It is an incontrovertible fact that, with the spread of English as a lingua franca (ELF), we are at present witnessing "an unprecedented linguistic situation" in which "a language has reached truly global dimensions, across continents, domains, and social strata [...] accelerated by the dramatic expansion of electronic communication through the internet" (Seidlhofer 2011). ELF as a contact language – with a sociolinguistic function, differentiated according to place, time, and context – is in constant growth and expansion. While it brings obvious advantages to its users as enabling them to 'language' across linguacultural boundaries, researchers in ELF also recognize that it also gives rise to different dilemmas that need to be addressed. ELF, for example, is inevitably involved in the socio-political, religious and economic issues that come up in the critical situations generated by unprecedented displacement and migration, where it is the principal, and sometimes the only means of interaction and mediation. In the field of education, an enlarged and increasingly diversified community of ELF speakers at universities, schools, and in occupational domains, poses questions as to how conventional ideas about the language are appropriate to this new situation. ELF study is then a particularly significant one in the present globalized world and so creating occasions for international debate about its wider implications and the dilemmas it raises becomes a necessary task for academic and educational institutions to undertake. This special issue – based on selected talks presented at the International Symposium "English Lingua Franca: Expanding Scenarios and Growing Dilemmas" (Sapienza University, Rome, 6-7 April 2017) and their further development – aim to provide the setting for such a debate whereby some of the most prominent figures in the field can exchange, express and discuss their ideas and findings.

Chapters by:

Barbara Seidlhofer, Henry Widdowson

Marie-Luise Pitzl

Maurizio Gotti

Donna Tatsuki

Maria Grazia Guido, Lucia Errico, Pietro Luigi Iaia, Cesare Amatulli

Mariarosaria Provenzano

Laura Centonze

Sivia Sperti

Hugo Bowles

Enrico Grazzi

Lucilla Lopriore

Paola Vettorel

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English Lingua Franca
Expanding scenarios and growing dilemmas

a cura di
Marina Morbiducci

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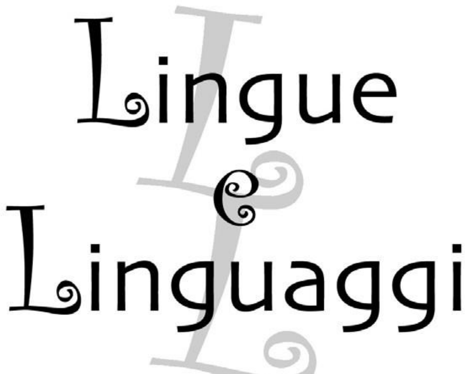

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English Lingua Franca: Expanding scenarios and growing dilemmas

a cura di
Marina Morbiducci

2017

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DIREZIONE E REDAZIONE
Dipartimento di Studi Umanistici
73100 LECCE, via Taranto, 35
tel. +39-(0)832-294401, fax +39-(0)832-249427
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COMITATO SCIENTIFICO DEL SIMPOSIO INTERNAZIONALE “ENGLISH AS A LINGUA FRANCA: EXPANDING SCENARIOS AND GROWING DILEMMAS”, UNIVERSITA’ SAPIENZA – ROMA 6-7 APRILE 2017

Maurizio Gotti, Università di Bergamo
Maria Grazia Guido, Università del Salento, Lecce
Marina Morbiducci, Università Sapienza, Roma
Barbara Seidlhofer, Vienna University
Henry Widdowson, Vienna and London University

ORGANIZZAZIONE E COORDINAMENT0

Marina Morbiducci, Università Sapienza, Roma

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REFLECTING ON ENGLISH LINGUA FRANCA TODAY: EXPANDING SCENARIOS AND GROWING DILEMMAS
An overview with introductory notes

MARINA MORBIDUCCI
UNIVERSITÀ DI ROMA "SAPIENZA"

This special issue, titled *English Lingua Franca: Expanding scenarios and growing dilemmas*, proposes and expands the papers presented at the homonymous ELF International Symposium, held at Sapienza University, Rome, on April 6-7, 2017. The international event aimed to provide the setting for an updated debate during which the most prominent figures in the field could exchange and discuss their ideas and findings. On that occasion, the new gains which emerged were so diversified and stimulating that the project of a volume completely devoted to those issues took shape. In accordance with the inspiring concept which animated the symposium, also in this present collection five main areas of interest can be identified: 1. the perspective arising from an investigation of theoretical questions underlying the ELF fast-pacing scenario, set against the main assumptions which characterize communication and mutual understanding via language more in general; 2. the intersection of an ELF-oriented pedagogical focalization in conjunction with the areas of EMI and ESP as experienced and developed in the academic world; 3. the cross-fertilization of ELF gains with corpus linguistics and corpora analyses, also set within the framework of specialized discourses; 4. the juxtaposition of the ELF resources and inter-communicative modalities with the dramatic circumstances realized in migratory contexts, especially experienced, mapped and studied in those areas in Italy where they represent an everyday pressing reality; 5. the encounter of ELF with pedagogical aims in the ever-growing educational scenarios of application at schools, teachers' development courses and assessment criteria in various communities of practice.

The two pivotal concepts around which the whole publication revolves are, in particular, the words "growth" and "dilemma", as they well represent the actual state of the art of ELF studies and research nowadays. Since its initial appearance in the world of sociolinguistics and applied linguistics, and markedly more over the last decade, the area of ELF has grown and expanded

enormously. This has attracted at an increasing pace researchers and practitioners who have found, in its main basic tenets and always renewing assets, a convincing representation of the intricate nexuses existing in the present linguistic dispensation in English on a global scale. The fact that the most eminent scholars in applied linguistics are devoting their attention and research energies to the ELF function as a contact language is proof enough of its relevant vitality and force of attraction. Countless are the publications in the field, and several the occasions for experts to meet from all over the world, so that different specificities are now being studied according to the peculiar conditions in which ELF procedures, repertoires and modalities are taken into account and observed in more localized contexts. The most specific event, the ELF conference, is now at its 11th edition – to take place in London in June 2018 – with its main focus being ELF and migration, an issue which was significantly represented – in particular by the Salento University group of researchers – at the aforementioned Sapienza ELF 2017 Symposium, from which this present collection originates.

As the introductory manifesto of Sapienza ELF Symposium recited,[1] the aim of the international gathering was to acknowledge, in updated and dilemma-oriented terms, the fact that "with the spread of English as a lingua franca (ELF), we are at present witnessing 'an unprecedented linguistic situation' in which 'a language has reached truly global dimensions, across continents, domains, and social strata […] accelerated by the dramatic expansion of electronic communication through the internet' (Seidlhofer 2011)". Therefore, the starting point was, and is, represented by the incontrovertible truth that "ELF as a contact language – with a sociolinguistic function, differentiated according to place, time, and context – is in constant growth and expansion". The special focus was inspired by the hypothesis that, if on the one hand ELF in/and its development/s "bring[s] obvious advantages to its users as enabling them to 'language' across linguacultural boundaries",[2] it also poses to its researchers, users and languagers the complex and articulate set of dilemmas which such accelerated growth and expansion imply. The problematic situations – created by the impact of the global reality of ELF on locally identifiable linguistic contexts – conjoined with the criticalities so dramatically arising as a consequence of the migratory flows characterizing the last decade or so, urgently "need to be addressed": "ELF, for example, is inevitably involved in the socio-political, religious and economic issues that come up in the critical situations generated by unprecedented displacement and migration, where it is the principal, and sometimes the only means of interaction and mediation".[3]

[1] https://web.uniroma1.it/elf2017/sites/default/files/allegati/ELF%202017%20manifesto%20supersuperfinal.pdf
[2] Sapienza manifesto, quot.
[3] Ibidem.

Migratory flows are not the only critical and controversial scenarios in which ELF assumes a preeminent role, even though one of the main goals of the symposium was to share, with updated studies, the state of the art of ELF research in migratory contexts in Italy. In this volume ELF is observed from diversified perspectives and cuts across various domains. The order of presentation of the articles reproduces the sequence of talks delivered at the aforementioned symposium, but all the contributions have been expanded and enriched in the written version. The rationale behind the choice of the sequence is provided by the intention of approaching ELF issues starting from concepts of broader and more theoretical amplitude (Seidlhofer, Widdowson, and Pitzl this volume), then gradually zooming into more specialistic discourses (Gotti, and Tatsuki this volume), dealing in depth with the dramatic encounter of ELF and migration (Guido *et al.*, Provenzano, Centonze, and Sperti this volume) and finally approaching more localized contexts of pedagogical application (Bowles, Grazzi, Lopriore, and Vettorel this volume).

The volume opens with the contribution of Barbara Seidlhofer and Henry Widdowson, titled *Competence, capability and virtual language.* In their provocative article, Seidlhofer and Widdowson raise crucial questions regarding the general concepts of “competence”, “lingual capability” and “virtual language”. As it has been diffusely shown by the ELF literature, they start from the assumption that “users of English as a lingua franca are capable of using language to communicate in contextually appropriate ways even though in so doing they may not conform to the norms of Standard English or the usage of native speakers”; given that “such model is generally considered to provide the benchmarks of competence in the language”, they wonder what happens when “ ‘incompetent’ users manage to be capable communicators”: in such case, “what is the nature of this capability?”, what kind of “construct” must competence be considered to be? These are some of the dilemmas that Seidlhofer and Widdowson confront us with, arguing that such “capability” “refers to some kind of knowledge other than competence” (or what is usually labelled under this term). Therefore, they suggest that its nature and substance, its implications, need to be investigated at the level of “actual pragmatic process of communication”. According to the two authors, “the recognition that communication in general is achieved by the exercise of a general lingual capability that, unlike the concept of competence, is not a matter of conformity to the actual encodings of any particular language but the exploitation of the coding potential of virtual language” opens up the way to future research pointing out towards, so to say, a ‘liberatory view’ of “lingual capability”, ultimately leading to the notion of “virtual language”. Drawing on previous authoritative descriptions of “communicative competence”, what Seidlhofer and Widdowson advocate for is a vision of language in which the linguistic means is not seen as “something we do *in opposition* to something we know”,

but rather as an entity in which what counts is "enquiring into the *relationship* between knowing and doing", with the resulting dilemma of "how far this knowing can be equated with competence as this has been conventionally conceived". Seidlhofer and Widdowson suggest a 'deconstruction' of the traditional notion of linguistic and communicative competence as conventionally described in conformity with the norms of a particular speech community. Now that the configuration of "community" is inexorably mutated and subverted, a renewed stance in relation to the dramatically changed human condition – in sociolinguistic, communicative and even existential terms – needs to be adopted. Indubitably, this mutated condition gives rise to great dilemmas. Linguistic competence can't be conceived of as "a normative entity" any more, as it was in the past: "in a world of shifting populations and digitalized networks of communicative interaction" the conceptualization of linguistic competence needs to be readdressed because "the traditional notion of speech community and the concept of competence that depends upon it clearly cannot account for the kind of translingual/transglossic/translanguaging practices that are enacted in global communication, and which are so clearly exemplified in ELF". According to the two authors, the core dilemma that ELF poses is that "[u]nderstanding ELF […] crucially depends on an understanding of the nature of communication in general".

