to include in the teacher's notes a set of suggested general questions which could be applied to any of the language points and some suggested specific questions for specific points:

**General Questions**

- How formal/informal do you think the dialogue is?
- How well do you think the speakers know each other?
- What do you think they would say in a more formal context?
- What would you say in a similar context in your language?
- Does your language have a similar grammatical feature?
- Have you heard/used this feature in English yourself?
- Would you like to use this kind of spoken grammar? Why? Why not?

Example question for ellipsis:

*Why do they miss out words?*  
- a) they are lazy  
- b) they want to speak fast  
- c) they want to sound informal

- Include some production tasks ("E").

We have already argued that tasks which 'force' students to produce the language we are focusing on are culturally and pedagogically inappropriate. That does not mean, however, that production is forever excluded if the students appear to want to try out...
the new language. If we take, for example, the dialogue matching activity from the Extension activities, this can easily be adapted for simple production practice: partner "A", with materials open reads the opening remark in the dialogue; Partner "B", with materials closed has to produce an appropriate response, either from memory of the original, or spontaneously.

- Use fewer cognitive consciousness-raising tasks ("E").

"E" felt that the tasks were 'too sophisticated' for the general learner and 'intuitively, too limiting in classroom terms'. While it is useful to bear in mind "E's" reservations, he is quite open that he is speaking about his own teaching context and his own intuition. Having made, at some length, a theoretical case for the methodology we have adopted, it would be premature to abandon this position because of the intuitive reservations of one practitioner, albeit a highly experienced and respected practitioner. It is precisely this kind of issue which we need to put to the test in our piloting.

- Better comprehension tasks – 'access' and 'enabling tasks' ("B").

When I reviewed the unit in the light of this comment from "B" I did feel that the comprehension tasks were rather Spartan, perhaps because I had been so focused on the language awareness tasks. I decided then to act on his suggestion and changed most of the tasks so that they would facilitate comprehension more. Although the comprehension work is not directly relevant to the work on spoken grammar, I agreed with "B's" comment 'Without this [good comprehension work] the rest of your work is less effective'.
• Inner voice tasks ("C").

Though not exactly sure what an 'inner voice' task is, I share (from experience) "C's" belief that a little mental rehearsal time makes discussions much richer. In line with "C's" suggestion, therefore, I added the rubric 'Take a moment to think about these questions and then discuss them with your partner'. Again this is only relevant insofar as we can assume that well motivated students will be better disposed to our language awareness tasks.

• More variety in the comprehension tasks ("A").

Addressed in adding 'access and 'enabling tasks'.

• Use post tasks ("A").

I would agree that the text could be further exploited with tasks of this kind (follow-up discussions, writing tasks, role plays etc). For the purpose of piloting materials for feedback on attitudes to spoken grammar work, however, I felt it important not to take the focus too far away from the language work. Quite simply, with a wide array of tasks, teachers might not get round to the tasks which are important for this study.

Specific

• Do the initial preview discussion task before viewing the video ("B"/"C").

Logic dictated that I act on this. It is also consistent with our principle that the learner's culture should be foregrounded.

• Clarify the 'add and delete' task in section 3 ("B"/"C").
As three people who reviewed the materials had commented that this task was not clear, I reluctantly conceded that the world was not yet ready for it and replaced it with a multiple choice gap-fill. This task was not only clearer, but offered more opportunity for discussion and, through its multiple choice format (three appropriate options and one inappropriate), it offered more opportunity for discussion of appropriate spoken language forms.

Pre-Feedback Version (example task)

Listening for language

Look at the extract below. As you listen, you will need to delete some words and add others.

Chris: Lionel, Cornwall is an area of high unemployment but you've got a job. What do you do?
Lionel: I'm a vehicle fitter, working for the South Western Electricity Board. I maintain vehicles, I keep them running and other little problems that arise

Post-Feedback Version (example task)

Listening for language

1. Tick the words in italics below the extract which would sound natural in the gap in the extract e.g.

That was a ...................... good film
Pretty ✔ absolutely ✗ fairly ✔ reasonably ✔

Extract A

Chris: Lionel, Cornwall is an area of high unemployment but you've got a job. What do you do?
Lionel: .........................I'm a vehicle fitter, working for the South Western Electricity Board. Maintain vehicles, I keep them running and other little problems that arise

Actually  Basically  Fundamentally  Well

7.5 Chapter Summary

In response to the feedback from materials writers we made the following important revisions:
1. We expanded the talking point activities to offer more opportunity for reflection and review:

**Pre-Feedback Version**

Talking point

a) Did any of the differences surprise you?
b) Would you speak in a similar way in your language?
c) Would you like to speak in English like this? Why? Why not?

**Post-Feedback Version**

**Section 5 Talking Points**

**Talking Point 1**

1. Follow the instructions below and complete Chris' part of the dialogue with you as the interviewer, using the English you would use in this situation.

   Trudy  
   Yeah. This is my sister-in-law's shop. Oh, here she is, look. Enid. Hi Enid, meet Chris.

   Chris  
   respond to the introduction

   Trudy  
   Hello. How's the family?

   Enid  
   Very well. And your lot?

   Trudy  
   Yes, smashing.

   Chris  
   comment on the weather

   Enid  
   It's lovely, isn't it?

   Chris  
   ask about Enid's business

   Enid  
   Well, not too bad. You know.

   Chris  
   respond

   Trudy  
   Bye.

   Enid  
   Bye.

   Compare with a partner what you have written.

   Now compare what you have written with the original

**Talking point 2**

1. Please tick one answer

   When I speak English I speak

   1) more formally than in my language

   2) less formally than in my language

   3) as formally or informally as in my language

   When I speak English

   1) I would like to speak more formally than in my language

   2) I would like to speak less formally than in my language

   3) I would like to speak as formally or informally as in my language

2. Now compare your answers with a partner
Talking point 3
Look back over the unit and make a note of:
1. Some things you have learned about the way people use English in conversation.
2. Some things which have surprised you about the way people use English in conversation.
3. Any questions you would like to ask your teacher.

We added extension activities to offer opportunity for review and systematisation of the language work. We also considered how such activities might be adapted for production. The extension activities were only included in the post-feedback version.

Extension activities

Extension activity 1
Reconstruct the examples from the text e.g.
to you nice meet
to meet you
1. all of we all school my friends together down there went to.
2. demand the children breakfast they
3. have to get used to the all they the way lifeboat round here?
4. the smugglers the tobacco and loot that’s where used to keep and that.
5. booming is business it?
6. it’s always been at the other end right sort of of the country and very isolated.

Listen to your teacher read the actual examples.
Now check your order with your teacher if it is different.
Underline the features in the actual examples above which are typical of informal spoken English e.g.

Nice to meet you (no subject) It’s kind of strange to be here (vague language)

Extension activity 2
1. Use phrases a) to j) to complete the 10 dialogues below.
a) OK, see you tomorrow b) Difficult to say, really c) Never heard of it
d) I feel a bit sort of disappointed about it e) that’s right
f) Good job I’ve brought mine then
g) That’s wonderful, that is h) You’re joking.
i) Something a bit like a degree – a kind of diploma, like j) Taste OK to me

1. Have you seen the film ‘Conspiracy’?
2. I’m going now, me.
3. How was your exam?
4. What qualifications have you got for this job, Mr. Pollard?
5. You’re studying in Leeds?
6. I’ve lost my key
7. I’ve lost my credit card.
8. So, Mrs Barnes, what qualities do you think you could bring to this post?
9. One of Steven’s sister’s boyfriends, he takes his game boy into work.
10. Slightly overcooked, these potatoes, aren’t they?

Now underline the features in the dialogues above which are typical of informal spoken English.

In the extension activity, we tried to include lexically typical examples of spoken language features.
3 We drew up teacher’s notes with suggested language awareness questions for
students to discuss, and which included grammar notes. We changed the
comprehension tasks so that they would facilitate comprehension better e.g.

**Pre-Feedback Version**
Listening for understanding
a) What changes have there been in Port Isaac?
b) Is Port Isaac a lively place?

**Post-Feedback Version**
Listening for understanding 1 0.00 – 1.30

1. *Listen/Watch the introduction on the video and then choose the best summary from those below:*
   
   A: Cornwall is an area of great natural beauty which has been spoiled by
tourism and fishing.
   
   B: Cornwall is an area of great natural beauty which depends on tourism and
fishing.
   
   C: Cornwall is an uninhabited area of natural beauty.

2. *Discuss with a partner what you remember about the topics below*
   
   The coastline   The Atlantic     Port Isaac   Trade
   
   The National Trust   Trudy Harris

3. *Watch again if you need to and make notes about the topics above.*

In making these revisions, however, we were careful to respect our core principles:

- The materials should engage the interest of the learner;
- The text should be processed first for meaning, then for language;
- Language tasks should raise awareness of spoken grammar features, but not
  require production;
- The materials should foster the skill of noticing.
8.0 Introduction: the Purpose of Materials Piloting

In 6.0 we argued that the piloting process would allow us to get more reliable qualitative data about students' and teachers' attitudes to spoken grammar: we would be able to present them with more actual examples of spoken grammar on which to base their views. We need to ask, however, whether the piloting process can also tell us anything about the effectiveness and viability of the materials themselves. It can be argued that, in a research project of this scale, it would be impossible to get enough empirical data from which to draw meaningful conclusions about the effectiveness and viability of the materials themselves. A sample of 60 or 70 students and teachers unanimously in favour of our materials does not necessarily mean that we have an empirically proven approach to an awareness-raising approach to spoken grammar in all contexts. By the same token, if the sample of 60 or 70 students and teachers are unanimously hostile, it does not necessarily mean that our approach is unworkable in any context. Either way, we would need to be careful not to extrapolate too far from our small sample of data.

Nevertheless, we can argue that, in terms of assessing the effectiveness and viability of the materials, there are two potential benefits from the piloting process:

1. As we have taken the view in this thesis that applied linguistics is an interaction between theory and practice, we can expect that responses to our materials from the
classroom will lead to a constructive reappraisal of the theoretical stance we have adopted.

2. While we have cautioned against extrapolating too far from a small sample of data, we can expect responses to give us some feel for the potential viability of the materials and the kinds of adaptations we may need to make.

8.1 The Materials Piloting Process

8.1.1 Informal Materials Piloting

Once I was satisfied with the design of the materials, I taught the materials to an upper-intermediate group at Leeds Metropolitan University over two sessions. Each session was observed by an experienced colleague. These sessions did not form part of the formal piloting and evaluation process, but the aims were two-fold:

1. To iron out any practical flaws in the design of the materials before giving them to colleagues to pilot.

2. To pilot the teacher feedback sheets, teacher's notes and grammar notes.

After reading the feedback from my colleagues, I was satisfied that the materials were at the very least potentially workable and decided to go ahead with the piloting.

8.1.2 The Piloting Teachers

The teachers who piloted the materials were all colleagues of mine who volunteered to help. Here we need to revisit the problem of self-selection bias and acknowledge that these teachers, most of whom were acquainted with my research, were probably
favourably pre-disposed to materials which focus on spoken grammar. Their responses, then, while sincere and informative, cannot be assumed to be typical of English language teachers as a whole. Self-selection bias does not, of course, apply to the students in this case, though we should also note that the students at Innsbruck University were attending the language awareness component of an English course and were well used, in the words of their teacher, to operating at a metacognitive level. In addition, only around half of the students who piloted the materials at Birmingham University completed and returned the feedback sheets. The sampling, then, was opportunistic, but had the merit of covering students working both inside and outside native speaker communities.

8.2 Responding to the Classroom Feedback – in Principle

In 7.2 we made the point that the view of applied linguistics we have taken – as an interaction between theory and practice – means that we have to be very careful how we respond to feedback. As the same points apply as in the previous chapter, I think it is worth repeating the argument we made there in exactly the same terms, simply substituting students and teachers for materials writers:

It would be rather pointless to consult students and teachers and then blithely dismiss their views if they don’t correspond with our principle-driven materials. Equally, if we simply adjust our materials to meet current expectations we would not be producing innovative materials grounded in theory. We will need to see, then, if we can act on their feedback without compromising our principles. And if we choose not to act on their feedback, we will need a principled justification for not doing so. If, for example, as happened, one teacher notes in her feedback that there are too many
language tasks, we need not be unduly concerned about this as the teacher’s notes specify that the teacher should select from the tasks given. The most we will want to do is to highlight this in the teacher’s notes. If, on the other hand, a number of students and teachers complain that the text is not engaging because it looks outdated, we will have to take this into account in our approach, even if we happen to think this is a rather trivial reason for forming a negative view of a text.