With a parallel focus on communication, the contribution by Marie-Luise Pitzl, titled *Communicative 'success', creativity and the need for de-mystifying L1 use: Some thoughts on ELF and ELT*, addresses the question of how a "de-mystifying" notion of communication – and its consequent success in L1 and ELF – can be juxtaposed to the more general concept of creativity and its implications in ELT. The author starts from a subtle analysis of the concept of "communicative success", differentiating it from the notion of "absence of miscommunication": "communication is not necessarily 'successful'", Pitzl claims, when it is simply "miscommunication-free", there can't be the "simple formula in which the absence of miscommunication equals successful communication"; therefore Pitzl focuses on what is, according to her, the real problem: "if a link between 'communicative success' and miscommunication is to be established at all, then the key issue would need to be how miscommunication is 'dealt with' by interactants". Even when sharing the same language, in L1 interactions, and even when knowing the interlocutors quite well, Pitzl argues, we may "miscommunicate on occasion". If, on the one hand, previous ELF literature provides extensive evidence that the view of communication is of particular relevance for the ELF research, the possibility of discarding the traditional assumption of what successful communication is, needs to be addressed with more decisive steps, not only in ELF research, Pitzl suggests, but also in ELT more broadly. According to the author, "the myths that idealize (L1) communication have been present in ELF/FLT for decades", and of course they also have

implications in ELF. “De-mystifying L1 communication” “in the context of researching ELF” can help realizing that “miscommunication is part of any communication and does not evaporate with increased language ‘proficiency’”. With such assumption in mind, we can also deconstruct the typical myths about creativity and the creative use of language. In her article Pitzl lists a series of words, created by ELF speakers, which can be seen as norm-transcending, as well as norm-following, and in some cases even norm-reinforcing. Should these words be considered “creative”? Should simply be “tolerated” by teachers, or encouraged, even praised? Should such non-conformity instances be considered as “intentional” or “accidental” occurrences of creativity? Pitzl concludes arguing that miscommunication and creativity, though defining such different realms, are to be conjoined in our analysis of applied linguists. She also argues that instances of creativity should not be “evaluated differently depending on who they have been produced by”. “Despite the past two decades of descriptive ELF studies, there is still a lot of work – and a lot of ‘convincing’ – to be done”, Pitzl concludes, opening up to ample space for future debate on this issue.

With Maurizio Gotti’s contribution, titled *English as a Lingua Franca in the academic world: Trends and dilemmas*, the second section of the volume, dedicated to special discourse/s, opens with a particular focus on the significant impact of ELF in academic contexts where “the need for a common language is particularly felt especially for the development of specialized communication at a global level”. English as a Lingua Franca is observed from the vantage point of its intersection with the specialized scientific discourse/s of the ESP and EMI areas. According to Gotti, the present globalizing trends strongly influence the development of both language research and higher education policies. Academic discourse is particularly perceived as being under the influence of opposite forces, homogenizing and localizing at the same time, with the consequence that it results “not at all uniform but [varying] according to a host of factors, such as language competence, disciplinary field, community membership, professional expertise and generic conventions”. On the one hand, the massive use of English in academic research and instruction in many non-English speaking countries opens up to “new opportunities for learning the English discourses relating to the specialized disciplines taught”. However, on the other hand, it also raises new questions, challenges and dilemmas to the experts. Gotti argues that the spread of English – while indubitably being “a great advantage […] in terms of better global communication” – “has also aroused criticism” from various parts, as it has often been seen as “a factor of marginalization or even obliteration of important existing differences among non-English speaking communities […] preventing the attainment of authentic intercultural discourse”, due to the fact that “globalizing trends commonly rely on covert strategies meant to reduce participants’s

specificities". If ELF, with its massive contribution in the process of globalization of academic practices, has provided solutions of "great practical value", this process "has also aroused fears and complaints in many non-English-speaking academics". The EMI policies adopted for academic publications, for instance, "have heightened non-English-speakers' awareness that the increasing use of this language in publishing and higher education might greatly reduce the role of national languages for academic purposes". English, as the dominant language in ESP and EMI, may clearly have a "backwash effect" on "smaller languages", "subject to standardizing pressures in their semantic, textual, sociopragmatic and even lexicogrammatical construction". In his contribution Gotti reports data about his university research projects that "have investigated identity-forming features linked to 'local' or disciplinary cultures, as communicated through English in various academic domains by native and non-native speakers". Among the numerous examples provided, taken from his research corpora, particularly significant is the excerpt that he reports in which the idiomatic form "feel at home" was used by the lecturer with native-like competence while dialoguing with a non-native student: the insertion of this formulaic metaphorical expression created a critical situation of misunderstanding and unbalance between the two, and there was an evident communication breakdown. "Our data", Gotti concludes, "show how the students' awareness of not being native speakers seems to create a higher motivation in their adoption of supportive moves than is commonly noticed in settings only involving native speakers". This takes us to the problem that native-like users might not be the best communicators, as argued in the following article.

Another area of specialized discourse is highlighted in Tatsuki's contribution proposing the lens of observation of ELF in MUN simulations. In her article, titled *ELF in Model United Nations Simulations: When East meets West,* Tatsuki reports on a section of her ongoing research where the two "communities of practice" (according to Wenger's criteria), that is, the MUN delegates and ELF speakers, come into mutual interaction. Tatsuki starts describing the peculiarity of MUN simulations as discursive constructs and interactional processes, pointing out the relevance of ELF research in such domain. In all the different stages of the MUN simulation Tatsuki identifies linguistic and interactional traits that not necessarily are best possessed by native speakers. MUN delegates must work in team and "spend time trying to express all the ideas in their position papers verbally and spontaneously in order to increase their abilities to speak about the issues". At the actual MUN event there are different interactional genres that the participants need to master: from formal to informal debate, from caucusing to face-to-face negotiation. According to Tatsuki, face-to-face negotiation, particularly, is of great potential interest to researchers in the ELF world because ELF users, meeting at MUN simulations, all come from different

backgrounds and need to deal with such diversity in their interactions. In fact, they are seen to employ a "range of accommodation strategies to ensure cooperatively negotiated understandings". If, on the one hand, it is true that bilinguals' experience can reduce the "emotional resonance of language", there is also evidence that pragmatic accommodation strategies spontaneously adopted by ELF speakers are instances of effective negotiation practices and successful interactions. East Asian ELF speakers, for example, usually "adopt convergent pragmatic solidarity-building strategies", mirroring "their cultural values of positive politeness, consensus building and rapport strengthening. Thus it is safe to assume that ELF speakers bring their own cultural communication habits to each interaction". At this point, Tatsuki inserts the perspective of the "native speaker problem", since from her MUN simulations experience, she noticed that the linguistic competence possessed by the native speaker was "no guarantee of an ability to interact successfully with a wide variety of interlocutors". She could realize how English native speakers were in "especially acute need of training" in order to adjust to the ELF world of communication, ultimately displaying a lack of communicative competence. The MUN delegates coming from Japan, Tatsuki specifies, are usually at the C2 level, but "despite their strong capabilities, over the years […] have struggled to make their voices heard and ensure that their policies and ideas become included into the working papers that form the basis of the important draft resolutions": this points out an evident unbalance in the negotiation between ELF and non-ELF speakers. Tatsuki suggests that perhaps it is "time to problematize the language behaviors of the native speaker/non-ELF speakers". In this direction her research goes, investigating on the ELF speakers communication/comprehension difficulties when interacting with non-ELF (English native) speakers, trying to identify what specific items cause these difficulties. Her preliminary pilot study based on MUN delegates observation proved that the "most frequently cited problem areas related to manner of delivery and lexical knowledge". "These problem areas point specifically at poor skills of accommodation" (according to Cogo's definition), therefore Tatsuki concludes that specific training in accommodation should be directed to native speakers of English. Her findings invite us to focus on raising awareness, developing accommodation strategies, and improving NSs' communicative skills using a more globalized version of English.

The following contribution, opening the section of this volume dedicated to ELF and migration, presents the most updated gains and findings of the group of researchers from Salento University in this specific interface. The first contribution, signed by Maria Grazia Guido, Lucia Errico, Pietro Luigi Iaia and Cesare Amatulli, articulates developing on a four-fold perspective. Their paper, titled *Modern and ancient migrants' narratives through ELF. An Experiential-Linguistic project in Responsible Tourism,*

reports about an on-going project in responsible tourism in the region of Apulia, and provides an interdisciplinary contribution to the study of the relationship between ELF as a contact language and migratory phenomena taking place in the south-eastern part of Italy. "In the context of this project, migrants, together with international tourists, who happen to be in the same holiday locations, are directly engaged in intercultural activities aimed at the exploration of their emotional experience of such seaside resorts whose geographical position on the Southern Mediterranean coasts of Italy has always made them earn the reputation of hospitable places welcoming voyagers and characterized by a hybridization of languages and cultures". The topic of responsible tourism is approached through the migrants' narratives in ELF, framed in an experiential linguistic-place marketing project and filtered through a cognitive-pragmatic model; more precisely, the article juxtaposes an "appraisal of the contemporary non-Western migrants' dramatic sea-voyage narratives reported in their ELF variations" with "the epic narratives of Mediterranean 'odysseys' towards 'utopian places' belonging to the Western cultural heritage, translated from Ancient Greek and Latin into ELF". In this study, tourists are made "participants" playing the role of 'intercultural mediators' in their encounter with migrants, and the narratives of the past and present dramatic experiences are observed with an "ethnopoetic" approach; the texts under analysis are drawn from two corpora, constructed for the purpose: the 'modern' one containing texts collected during ethnographic fieldworks in reception centres for refugees, and the 'ancient' one "including extracts from Homer's *Odyssey* and Virgil's *Aeneid*." What is striking are the similarities in the "verse structures" in the two kinds of narratives, responding, with their rhythms and sequences, to the traumatic events experienced. As a last step, the narratives are "translated" into the multimodal rendering of 'premotional videos' with ELF subtitles. "The ELF variations used in such contexts of intercultural communication between groups of non-native speakers of English are assumed to foster in both tourists and migrants in contact an awareness of shared linguacultural and experiential narrative features". On the other hand, the data collected in these Apulian touristic resorts showed that "misunderstandings" between tourists and migrants are caused not only by the "syntactic, semantic and pragmatic structures of their respective native languages transferred into their ELF variations in contact, but also by the two groups' dissimilar experiential 'schemata'". The archetype of the Utopia vs Dystopia is introduced, ultimately suggesting the category of "shared Utopia", in order to define and actualize the convergence of these experiences. An ample repertoire of recorded cases is provided in support of such articulated view in which "a hybrid use of ELF – indeed, a collective ELF translanguaging practice" enhances mutual accessibility to shared experiential schemata and narratives. The role played by ELF is analysed in depth and powerfully enhanced in its

multifaceted spectrum, confirming how the critical contexts in which is used also shows its crucial significance.

On another note, the article by Mariarosaria Provenzano, titled *ELF and linguistic accessibility in EU migration laws. A Critical Discourse Analysis on text reformulations,* focuses on ELF and its impact in legal discourse, presenting the study of a corpus of texts drawn from the EU Immigration and Political Asylum laws. In such collection, the texts referring to administrative practices and procedures for claiming asylum in European Member States are investigated through the filter of a pragmatic analysis, with the underlying hypothesis that "these specialized text-types are mainly built on pragmatic strategies which mainly reflect Western routines". This implies the obvious consequence that they are based on a "power asymmetry" relationship reflected in the EU language practices. The objective of the study moves from the awareness that, in specific European contexts, "claims of normative, socio-cultural and juridical character may create conflict at the interpretative level" and therefore the need emerges for a reformulation of such texts in order to facilitate their usability from the side of the assumed interlocutors. These texts, Provenzano argues, "may be actualized only by experts in the field, at the detriment of non-experts, who would be the potential receivers of the laws"; if this holds true, professionals – when writing these norms and laws – should focus their attention on "the specialized interactions that govern, also from a sociological viewpoint, the contact between the participants in the interactions" and "on the pragmatic modalities of the interaction, which are here only limited to the written mode". According to Provenzano, it is fundamental to verify the accessibility of these texts to communities of migrants speaking different variations of ELF. In the process of analysis, suggesting amendments in these legal texts, Provenzano adopts a Critical Discourse Analysis approach "in order to point out the possible incongruities of the original statements", and thus proposing new reformulations, in a frame of simplification strategy, inspired by an ELF aware perspective. A series of interviews conducted with a group of migrants from the Lecce area shows how the ELF contact function can be usefully adopted to rebalance power-asymmetry relations in problematic contexts. Therefore a reconsideration – under an ELF strategic approach – of the cognitive permeability of legal concepts in a special discourse setting appears fundamental for the success of the interaction and mutual understanding. According to Provenzano, the "model of cognitive-functional analysis should be further implemented to provide adequate solutions and be more in line with the 'schemata' of potential recipients in terms of expectations and other cultural ideas".

The area of interest of ELF in conjunction with migratory criticalities is further developed by Laura Centonze's article, titled *Towards a corpus pragmatics of ELF through semi-automated annotation systems,* in which the

problematics of ELF use/s in migration settings are observed from the vantage point of corpus linguistics and corpus pragmatics combined with the most recent techniques of quantitative/qualitative analysis and corpus annotation by means of semi-automated software tools. More precisely, Centonze illustrates her undergoing research aimed at describing spoken discourse in ELF in migratory contexts where the pragmatic annotation of speech acts, from an ELF perspective, is performed through the DART (Dialogue Annotation Research Tool) tool, a software resource which also includes POS functions and pragmatic annotation of spoken discourse. The resulting corpus – called *ELF MiDo Corpus* (English as a Lingua Franca in MIgration DOmains corpus) – "consists of over 50,000 words of conversation between asylum seekers and intercultural mediators in symmetrical contexts of interaction". The objective of the study is to verify if, adopting a corpus-pragmatic approach and providing an integrated model for the analysis of such interactions in their pragmalinguistic features, it is possible to identify pragmatic patterns in ELF conversations taking place in migratory contexts, and eventually train future cultural mediators on the basis of those specific traits. Starting from the theoretical background of the speech act theory, Centonze identifies in the corpus pragmatics approach the possibility of conjoining the "horizontal-reading methodology" of small texts with the "vertical reading" of a huge set of texts provided by the KWIC analysis. The corpus taken into consideration is described in all its features and two distinct case studies are reported in detail, as they are filtered through the DART tool and its main functionalities. Centonze illustrates the procedure in all its operational steps and gives evidence of how, through a corpus linguistics and corpus pragmatics approach, we can provide some additional "insights into the dynamics of ELF in multicultural contexts".

Another contribution, concluding the section devoted to ELF and its impact on migratory settings, is the one by Silvia Sperti who, in her article, titled *A phonopragmatic analysis of ELF spoken interactions. Linguistic and paralinguistic features in specialized migration contexts*, carries on an investigation of ELF spoken interactions from a phonopragmatic perspective. Through this approach, the dialogues collected are researched in order to realize "how ELF speakers, engaged in intercultural encounters differently appropriate the English language, not only according to their own native linguacultural and paralinguistic 'schemata', but also to specific pragmalinguistic purposes and processes". The phonopragmatic analysis regards a number of cases collected during a 14-month period of fieldwork, and Sperti reports about three examples more in detail, observing them from the three different levels of "acoustic", "conversational" and "register analysis". The first case regards "asylum-seeking representations and unequal socio-cultural 'schemata'"; the second one, focuses on "'schema'-biased attitudes in integration processes and practices"; the third one, points out

"intercultural divergences in the perception and interpretation of legal-bureaucratic procedures", reconnecting, in this respect, to ESP. Sperti devotes particular attention to the suprasegmental, rhythmic and prosodic features, as well as paralinguistic and extralinguistic elements, as "speakers tend to modulate more or less their prosodic patterns and intensity level", with variations in pauses, pitch and speech prominence, especially when difficulties are perceived – if not misunderstandings – in intercultural conversations. The asylum seeker, legal advisor and intercultural mediator – who are the three participants in the conversations analysed – have different levels of linguistic competence and show unequal forms of familiarity with the language/s (ELF and ILF) spoken, they have completely different lingua-cultural backgrounds and very often opposite needs, therefore their emotional and attitudinal features are respectively mirrored and detected in the phonopragmatic description. The results of her study, Sperti concludes, "have confirmed that prosody is one of the most relevant communicative means speakers and listeners use both in the production and in the interpretation of speech acts". From this perspective, the phonopragmatic approach could also represent a strategic pedagogical tool in the training of intercultural mediators, especially in an ELF-oriented scenario of mutual contact.

The following contribution, titled *Immunologically speaking: Oral examinations, ELF and EMI*, by Hugo Bowles, opens the section which focuses on the impact of ELF in the world of education, bringing into it its pedagogical implications and dilemmas. Bowles, in his article, proposes a perspective where ELF and EMI interface in examinations at HE level. A form of continuum is identified in the EAP/ESP-CLIL-EMI line progression, where the didactic attention has gradually shifted from language to content and then from content to content learning. If it is true that several academic subjects at universities are taught in English as a medium of instruction, Bowles argues, what is usually neglected is that such use of English goes under the ELF umbrella function. "The relationship of EMI with English as a lingua franca and its implications for teaching are relatively unexplored", Bowles claims. He specifically addresses "the challenges facing lecturers and examiners working on English-taught programmes (ETPs) in ELF and the role of language experts in supporting them". In his article, qualitatively analysed data – taken from a set of immunology oral examinations at an undergraduate degree programme in medicine taught in EMI – are reported as indicative of the co-construction of chronological narratives of immunological sequences between students and examiners during the oral test, the oral examination being "a particularly important EMI speech event because it is an area of EMI in which student's language difficulties often come to the fore". Despite its pedagogical relevance as an assessment event, very little research on oral examination interaction in EMI contexts has been done so far. Bowles argues that "far from being an exclusively linguistic

matter" such process of co-construction implies specific discursive preparation for the students, and, for the instructors, a specific pedagogical goal in raising the students' awareness of the complexity and necessity of the dialogical co-construction process. On the basis of the local data collected, Bowles presents a series of extracts from oral examinations which are analysed in detail with a discursive distinctiveness procedure, that is, dividing the macro-structure of the whole oral examination in three phases: "an opening sequence, the main body of conversation and a closing sequence". In his observation of the oral assessment event, Bowles also applies criteria of "local and cultural distinctiveness" and tries to identify what is distinctively disciplinary, "in the way that the examiners themselves talk about their discipline", pointing out the "importance of understanding disciplinary variation". Then Bowles asks how far these features can be generalized and applied to other EMI contexts, and whether there are in them "recommendations for language experts and policymakers in understanding and improving the quality of EMI lecturing and assessment". Finally, the question regarding how far "an ELF orientation to pedagogy can assist EMI lecturers, examiners and students in their decision-making regarding materials, methods and their own English usage" is raised, framed in the growing scenario of an increasing pedagogical focus of ELF.

With a similar research direction and educational involvement in the growth of the ELF-informed pedagogy in ELT, Enrico Grazzi's article, titled *ELF in the English classroom. Great ideas and burning open questions*, addresses the question of the urgent need to reconceptualize and reshape the traditional approach to ELT at school, incorporating ELF findings into the English syllabus through innovative teaching and learning practices. Grazzi amply grounds his argument on previous literature in the specific interface and raises questions with particular regard to the opportunity of providing or not native-speakers' language models in language education, especially when dealing with ELF creative forms as opposed to "errors", devising modalities of language assessment with ELF criteria. Starting from the assumption that English, as compulsory subject of most curricula around the world, "is taught as a foreign language (EFL), i.e. as the language that is spoken by and 'belongs' to its native speakers […] the varieties that are usually chosen as exonormative reference models in school education […] are standard English (SE)". Since the majority of language teachers are NNSEs, it is very likely that a "hybrid variant" form of English will emerge especially in pedagogic environments. According to Grazzi, we should consider that "this English, or better the *similect* that is developed in the English classroom" is the language that students are going to use not just at school, but particularly "outside school as an international lingua franca, whenever they communicate in authentic multilingual and multicultural settings". Therefore, it is evident how EFL and ELF tend "to converge by means of the learner/L2-user's

performance". Grazzi underlines the difference between interlanguage, transitional dialect and ELF appropriation, particularly for the social dimension that ELF may assume, intertwining the dynamic intra-personal and inter-personal strata at the same time. The new challenges which are presently facing language teachers, methodologists and language practitioners are well represented by Grazzi's contribution in which the theoretical stances of sociocultural theory and ecological approach are combined within an ELF conceptual frame, to the advantage of an updated pedagogic view with newly informed trajectories. In fact, even though "the variability of English in the age of globalization and of the digital revolution is plain to see" and communities of NNESs outnumber those of NESs, "the dominant pedagogical model in ELT is still firmly rooted in native speakerism". After twenty years of academic research on the phenomenon of ELF, "it seems that mainstream ELT has hardly been affected by the great sociolinguistic changes". The aim of Grazzi's article is "to enhance critical thinking as regard the implications of ELF in ELT and teacher education". A series of theoretical and practical indications to teachers is then added, in order to provide tentative answers to the "open burning" questions raised.