8.3 Responding to the Classroom Feedback – in Practice

8.3.1 Feedback from the Students

Respondent Profile

Table 21 Profile of Pilot Students

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Respondent profile</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total number of students</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Studying in the UK</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Studying in Austria</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Statistical Evidence

The students were asked to circle a number on a 1–5 scale for each of the categories of the questionnaire: the tasks; the materials; what they had learned about spoken English. However, even though the statistical evidence was extremely favourable to the materials, I have chosen not to refer to it here. I have chosen not to refer to it here for these reasons:

1. As the questionnaire was so short, it is not possible to check the questionnaires for internal consistency.
2. As many respondents left a number of comment boxes blank, the quantitative data cannot be triangulated against qualitative data.

3. There may be ‘acquiescence’, to use Low’s (1997) term. One teacher reported that the group had found the materials rather difficult and a bit boring, but the students still graded the materials reasonably highly.

4. At this stage in our research, comments are more important than numbers.

What we can say with confidence from the statistics is that there was no evidence of widespread hostility to the materials, the tasks, or the ‘target language’ among the students we sampled. It seems that, at the very least, the materials proved to be workable in the classroom.

Students’ Comments

The students were asked to comment on three topics:

1. The listening for language tasks.
2. The materials in general.
3. What they had learned about spoken language.

In practice, however, the majority of those students who did make comments remarked on the nature of the language presented, irrespective of the topic they were meant to be talking about. It seems, then, that the nature of the language presented made a bigger impression on them than the nature of the tasks or anything else about the materials. They voted with their pens about what mattered to them. Accordingly, in analysing their feedback, I have chosen to re-classify their remarks into 4 main categories:
1. Comments on the tasks

2. General comments on what they had gained from the materials

3. Specific language points they had learned

4. Students criticisms of and reservations about the materials

Comments on the tasks

In general, the nature of the tasks did not excite as much comment as the nature of the language points studied, but it is interesting that the most novel of the tasks – the two-way translation – was picked out by three students as being particularly useful, with one student underlining the noticing value of the task:

- "I found this [translation] task very interesting and was after surprised by the things I found out (words you can leave out etc). I've never thought there would be a lot of differences in task 2 (translations) but there are!"

There was also explicit support from two students for the idea of 'double processing'. They felt the listening work was worthwhile and appreciated doing the language work after the listening tasks.

General Benefits

A number of students seemed pleased simply by the idea of looking at informal language in general. Representative comments were:

- "I learned more about the informal use in dialogues."
- "It's good to prepare foreigner to daily informal English."
- "Spoken English is difficult because you expect a complete grammar structure. It is useful to know the ellipsis and vague language and to perceive its meaning."

Two students were explicit that the materials exposed them, at least to some extent, to new language which was 'hardly ever covered in grammar books' and which was not used on English courses. Two students, however, felt that the material raised their
conscious awareness of features with which they were already reasonably familiar: either they had not conscious thought about this kind of language before or they did not know the terminology for it.

There were interesting echoes of points raised by teachers in chapter four. Firstly the relationship between first language awareness and second language awareness:

- “It was interesting to find out how native speakers speak to each other. I could find connection to my mother tongue, which make things (in English) clearer.”

Secondly the idea that studying native speaker spoken language may simply be an interesting and fun:

- “I feel interesting pay attention to spoken English.”

Some, at least, of the students found the cultural content of the video appealing. There were specific references to ‘a glimpse of UK tradition’ and information about ‘the culture and lifestyle’, one student even declaring a wish to visit Cornwall after viewing the video.

Specific language points

A number of students picked out ellipsis as a feature they had noticed while using the materials. Unsurprisingly, they varied in the accuracy and detail with which they were able to describe the feature. Some were quite vague and did not use the term ‘ellipsis’:

- “Words that you can leave out when speaking.”
- “Omitting some words in spoken English.”
- “When they speak, they don’t say every word.”

Others used the term ‘ellipsis’, but were still quite vague:

- “Ellipsis – you can eat or forget some words.”
One or two seemed to be moving towards a more developed understanding of the feature:

- "We can avoid using pronouns in spoken English, by using ellipsis."
- "How to omit some words in spoken English."

There was one interesting reference to ellipsis facilitating production:

- "I have realized I don't need to use all the words in a spoken English phrase. It is easier."

There were a few specific references to heads and tails, two of which included an attempt to attribute a function to the feature:

- "Fronted topic as presentation of the item."
- "you can repeat the subject twice to emphasise the phrases and make it clearer."

Perhaps surprisingly, there were four specific uses of the term 'back-channelling', as well as two indirect references:

- "Really, you're kidding, wonderful and more expressions to make feel the other person you are interested in his/her conversation."
- "Is it so? That's crazy, isn't it?"

Three students simply picked out flexibility as a feature of spoken English they had noticed:

- "flexibility in the phrase structure."
- "flexibility of spoken English."
- "In spoken English the order isn't important."

Idiomatic language in general, and the use of 'smashing' in particular, were the highlight for some students:

- "informal vocabulary (smashing)."
- "Smashing, a little bit."
- "The meaning of 'smugglers'. Smashing=very good"
- "And your lot? They are smashing."
- "Idiomatic language."
Students’ Criticisms and Reservations

It was clear that the topic did not appeal to all students. I was politely enjoined by three students to find a more interesting and/or more current topic. One student found the level of the tasks too low, while another questioned whether this kind of language, though interesting, was suitable for classroom study. Not unreasonably, some students seemed to question the value of using the materials in isolation and requested more materials:

- "I think more examples would be helpful."
- "It'll be great if more lectures could be arranged."
- "They were not enough. Considering the short time of the class, more materials would be necessary for us. We can use the hand outs as a reference."

8.3.2 Feedback from the Teachers

Teacher “A” works in Austria, at Innsbruck University, Teacher “C” at Birmingham University, and the other four teachers at Leeds Metropolitan University.

We will look at teachers’ comments under the topic headings of the questionnaire they were given:

1. The interest level of the text for your students

Opinions about the interest level varied, but only one teacher ("B") expressed a generally negative view:

- "I don’t think they found the video so interesting. They said it wasn’t relevant and it was clearly an old programme." Teacher “B”

Teachers “C”, “D” and “E” felt that the students found the material intrinsically interesting. There were specific references to the ‘standard of living v quality of life debate’ and the usefulness of regional information for students new to the UK.
Teacher “A”, however, felt that the interest came mainly from the ‘language and interactions’.

2. The cultural and linguistic accessibility of the text for your students

The comments in this section confirmed my own view that the speed of delivery on the video (rather than the language points) made the material suitable only for very good upper-intermediate students and advanced students: Teacher “D” noted that she had used it with a ‘strong advanced group’ as she though it would be too difficult for her upper-intermediate group. Two comments in particular indicated that an important aim – finding a topic which could be extended beyond the local context and related to the students’ own context – had been met:

- “I think the topic of regional identity dealt with in the video is quite accessible and relevant to international students, as they have parallel situations in their country. Linguistically some of the language is quite challenging because of the speed and informality, but getting the gist was no problem, and for listening in detail the transcript was very useful.” Teacher “C”
- Culturally, no problem as the students are mainly Spanish and could relate to the context – area dependent on tourism/fishing; close-knit community; quality of life. They found it quite challenging linguistically, but were able to answer the listening tasks with some guidance.” Teacher “E”

3. The value of the language points for your students

The most interesting point in this section, like ‘the dog that didn’t bark’ in the Sherlock Holmes stories, is what was not said. Nobody challenged the value of the points on sociocultural grounds. Even though we have no ENLF data, this is still interesting. According to four of the teachers, the materials did succeed in making the students consciously aware of certain features. The teachers seemed to think this was a worthwhile process.

- “Very useful. Reading about this and discovering it are two different things. Comments like ‘this sounds so bad’, ‘I can’t speak like that’ it’s wrong’ were not uncommon. Coming from their unquestioned position of superior knowledge (in their eyes) if what is ‘right’ and ‘good’, this was a
real lesson for them (which I don’t think they would have accepted without the video evidence!)”
Teacher “A”
• “Very valuable, I think, as almost none of them had ever been made aware of these characteristics of informal spoken English (e.g. ellipsis), whereas of course they encounter this type of language on a daily basis as students in the UK.” Teacher “C”
• “I think the language points covered were very useful because they were all points they recognised but hadn’t focused on before so I think they felt as if a little bit of unravelling of the mystery of why they find fast spoken English so hard to follow had taken place.” Teacher “D”
• “I think the language points were very helpful for the students. They are now able to put a name to some of the reasons why they are currently having difficulty in understanding home students and local people.”

4. The suitability of the language tasks for your students

The tasks met with general approval though, interestingly, teacher “D” questioned the value of the translation task. Teacher “C” requested ‘more extension activities, especially interactive ones’. This request for more productive activities is an interesting one, and one we will return to in the chapter summary.

5. The usefulness of the teacher’s notes and grammar summaries

The layout of the teacher’s notes seemed to cause confusion, but they were found to be useful in general, especially the grammar notes.

6. Your general impression of students’ response to the materials

Comments indicate that the response from students was generally positive. In one case, the students had even unanimously asked to continue with the materials. This is consistent, of course, with the generally positive tenor of the student feedback. Teacher “B”, however, thought that the students ‘found it difficult and a bit boring’ as they had to watch ‘the same 5 minutes 5/6 times’. This comment from teacher “A” indicates that the aim of getting students to notice the gap between their expectations of English and ‘real English’ was met:
• “I feel they underestimated the piece when we started. They could follow what was going on easily but it was the tasks and activities that added the depth...Just how much they had been missing was what really produced the eye openers.” Teacher “A”

7. Any other comments

There are two particularly interesting comments here: the reference to more explicit teaching of the points (in that teacher’s context), and another reference to the possibility of productive practice. We return to these in the chapter summary:

• “For my target group (university students) I felt that dealing with the grammar of spoken English in a more conscious and systematic way was appropriate. I therefore devised a handout summarising the main points, based on the ‘Grammar summaries’ in the Teacher’s Notes.” Teacher “C”
• “I was worried that they weren’t going to like all the stopping and starting so after showing the intro and doing page 1, I played the rest of the video all the way through...I thought they needed to relax and get a general overview before closing in on specific language points. Personally I think it gets them more interested/involved if they can actually use some but not all of the language – just noticing it could be a bit dull even if that’s the aim.” Teacher “D”
• “I would like to use more materials which focus on aspects of ‘real’ spoken English. It was useful to be able to give students terms like ‘heads, tails, ellipsis’ and to make comparisons with written English.” Teacher “E”

8.4 Chapter Summary

We need to bear in mind that there is some bias in our data: most of the pupils and teachers were in the UK. Nonetheless, some interesting points emerge from the data:

1. The majority of teachers and students seem to find the language points worth studying. There were no objections on the grounds of sociocultural appropriacy. Given the debate about the appropriateness of native speaker models, this is surprising.

2. To some extent at least, the aim of finding a native speaker context with culturally transferable topics has been met.
3. To some extent, the aim of finding an interesting text with typical features of speech has been met. Clearly, however, a more up-to-date text would be preferable. At first sight, the fact that this was the best text I could find, after an extensive search, is not encouraging. In recent months, however, I have discovered that the internet is a promising source of texts with spoken language. This seems to be an avenue worth exploring in the hunt for texts, though many of them would then have to be recorded.

4. The methodological approach has met with approval, though we will need to consider the possibility of offering the students optional practice of features they select if, as two teachers and one materials writer suggest, this proves to be of greater motivational value.
CHAPTER NINE

REFLECTIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

9.0 Introduction

This chapter is divided into four sections. In 9.1, we reflect on the questions raised in the course of our research and suggest directions for future research. In 9.2 we briefly review the key theoretical positions we have adopted during this thesis and consider whether there is consistency in the thesis at a theoretical level. In section 9.3 we test the hypothesis against the key research findings of the thesis, and in 9.4 we look at the wider implications of the research findings.