Sharing the same perspective of pedagogical research, with the objective of reconsidering the English curriculum from the vantage point of teachers' education and classroom practice, Lucilla Lopriore's contribution – titled *Voicing beliefs and dilemmas from WE- and ELF-aware reflective teacher education contexts. Teachers' personal responses to rapidly changing multilingual contexts* – sheds light on beliefs and dilemmas arising from the conjunction of WE and ELF contexts, as realized through teachers' personal experiences in response to the radical changes in multilingual scenarios and present linguistic dispensation. Lopriore provides an articulated description of the intricate net of innovations which define unprecedented linguistic landscapes in the educational field. Globalisation processes call into question the role played by English on a worldwide scale; the porosity of borders, the hybridization created by migration flows, the new language policies endorsed by decision makers, all these sociolinguistic phenomena address urgent dilemmas to language educators. "The current development of English and of its instantiations, from World English to English as a Lingua Franca, in plurilingual contexts, has elicited studies on […] the contents and type of approach to be used in language teacher education courses for future teachers of English", Lopriore claims. English has so dramatically changed in the last three decades that it is advisable to look to forms of reflective approach in order to reconsider beliefs, understandings and methodologies, as well as materials and practices in ELT. ELF research poses crucial challenges to the current pedagogic practice and the need for a shift in language teachers' education is clearly emerging. Research studies on ELF have highlighted, for instance, the relevance of pragmatic strategies in the process

of communicative interactions among speakers, so that negotiation, repetition, rephrasing, paraphrasing procedures and the like reveal the participants' willingness to create an environment of mutual understanding and successful communication. As teachers take into account the variability and diversity of English, the stereotyped opposition of native vs non-native, just to quote one example, loses ground leaving space to more relevant traits in ELT. Lopriore describes three case studies drawn from a pre- and in-service teacher education experience, run within a WE and ELF-informed perspective. The courses were inspired by the principles of engaging the group in a reflective practice experience, challenging previous beliefs and views about language, and developing the participants' professional identity as non-native teachers of English. A detailed illustration of the areas which were covered and the activities proposed is provided, and from these it is evident how the newly informed pedagogic and didactic approach, from theoretical, becomes operational. The teachers were exposed to multiple video stimuli, involved in group discussion about their practicum experiences with a particular attention devoted to noticing the language used in course-books, and engaged in producing their end-of-course projects, shared on a Moodle platform. The tasks proposed were all informed on the group's exploration of the WE and ELF features in the various aspects of the language used. Sharing the data and gains of the experience, Lopriore makes the teachers' voices resound as they express their doubts and beliefs, enthusiasm and perplexity, indubitably all dilemmas to be addressed in future teachers' education initiatives.

With Paola Vettorel's contribution, titled *The plurality of English and ELF in teacher education. Raising awareness of the 'feasibility' of a WE- and ELF-aware approach in classroom practices*, the special focus on pedagogic instances in connection with the present ELF research is further investigated. Vettorel starts from the shared assumption that the plurality into which English has developed in the last two decades, extending its role of lingua franca, has considerable consequences in ELT environments. English is taught at school, but "increasingly constitutes a consistent presence in the 'outside-school' world", therefore, "encounters with (linguistic) otherness can be experienced daily, from the multicultural and multilingual school environments to mobility and digital communication". According to Vettorel, raising awareness on the state of the art of English/es nowadays, updating and involving teachers in the complex process of transformation of the language, can help create that necessary link between theoretical research and applied practice, through which a real advancement in pedagogical strategies can take place, for a "realistic" and "inclusive" approach in ELT. "If language educators are familiarised with the complex reality of English, and critical reflection […] is actively promoted in teacher education, teachers can not only realize the 'feasibility' of a WE- and ELF-aware approach in classroom

practices, but also its 'suitability' to prepare learners to communicate through English in its current plural and lingua franca dimensions", Vettorel argues. In support of her stance, she refers to two different experiences of pre- and in-service teachers' development courses (TFA and PAS) which took place at her university. What Vettorel could verify is that, even though most of the teachers had been linguistically and professionally shaped as SE followers, many of them proved to also be enthusiastic supporters of the new variations and variability models, particularly for the sense of openness to the real world that language conceived in its contact function could provide. The flexibility in the applied models and didactic practices of the WE- and ELF-informed pedagogical approach can beneficially contribute to the creation of a curriculum more attuned to our contemporary needs. As a first step, Vettorel envisages the necessity to raise the teachers' awareness about the fast-mutated linguistic scenario and the plurality of models available at present; a reflective approach, being paramount to any possible ameliorating change, can be carried out as a "shared scaffolded and collaborative moment". Awareness can be implemented with exposure to the complexity of English usage, with critical appreciation of previous beliefs and action plans for classroom, involving processes of "languaging" as well as "translanguaging". Enforcing a "post-normative framework", Vettorel encourages the integration of "deep sociolinguistic modifications" into the school curriculum, particularly inspired by "the fluidity and hybridity of ELF communication": "Unless the plurality into which English has developed (WE), and its use as a lingua franca functional variety become part of teachers' knowledge and (professional) awareness, a move towards a plurilithic and ELF-aware approach in ELT would be difficult to envisage". Moving away from a "deficiency" paradigm, WE- and ELF-aware practices can take into account current phenomena such as the language spread, globalization, multilingualism, and superdiversity. Therefore priorities in teaching must be revised, focusing more on the elements that favor effective communication ("despite" their non-conformity to SE norms, as Seidlhofer suggested). However, teachers usually prefer moving on safe ground, and the new space prospected by WE- and ELF-didactic models is still to be delineated with clear traits, or rather, is escaping stable definitions. What is certain – Vettorel underlines – is that there is a markedly significant difference between teaching with an ELF-inspired awareness and teaching ELF as opposed to EFL. Even though ELF-awareness does not provide a set of prescriptive "rules" or a "new method", it helps teachers to co-construct "appropriate ELF-related methodologies for their learners" in their local contexts, within an "ecological approach". The teachers' proposals and ELF-aware lesson plans and diverse activities, collected during the TFA and PAS courses referred to above, emphasize the great degree of creativity they all contained. This has allowed for more freedom in self-expression and inter-peer

communication, as well as favoring the contact with other linguacultures, to the enrichment of both collective and individual linguistic repertoire and patrimony. In the end, the ultimate goal an effective pedagogical orientation aims at is the passage from "capacity" to "capability", as defined by Widdowson, "a knowledge of how meaning potential encoded in English can be realised as a communicative resource".

From our ELF point of view, it is particularly significant that this introductory survey ends just with a pronouncement which takes us back to the beginning of our collection. This, by no means accidental, (virtuous) circularity shows how the theoretical foundations, from which the whole event "English Lingua Franca: Expanding scenarios and growing dilemmas" and relative publication originate, are propelling. Both actual outcomes – the symposium and the special issue – also acknowledge the inspiring power of the groundbreaking and seminal masters. The eminent scholars, together with the consolidated experts and promising younger researchers here gathered, are proof of the thriving force of the field of English Lingua Franca. It is indeed an expanding scenario and a series of growing dilemmas that we are becoming more and more aware about, as researchers and practitioners. This awareness generates responsibility, but also the thrill of exploring and discovering new horizons. Therefore we would like to thank all the contributors for their participation and trust in the initiative. What we can only add, at this point, is an "*ad maiora* wish" to the whole ELF community, both local and international, for a more and more prosperous future of prolific exchanges.

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COMPETENCE, CAPABILITY AND VIRTUAL LANGUAGE

BARBARA SEIDLHOFER; HENRY WIDDOWSON
UNIVERSITY OF VIENNA

Abstract – As has been extensively exemplified in the ELF literature, users of English as a lingua franca are capable of using language to communicate in contextually appropriate ways even though in so doing they may not conform to the norms of Standard English or the usage of native speakers, which are generally taken to provide the benchmarks of competence in the language. This raises the question of what kind of construct competence is and how far it accounts for the ability to communicate. And if 'incompetent' users manage to be capable communicators, then what is the nature of this capability? If it refers to some kind of knowledge other than competence, what kind is it, and how is this knowledge acted upon in the actual pragmatic process of communication? Addressing these questions leads to the recognition that communication in general is achieved by the exercise of a general lingual capability that, unlike the concept of competence, is not a matter of conformity to the actual encodings of any particular language but the exploitation of the coding potential of virtual language.

Keywords: communication; English as a lingua franca; competence; conformity; capability; virtual language

As is now widely recognised, the extended networks of interaction that globalization has brought about have naturally resulted in the communicative use of language that transcends the borders of different languages conventionally associated with separate lingua-cultural communities. The use of English as a lingua franca (ELF) is a particularly striking example of such use. One obstacle in an understanding of this global lingual phenomenon, and therefore of the nature of ELF, is the proliferation of terms that have been used to label it. Jacquemet has provided a list of them:

> Just in the first decade of the twenty-first century, language scholars, never too shy to create new words, have introduced the following terms: *codemeshing* (Canagarajah 2006), *transidiomatic practices* (Jacquemet 2005), *truncated multilingualism* (Blommaert *et al.* 2005), *transnational heteroglossia* (Bailey 2007), *polylingualism* (Jørgensen 2008), *translanguaging* (García 2009), *plurilingualism* (Canagarajah 2009), *flexible bilingualism* (Creese and Blackledge 2010), *heterolingualism* (Pratt et al. 2011), *metrolingualism* (Otsuji and Pennycook 2011), *translingual practices* (Canagarajah 2011), and *transglossic language practices* (Sultana *et al.* 2015). (Jacquemet 2016, p. 336)

All of these terms refer in one way or another to lingual practices, to kinds of linguistic behaviour or performance. The abstract knowledge that is assumed to be acted upon in these actual practices is, of course, what has been labelled 'competence'. But here too there is a confusing proliferation of terms. Just as practices have been labelled transidiomatic and translingual and transglossic, so competence has been variously labelled as sociolinguistic, strategic, multilingual, inter-cultural and so on. All these, and many others, are the terminological outgrowths of Chomsky's original formulation of the concept, beginning with Hymes' definition of communicative competence as the ability to assess how far an expression in a language is grammatically possible, feasible in the sense of being readily decipherable, appropriate to context, and attested as having been actually performed (Hymes 1972).

Subsequently, communicative competence was said to consist of four components: grammatical, sociolinguistic, discourse and strategic (Canale 1983), though how they relate to each other, or to the four features proposed by Hymes, is not made clear. In Bachman (1990) we find what is called 'language competence' divided into no less than fourteen different components (for further discussion see Widdowson 2003, Ch. 12). It seems obvious that some clarification of the concept of competence is called for, and how it might relate to these different communicative practices that have been so variously and inventively named.

It might be, and indeed has been, argued that an enquiry into how language is used can dispense with the concept of competence altogether and should concentrate attention exclusively on the practices. This, for example, would appear to be the position taken by Pennycook, who urges the need:

> ...to look at language as a practice is to view language as an activity **rather than** a structure, as something we do **rather than** a system we draw on. (Pennycook 2010, p. 2, emphasis added)

Although, as the very use of ELF makes clear, language cannot simply be viewed as a separate self-enclosed formal system, using it must obviously involve drawing on some preconceived knowledge or other. It is not a matter of setting language as something we do **in opposition** to something we know, but of enquiring into the **relationship** between knowing and doing. The essential issue is how far this knowing can be equated with competence as this has been conventionally conceived.