9.1 Research Reflections

Our research thus far has embraced linguistic, sociolinguistic and pedagogic concerns. We can make the case that our research in relation to our hypothesis has been thorough, principled and well focused. However, any research project is likely to raise further questions which it would be interesting to research, but which, however interesting they may be, cannot be pursued within the confines of that particular project. As this thesis has involved research in three different, though contiguous fields, it is neither surprising nor unhealthy that we can identify a number of questions which merit further research, either on a large or small scale. It is to these questions that we turn our attention in this chapter. Two advantages should accrue from the process of reviewing these questions:
1. By looking at what we have not covered, we should be able to see in sharper relief what we have covered and be in a better position to assess the strength of the evidence which supports our conclusions. We will be able to define more clearly the parameters of this thesis.

2. This review may suggest to other researchers directions they might want to take.

We will look now at research questions in each of the three areas of research we have referred to, though we will expect that some at least of these questions will span more than one area.

9.1.1 Reflections on the Linguistic Research

*What is Natural in L1 Performance?*

McCarthy (1998) summarised the challenge for pedagogically oriented applied linguistic research of spoken corpus findings thus: "What is important is to identify those features which are natural in L1 performance and desirable in the learner's L2 performance." McCarthy (2002) has also argued that we do not know enough about what good native speaker communicators do. While there is a generally acknowledged literary canon, he contends, there is no such canon of communicators (unless we take the rather exceptional case of orators). It will be difficult, then, to offer a good model of communication for learners until we know more about what constitutes good communication. In the literature review we examined a range of
grammatical insights into 'what is natural' in L1 performance, but we have also acknowledged that research work in spoken grammar is in its infancy and more work needs to be done in this area. McCarthy (1998) refers to the need for more genre-sensitive corpora. Particular examples of features which require further research are also quoted by McCarthy (1998). He points to the need for better descriptions of different types of ellipsis and further research into how and when ellipsis is used. More precise information is also needed on the function of heads and tails.

*Lexicalising Spoken Grammar*

We have noted that ellipsis is commonly found in fixed or institutionalised expressions. If we were to take the lexical approach to teaching grammar advocated by Lewis (1993) it would be invaluable to have more information about the occurrence of other features of spoken grammar in fixed expressions. We can note, for example, the presence of the past continuous to introduce reported speech in the fixed expression 'As I was saying'. Can we identify other fixed expressions where spoken grammar features are embedded? Can we identify prototypical uses of spoken grammar features? Is, for example, 'this man, he walks into a pub' a common use of heads to introduce anecdotes? Is the sarcastic expression 'that's great, that is' a common use of tails. If we believe (as I do) that in teaching grammatical features it is useful to know how they are routinely lexicalised, then research into the kinds of questions above will have a lot to offer to the teacher.
What is Desirable in L2 Performance?

We need now to look at 'what is desirable in L2 performance'. McCarthy (1998) acknowledges here the need for 'more representative corpora'. We need, for example, to know more about how 'affect' is managed in international English. Prodromou (1997) highlights consciously, and perhaps unconsciously, the need for further research in this area: 'Though the topic needs a great deal of research, intuitively one can say that when an Italian and a Japanese use English as a lingua franca at an international conference they probably use a minimum of phrasal verbs, idiomatic collocations or structures typical of informal British or American English'

The problem with intuition, of course, is that corpora have shown that our linguistic intuition is not particularly reliable.

We can gain further information on the desirability of features in L2 performance through studies which measure the effect of the use or non-use of particular features. Scarcella and Brunak (1981), for example, argued that their study showed that non-native speakers did not use ellipsis as frequently as native speakers in the same context and therefore sounded 'inappropriately formal'. Tyler, Jefferson and Davies (1988) concluded from their study that spoken discourse which lacks a normal distribution of markers is not only unnatural but also difficult to understand. There seem to be few such studies which demonstrate the desirability of a particular feature. This may well be because of the methodological difficulty of such studies. As Carter and McCarthy (1997) remark: "Locating grammar within a discourse environment and describing degrees of affect necessarily and unavoidably brings with it what may be described as the 'unscientific' equipment of human interpretive procedures." In the case of the study by Scarcella and Brunak, for example, we can argue that
‘inappropriately formal’ is a subjective value judgement. Did the speakers feel this themselves? Were they perceived as ‘inappropriately formal’ by their interlocutors?

If, through carefully planned research methodology we can minimise subjectivity, there would appear to be a number of fruitful avenues of research:

- If heads are an ‘act of consideration to the listener’ (McCarthy 1998), are speakers less intelligible when they don’t use heads?
- If tails encourage reciprocity, does the absence of tails affect the shape of the discourse?
- Does the failure to use ellipsis in certain contexts have a negative effect on affect?

Harder (1980) has argued that ‘while it is generally accepted that all languages are equally expressive, this may not be the case with students’ interlanguage or International English’. For the pedagogically oriented spoken corpus researcher then, one of the ultimate goals could be to define an ‘international affective grammar of English’ in the same way that Willis (1999) has spoken of an ‘international grammar of English’ and Jenkins (1999) has spoken of ‘an international phonology of English’.

9.1.2 Reflections on the Sociolinguistic and Ethnographic Research

**Reviewing the Questionnaires**

In our initial survey we chose to take a broad look at attitudes to native speaker norms, broad both in terms of geographic coverage and the range of issues addressed (pronunciation, canonical grammar, spoken grammar). It should not be difficult, therefore to identify questions which merit further research: almost any aspect of the survey would be amenable to more detailed ‘zoom lens treatment’. The detail could
come through additional questions on a particular topic, additional interviews, the use of real rather than hypothetical examples, and the use of smaller more scientifically constructed samples. If we had chosen to deal only with students' attitudes to spoken grammar in the first instance, we could have gained more detailed information by taking the following steps:

1. Added questions to ascertain why students had identified example A or example B as the spoken example.

2. Probed in interviews to find out why students appeared to commit themselves to spoken grammar in one question, but change their minds, or at least become equivocal, when confronted with an example.

3. We could have used more examples of spoken grammar, and perhaps shown videos of students talking rather than using transcribed examples.

4. We could have chosen only to compare the attitudes of three classes in similar institutions in different countries.

We can argue, of course, that we have added detail in this area through our later materials evaluation, but other areas of the research, attitudes to pronunciation, for example, would also be susceptible to this 'zoom lens treatment'.

In terms of specific changes or additions to the questionnaire and piloting research, I would like, with the benefit of hindsight, to make, I would list the following:
Coverage of the questionnaires

- If resources had allowed, it would have been very useful to interview students and teachers in ENLF countries to get at the reasons behind their choices, which were often at variance with those from ENL and EILF countries;
- It would also have been useful to pilot the materials in ENLF countries.

Design and wording of the questionnaires

- A more precise term than ‘informal grammar’ or at least an exemplification of the term would probably have given me more accurate information about the grammatical norms to which students aspire;
- I would have liked to incorporate in the follow-up questionnaire for teachers some kind of grammatical acceptability rating scale such as that demonstrated by McCarten (2002) – see extract below:

Look at these [ten] extracts from conversations. Are they suitable to include in an ESL textbook? Give each extract a mark on a scale from 0 to 5, as follows:

0=not at all suitable; 3=somewhat suitable; 5=very suitable.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conversation</th>
<th>0</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>Notes on items assessed as 0,1, 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A It’s getting more humid now.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B Uh Huh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A We need rain real bad. It’s getting real bad.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...and there’s two or three Greek restaurants in Astoria because there’s a lot of Greek people there.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This kind of questionnaire would have given more precise information about how teachers regard particular features of spoken grammar and how suitable they think
they are for teaching purposes. It would also have exposed them to more examples and further clarified what we meant by 'spoken grammar'.

- In the questionnaire for the students on the pilot materials, it would have been better not to use the Likert scale and to aim for more qualitative feedback. A number of students made minimal entries in the comment boxes, perhaps because circling a number offers an easy option.

**Following up issues**

- If space and time constraints had permitted, I would like to have examined further what students and teachers understood by the term 'native speaker'. I don't feel I exploited the question which related to this issue in the student interviews to best advantage.

**Possibilities for further attitudinal surveys**

Another obvious line of further research in the ethnographic domain would simply be to replicate the study in 5 or 10 years time: we have not argued that attitudes are cast in stone and it would be interesting to see if attitudes appear to have changed. It would also be possible to carry out a parallel survey with modern language teachers to establish how far the attitudes expressed are unique to ELT.

Further surveys could be carried out to address the following questions:

- How closely are students' attitudes linked to their degree of awareness of the issues involved? Would the inclusion of a sociolinguistic awareness unit focusing on the relevant issues (as suggested by Willis (1999)) make any difference to their attitudes?
What lies behind teachers' attitudes to native speaker norms? How far are their attitudes shaped, for example by training, education, institutional pressures or 'political correctness'. How far do their stated attitudes inform their practice?

Is there an inevitable link between 'enculturation' (Alptekin 2002) and the use of native speaker models? What evidence is there that students adopt 'new cultural frames of reference and a new world view, reflecting those of the target culture and its speakers' (Alptekin 2002)? This is surely too important an area to be left to the assertions of expert commentators.

Many teachers stated that their goal for their students was 'effective communication'. What is 'effective communication' in an international context? How far is it transactional and how far is it interactional? Do teachers have similar views about what constitutes 'effective communication' and, if not, how and why do these views differ? Does 'effective communication' encompass self-expression, intercultural capability, creativity and originality?

9.1.3 Reflections on the Pedagogic Research

We designed and piloted a sample unit of materials and sought feedback on the materials from both students and teachers. The materials were designed to be consistent with our research findings relating to students' and teachers' attitudes to native speaker spoken grammar. They were also designed to be consistent with current theoretical principles relating to materials design and second language acquisition. One unit of materials designed on sound theoretical principles can tell us a lot about the potential of such materials, but it is bound to leave a number of unanswered questions. We will look now at these questions:
1. What kinds of tasks are most effective in the teaching of spoken grammar? We made the case for the use of reconstruction, reformulation and comparison tasks, but which tasks in practice seem to be most effective?

2. Is there a case, despite the cautionary words from second language acquisition research about the value of controlled practice of selected items, for allowing students to choose items they want to practise.

3. What kinds of texts are most effective in the teaching of spoken grammar? We made the case for the use of both authentic and specially constructed texts, but can we ascertain which are actually more effective? Can we exploit literary texts which include realistic dialogues?

4. If we choose to use specially constructed texts, can we, as Carter, Hughes and McCarthy (1998) suggest occupy a middle ground ‘which involves modelling data on authentic patterns’? Is it tenable, for materials writers to rely on their intuition to produce texts with an informal ‘one size fits all’ native-speaker-like English, suitable for everyone. Can we satisfy this teacher, who seems disenchanted with canonical reported speech, but unsure what to teach in its stead?

"By all means expose students to the [spoken grammar] language for comprehension, but I don’t think I want them to reproduce it. Having said all that, I tend to avoid teaching ‘traditional’ reported speech nowadays (except for formal writing) because fewer and fewer people use it in informal speech.”

5. Do we need to design materials which focus on aspects of spoken grammar, or is it better to equip teachers with a methodological template so that they can deal with spoken grammar opportunistically, as and when it occurs in any text they are using in class and as and when they deem it appropriate?

6. Can we measure what students gain from a focus on spoken grammar? Basturkmen (2001) has argued that “By focusing on practice alone, the learner can become tied to a limited awareness and a potentially fossilized repertoire of
interactive strategies and use." Can we show through a longitudinal study that students have increased their awareness and repertoire of interactive strategies?

7. Which features of spoken grammar is it most useful to teach? Can we conduct a kind of pedagogic cost-benefit analysis, as appears to be suggested by Gavioli and Aston (2001) when they acknowledge the usefulness of teaching 'tend to' for habit, but question the value of teaching tails: "while their [tails] frequency suggests they should be included in the syllabus, other considerations may argue against this, at any rate from the perspective of spoken production. Their use being highly context-dependent, they seem difficult to teach and harder to master than other markers of affect with similar functions"

8. How far is it useful to talk explicitly about rules with spoken grammar, and how far can we rely on 'noticing' and awareness-raising?

9. Is 'noticing' amenable to training? Would noticing skills developed in looking at spoken grammar transfer to other areas of language study and thus facilitate language learning/study in general? Is first language awareness a useful starting point for looking at spoken grammar in a second language?

10. How far can students be equipped with intercultural and intervarietal competence which goes beyond knowledge of particular language features and allows them to negotiate meaning effectively and affectively with speakers of different varieties?

11. Are the two teachers quoted below right about the ramifications of teaching international English? If so, what would materials based on their views look like?
   - "More and more Chinese would take English as an international language rather than a foreign or second language."
   - "I think that language cannot be divorced from culture, but perhaps world English is a culture in itself."

12. (How) can work on spoken grammar be assessed?
13. The principle which underpins the materials developed in this thesis is that it is useful to develop critical awareness of native speaker spoken grammar norms. It would be interesting to see in which other directions this principle of critical awareness could be taken. Harwood (2002), for example, has shown how materials can develop critical awareness of native speaker norms in academic writing. My own future research plans include a project to develop learners' awareness of the way native speakers use lexical chunks in academic encounters.

9.1.4 Summary of Research Reflections

In this chapter we have both briefly reviewed the research we have done in relation to our hypothesis and acknowledged the questions which have arisen which we have not been able to pursue. We have noted that our hypothesis - 'It is both possible and desirable to design materials which raise awareness of native speaker spoken grammar' – has entailed either primary or secondary research in three domains: linguistic, sociolinguistic, and pedagogic. We have drawn on research evidence from all three domains to support our hypothesis and to demonstrate an approach to teaching spoken grammar which is both theoretically sound and, at the very least, potentially viable in practice. We have acknowledged, however, that more research needs to be done on descriptions of spoken language, on students' and teachers' sociolinguistic attitudes, and on the effectiveness of our proposed materials and methodology in practice, before we can begin to talk about an empirically proven approach to the teaching of spoken grammar.
9.2 Reviewing the Theoretical Standpoints in the Thesis

There are two advantages to reviewing the theoretical positions we have adopted during the thesis:

1. In the next section we will be able to review the research findings against the theoretical background.

2. We will be able to see if there is any consistency in the theoretical stances we have adopted.

We will review our theoretical stances in four areas:

1. Research (9.2.1)
2. Linguistic concepts (9.2.2)
3. Sociolinguistic concepts (9.2.3)
4. Pedagogic concepts (9.2.4)

9.2.1 Research Perspectives

The Applied Linguistic Goal

In 2.1, following Cook and Seidlhofer (1995: 8), we committed ourselves to a view of applied linguistics as an interaction of theory and practice. We argued, for example, that it would be inadvisable to attempt to reach decisions about appropriate norms and models for the ELT classroom without some effort to gauge the views of those affected by the decisions. As we will reiterate below (9.2.5) important consequences for our research flow from this decision.
The Research Paradigm

We generated specific research questions from the literature review and set out to find the views of selected respondents on the issues. In so doing, we committed ourselves to a predominantly quantitative approach. We noted in 2.1, however, that qualitative research could play an important supporting role, both in helping to validate the quantitative research, and in suggesting questions for further research.

9.2.2 Linguistic Concepts

The Corpus-Based Approach

In 1.1 we showed that corpus-based language study was an empirically based research method rather than a separate area of linguistic study. While we acknowledged that there were some flaws in a corpus-based approach, and that it was not a research method which had to be used to the exclusion of all others, we argued that it had important advantages in terms of the quality and transparency of the evidence it made available to the linguist.

A Corpus View of Language

In 1.2, drawing on the work of Sinclair (1991), Cook (1998), and Hunston (2002) we summarised the general findings of corpus linguists about the nature of language:

- Lexis and grammar are more closely related than had previously been thought;
- Pattern and meaning are more closely related than had previously been thought;
- Language operates according to both the idiom principle and the open choice principle, and the idiom principle, in the form of collocation, for example, plays a more important role than had previously been thought.
The Nature of Spoken Language

In 1.4, drawing on the work of Hopper and Thompson (1993); Channell (1994); McCarthy and Carter (1994); Brazil (1995); McCarthy and Hughes (1998); McCarthy (1998); Carter and McCarthy (1997) and Biber et al (1999), we made two important claims:

1. The sentence is neither an adequate nor appropriate unit of description for spoken language. Spoken language is best understood in a discourse context.
2. In accounting for spoken grammar we need to account not only for cognitive factors, but for the social, affective and interactional dimension too.

9.2.3 Sociolinguistic Concepts

In 1.5 we set out the sociolinguistic framework for the thesis our discussion. We set out a working model of the different geopolitical constituencies of the English-speaking world (1.5.2), and produced an operational definition of the native speaker (1.5.3). We will now briefly revisit this framework.

The English-Speaking World

We opted in 1.5.2 to adopt, to a certain extent, the conventional tripartite model of the English-speaking world. However, acknowledging, in particular, the objections of Graddol (1997), McArthur (2001) and Pennycook (2002) to this model, we made certain significant adaptations:

- We opted to use the terms English as a National Language, English as a National Lingua Franca, and English as an International Lingua Franca, to describe the
main constituencies of the English-speaking world. We thus avoided the more loaded terms 'inner circle', 'outer circle', and 'expanding circle';

- None of these constituencies was placed at the centre of the model. The constituencies were portrayed as interdependent;

- The model acknowledges the possibility of a change in the nature of the constituencies over time. EILF countries, for example, need not forever be peopled by non-native speakers.

The Native Speaker

We acknowledged in 1.5.3, along with Davies (1991; 1995) and Medgyes (1999), how problematic it was to define the native speaker. We agreed, however, that however elusive the concept, it was one we needed to work with, and we attempted a working definition for the purposes of this thesis. The key features of this definition were that the speaker should be, or should have been, an habitual user of the language for all communicative purposes and should describe himself or herself as a native speaker. We argued that native speakers, according to this definition, would be likely to have certain advantages in the affective domain of language use, but not necessarily in terms of overall proficiency.

9.2.4 Pedagogic Concepts

The process of materials design involved us in discussing issues relating to texts (authenticity), learners (autonomy) and methodology ('noticing'). We will briefly review our positions on each of these issues in turn.
**Authenticity**

In 6.2.3 we opted, cutting a swathe through much of the authenticity debate, to define authentic texts as texts which were produced for a genuine communicative purpose rather than a pedagogic purpose. We argued, however, that while authentic texts might have some advantages, we would not rule out the use of specially constructed texts if they showed our target features in their natural discourse context.

**Autonomy**

In 6.2.2 we noted that autonomy was a multi-faceted phenomenon and highlighted three aspects of autonomy which were pertinent for our purposes:

1. We should not see teaching/learning as ‘transmissive’; we should see the learners as actively engaged in the learning process.
2. It is beneficial for learners to determine the direction of their own learning.
3. It is beneficial for learners to exercise responsibility for their own learning.

**Noticing**

In 6.3.1 we noted that second language acquisition research has cast doubt on the value of methodologies which isolate a particular item for study and try to reinforce understanding through productive practice. We noted the benefits of awareness-raising approaches which involved learners first experiencing a text before having their attention directed to one or more target features. In such approaches, learners are under no pressure to produce a target feature.
9.2.5 Principled Pragmatism in this Thesis

Having reviewed our main theoretical stances, can we claim that there has been consistency in our theoretical approach? I will argue that we can: the thread which runs through the thesis is what I am going to call 'principled pragmatism'. We have been pragmatic in that we have at all times striven to take 'the human factor' into account; we have been principled in the sense that we have striven to adduce principles which will not only be valid in a particular local context.

In terms of our research, if we had not been pragmatic, we would not have conducted research to find out the views of students, teachers and materials writers. If we had not been principled, we would not have started the research at all: there has been no clamour from publishers, teachers or students for materials which incorporate grammatical insights from spoken corpora (though some coursebooks have claimed to deal in 'real English').

In terms of language, if we had not been pragmatic we would not have been interested in an empirically based method of linguistic enquiry. If we had not been principled, we would not have been interested in the general observations about the nature of language, and the nature of spoken grammar, which can be made from corpus evidence.

In terms of sociolinguistics, if we had not been pragmatic, we may have abandoned attempts to define the native speaker and the English-speaking world. If we had not been principled, we would not have attempted to produce definitions at all.
In terms of pedagogy, if we had not been pragmatic, we would not have developed materials to reflect our principles, and we would not have gone through the processes of evaluation and piloting. If we had not been principled, we would not have sought to take into account second language acquisition theory.

9.3 Testing the Hypothesis

9.3.1 The Hypothesis and its Entailments

To put our hypothesis to the test against the research evidence, it will be useful to analyse exactly what our hypothesis entails. In order to confirm the hypothesis, what do we actually have to show through our research evidence? We will review the hypothesis and then discuss what it entails.

Hypothesis

It is possible, and potentially desirable, to raise awareness of corpus-attested native speaker spoken grammatical norms, while respecting that English is no longer the exclusive property of its native speakers. This hypothesis does not only apply in contexts where there is an obvious wish to conform to native speaker spoken norms.

Entailments

1. There are frequent and systematic grammatical features of general spoken English which are neglected in ELT materials.
2. These grammatical features are of potential value to the learner.
3. Despite the increasing international use of English, teachers and learners retain an interest in native speaker spoken norms.

4. We can raise awareness of native speaker spoken norms without perpetuating the cultural and linguistic hegemony of the native speaker ELT professional.

5. Raising awareness of native speaker spoken norms will not lead to the 'enculturation' of the learner.

6. We can find texts which contextualise the features we are interested in and engage the interest of the learners.

7. We can adopt a methodology which is consistent with findings from second language research, consistent with the sociolinguistic attitudes of teachers and learners, and at least consonant with the current expectations of teachers and learners.

8. Teachers will have the knowledge necessary, or will easily be able to access the knowledge necessary, to raise learners' awareness of spoken grammar.

9.3.2 Reviewing the Research Evidence

We will now look at each of the entailments in turn, reviewing the relevant research evidence.

1. There are frequent and systematic grammatical features of general spoken English which are neglected in ELT materials.

which spoken corpora had shown to be frequent in the speech of native speakers from a wide demographic range. We noted that, while there were not yet comprehensive descriptions of these features, we could attribute discoursal and affective functions to these features. We argued that these features are not at all sub-standard or random, but genre-sensitive and part of the affective grammar of the native speaker. In 1.3.2 we also demonstrated that spoken corpora had revealed neglected aspects of grammatical features which were commonly dealt with in ELT materials. Our main examples were the discourse dimensions of tense-aspect choice, the use of the get passive, and the use of certain reported speech forms.

2. _These grammatical features are of potential value to the learner._

By ascribing specific functions to spoken grammar features, we are already some way to establishing the potential value of these features. To confirm their value, however, we need to know, quite simply whether the features are useful and/or interesting for the learner. One way to establish whether the features are useful would be to see if communication can take place adequately without these features. Unfortunately, as we noted in 9.1.1, not many studies of this kind have been made, and such studies are beyond the scope of this thesis. We need to discover, then, whether learners, in ENL, ENLF and EILF contexts, have a conceivable need for such features, and whether these features are perceived as useful by learners (and teachers).

It can be argued that if learners' motivation is predominantly utilitarian or transactional, they will have little need for grammar features with an affective function. At first sight, the evidence (3.3) seems to suggest that the motivation of most of the learners in our sample is transactional or utilitarian, thus casting doubt on
the value of teaching spoken grammar. On further examination, however, we found that many learners had more than one reason for learning English, and that there did not appear to be a strong link between stated motivation and actual aspiration in terms of learning outcomes. We can also question here how often communication, even for business or professional purposes, is purely transactional in nature. To take an example from my own experience, a Rentokil salesman once told me that, at what he judged an opportune moment during a business lunch with a prospective client, he would deliberately swear in a conspiratorial manner to draw the client in to a more personal relationship. If there is a place for affectively motivated choice of lexis in a business setting, why not affectively motivated choice of grammar?

The data from the materials piloting (8.3.1) suggests that very few learners in either ENL or EILF contexts were hostile to the spoken grammar taught and a significant number of the sample from both constituencies, judging from their comments, found it both useful and interesting.

Indeed, we should not neglect the argument that it will be of value to teach spoken grammar if learners find it interesting, whether or not it is of obvious practical use to them. There were hints from the interviews that the traditional notion of mastering a language is not dead, and hints from the materials feedback that the tasks had raised the learners’ awareness at a more general level by, for example, encouraging them to reflect on their L1 language use.