The first point to make is that, although, as we have seen, it has been conceptualised in many different ways, competence has always been related to particular languages and communities assumed to be well-defined. This is of course made quite explicit in Chomsky's formulation of the concept as being the linguistic knowledge of 'an ideal speaker-listener, in a completely homogeneous speech community' (Chomsky 1965, p. 3). But it is equally

clear if not so explicitly stated in Hymes's account of communicative competence. Here competence is defined as the knowledge needed to recognise the degree to which a particular instance of a language measures up to a norm which is assumed to be conventional in a particular community. As Hymes puts it:

> There is an important sense in which a **normal member of a community** has knowledge with respect to all these aspects of the communicative systems available to him. (Hymes 1972, p. 282, emphasis added)

It is hard to see how a normal member of a community is conceptually essentially different from Chomsky's ideal speaker-listener and the community conceived of as enclosed and well defined, if not homogeneous. So, communicative competence is represented as a matter of conformity to a particular set of communal norms. The obvious implication is that you cannot competently communicate in a language unless you conform to the conventions that obtain in the community of its native speakers.

Communicative competence for Hymes then is inextricably bound up with the concept of a particular community of speakers. His concern is not how language is used in communication but how a particular language is conventionally used by members of a particular speech community. In this respect, he follows the traditional ethnographic approach to the study of communication. Here too it is the normative features of communal language use that is the focus of attention. This is how Saville-Troike puts it:

> The subject matter of the ethnography of communication is best illustrated by one of its most general questions: **what does a speaker need to know to communicate appropriately within a particular speech community**, and how does he or she learn to do so? **Such knowledge, together with whatever skills are needed to make use of it, is *communicative competence*.** The requisite knowledge includes not only rules for communication (both linguistic and sociolinguistic) and shared rules for interaction, but also the **cultural rules** and knowledge that are the basis for the context and content of communicative events and interaction processes. (…) **The focus of the ethnography of communication is the *speech community*, the way communication within it is patterned and organized as systems of communicative events, and the ways in which these interact with all other systems of culture**. (Saville-Troike 2003, p. 3, emphasis added)[1]

[1] It is worth noting that the linking of competence to community necessarily involves the expression of socio-cultural identity. Ways of using a language define a particular community, which is why language and culture are said to be indivisible. But the use of the language as a communicative resource in contexts and for purposes outside these communities necessarily divides the language from its particular cultural associations and so provides for the variable expression of different cultural identities.

The focus then of ethnography is how language is used within speech communities but this, of course, presupposes that such communities can be clearly defined. According to Gumperz a speech community is:

> ...any human aggregate characterized by **regular and frequent** interaction by means of a shared body of verbal signs and **set off** from similar aggregates by **significant differences** in language usage. (Gumperz 1971, p. 114, emphasis added)

Although this definition has the superficial appearance of precision, like the Hymes definition of competence, it is based on unsubstantiated normative assumptions: at what point, one might ask, are occurrences of interaction deemed to be 'regular and frequent', and what are the criteria for determining whether differences are 'significant' or not?

The concept of competence, then, dependent as it is on indeterminate ideas about what constitutes speech communities and their languages, is essentially what we have previously called a "convenient methodological fiction" (Seidlhofer 2011, p. 71). This is not to deny its validity, for all theoretical enquiry must be based on some idealised abstraction of one kind or other. But validity is also relative, and the abstraction has to be seen as having some plausible correspondence with an actual state of affairs. So long as communities are relatively lingua-culturally enclosed, it is indeed justifiable to define a speech community as:

> a **local** unit, characterized for its members by **common locality** and **primary interaction.** (Hymes 1974, p. 51)

But this state of affairs no longer obtains in a world of shifting populations and digitalized networks of communicative interaction. This is, of course, particularly the case with English: users of the language are not members of a local unit sharing a common locality and obviously do not constitute a community characterized by a distinctive usage of shared verbal signs that can be identified as a language variety. What we have here are users who communicate 'without competence', not by conforming to the norms of a language variety but by the adaptive pragmatic exploitation of linguistic resources (Widdowson 2015). The traditional notion of speech community and the concept of competence that depends upon it clearly cannot account for the kind of translingual/transglossic/translanguaging practices that are enacted in global communication, and which are so clearly exemplified in ELF. But then the question arises: is there an alternative way of accounting for them?

As is clear from the preceding discussion, ELF is not to be conceived of as a kind of English, not a language variety, but essentially as the

expedient exploitation of linguistic resources as a means of communication. That being so, it is misleading to focus attention on the E of ELF, as researchers have sometimes tended to do: the various forms that it can take are only symptoms of the communicative process, an epiphenomenon, and to focus on them can easily distract attention from the causative process itself. Understanding ELF therefore crucially depends on an understanding of the nature of communication in general.

Over fifty years ago, Roman Jakobson identified what he called 'the constitutive factors in any speech event, in any act of verbal communication.'[2] He set them out as follows:

	CONTEXT		
ADDRESSER	MESSAGE	ADDRESSEE	
	CONTACT		
	CODE		(Jakobson 1960)

Let us first consider the message factor. When we use this term in everyday communication we can mean one of two very different things. A message on the one hand is an actual piece of language, something that is worded in speech or writing, like the text messages we send when we email and twitter. In this sense, the message is a fixed linguistic entity, an encoding, which can therefore be described in sole reference to the code factor. But we also use the term message to refer to some intended meaning, to what is meant by a text, and in this case the message factor crucially relates to the factors of addresser and addressee. Whereas the message in one sense is a text that can be decoded, in the other sense it is a discourse that can only be interpreted.

It is the relationship between these two senses of message that is central to an understanding the nature of communication. Two questions arise.

1. How are we to define the code that is used in the encoding of a particular message form?
2. How is this encoding related to the intended and interpreted message meanings of addresser and addressee?

Scholars who have been concerned with the ethnography of communication generally assume that the code is what de Saussure calls *langue,* a system of rules that define the formal properties of a standard language, a knowledge of which constitutes the linguistic competence of its speakers. These are the rules that are enshrined in standard grammars and dictionaries of particular

[2] This was later taken up and extended by Hymes (1974) to provide a framework for the ethnographic description of communicative practices in particular communities, in line with the approach to the ethnography of communication discussed earlier.

languages, and knowing them, according to Hymes, enables a 'normal member of speech community' to assess how far a particular message form is possible in a language, that is to say how far it conforms to rule. To talk of normal members presupposes an abstract norm. As pointed out earlier, this would seem to correspond with Chomsky's ideal speaker-listener for it is obvious that actual speaker listeners vary considerably in their competence and have only a partial knowledge of the code recorded in the grammars and dictionaries which represent their language. What then counts as the code of a language in this view is an abstract construct of what an ideal community of 'normal' speakers knows of a set of encodings, canonical message forms that represent what de Saussure calls *un état de langue* – a language state, a static language. As such the concept is both too broad and too narrow: too broad because it assumes that all speakers have the same common competence which they clearly do not, too narrow because it defines a code as a sum of its present manifestations without allowing for its inherent potential for further exploitation.

For a code cannot be equated with the collectivity of types of message form that have resulted from its use. These forms conform to certain encoding principles but the forms that have actually been produced by no means exhaust the virtual potential of the code. It just happens that certain forms have historically been suited to particular communicative purposes in the contexts of use of particular communities and have thus become conventionally established. So, what linguists describe as **the** English language are the particular encodings that serve the communicative needs of particular communities, and have become conventionalised over time and as these needs change, so some encodings fall out of use, new ones emerge and descriptions are revised accordingly to keep up to date. And so, we get grammars or dictionaries of **current** English or German or Italian. But what is current is also what is only temporary and fleeting and soon dated. Grammars or dictionaries are essentially historical documents of actually attested manifestations of code use, not accounts of the code itself. They describe the forms the realization of this potential has taken, but not what forms it might take. In this sense grammars and dictionaries of current English are no different from those of Old or Middle English: descriptions of idealized *états de langue*.

The very fact that grammars and dictionaries have to be continually updated makes it obvious that any description of the present state of the language can only be a very partial account - an account of conventionalized encodings - and does not represent the inherent potential of the code itself – of ways in which this potential can be used to make meanings to meet the needs of changing circumstances.

We refer to this inherent meaning making potential as the virtual language. The term ‘meaning potential’ will perhaps be familiar: it is used by Halliday, and used also in reference to formally encoded linguistic properties (Halliday 1973). But there is a crucial difference. For Halliday, this meaning potential is inherent in the grammatical systems of actualised encodings. These systems take the form they do because they have evolved to serve social and communicative purposes, that is to say, pragmatic functions in the past have been systematized as the semantics of the present state of the language, and hence the name Systemic/Functional Grammar. One may accept that the formal systems of the present grammar of English are historically determined by the pragmatic functions they have been needed for in the past, but it does not follow that they determine what pragmatic functions the language will be needed for in the future. On the contrary, since these needs will necessarily relate to quite different contexts and purposes, the form the language takes will, on Halliday’s own argument, change accordingly. (For further discussion see Widdowson 2004, Ch. 2).

Pragmatic function is obviously not simply the direct projection of a conventionalized semantic system but the exploitation of the code potential of which this system is one realization. It is of course true that such a system has meaning potential in the sense that, like any grammar, it allows for creativity in the Chomskyan sense – the production of infinite formal permutations. But this is strictly confined creativity bound by conformity to the conventionalized systemic rules that define the actual language. The meaning potential that serves the variable and ever-changing communicative needs of language users cannot be, and clearly is not, so confined. They can only be met by the creative exploitation of the encoding resources represented by the virtual language.

But the particular message forms that are created to meet these needs will conform to the encoding principles of the virtual language. Such principles must pre-exist in the minds of communicators: code is an essential factor and communication would be impossible without it. So, what is the nature of this code conceived of as constituting the virtual language, and how do users conform to its principles in the adaptively creative process of making meaning?

The first point to be made is that a code, as usually understood, is of its nature internally consistent so that all message forms encoded in it conform to its rules and can be reliably deciphered accordingly. The term is therefore a

misnomer in reference to Standard English, which, of course, bristles with inconsistencies, with idiosyncratic encodings that have accumulated over time by historical happenstance. The way adverbial particles are attached to some transitive verbs but not to others is an obvious example: *attend to* but not *notice to*, *talk about* but not *discuss* or *describe about* and so on. The plural morpheme is attached to abstract nouns like *communication, opinion*, *expense* but not to*, evidence, information, advice*. Some nouns denoting human qualities are morphologically derived from adjectives, like *sadness, happiness, boldness, foolishness, cleverness* but this does not apply to semantically related nouns like *gay, anxious, brave, stupid*. Since a code, by definition, is to be consistent, it seems reasonable to say that there are virtual rules in English whereby all nouns can be pluralised by what might be called the proto-morph -*s*, and can be derived from adjectives with the proto-morph *-ness*. So, expressions like *evidences* and *advices* are entirely consistent with the virtual language rules. Similarly, *anxiousness* and *braveness* are regular formations whereas the standard English encodings *anxiety* and *bravery* are not.