3.  *Despite the increasing international use of English, teachers and learners retain an interest in native speaker spoken norms.*
In general terms (chapter three) we found that a desire to conform to native speaker norms was quite widespread among the students we sampled and, perhaps most interestingly, not confined to those with an obvious need to aim for native speaker norms. The small sample of data from ENLF countries, however, was at variance with the other data, suggesting that the picture may be different in this context.

For the teachers (chapter four), in general terms, we found that a clear majority of our sample wanted students to conform to native speaker grammatical norms. Far fewer, however, wanted their students to conform to native speaker pronunciation norms, as they felt this was more a question of identity. The question of cultural and linguistic identity seemed to be far more salient with teachers than it was with students. As was the case with the students, the small sample of data from ENLF countries was at variance with the other data, suggesting that the picture may be different in this context.

When we focused on native speaker spoken norms with the students (3.2.3), the picture was a little unclear. At first sight, it seemed that a clear majority aspired to native speaker spoken norms, but when confronted with a sample of native speaker speech, they seemed more equivocal. For this reason, we resolved to gather more data from the materials piloting process. As we have seen, this data confirms that some students, in both ENL and EILF contexts, definitely find native speaker spoken grammar useful and interesting.

When we focused on native speaker spoken norms with the teachers (chapter five), we found that there was consensus that learners should at least be exposed to spoken
grammar, though there were serious reservations about whether students should use spoken grammar. The data from the materials piloting confirms that some teachers at least, in both ENL and EILF contexts, were happy to do work on spoken grammar with their students, at least receptively.

4. *We can raise awareness of native speaker spoken norms without perpetuating the cultural and linguistic hegemony of the native speaker ELT professional.*

We have argued, along with Carter (1998) and Gavioli and Aston (2001) that it is possible and desirable for learners to adopt a critical perspective on both the linguistic and cultural content of the materials such that the native speaker is not deified. In the background to our approach, we have sought to define the native speaker, and to describe the English-speaking world, in a way that does not confer an automatic advantage on any professional on the grounds of native speaker/non-native speaker status.

It is often commented that many non-native speaker teachers have at least a better declarative knowledge of canonical grammar than many native speaker teachers. Given that our research shows that explicit knowledge of spoken grammar is not currently widespread among teachers of either constituency, there seems to be no reason why the non-native speaker should always be automatically disadvantaged in this domain.

5. *Raising awareness of native speaker spoken norms will not lead to the 'enculturation' of the learner.*

We have argued above that we have shown that it is possible and desirable for learners to adopt a critical perspective on the linguistic and cultural content of the
spoken grammar materials. They do not have to be, and should not be, passive and unquestioning recipients of all that is put before them. Though we do not want to extrapolate too far from one interview, the evidence from the interview with R suggests that some students, at least, have a more robust cultural identity than some commentators allow.

6. *We can find texts which contextualise the features we are interested in and engage the interest of the learners.*

In chapter six we set out the criteria for text selection, and in chapter seven we showed a text which, we argued, fulfilled these criteria. The evidence from the materials piloting process was that most of the learners and teachers who gave feedback, in both ENL and EILF contexts, found the text sufficiently engaging and workable.
7. We can adopt a methodology which is consistent both with findings from second language research and with the sociolinguistic attitudes of teachers and learners. This methodology will, at the same time, be at least consonant with the current expectations of teachers and learners.

Drawing principally on the work of Willis and Willis (1996), Thornbury (1997) and Tomlinson (2000) we made in chapter six the case for a methodology with three key features:

1. The texts used should engage the learners cognitively and/or affectively.
2. The texts should be processed for comprehension before language analysis or awareness work.
3. Language tasks should promote 'noticing' rather than production.

The evidence from the materials piloting was that the methodology was viable and well received in both ENL and EILF contexts.

8. Teachers will have the knowledge necessary, or will easily be able to access the knowledge necessary, to raise learners' awareness of spoken grammar.

In chapter five we showed that there was a strong tendency for teachers to view spoken grammar as a deficit model of written grammar. We also showed that the descriptive terminology of spoken grammar was not common currency among teachers. However, through the piloting process we have shown that providing detailed grammar notes with references can compensate, at least in the short term, for teachers' general lack of declarative knowledge of spoken grammar.
9.3.3 Conclusion on the Hypothesis

We have already acknowledged in 9.1.4 that we do not have sufficient evidence to claim that we have an empirically proven approach to the teaching of native speaker spoken grammar in all contexts. We must also acknowledge that, principally through lack of piloting evidence, we cannot say with confidence whether our hypothesis applies in ENLF contexts.

Through attitudinal research, materials piloting, and reviews of the relevant literature, we have demonstrated, however, an original approach to teaching spoken grammar. Its originality lies in the fact that it incorporates valuable insights from spoken corpora, and is, at the same time, sociolinguistically and pedagogically valid. Applied to ENL and EILF contexts, then, the balance of probabilities is strongly in favour of the hypothesis.

9.4 Wider Implications of this Thesis

The kind of approach to teaching spoken grammar advocated in this thesis can contribute to and, at the same time, benefit from three processes:

1. More awareness on the part of teachers and other ELT professionals of the nature of spoken language.
2. Greater recognition of the value of language awareness approaches.
3. Greater clarity and objectivity about the role of the native speaker in ELT.
Teachers' Awareness of Spoken Language

If spoken grammar teaching is to prosper, it is clearly important that teachers acquire the descriptive terminology and declarative knowledge to explain particular features of spoken grammar. It is not simply a question of terminology, of course, it also requires teachers to re-assess what grammar is. In some cases this might be a quite radical re-assessment. To some extent, carefully prepared teacher's notes (to accompany materials) can help in this respect, but it is primarily a challenge for teacher education. At a time when communicative methodologies still hold sway, I would argue that the study of spoken language should form a part of all teacher training/education courses, including short pre-service courses. There is no reason why such study could not include a sociolinguistic dimension. As we have argued earlier (6.0), the more aware teachers are, the more they will be able to carry out opportunistic teaching of spoken grammar: teachers will be able to help learners notice what they themselves have noticed in the course of dealing with texts for other purposes. The great advantage of this approach, of course, is that teachers will be more aware of the abilities, needs and wishes of learners in a local context than any remote materials writer could be.

Language Awareness Approaches

If the teaching of spoken language is to prosper, it will be important that the value of developing sensitivity to language use and language variation, over and above the value of teaching any particular language features, is more widely recognised. Our approach is more likely to be accepted, if we can persuade people that our approach is about more than importing 'broken English' into classrooms. It is about investigating and comparing how different people communicate in different circumstances, an
investigation which requires reflection on the nature of grammar and the nature of effective communication. Our approach is not about training people to use native speaker spoken grammar; it is about fostering cognitive skills which might be useful in other areas of language learning. It is about encouraging curiosity about language and enriching the educational experience of language learning. The teaching of spoken language will be most effective, then, if it is not seen as an eccentric pursuit, but if it is seen as consonant with other awareness-raising approaches which use, for example, literature, media, or academic texts to develop language awareness.

**The Role of the Native Speaker**

The role of the native speaker has been a theme which has run throughout his thesis. We have encountered different, though overlapping aspects of the debate:

- The sociopolitical aspect stressed by Prodromou (1997) and Pennycook (2002);
- The sociocultural aspect stressed by Modiano (2001) and Alptekin (2002);
- The sociolinguistic arguments of Widdowson (1994;1996; 1998), Jenkins (1998) and Willis (1999);

We have considered whether charges of ‘cultural imperialism’ and ‘apolitical relativism’ can fairly be applied to us.

This thesis has attempted to put the native speaker in perspective. Whereas Willis (1999) argues for the presentation of mainly native speaker models in the classroom with ‘a low premium on testing for conformity’, this thesis argues for a *negotiable*
premium on testing for conformity. Whereas Widdowson (1996) argues that the use of authentic texts in the classroom means that we must refer to, and defer to the native speaker, this thesis argues that native speakers and their spoken grammar can be a useful and valuable point of reference without being objects of deference. There is potential for harmony, at least for the time being, between a view of the native speaker as a point of reference, and current methodological theory which stresses the value of noticing rather than imitative production. Spoken grammar teaching could profit from this harmony.

The native speaker should neither be deified nor demonised. It is time for an objective appraisal of what the native speaker has to offer to the English language learner. This thesis is intended as a contribution to the debate about the role of the native speaker in ELT.
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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1.1 STUDENT QUESTIONNAIRE PILOT 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>What kind of English do you want to speak?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**About you**

1. How old are you?
   - 16 to 25
   - 26 to 30
   - Over 30

2. How long have you been studying English?
   - Less than one year
   - 1 to 5 years
   - More than 5 years

3. In which country are you studying English?

4. In which country do you normally live?

**The English you want**

*Please choose only one answer for questions 1 to 9*

- The most important thing for me is to
  - Write English
  - Speak English
  - Read English
  - Listen to English

- The best kind of English for me to learn is
  - The English American people speak
  - The English British people speak
  - The English people speak
  - Any kind of English that will help me to speak to people in other countries

- I am learning English
  - To help me in my job now, or to help me find a job in the future
  - To help me in my studies, now or in the future
  - To help me to speak to people in other countries when I travel
  - Because I am living in an English-speaking country
  - Because ........................................ (please complete this space)

5. At the moment, when I am outside class,
   - I use English more with native speakers
   - I use English more with non-native speakers
   - I am not sure if I use English more with native speakers or non-native speakers

6. In the next 5 years, I think
   - I will use English more with native speakers
   - I will use English more with non-native speakers
   - I am not sure if I will use English more with native speakers or non-native speakers

7. Please read the comment by Student A and then choose one answer to each question

Student A: "I can pronounce English just like a native speaker now. Sometimes people think I am a native speaker."
a) Do you think that you could ever be like Student A?

Yes  No  I don't know

b) Would you like to be like Student A?

Yes  No  I don't know

8. Please read the comment by Student B and then choose one answer to each question

Student B: "I can pronounce English clearly now. Native speakers and non-native speakers understand me wherever I go, but I still have the accent of my own country."

a) Do you think that you could ever be like Student B?

Yes  No  I don't know

b) Would you like to be like Student B?

Yes  No  I don't know

9. Would you prefer to be like Student A or Student B?

Student A  Student B

10. Please read the comment by Student C and then choose one answer to each question

Student C: "Everyone understands what I say, and I can say anything I want to say, but I don't use all the grammar that native speakers use."

a) Do you think that you could ever be like Student C?

Yes  No  I don't know

b) Would you like to be like Student C?

Yes  No  I don't know

11. Please read the comment by Student D and then choose one answer to each question

Student D: "I can use grammar exactly like a native speaker, even the informal English that you don't normally find in the grammar books."

a) Do you think that you could ever be like Student D?

Yes  No  I don't know

b) Would you like to be like Student D?

Yes  No  I don't know

12. Please underline one answer

Would you prefer to be like Student C or Student D?

Student C  Student D
APPENDIX 1.2 STUDENT QUESTIONNAIRE PILOT 2

What kind of English do you want to speak?
This questionnaire will help with me with my research, but I hope you will find some of the questions interesting. I am very interested in your opinions. Thank you.

1. For each sentence please circle (☐) one number
I=very, very important! 2=very important 3=quite important 4=not very important 5=unimportant
For me,
learning to speak English is ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐
learning to write English is ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐
learning to read English is ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐
learning to listen to English is ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

2. Please tick (☑) the most important reason why you are learning English. Please tick (☑) one box.
I am learning English because
- I need it in my job now ☐
- I think it will help me to find a job ☐
- I want to speak to people all over the world ☐
- I am living in an English-speaking country now ☐
- I want to stay in an English-speaking country ☐
- I need it for my studies now ☐
- I think I will need it for my studies in the future ☐
- (give another reason) ........................................................................................................................................................................

3. Please tick (☑) one box:
At the moment, when I am outside class, I use English
- more with native speakers ☐
- more with non-native speakers ☐
- I am not sure if I use English more with native speakers or non-native speakers ☐

4. Please tick (☑) one box:
In the next 3 years, I think I will use English
- more with native speakers ☐
- more with non-native speakers ☐
- I am not sure if I will use English more with native speakers or non-native speakers ☐

5. For each sentence please circle (☐) one number
I=strongly agree 2=agree 3=unsure 4=disagree 5=disagree strongly
a) I want to learn any kind of English that is easy to learn and helps me communicate
   ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

b) I want to learn the kind of English that will help me communicate with non-native speakers all over the world
   ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

c) I want to learn the English that native speakers use
   ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

6. Please read what Student A says then underline one answer to each question

\[\text{In this questionnaire, native speaker means someone who has spoken English since he or she was a small child}\]
Student A: “I can pronounce English just like a native speaker now. Sometimes people think I am a native speaker.”

a) Do you think you could ever be like Student A?
   Yes   No   I don’t know
b) Would you like to be like Student A?
   Yes   No   I don’t know

7. Please read what Student B says then underline one answer to each question

Student B: “I can pronounce English clearly now. Native speakers and non-native speakers understand me wherever I go, but I still have the accent of my country.”

a) Do you think you could ever be like Student B?
   Yes   No   I don’t know
b) Would you like to be like Student B?
   Yes   No   I don’t know

8. Please underline one answer

Would you prefer to be like Student A or Student B?

   Student A  Student B

9. Please read what Student C says then underline one answer to each question

Student C: “I can say everything that I want to say. Native speakers and non-native speakers understand me wherever I go, but I use English my own way and sometimes I say things which native speakers think are grammar mistakes.”

a) Do you think you could ever be like Student C?
   Yes   No   I don’t know
b) Would you like to be like Student C?
   Yes   No   I don’t know

10. Please read what Student D says then underline one answer to each question

Student D: “I know all the grammar rules I need so that I can say anything I want. I use these rules correctly, but sometimes English people use grammar that isn’t in the grammar books and I don’t want to learn this.”

a) Do you think you could ever be like Student D?
   Yes   No   I don’t know
b) Would you like to be like Student D?
   Yes   No   I don’t know

11. Please read what Student E says then underline one answer to each question

Student E: “I use all the grammar rules that native speakers use, even the informal grammar native speakers use when they speak to each other.”

a) Do you think you could ever be like Student E?
   Yes   No   I don’t know
b) Would you like to be like Student E?
   Yes   No   I don’t know

12. Please underline one answer
Would you prefer to be like Student C, Student D, or Student E?

Student C  Student D  Student E

13. For each sentence please circle (O) one number

1 = strongly agree  2 = agree  3 = unsure  4 = disagree  5 = disagree strongly

a) When native speakers speak to each other, they sometimes use grammar we don't learn in class.

1  2  3  4  5

b) To speak English as well as I want to, I want to learn the informal grammar native speakers use when they speak to each other

1  2  3  4  5

c) To speak English as well as I need to, I need to learn the informal grammar native speakers use when they speak to each other

1  2  3  4  5

d) I can learn English as well as I need to without learning about the culture of English-speaking countries

1  2  3  4  5

Personal Information

It will help us to analyse the information, if you could answer these questions

1. How old are you?

2. In which country are you studying English?

3. In which country do you normally live?

4. How long have you been learning English?

5. Have you spent more than 3 months in English-speaking countries?

6. Do you think you will spend more than 3 months in an English-speaking country?

Thank you very much for helping with this questionnaire

Ivor Timmis
If you have time, it would be very useful for me to have your reactions to this questionnaire

1. How long did it take you to complete?

2. Did you find any of the questions difficult to understand? Which ones?

3. Did you find any of the questions difficult/impossible to answer? Which ones/why?

4. Did you find any of the questions interesting to think about or discuss? Which ones?

5. Do you think there are a) too many questions b) not enough questions c) about the right number of questions

6. If you answered b) to number 5, can you suggest some more questions?

7. Are the instructions and presentation clear?
APPENDIX 1.3 TRIAL QUESTION FOR THE STUDENT QUESTIONNAIRE

12. Please look at Example A and Example B below and decide which example was actually spoken by a native speaker of English.

Example A
I had a disaster last night. I was sitting at home on the sofa watching TV when the phone rang. I wasn't very pleased to find out that it was my mum, but she was asking me if I wanted to go to the USA with her.
(note: “disaster” = a very bad experience)

Example B
Disaster last night. Sat at home on the sofa watching TV. The phone rings. It’s my mum. I’m like “Oh no!” she’s going “Do you want to come to the USA?”.

Please underline one answer

Example A   Example B

a) Which of the examples do you think was spoken by a native speaker?

Now check your answer at the bottom of the page, please, before doing question 13

13. For each sentence please circle (⊙) one number
1=strongly agree  2=agree  3=unsure  4=disagree  5=disagree strongly

a) It is important for me to be able to use the kind of English in example B

b) It is important for me to study the kind of English in example B in class

c) It is better for me to use the kind of English in example A than the kind of English in example B

Feedback
Did you understand the examples?
Did you understand the questions?

Ivor Timmis
APPENDIX 1.4 STUDENT QUESTIONNAIRE FINAL VERSION

What kind of English do you want to speak?
This questionnaire takes about 10 minutes to complete. It will help me with my research, but I hope you will find some of the questions interesting. I am very interested in your opinions. Thank you.

1. For each sentence please circle (O) one number
   1=very, very important  2=very important  3=quite important  4=not very important  5=unimportant

   For me,
   learning to speak English is  1 2 3 4 5
   learning to write English is  1 2 3 4 5
   learning to read English is  1 2 3 4 5
   learning to listen to English is  1 2 3 4 5

2. Please tick (✓) one box
   At the moment, when I am outside class, I use English
   more with native speakers  □
   more with non-native speakers  □
   I am not sure if I use English more with native speakers or non-native speakers  □

3. Please tick (✓) one box
   In the next 3 years, I think I will use English
   more with native speakers  □
   more with non-native speakers  □
   I am not sure if I will use English more with native speakers or non-native speakers  □

4. For each sentence please circle (O) one number
   1=strongly agree  2=agree  3=unsure  4=disagree  5=disagree strongly

   a) I want to learn any kind of English that is easy to learn and helps me communicate

   1 2 3 4 5

   b) I want to learn the kind of English that will help me communicate with non-native speakers all over the world

   1 2 3 4 5

   c) I want to learn the English that native speakers use

   1 2 3 4 5

5 Please read what Student A says then underline one answer to each question

   Student A: "I can pronounce English just like a native speaker now. Sometimes people think I am a native speaker".

   a) Do you think you could ever be like Student A?

   Yes  No  I don’t know

   b) Would you like to be like Student A?

   Yes  No  I don’t know

6. Please read what Student B says then underline one answer to each question

   □ 4 In this questionnaire, native speaker means someone who has spoken English since he or she was a small child
Student B: "I can pronounce English clearly now. Native speakers and non-native speakers understand me wherever I go, but I still have the accent of my country".

a) Do you think you could ever be like Student B?
   Yes No I don't know

b) Would you like to be like Student B?
   Yes No I don't know

7. Please underline one answer
Would you prefer to be like Student A or Student B?

Student A Student B

8. Please read what Student C says then underline one answer to each question
Student C: "I can say everything that I want to say. Native speakers and non-native speakers understand me wherever I go, but I use English my own way and sometimes I say things which native speakers think are grammar mistakes".

a) Do you think you could ever be like Student C?
   Yes No I don't know

b) Would you like to be like Student C?
   Yes No I don't know

9. Please read what Student D says then underline one answer to each question
Student D: "I know all the grammar rules I need so that I can say anything I want. I use these rules correctly, but sometimes English people use grammar that isn't in the grammar books and I don't want to learn this".

a) Do you think you could ever be like Student D?
   Yes No I don't know

b) Would you like to be like Student D?
   Yes No I don't know

10. Please read what Student E says then underline one answer to each question
Student E: "I use all the grammar rules that native speakers use, even the informal grammar native speakers use when they speak to each other".

a) Do you think you could ever be like Student E?
   Yes No I don't know

b) Would you like to be like Student E?
   Yes No I don't know

11. Please underline one answer
Would you prefer to be like Student C, Student D, or Student E?

Student C Student D Student E

12. Please look at Example A and Example B below and decide which example was actually spoken by a native speaker of English.

Example A
I had a disaster last night. I was sitting at home on the sofa watching TV when the phone rang. I wasn't very pleased to find out that it was my mum, but she was asking me if I wanted to go to the USA with her.

(note: It is a "disaster" when something very bad happens)

Example B
Disaster last night. Sat at home on the sofa watching TV. The phone rings. It's my mum. I'm like "Oh no!", she's going "Do you want to come to the USA?".
Please underline one answer

a) Which of the examples do you think was spoken by a native speaker?

Example A

Example B

Now check your answer at the bottom of the page, please, before doing question 13

13. For each sentence please circle (O) one number
1=strongly agree 2=agree 3=unsure 4=disagree 5=disagree strongly

a) It is important for me to be able to use the kind of English in example B
   
   
   
   
   

b) It is important for me to study the kind of English in example B in class
   
   
   
   
   

c) It is better for me to use the kind of English in example A than the kind of
   English in example B
   
   
   
   
   

Personal Information
It will help us to analyse the information, if you could answer these questions
1. Why are you learning English?


2. In which country are you studying English now?
3. In which country do you normally live?
4. How long have you been learning English?
Thank you very much for helping with this questionnaire

Ivor Timmis
APPENDIX 2.1 TEACHER PILOT QUESTIONNAIRE 1

What kind of English do you teach?

1. What variety of English do you speak?
   a) American English ☐
   b) British English ☐
   c) Other (please specify) ☐ .................................................................

2. What is your first language?

............................................................................

3. What variety of English do the coursebook and teaching materials you use mainly present?
   a) American English ☐
   b) British English ☐
   c) Other (please specify) ☐ .................................................................

6. For numbers 4, 5 and 6, please circle one number
1=strongly agree 2=agree 3=not sure 4=disagree 5=strongly disagree

4. It is important for my students to learn to speak English

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Comment

5. The coursebook and teaching materials I use accurately reflect the way the language is spoken by native speakers

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Comment

6. It is important that the coursebook and teaching materials I use in my teaching context are based on recorded examples of native speaker speech

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</table>

Comment

7. Please tick one box
   a) I am mainly preparing my students to interact with native speakers ☐
   b) I am mainly preparing my students to interact with non-native speakers ☐
   c) I make a conscious effort to prepare my students to interact with both native and non-native speakers ☐
   d) I don’t know if I am preparing my students to interact with native speakers or non-native speakers ☐
   e) I don’t think it matters if I am preparing my students to interact with native speakers or non-native speakers ☐

Comment
7. For numbers 8 to 13, please circle one number

1=strongly agree 2=agree 3=not sure 4=disagree 5=strongly disagree

8. a) A native speaker command of grammar is a worthwhile long-term target for my students

1 2 3 4 5

b) A native speaker command of grammar is a realistic long-term target for most of my students

1 2 3 4 5

Comment

9. a) A native speaker accent is a worthwhile long-term target for my students

1 2 3 4 5

b) A native speaker accent is a realistic long-term target for most of my students

1 2 3 4 5

Comment

10. Please look at the example of informal native speaker spoken grammar before answering the questions below

"Disaster last night. Sat on the sofa watching TV. The phone rings. It’s my mum. I’m like "Oh No!" She’s going "Do you want to come to America?"

It is important to raise my students’ awareness of this kind of informal native speaker spoken grammar

1 2 3 4 5

Comment

11. I can meet the needs of most of my students without teaching about the culture of English-speaking countries

1 2 3 4 5

Comment

12. Students should be exposed to different varieties of English in class.

1 2 3 4 5

Comment

13. Please read the comment by David Crystal and then answer the 2 questions below

"Eventually, I imagine, we will all be teaching World Standard English, once it exists, rather than British, American or any other regional English, unless there are grounds for not doing so”.

a) We will all teach World Standard English one day

1 2 3 4 5
b) I would be happy to teach World Standard English

1 2 3 4 5

Comment

14. Please complete the following sentence in any way you like:

Ultimately, I would like my students to be able to ........................................................................................................................................................................................................
................................................................................................................................................................................................

**Personal Information**

1. What nationality are you?
2. In which country are you teaching?
3. What kind of institution do you teach in?
4. Do you teach multilingual or monolingual groups?