To take another example, some adjectives can be negated by the prefix un- as in *unhappy, unsure, uncomfortable*, *unavoidable* whereas others are assigned a different prefix – *insecure, inconsiderate, incompetent, inappropriate, inevitable, irresponsible.* One might of course attempt to discover regularities and so reduce these idiosyncrasies to rule. We might, for example, propose an encoding rule that constrains the use of *in-* to words of at least three syllables which would preclude the formation of *un-considerate*, *un-comprehensible* but then it would also preclude two syllable words in standard English like *im-possible* and *in-active* and the four syllable *un-precedented*. Again, one might propose that the use of *un-* or *in-* is determined not only by syllabic but also morphological constraints – that it is words of two or more syllables that have the *-able* or *-ible* suffix that require the *in-* prefix. Words like *in-conceivable* and *in-dispensible* would conform to this encoding rule, but the standard *un-imaginable* and *un-controllable* would not.

The quest for lower order encoding rules of increasing complexity would quickly fall prey of the law of diminishing returns and lose explanatory value. It would seem more sensible to propose that *in-/im-* are idiosyncratic allomorphic variants of what we might call the proto-morph *un-* which is regular encoding of adjective negation in the virtual language. It just happens that the *in-* variant is preferred to *un-* used for some adjectives in one variety of English. But this is an incidental feature of conventional usage and not a constraint imposed by the code. In this view, words like *un-possible, un-conceivable*, are entirely in conformity with virtual encoding rules. (For further discussion see Widdowson 2015).

The point is that encoding rules of Standard English are not consistently applied, and of course the same is true of other languages, and it is this in or un consistency, this irregularity – or unregularity, or disregularity – that poses such difficulty for learners who, to achieve so-called competence in a language, have to know when rules apply and when they do not.

Their difficulty is compounded by the fact that this variability of rule application very often has little if any communicative significance. To take one example: the expression *next to.* In an earlier state of English, this, like the semantically similar preposition *near,* had no particle attached to it, hence the place name *Wells Next the Sea*. The absence of *to* presents no problem in understanding. Indeed, communicatively effective message forms can be produced while dispensing entirely with the particle *to* whatever its encoded function. This is amusingly illustrated in a poem by Sophie Hannah.

Wells-Next-the-Sea

I came this little seaside town
And went a pub they call The Crown
Where straight away I happened see
A man who seemed quite partial me.
I proved susceptible his charms
And fell right in his open arms.
From time time, every now and then,
I hope meet up with him again.

This encoded feature of Standard English is dispensed with to create a particular effect. That is its purpose. But for many purposes and for many if not most users of English, other features of Standard English can be – and are – dispensed with as surplus to communicative requirement.

What these users do is to exploit the redundancies of conventionalized encodings, often by regularizing their inconsistencies. So, the use of expressions that do not replicate conventional encodings, like *anxiousness,* or *informations*, or *unsecure*, are entirely in accord with encoding rules. Where they occur, in ELF usage for example, they are evidence of direct access to these rules, bypassing the conventions of the standard language, which have no necessary relevance for effective communication. Such forms are of course incorrect in reference to Standard English, but such correctness has to do with norms of linguistic conduct that apply only restrictively in certain communities and have little if any relevance anywhere else. Correct English is usually equated with proper English, but proper English has to do with propriety, that is to say conformity to conventionalized linguistic etiquette, and this has only a very limited bearing on communicative appropriacy – or appropriateness. On the contrary, for countless users of English, so called native speakers included, conformity to the correctness and the propriety of

Standard English would inhibit the adaptable use of linguistic resources to produce communicatively effective message forms.

Hymes' familiar definition of communicative competence is, as was pointed out earlier, based on the concept of an enclosed community, a 'normal' member of which can make certain judgements about a particular message form. One judgement is the extent to which it is possible, and since the judgement is norm based, this can only mean the extent to which the message form is correct or proper in reference to conventionalized encodings. The possible does not account for the creative potential of the virtual code. Another judgement is the extent to which a particular message form is actually performed. Nowadays, corpus analysis provides a mass of objective data on which such a judgement can be reliably based. In consequence, what counts as correct or proper English has over recent years been extended to include not only what conforms to established encodings but also what conforms to idiomatic patterns of actual native speaker usage. This is said to be real or authentic English and the assumption seems to be that users are communicatively competent to the extent that they conform to these patterns of usage. But of course these are conventionalized message forms, patterns of performance which are only real for a select and relatively small number of native speaker users. They are instances of what is actually attested as having been produced – but only by a restricted community of users.

So, to return to Jakobson's factors, it is obvious that what form a message takes to be communicatively effective cannot be determined by how a particular community of addressers and addressees make use of code resources as appropriate to their own contexts of use. The nature of communication cannot be accounted for by describing how a particular community of users communicate. But it is not only that different communicative contexts and purposes will necessarily call for the creative exploitation of the virtual code but in the case of English as a lingua franca users will naturally draw on the encoding resources of languages other than English to produce hybrid message forms. So, for example, lexical items from one linguistic source may be phonologically or morphologically adapted to conform to another's encoding principles. Or where an expression is entirely well formed according to the virtual morphological rules of English but whose syntactic structure conforms to the principles of another language. Such linguistic hybridity is well attested in ELF, as it is of course in learner language. And in both cases, it is taken as a sign of incompetence.

And it is indeed a sign of incompetence - if competence is defined as knowing how to produce message forms which are in conformity with the conventionalised encodings of the standard language and the patterns of attested native speaker usage. But incompetent users can be capable communicators and indeed their capability in many ways depends on their

incompetence. It has been suggested that the linguistic hybridity of ELF use is evidence of multilingualism. But multilingualism, or plurilingualism, would seem to suggest the co-existence of competences in one or more distinct languages, that the production of hybrid message forms is a kind of code-switching. But in the dynamic interplay of the different factors in the communicative process, these forms are compounded expediently from whatever linguistic resources are immediately available to the participants, whatever their competences in the source languages might be. It is not that they are monolingual, or bilingual or multilingual or plurilingual, or translingual, or interlingual – they are just lingual, and being lingual involves the adaptable creative use of the potential of virtual language. In other words, it involves the exercise of a general lingual capability.

To conclude, we have argued that the concept of communicative competence as it has been defined by Hymes and other ethnographers, and has been adopted as authoritative in the pedagogy of English teaching and testing, is in effect a misconception of how language is actually used in communication. It only accounts for the knowledge that native speaker-listeners have of the encodings that have over time become conventionalised as normal within their own homogeneous speech communities. It is a concept that represents a way of thinking about English that is rooted in the past and, as the study of ELF makes clear, is no longer valid. To quote T. S. Eliot:

> For last year's words belong to last year's language
> And next year's words await another voice.
>
> *Little Gidding*

ELF users do not communicate by using last year's language – a language that belongs to somebody else. They have to find their own voice in their own words and we cannot know just what form these will take. The description of next year's words of ELF voices, we might say, await another VOICE.[3]

Bionotes: Barbara Seidlhofer is Professor of English and Applied Linguistics at the University of Vienna. Her research and teaching focus on the sociolinguistics of language variation, esp. the description of English as an international language, and its implications for teacher education. She is the founding director of the Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English (VOICE), founding editor of the *Journal of English as a Lingua Franca,* and past editor of the *International Journal of Applied Linguistics*. Her books include *Understanding English as a Lingua Franca* (OUP), *Controversies in Applied Linguistics* (OUP), *Foreign Language Communication and Learning* (Mouton De Gruyter,

[3] Cf. VOICE. 2013. *The Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English* (version 2.0 online). Director: Barbara Seidlhofer; Researchers: Angelika Breiteneder, Theresa Klimpfinger, Stefan Majewski, Ruth Osimk-Teasdale, Marie-Luise Pitzl, Michael Radeka. http://www.univie.ac.at/voice/

with K. Knapp) and *From International to Local English – and Back Again* (Lang, with R. Facchinetti and D. Crystal).
Henry Widdowson began his career teaching English literature at the University of Indonesia. He then worked with teachers of English for several years in Sri Lanka and Bangladesh and subsequently taught at the universities of Edinburgh, London, Essex and Vienna. He was a founding editor of the journal *Applied Linguistics* and for thirty years acted as applied linguistics adviser to Oxford University Press. He has lectured and written extensively on applied linguistics, discourse analysis and language teaching and his books include *Defining Issues in English Language Teaching* (2003), *Text, Context, Pretext* (2004) and *Discourse Analysis* (2007) – a book in the series *Oxford Introductions to Language Study*, of which he is the editor. Now in relative retirement, he is Professor Emeritus, University of London, and Honorary Professor at the University of Vienna.

Authors' addresses: barbara.seidlhofer@univie.ac.at; henry.widdowson@univie.ac.at

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COMMUNICATIVE 'SUCCESS', CREATIVITY AND THE NEED FOR DE-MYSTIFYING L1 USE
Some thoughts on ELF and ELT

MARIE-LUISE PITZL
UNIVERSITY OF VIENNA

Abstract – This article tries to make explicit and question some myths about L1 communication that are hidden or implied in statements made about ELF and about language teaching/learning. One of these myths has to do with the nature of communicative 'success' that is not rarely equated, in a far too simplistic fashion, with the absence of miscommunication. The second has to do with the nature of creativity and the role that creative intent plays in the evaluation of linguistic products, such as newly coined words, as creative. The contribution identifies and explores the idealized views of L1 communication that these two myths create. It argues that it is essential for ELF research and ELF researchers to recognize these myths and idealizations and to dismantle them, especially with regard to pedagogical implications of ELF.

Keywords: miscommunication; creativity; ELF; success; myths

1. Myths about communicative 'success' and miscommunication

Much has been written about ELF in the past two decades. In many publications, scholars describe different lexicogrammatical characteristics or pragmatic processes in ELF data. In reporting on a particular phenomenon, many authors point out that ELF is communicatively 'successful'. Although these remarks are fairly pervasive, they are often made just in passing. Hence, the question of what qualifies as 'success(ful communication)' in an ELF interaction – or *any* interaction, for that matter – hardly ever gets addressed.

Occasionally, scholars mention lack (or scarcity) of 'communication breakdowns' or misunderstandings in this respect. Wittingly or unwittingly, they thereby say, more or less explicitly, that the absence of miscommunication is what makes a communicative event 'successful'. In forging a link between these two aspects, they reinforce a position that sees 'good' (as in: 'successful') communication as characterized by the absence of miscommunication. This position tends to go hand in hand with the (usually well-hidden and implicit) assumption that miscommunication should – and in

fact can – be avoided by speakers; not just on occasion, but in general.

At the same time, many (ELF) researchers are likely to agree that misunderstanding, non-understanding and negotiation of meaning are part of communication. If we accept that all "language use and communication are in fact pervasively and even intrinsically flawed, partial, and problematic" (Coupland *et al.* 1991, p. 3) and that "conversation proceeds on the assumption that a certain vagueness is normal" (Wardhaugh 1998, p. 252), the absence or scarcity of miscommunication cannot be what defines whether or not communication is 'successful'.

The range of phenomena that can be grouped under the umbrella term miscommunication can have very different causes and consequences (see e.g. Pitzl 2010). Miscommunication is not one clearly identifiable phenomenon, but can manifest in very different ways that have "widely varying degrees of severity" (Coupland *et al.* 1991, p. 3). Thus, the occurrence of some kind of miscommunication is not per se 'dangerous' or 'threatening' to a conversation. It does not automatically make an interaction unsuccessful. The occurrence of miscommunication is just normal; not for ELF communication specifically, but for communication in general.

In addition, we should keep in mind that not every instance of miscommunication is 'problematic' or undesirable, in the sense that it should not have happened. Some instances of miscommunication may be necessary, extremely productive and useful. If a link between 'communicative success' and miscommunication is to be established at all, then the key issue would need to be how miscommunication is 'dealt with' by interactants. How do speakers react to miscommunication once it – inevitably – occurs? What happens when speakers realize that there has been a mis- or non-understanding?

Some negotiation sequences triggered by the occurrence of an understanding problem may actually contribute to communicative success. Linell (1995, p. 185-184) describes this in the following way: "Indeed, salient (and perhaps fruitful) misunderstandings occur, because parties try to understand each other, and hence such episodes may increase the depth of understanding in ways that, without them, would be difficult to come by." So whether, and to what extent, one conceives of communicative 'success' as being linked to miscommunication is a very complex issue. It should certainly not be reduced to a simple formula in which the absence of miscommunication equals successful communication.

These arguments about the 'normalness' or 'neutrality' of miscommunication are neither novel nor very recent. Linell's (1995) and Coupland *et al.*'s (1991) remarks date back more than 20 years, before ELF research started to gain momentum. And so do Sarangi's (1994) remarks about the danger of "analytic stereotyping" in intercultural communication research:

> Rather than studying miscommunication in its own terms or for the undoubtedly valuable sake of coming to grips with communicative success, studies of the type identified in the previous subsections [e.g. studies in contrastive cross-cultural pragmatics] use ‘miscommunication’ to reify cultural differences. Put very strongly, it is through the occurrence of miscommunication that cultural differences become real and take on a life of their own. This leads to what I call 'analytic stereotyping' of intercultural events. Analysts operate with a prior definition of the situation and its participants as (inter)cultural and subsequently play upon a principle of cultural differences in accounting for instances of miscommunication. (Sarangi 1994, p. 413)

I have already discussed elsewhere at greater length why a ‘neutral’ and more differentiated view of miscommunication is of particular importance for ELF research (e.g. Pitzl 2005, pp. 52-53, 2010, p. 9-14, and 18-22, 2015, pp. 94-96). In a similar fashion, I have argued why we need to avoid the ‘analytic stereotyping’ that Sarangi (1994) describes when researching ELF as inter- or transcultural communication (Pitzl 2010, pp. 14-18, 2015, pp. 103-105). ELF interactions are not per default (more) problematic or challenging because they are ‘intercultural’ or because they are ELF. As shown in many descriptive studies, instances of miscommunication in ELF interactions are not primarily due to cultural differences or linguistic ‘deficits’ (e.g. Deterding 2013; Kaur 2009, 2011; Mauranen 2006; Pitzl 2005, 2010; Watterson 2008).

2. ELT, L1 and ELF

Nevertheless, an influential language policy document like the *Common European Framework of Reference* (CEFR) may give us – i.e. researchers, but especially also language educators and language learners all over the globe – precisely this idea. When the CEFR talks about misunderstanding, this is primarily as being caused by two factors: limited language proficiency and cultural differences of interlocutors (see Pitzl 2015, pp. 107-118 for a detailed analysis). Progressing through the CEFR proficiency levels, learners are portrayed as getting better and better at avoiding mistakes and “errors which cause mis-understanding” (Council of Europe 2001, p. 28). Communication at levels C1 and C2 is presented as becoming increasingly ‘flawless’ (i.e. *mistakes* and *errors* are hardly used in C1/C2 descriptors) and ‘repair-free’. As the ‘proficiency’ in a ‘foreign language’ increases, as portrayed in the CEFR, miscommunication and repair seem to disappear. Although the recent Companion Volume to the CEFR (2017) explicitly states that the C2 level of ‘Mastery’ does not describe a “near-native speaker” (Council of Europe 2001, p. 35), the idea of L1 communication – or at least:

extremely 'proficient' communication – as reference point or goal for learning is inherent in the notion of C2 Mastery. And this communication is presented as being more or less repair- and miscommunication-free.

Once we take a minute to ponder the implications of this, it becomes obvious that this is, of course, a utopian portrayal of communication. From our own experience in everyday interactions especially also in our L1(s), we know that we often struggle to clear up a misunderstanding, or try to navigate through the consequences of one, when nothing was linguistically (or even pragmatically) 'wrong' with the language use that led to it. Not rarely do we have to resolve potentially severe and tricky instances of miscommunication in fairly close personal relationships where, in addition to having a shared language, we also know our interlocutors extremely well. Still, we miscommunicate on occasion. So irrespective of whether you refer to it as L1, native, near-native, C2 or use any other label: increased language 'proficiency' does not lead to an 'end point' of being skilled or knowing a language at which miscommunication is simply absent. It never will be. And it does not need to be. Because communication is not necessarily 'successful' when it is miscommunication-free. And it is not necessarily 'problematic' if it involves instances of miscommunication.

Much of this has been said before, so why say it again? The issues I have summarized above have come up in several lectures and subsequent question-answer-sessions I witnessed throughout the past year. It was these discussions that prompted me to address these issues again in this condensed fashion, because it seemed that they had not been fully resolved. Or rather, it seems to me that an awareness of their existence is not as widespread as one would hope. Especially researchers and practitioners who have been involved in language education and who become interested in ELF may be influenced by these implicit and well-hidden beliefs. The myths that idealize (L1) communication have been present in ELT/FLT (English/Foreign Language Teaching) for decades. Because of their implicitness, it is understandable that they may have occasionally been carried over into discussions about ELF. Yet, I would argue that it is of crucial importance for us to detect these myths and become aware of their existence, so that we can begin to disentangle and dismantle them. It is time for us to start de-mystifying L1 communication – in the context of FLT, in the context of researching ELF, and even more so when we think about pedagogical and practical implications of ELF for ELT. One of these myths has to do with accepting that miscommunication is part of any communication and does not evaporate with increased language 'proficiency'. Another one of these myths has to do with who gets to be considered creative in language use (and who does not).

3. Myths about creativity

Introducing, explaining and exemplifying the distinction between norm-following and norm-developing – or rather norm-transcending – creativity (see e.g. Pitzl 2012, 2017, forthc.), I have on several occasions shown a list of words coined by ELF speakers that make use of the verb suffix *–ate*. In addition to the words *pronunciate* (Pitzl *et al.* 2008, p. 29), *conspirating*, *examinating, financiated* (Seidlhofer 2011, pp. 102-103), *prolongate* and *determinate* (Vettorel 2014, p. 127), this list includes the words *accreditate, accreditated, combinated, combinates, examinates, fragmentated, identificate, imaginate, improvisate, presentate, registrate, reorientate*, all of which are used by speakers in VOICE. The point I usually wish to make with this group of examples is that the same form, i.e. each of these words, can be norm-transcending as well as norm-following (and potentially even norm-reinforcing) at the same time.

At the level of lexis, each of these words is a new form that is norm-transcending. The word does not 'exist' when it is coined by a speaker. At the level of morphology and suffixation, the same forms are creative in a norm-following way, since they all make use of the *-ate* suffix in a regular fashion. The bound morpheme *-ate* is used like one would expect it to be, in analogy to existing and codified words. In the case of the *-ate* suffix, it is possible to find quite a relatively high number of different words that are newly coined by speakers in VOICE. Thus, one might muse that the verbal suffix *-ate* is fairly productive in ELF data and appears in/leads to a range of newly created words. Somewhat paradoxically, this would mean that each of these newly coined creative norm-transcending words actually also strengthens the suffix *-ate* as a marker of 'verbness'. Thereby, the same form is not just norm-transcending and norm-following, but may in fact also be norm-reinforcing, in that its frequent use in novel forms might reinforce the regularity and productivity of -*ate* as a verbal suffix. (see Pitzl forthc., ch. 1).

There are two types of reactions that I have, on occasion, received in response to this argument and to this collection of words taken from ELF data. Both of these seem to be linked to an implicit idealized view of L1 communication that has to do with how creativity is viewed in relation to L1 as opposed to so-called 'non-native' or 'foreign language' use. The first is a comment (often from audience members involved in language education) that these new words would not be considered severe problems if they were used by language students/pupils in school. They would be 'okay', they probably would be 'tolerated' by a teacher and not be marked as mistakes/errors (or at least not as severe ones, maybe just as minor one). The other reaction is a comment usually made by an audience member who is involved both in language education as well as linguistic research. This comment usually

challenges whether these words should in fact be seen as creative. Especially in comparison to the instances of much more ‘colorful’ creative idiom variants and unique metaphors used in VOICE that I tend to show in my talks, aren’t these words with *-ate* actually quite regular and systematic, and hence not really creative, I get asked. Does it make sense to refer to them as creative?

To the first comment I usually respond that I would encourage language teachers to not just ‘tolerate’ such novel words when they are coined by their students, but to become aware of the amount of successful language learning that has gone into coining words like *prolongate* or *improvisate*. Explicit comments made by teachers should not just be about what these forms are not (i.e. existing or ‘correct’), but also about what these forms actually are, namely concrete evidence of learners having grasped certain principles of word-formation, suffixation and meaning-making through the combination of different morphemes. As Seidlhofer (2011, p. 186) puts it, in many situations “learners’ non-conformities are to be categorized not as errors but as evidence of successful learning”.

My response to the second comment tends to be that the systematicity and regularity – and hence perceived ‘un-creativity’ – of these words is easy to see when they are grouped in one paragraph (as I have done above). But this is not how these new forms appear in naturally-occurring ELF language use; and this is not how they are created. Each word is an individual instance of a different ELF speaker coining a new form in a particular context that is brought about by the creative combination of individual morphological elements. This is not to say that the speaker intended to create a new word; but whether or not they intended to, they did. Only frequent re-use and uptake of these individual word forms by other speakers in the same (and other) contexts might eventually make them ‘un-creative’, i.e. part of the present-day lexicon.

Now, how does this link to the argument concerning the need for de-mystifying L1 communication? I propose that these comments are likely to be made about these examples because they are instances of ELF use, words coined by ELF speakers, many of which do not have ‘English’ as their L1. I would be extremely surprised to encounter the same reactions if the list of words shown above was taken from L1 ‘English’ corpora. Lexical creativity and word-formation are areas that tend to be often evoked when researchers want to illustrate the general creativity and variability of human language. Especially the link between creativity and productivity is something that researchers have repeatedly discussed in this respect (see e.g. Bauer 2001, pp. 62-70, 2005; Clark 1994; Hohenhaus 2007; Pitzl 2013, pp. 10-14). Claiming that L1 use – or particular forms coined by L1 speakers – is creative seems much less debatable than claiming that ELF use – or particular forms coined by ELF speakers – is creative.