**Feedback**

1. How long did it take you to complete this questionnaire?
2. Do you think any of the questions need to be rephrased or reframed? Which ones? Why?
3. Do you think any of the questions should be omitted?
4. Do you think any questions should be added?
5. General comments
APPENDIX 2.2 TEACHER PILOT QUESTIONNAIRE 2

What kind of English do you teach?

1. What variety of English do you speak?
   a) American English □
   b) British English □
   c) Other (please specify) □ ....................................................................

2. What is your first language?

3. What variety of English do the coursebook and teaching materials you use mainly present?
   a) American English □
   b) British English □
   c) Other (please specify) □ ....................................................................

8. For numbers 4, 5 and 6, please circle one number

5=strongly agree 4=agree 3=not sure 2=disagree 1=strongly disagree

4. It is important for my students to learn to speak English

Comment

5. The coursebook and teaching materials I use accurately reflect the way the language is spoken by native speakers

Comment

6. It is important that the coursebook and teaching materials I use in my teaching context are based on recorded examples of native speaker speech

Comment

7. Please tick one box
   a) I am mainly preparing my students to interact with native speakers □
   b) I am mainly preparing my students to interact with non-native speakers □
   c) I make a conscious effort to prepare my students to interact with both native and non-native speakers □
   d) I don’t know if I am preparing my students to interact with native speakers or non-native speakers □
   e) I don’t think it matters if I am preparing my students to interact with native speakers or non-native speakers □

Comment
9. For numbers 8 to 13, please circle one number

5=strongly agree 4=agree 3=not sure 2=disagree 1=strongly disagree

8. a) A native speaker command of grammar is a worthwhile standard for my students to aim at in the long term
   
   5 4 3 2 1

   b) A native speaker command of grammar is a realistic long-term target for most of my students
   
   5 4 3 2 1

Comment

9. a) A native speaker accent is a worthwhile standard for my students to aim at in the long term
   
   5 4 3 2 1

   b) A native speaker accent is a realistic long-term target for most of my students
   
   5 4 3 2 1

Comment

10. Please look at the example of informal native speaker spoken grammar before answering the questions below

"Disaster last night. Sat on the sofa watching TV. The phone rings. It's my mum. I'm like "Oh No!" She's going "Do you want to come to America?"

It is important to raise my students' awareness of this kind of informal native speaker spoken grammar

   5 4 3 2 1

Comment

11. It is important for my students to be able to produce this kind of informal native speaker spoken grammar

   5 4 3 2 1

12. Students should be exposed to different varieties of English in class

   5 4 3 2 1

Comment

5=strongly agree 4=agree 3=not sure 2=disagree 1=strongly disagree

13. Please read the comment by David Crystal and then answer the 2 questions below

"Eventually, I imagine, we will all be teaching World Standard English, once it exists, rather than British, American or any other regional English, unless there are grounds for not doing so."

a) We will all teach World Standard English one day

   5 4 3 2 1

b) I would be happy to teach World Standard English

   5 4 3 2 1

Comment
14. Please complete the following sentence in any way you like:

Ultimately, I would like my students to be able to...

---

**Personal Information**

1. What nationality are you?
2. In which country are you teaching?
3. What kind of institution do you teach in?
4. Do you teach multilingual or monolingual groups?

**Feedback**

6. How long did it take you to complete this questionnaire?
7. Do you think any of the questions need to be rephrased or reframed? Which ones? Why?
8. Do you think any of the questions should be omitted?
9. Do you think any questions should be added?
10. General comments
APPENDIX 2.3 TEACHER QUESTIONNAIRE FIELD TRIAL

What kind of English do you teach?

1. What variety of English do you speak?
   a) American English □
   b) British English □
   c) Other (please specify) □ .................................................................

2. What is your first language?
   .................................................................................................

3. What variety of English do the coursebook and teaching materials you use mainly present?
   a) American English □
   b) British English □
   c) Other (please specify) □ .................................................................

10. For numbers 4, 5 and 6, please circle one number
   5=strongly agree 4=agree 3=not sure 2=disagree 1=strongly disagree

4. It is important for my students to learn to speak English
   5 4 3 2 1
   Comment

5. The coursebook and teaching materials I use accurately reflect the way the language is spoken by native speakers
   5 4 3 2 1
   Comment

8. It is important that the coursebook and teaching materials I use in my teaching context are based on recorded examples of native speaker speech
   5 4 3 2 1
   Comment

7. Please tick one box
   a) I am mainly preparing my students to interact with native speakers □
   b) I am mainly preparing my students to interact with non-native speakers □
   c) I make a conscious effort to prepare my students to interact with both native and non-native speakers □
   d) I don’t know if I am preparing my students to interact with native speakers or non-native speakers □
   e) I don’t think it matters if I am preparing my students to interact with native speakers or non-native speakers □

   Comment
11. For numbers 8 to 13, please circle one number

5 = strongly agree  4 = agree  3 = not sure  2 = disagree  1 = strongly disagree

8. a) A native speaker command of grammar is a worthwhile standard for my students to aim at in the long term
5 4 3 2 1
b) A native speaker command of grammar is a realistic long-term target for most of my students
5 4 3 2 1

Comment

9. a) A native speaker accent is a worthwhile standard for my students to aim at in the long term
5 4 3 2 1
b) A native speaker accent is a realistic long-term target for most of my students
5 4 3 2 1

Comment

10. Please look at the example of informal native speaker spoken grammar before answering the questions below

"Disaster last night. Sat on the sofa watching TV. The phone rings. It’s my mum. I’m like "Oh No!" She’s going "Do you want to come to America?"

It is important to raise my students' awareness of this kind of informal native speaker spoken grammar
5 4 3 2 1

Comment

11. It is important for my students to be able to produce this kind of informal native speaker spoken grammar
5 4 3 2 1

12. Students should be exposed to different varieties of English in class in my teaching context
5 4 3 2 1

Comment

5 = strongly agree  4 = agree  3 = not sure  2 = disagree  1 = strongly disagree

13. Please read the comment by David Crystal and then answer the 2 questions below

"Eventually, I imagine, we will all be teaching World Standard English⁵, once it exists, rather than British, American or any other regional English, unless there are grounds for not doing so".

⁵ A variety of English not associated with a national culture which has emerged from the international use of English
comment

14. Please complete the following sentence in any way you like:

Ultimately, I would like my students to be able to...

Personal Information

1. What nationality are you?
2. In which country are you teaching?
3. What kind of institution do you teach in?
4. Do you teach multilingual or monolingual groups?
APPENDIX 2.4 PILOT QUESTIONS 5 – 10

12. For the rest of the questions, please circle one number.
5 = strongly agree 4 = agree 3 = not sure 2 = disagree 1 = strongly disagree

5. Please read the comments by Student A and Student B and then answer the questions below.

Student A: “I can pronounce English just like a native speaker now. Sometimes people think I am a native speaker.”

Student B: “I can pronounce English clearly now. Native speakers and non-native speakers understand me wherever I go, but I still have the accent of my country.”

a) I would be happy if, in the long term, my students turned out like Student A
   5 4 3 2 1

b) I would be happy if, in the long term, my students turned out like Student B
   5 4 3 2 1

Comment

6. Please read the comments by Student C, Student D and Student E and then answer the questions below.

Student C: “I can say everything that I want to say. Native speakers and non-native speakers understand me wherever I go, but I use English my own way and sometimes I say things which native speakers think are grammar mistakes.”

Student D: “I know all the grammar rules I need so that I can say anything I want to. I use these rules correctly, but sometimes English people use grammar that isn’t in the grammar books and I don’t want to learn this.”

Student E: “I use all the grammar rules that native speakers use, even the informal grammar native speakers use when they speak to each other.”

a) I would be happy if, in the long term, my students turned out like Student C
   5 4 3 2 1

b) I would be happy if, in the long term, my students turned out like Student D
   5 4 3 2 1

c) I would be happy if, in the long term, my students turned out like Student E
   5 4 3 2 1

Comment
7. Please look at the actual recorded example of native speaker speech below and then answer the questions

Disaster last night. Sat on the couch watching TV. The phone rings. It's my mum. I'm like "Oh No!". She's going "Do you want to come to America?".

a) What are the features that, for you, mark this as native speaker speech

b) The materials I use for listening and speaking practice show the students examples of the features I have noted above.

5 4 3 2 1

c) I think the materials I use for listening and speaking practice should show the students examples of the features I have noted above.

5 4 3 2 1

9. Please read the quote below and then answer the question

"It has been estimated that 80% of communication in English is between non-native speakers"

This estimate, if reasonably accurate, should influence the kind of English we teach

5 4 3 2 1

Comment

9. Students should be exposed to different native and non-native varieties of English in class

5 4 3 2 1

Comment

10. I make a conscious effort to expose my students to both native and non-native varieties of English

5 4 3 2 1

Comment

Feedback

1. Are the instructions and layout clear for each question?

2. Is the 1-5 scale used adequate?

3. Did you find any of the questions difficult or impossible to answer because of the way the question was framed?

4. Any other comments on these questions?
APPENDIX 2.5 TEACHER QUESTIONNAIRE FIELD TRIAL 2

What kind of English do you teach?

Thank you for agreeing to do this questionnaire. If you want to explain or qualify your answers, please use the comment boxes, but don’t feel obliged to fill them if you are short of time.

1. What variety of English do you speak?
   a) American English ○
   b) British English ○
   c) Other (please specify) ○ ..........................................................

2. What is your first language?

3. What variety of English do the coursebook and teaching materials you use mainly at present?
   a) American English ○
   b) British English ○
   c) Other (please specify) ○ ..........................................................

1.3. Please circle one number

5 = strongly agree 4 = agree 3 = not sure 2 = disagree 1 = strongly disagree

4. It is important for my students to learn to speak English

5 = strongly agree 4 = agree 3 = not sure 2 = disagree 1 = strongly disagree

5. Please read the comments by Student A and Student B and then answer the question below by circling as many answers as you want

Student A: “I can pronounce English just like a native speaker now. Sometimes people think I am a native speaker”.

Student B: “I can pronounce English clearly now. Native speakers and non-native speakers understand me wherever I go, but I still have the accent of my country”.

- Which of these students represent(s) for you the ideal long-term outcome of your teaching?

Student A Student B Neither Student A nor Student B

Comment
6. Please read the comments by Student C, Student D and Student E and then answer the question below by circling as many answers as you want.

Student C: "I can say everything that I want to say. Native speakers and non-native speakers understand me wherever I go, but I use English my own way and sometimes I say things which native speakers think are grammar mistakes."

Student D: "I know all the grammar rules I need so that I can say anything I want to. I use these rules correctly, but sometimes English people use grammar that isn't in the grammar books and I don't want to learn this."

Student E: "I use all the grammar rules that native speakers use, even the informal grammar native speakers use when they speak to each other."

- Which of these students represent(s) for you the ideal long-term outcome of your teaching?

Student C Student D Student E None of these Students

Comment

14. For the rest of the questions, please circle one number
5=strongly agree 4=agree 3=not sure 2=disagree 1=strongly disagree

7. Please look at the actual recorded example of native speaker speech below and then answer the questions
Disaster last night. Sat on the couch watching TV. The phone rings. It's my mum. I'm like "Oh No!". She's going "Do you want to come to America?"

b) What are the features that, for you, mark this as native speaker speech?

b) The materials I use for listening and speaking practice show the students examples of the features I have noted above.

5 4 3 2 1

c) I think the materials I use for listening and speaking practice should show the students examples of the features I have noted above.

5 4 3 2 1

Comment

10. Please read the quote below and then answer the question
"It has been estimated that 80% of communication in English is between non-native speakers"
This estimate, if reasonably accurate, should influence the kind of English we teach

5 4 3 2 1

Comment

9. Students should be exposed to different native and non-native varieties of English in class

5 4 3 2 1

Comment

10. I make a conscious effort to expose my students to both native and non-native varieties of English

5 4 3 2 1

Comment
Please read the comment by David Crystal and then answer the 2 questions below:

"Eventually, I imagine, we will all be teaching World Standard English, once it exists, rather than British, American or any other regional English, unless there are grounds for not doing so".

a) We will all teach World Standard English one day
   5  4  3  2  1

b) I would be happy to teach World Standard English
   5  4  3  2  1

Comment

12. Please complete the following sentence in any way you like:

Ultimately, I would like my students to be able
to ........................................................................................................................................................................................................
................................................................................................................................................................................................

Personal Information

1. What nationality are you?
2. In which country are you teaching?
3. What kind of institution do you teach in?
4. Do you teach multilingual or monolingual groups?
APPENDIX 2.6 TEACHER QUESTIONNAIRE FINAL VERSION

What kind of English do you teach?

Thank you for agreeing to do this questionnaire. If you want to explain or qualify your answers, please use the comment boxes, but don’t feel obliged to fill them if you are short of time.

1. What variety of English do you speak?
   a) American English  □
   b) British English  □
   c) Other (please specify)  □ ......................................................................

2. What is your first language?

.............................................................................

3. What variety of English do the coursebook and teaching materials you use mainly present?
   a) American English  □
   b) British English  □
   c) Other (please specify)  □ ......................................................................

4. It is important for my students to learn to speak English

5=strongly agree 4=agree 3=not sure 2=disagree 1=strongly disagree

5. Please read the comments by Student A and Student B and then answer the question below by circling as many answers as you want

Student A: “I can pronounce English just like a native speaker now. Sometimes people think I am a native speaker”.

Student B: “I can pronounce English clearly now. Native speakers and non-native speakers understand me wherever I go, but I still have the accent of my country”.

• Which of these students represent(s) for you the ideal long-term outcome of your teaching?

 Student A  Student B  neither Student A nor Student B

Comment

6. Please read the comments by Student C, Student D and Student E and then answer the question below by circling as many answers as you want

Student C: “I can say everything that I want to say. Native speakers and non-native speakers understand me wherever I go, but I use English my own way and sometimes I say things which native speakers think are grammar mistakes”.

Student D: “I know all the grammar rules I need so that I can say anything I want to. I use these rules correctly, but sometimes English people use grammar that isn’t in the grammar books and I don’t want to learn this”.

Student E: “I use all the grammar rules that native speakers use, even the informal grammar native speakers use when they speak to each other”.

• Which of these students represent(s) for you the ideal long-term outcome of your teaching?

 Student C  Student D  Student E  None of these Students

Comment

398
16. For the rest of the questions, please circle one number
5=strongly agree 4=agree 3=not sure 2=disagree 1=strongly disagree

7. Please look at the actual recorded example of native speaker speech below and then answer the questions

Disaster last night. Sat on the couch watching TV. The phone rings. It’s my mum. I’m like “Oh No!”. She’s going “Do you want to come to America?”. 

b) What are the features that, for you, mark this as native speaker speech

b) The materials I use for listening and speaking practice show the students examples of the features I have noted above.

5 4 3 2 1

c) I think the materials I use for listening and speaking practice should show the students examples of the features I have noted above.

5 4 3 2 1

Comment

11. Please read the quote below and then answer the question

“It has been estimated that 80% of communication in English is between non-native speakers”

This estimate, if reasonably accurate, should influence the kind of English we teach

5 4 3 2 1

Comment

9. Students should be exposed to different native and non-native varieties of English in class

5 4 3 2 1

Comment

10. I make a conscious effort to expose my students to both native and non-native varieties of English

5 4 3 2 1

Comment

11. Please read the comment by David Crystal and then answer the 2 questions below

“Eventually, I imagine, we will all be teaching World Standard English, once it exists, rather than British, American or any other regional English, unless there are grounds for not doing so”.

a) We will all teach World Standard English one day

5 4 3 2 1

b) I would be happy to teach World Standard English

5 4 3 2 1

Comment

12. Please complete the following sentence in any way you like:

399
Ultimately, I would like my students to be able

to ............................................................................................................................................................................................................

Personal Information

1. What nationality are you?
2. In which country are you teaching?
3. What kind of institution do you teach in?
4. Do you teach multilingual or monolingual groups?
How idiomatic can you get?

Please look at the actual recorded example of native speaker speech in the box below and then answer the questions. The comments were all made by English language teachers or students in response to this example of English.

Disaster last night. Sat on the couch watching TV. The phone rings. It's my mum. I'm like "Oh No!". She's going "Do you want to come to America?"

Please circle one number.
5=strongly agree 4=agree 3=not sure 2=disagree 1=strongly disagree

1a) [the English in this example is] "informal, elliptical, not grammatical"

Comment

5 4 3 2 1

1 b) [the English in this example is] "elliptical but grammatically correct"

Comment

5 4 3 2 1

1 c) [The speaker in the example is] "a young – probably uneducated person."

Comment

5 4 3 2 1

2. [Students should be exposed to the kind of language in the example because] "authenticity of teaching materials demands it. Students should be exposed to a "real life" language. They should know that the use of the language is culturally influenced"

Comment

5 4 3 2 1

[the kind of language in the example] "shouldn't be presented as a model for speaking as it doesn't aid communicative efficiency"

Comment

5 4 3 2 1
"[the kind of language in the example] would make the oral language much more vivid"

| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

Comment

"It is interesting for them to hear how people use the language, but very difficult to imitate and still ring true"

| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

Comment

4a) "This kind of language is too complex for ss unless they are living in an English-speaking country. Non-native to non-native speakers don’t use this kind of language"

| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

Comment

b) "I’ve heard non-native speakers use these forms as well"

| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

Comment

5a) "Depending on the level, it would be very useful, for example, if students used present simple for historical past but some colloquial expressions such as those above would be less useful especially in an EFL context"

Do you agree with Teacher x that some features of informal grammar might be useful/important for students to use.

| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

Comment

6. Please give your reaction to these comments by students

- "for me, I don’t want to learn it [informal grammar English correctly], because I’m a foreigner. I just want learn to speak and us".

Comment

- "when I speak like Raymond Murphy book, nobody understands me"

Comment

- "when you talk to native speakers you try to say whole sentences, it becomes boring. people lose concentration easily"

Comment
• "we learn a lot of grammar, but in real life native speakers didn’t use it"

Comment

• "I don’t need to speak English like that (example B), if I can express myself correct, it’s OK, but I really want to speak like that"

Comment

Disaster last night. Sat on the couch watching TV. The phone rings. It’s my mum. I’m like "Oh No!". She’s going "Do you want to come to America?"

7a) Please rewrite (if necessary) the extract above so that it reflects the way you would speak yourself in a similar situation

7b) Please rewrite (if necessary) the extract above so that it reflects the kind of text you might use as a listening comprehension for your students

7c) Please rewrite (if necessary) the extract above so that it reflects the kind of English you would like your students to be able to use.

• [The estimate that 80% of communication in English is between non-native speakers] should maybe leave us somewhat more tolerant; on the other hand, you should equip your learners for more than mere survival, and for contact with native speakers

5 4 3 2 1

Comment

• Spending lots of time with business people, who may never meet a native, teaching colloquial language, is a waste of valuable time. More time should be spent with natives teaching them to adjust their speech

5 4 3 2 1

Comment

Are there any other comments you would like to make about this topic or this questionnaire?
APPENDIX 2.8 TEACHER FOLLOW-UP QUESTIONNAIRE
FINAL VERSION

Where do you stand on spoken language?
Please look at the actual recorded example of native speaker speech in the box and then look at the comments below, which were all made by teachers in response to this extract. Please give your reaction to their comments and feel free to write as much or as little as you wish.

Disaster last night. Sat on the couch watching TV. The phone rings. It's my mum. I'm like "Oh No!". She's going "Do you want to come to America?"

1a) [the English in this example is] “informal, elliptical, not grammatical”

Comment

1b) [the English in this example is] “elliptical but grammatically correct”

Comment

1c) [The speaker in the example is] “a young – probably uneducated person.”

Comment

2. [Students should be exposed to the kind of language in the example because] “authenticity of teaching materials demands it. Students should be exposed to a ‘real life’ language. They should know that the use of the language is culturally influenced”

Comment

3a) [the kind of language in the example] “shouldn’t be presented as a model for speaking as it doesn’t aid communicative efficiency”

Comment

3b) “[the kind of language in the example] would make the oral language much more vivid”

Comment
4a) “This kind of language is too complex for ss unless they are living in an English-speaking country. Non-native to non-native speakers don’t use this kind of language”

Comment

4b) “I’ve heard non-native speakers use these forms as well”

Comment

5. “Depending on the level, it would be very useful, for example, if students used present simple for historical past but some colloquial expressions such as those above would be less useful especially in an EFL context”

Which (if any) grammatical features typical of informal spoken English do you think it might be important for students to use?

Comment

Section B: Students' Views

The comments in this section were all made by students who were interviewed (in Leeds, UK) about the kind of English they wanted to learn. Please give your reaction in the comment box.

1. “For me, I don’t want to learn it [informal grammar], because I’m a foreigner. I just want learn to speak and use English correctly”.

Comment

2. “When you talk to native speakers you try to say whole sentences. it becomes boring. people lose concentration easily”

Comment

Section C: Final Thoughts

Please give your reaction to the teachers’ comments below.

1. “The estimate that 80% of communication in English is between non-native speakers should maybe leave us somewhat more tolerant; on the other hand, you should equip your learners for more than mere survival, and for contact with native speakers.”

Comment

2. “[Spending lots of time with business people, who may never meet a native], teaching colloquial language, is a waste of valuable time. More time should be spent with natives teaching them to adjust their speech.”

There are examples in the extract above of 3 features typical of informal spoken grammar: ellipsis, dramatic use of present tenses and spoken reported speech forms, but please refer to other features as well if you wish.
Section E: Personal Information

1. What is your first language?

2. In which country do you teach?

Thank you very much for your help - it’s really appreciated.

Ivor Timmis (t.timmis@lmu.ac.uk)
Leeds Metropolitan University, Centre for Language Study, Leeds LS6 3QS
APPENDIX THREE: STATISTICS

3.1 FREQUENCIES FOR THE STUDENT QUESTIONNAIRE

NOTE 1: All the frequencies in 3.1 are based on the following sample:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total number of responses</th>
<th>Resident</th>
<th>Studying</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Country grouping</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ENL (UK/Ireland)</td>
<td>16 (4%)</td>
<td>105 (25%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ENLF (South Africa, India, Pakistan)</td>
<td>72 (18%)</td>
<td>72 (18%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EILF (all other countries listed above)</td>
<td>310 (77%)</td>
<td>221 (55%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTE 2: Question numbers refer to the questions in the final version of the student questionnaire (appendix 1.4)
1. writing priority

1. reading priority

1. listening priority

2. current patterns of use
3. predicted patterns of use

4a. learn any kind of English

4b. learn English for non-native speakers

4c. learn native speaker English
5a. student A attainable?

5b. student A desirable?

6a. student B attainable?

6b. student B attainable?
7. preference for student A or Student B

8a. student C attainable?

8b. student C desirable?

9a. student D attainable?
9b. student D desirable?

10a. student E attainable?

10b. student E desirable?

11. preference for C, D or E
12. identify the spoken example

![Graph showing the frequency of Example A and Example B.]

13a. using spoken English

13b. studying spoken English

13c. preference for spoken or written

![Graph showing the frequency of responses to the question regarding preference for spoken or written English.]

12, identify the spoken example

Example A Example B N/A

13a. using spoken English

Strongly agree Agree Unsure Disagree strongly N/A

13b. studying spoken English

Strongly agree Agree Unsure Disagree strongly N/A

13c. preference for spoken or written

Strongly agree Agree Unsure Disagree strongly N/A
3.2 Frequencies for the Teacher Questionnaire

NOTE 1: All the frequencies in 3.2 are based on the following sample:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total number of teachers</th>
<th>240</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Native/non-native speakers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Native speakers (111)</th>
<th>111 (46%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Non-native speakers (129)</td>
<td>129 (54%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Teaching monolingual/multilingual groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total number of teachers</th>
<th>240</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teaching monolingual groups</th>
<th>72 (30%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Teaching multilingual groups</td>
<td>139 (58%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teaching mono- and multilingual groups</td>
<td>29 (12%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Teaching in the public/private sectors

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total number of teachers</th>
<th>240</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teaching in the public sector</th>
<th>170 (71%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Teaching in the private sector</td>
<td>60 (25%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teaching in the public and private sectors</td>
<td>10 (3%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTE 2: Question numbers refer to the questions in the final version of the teacher questionnaire (appendix 2.6)
7. Happy with Student E

8. Preference for C, D or E

9b. Mats should show spoken grammar

9c. Mats should show spoken grammar
13b. I would be happy to teach WSE