Just like remarks in which communicative ‘success’ is equaled to the absence of miscommunication, comments that question the creativity of words like *prolongate* or *improvisate* might be informed by hidden, but pervasive myths about (L1) communication and creativity. One of these myths is the assumption that creativity, including linguistic creativity, by L1 speakers is always intended or intentional. In this idealized view, when an L1 speaker says *prolongate* or *improvisate*, they are fully aware of what they are doing; they are intentionally creating a new word in ‘their’ language, it is assumed. However, once we pause to ponder this for a few seconds, we realize that both common sense as well as research tell us that this is not necessarily the case.

Nonce formations (as word-formation researchers tend to refer to them) do not just appear as intentional creative coinages in L1 use. They may appear as byproducts of the need to close a momentary lexical gap (Clark 1994, p. 785) in a conversation, as “survival words” that speakers invent “as a kind of survival mechanism to ensure that the conversation continues to flow” (Carter 2004, p. 98). To use Crystal’s (1998, p. 31) words: “When a word is on the tip of the tongue, and despite our best efforts we cannot recall it, an invented word can get our meaning across.” All three authors cited here (i.e. Clark, Carter and Crystal) do not refer to ‘learners’ or ELF users. They refer to lexical creativity in L1 use, pointing out that new words can be creative (since they expand the boundaries of lexicon) without being intentional instances of creativity. If this applies to L1 speakers, the same ‘courtesy’ should be extended to ELF users and language learners. The principles that allow for intentional as well as ‘accidental’ creativity are the same. The words *prolongate* or *improvisate* are likely to be intelligible to readers/listeners in most L1 and ELF contexts because they are, at the same time, norm-following at one level and norm-transcending at another level. Whether they are intentionally or ‘accidentally’ coined is largely irrelevant in this respect.

4. Concluding remarks: De-mystifying (L1) communication

Miscommunication and creativity are two very different phenomena. Yet, they both draw attention to the fact that the same forms and/or communicative processes tend to be evaluated differently depending on who they have been produced by. Despite the past two decades of descriptive ELF studies, there is still a lot of work – and a lot of ‘convincing’ – to be done. Efforts to gradually deconstruct and dismantle notion of the ‘native speaker’ as a target for language learning have been underway for decades and there is

a long list of scholars who have discussed this extensively. Slowly, these efforts are taking effect here and there (for example, in the absence of the term 'native speaker' in the new CEFR Companion volume). Still, there is more convincing to be done, so (ELF) researchers' efforts need to continue in this respect.

What I have tried to argue in this paper is that, in addition to the L1 user (i.e. the person, the speaker), we also need to increase our efforts to de-mystify (L1) communication. Both the absence of miscommunication and intentionality of creativity tend to be idealized for (L1) communication in the context of language teaching. Describing what language learners should strive for and how they are supposed to progress over the course of time (passing through different levels) creates imagined scenarios of (L1) language use in which ever-greater 'proficiency' seems to allow for complete control (i.e. intentional creativity) and consistent unambiguity (i.e. absence of miscommunication) in language use. Researching ELF and integrating ELF findings into ELT discourse, it would seem of utmost importance for us to realize – and make others aware – that communication is never quite as utopian. Linguistic creativity can be accidental, not just intentional. Miscommunication is always part of communication, but this is not always a 'problem'. This holds true for all language use, including L1 use. Making scenarios of communication less utopian and more realistic might be another contribution that ELF research can provide to language education.

Bionote: Marie-Luise Pitzl is Postdoc/Assistant Professor in English Applied Linguistics at the University of Vienna (Austria) and has held previous positions at the University of Salzburg and TU Dortmund University. She is one of compilers of the *Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English* (VOICE), a member of the Editorial Board of the *Journal of English as a Lingua Franca* (JELF) and co-founder and co-convenor of the *AILA Research Network on ELF* (together with Alessia Cogo). She has recently co-edited the interdisciplinary volume *English as a lingua franca: Perspectives and prospects* (De Gruyter 2016, with Ruth Osimk-Teasdale) and a special issue of JELF on *Teaching ELF, BELF and/or Intercultural Communication?* (2015, with Susanne Ehrenreich). She has published on a range of topics, such as resolving miscommunication, BELF, corpus building, lexical innovation, intercultural understanding, developing multilingual practices. One of her main research interests is the creativity of ELF, in particular in relation to the use of idioms and metaphors. She is currently completing a monograph on this topic for the DELF series (De Gruyter Mouton).

Author's address: marie-luise.pitzl@univie.ac.at

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ENGLISH AS A LINGUA FRANCA IN THE ACADEMIC WORLD: TRENDS AND DILEMMAS

MAURIZIO GOTTI
UNIVERSITÀ DI BERGAMO

Abstract – The recent phenomenon of globalisation has strongly favoured English, which has become the preferred medium for international communication in many contexts. This spread of English as a lingua franca has had relevant implications in the field of English used for specific purposes (ESP), where the need for a common language is particularly felt for the development of specialised communication at a global level. This paper investigates the present globalising trends in a specific field of ESP, i.e. in the academic world, focusing in particular on their main implications for language research and education, highlighting both its recent trends but also the main dilemmas that this great development has aroused. The first part of the paper explores the globalising effects of the use of English as a lingua franca in the world of academia and the complex nature of its linguistic realisations, underscoring both homogenising and localising trends. Indeed, in spite of the homogenising trends deriving from the process of globalisation, academic discourse is not at all uniform but varies according to a host of factors, such as language competence, disciplinary field, community membership, professional expertise and generic conventions, as well as some factors which clearly reflect aspects of the local tradition and culture. The second part of the paper is devoted to the analysis of another phenomenon which is quite topical in the academic context at a global level, i.e. the use of English as a medium of instruction in higher education in many non-English-speaking countries. The implementation of these 'international' courses has opened up new opportunities for learning the English discourses relating to the specialised disciplines taught, but has also aroused dilemmas connected with language proficiency and the level of content competence acquired.

Keywords: English as a lingua franca; Academic discourse; Globalisation; English as a medium of instruction; English for research purposes.

1. Introduction

In recent years, there has been a great acceleration of the moves towards the globalisation of socio-cultural and communicative practices. The phenomenon of globalisation has strongly favoured English, which has become the preferred medium for international communication in many contexts. This spread of English as a lingua franca (ELF) has had relevant

implications in the field of English used for specific purposes (ESP), where the need for a common language is particularly felt for the development of specialised communication at a global level.

This spread of English has not only been considered a great advantage in terms of better global communication, but has also aroused criticism as it has often been seen as a factor of marginalisation or even obliteration of important existing differences among non-English speaking communities, with the possible risk of a 'colonisation' process preventing the attainment of authentic intercultural discourse (Scollon, Wong Scollon 1995; Canagarajah 1999). As globalising trends commonly rely on covert strategies meant to reduce participants' specificities, they are likely to hybridise local identities in favour of Anglocentric textual models. Globalisation thus offers a topical illustration of the interaction between linguistic and cultural factors in the construction of discourse, both within specialised domains and in wider contexts (Candlin, Gotti 2004, 2007). As language is strictly linked to the setting in which it is used, cultural elements operate as key contextual constraints, influencing both the level of discursive organisation and its range of realisations (Pérez-Llantada 2012).

It is the aim of this paper to investigate the present globalising trends in a specific field of ESP, i.e. in the academic world, focusing in particular on their main implications for language research and education, highlighting both its recent trends but also the main dilemmas that this great development has aroused. The first part of the paper will explore the globalising effects of the use of English as a lingua franca in the world of academia and the complex nature of its linguistic realisations, highlighting both homogenising and localising trends. Indeed, in spite of the homogenising trends deriving from the process of globalisation, academic discourse is not at all uniform but varies according to a host of factors, such as language competence, disciplinary field, community membership, professional expertise and generic conventions, as well as some factors which clearly reflect aspects of the local tradition and culture. The data presented in this part originate from recent research projects on identity and culture in academic discourse. These data show that the (native or non-native) Anglophone textual realisations are clearly influenced by their authors' linguistic, professional, social, or national background.

The second part of the paper is devoted to the analysis of another phenomenon which is rather topical in the academic context at a global level, i.e. the use of English as a medium of instruction (EMI) in higher education in many non-English-speaking countries. The implementation of these 'international' courses has opened up new opportunities for learning the English discourses relating to the specialised disciplines taught, but has also aroused dilemmas connected with language proficiency and the level of

content competence acquired. These issues will be investigated with reference to experiences and research projects carried out in various European countries in the last few years.

2. ELF in the research field

The adoption of English as a lingua franca in the process of globalisation of academic practices has certainly provided a solution of great practical value, but has also aroused fears and complaints in many non-English-speaking academics. The strict English-medium policies adopted by many academic publications and book series have heightened non-English-speakers' awareness that the increasing use of this language in publishing and higher education might greatly reduce the role of national languages for academic purposes. Indeed, as there is a tendency of scholars to publish what they consider to be their best work in English so as to reach a wider audience (cf. among others Gunnarsson 2000 for Sweden, Yakhontova 2001 for Ukraine, Salager-Meyer, Alcaraz Ariza, Zambrano 2003 for Latin America, Giannoni 2008 for Italy, Kachru 2009 for Asia and Ferguson *et al.* 2011 for Spain), non-English-medium publications are often relegated to the status of local scholarly products providing only a marginal contribution to the mainstream because they are unable to disseminate knowledge through a global lingua franca.

These hegemonic tendencies of English are known to have relevant ideological and ethical implications in the marginalisation, mitigation or even obliteration of existing differences among 'colonised' communities. As globalising trends commonly rely on covert strategies meant to reduce participants' specificities, they hybridise local identities in favour of Anglo-centric textual models. The complex interaction that opposes and often merges globalising/localising trends contains evidence of hybrid forms of discourse which are as unstable and provisional as the sociocultural identities they encode (Robertson 1992; Wright 2000) and which result in the simplification of discourse strategies, the recontextualisation of actor-space-time relations, the enactment of processes of deterritorialisation and reterritorialisation, and the rise of cultural hybridity (Fairclough 2006). Furthermore, anthropological and sociological accounts of cultural interaction in international communities and organisations (Hofstede 1991) suggest the possibility of hybrid communicative schemata in which a new set of cultural values and identities – functional to communication within the wider community – are created in response to the need to communicate internationally. The new, contaminated system generally adopts the norms and features of the language/culture that is dominant in the wider discourse

community, but it retains key traits of its users' native languages and cultures. At the same time, as English is the language dominant in international professional exchanges it has a backwash effect that contaminates and hybridises native systems. The gradual globalisation or hybridisation of discursive practices that first appeared in English-speaking environments, now significantly affects also smaller languages (Cortese, Riley 2002; Gotti *et al*. 2002), which are subject to standardising pressures in their semantic, textual, sociopragmatic and even lexicogrammatical construction.

Hegemonic tendencies have clearly been identified in academic English, especially in the language policies commonly adopted by major international publications employing English as 'the world's academic lingua franca' (Oakes 2005; Bennett 2007). Non-native academics are thus expected to have good English literacy skills so as to be able to present their papers in that language at conferences and publish them in peer-reviewed journals and volumes. This expectation has greatly influenced academics, with the result that the last decades have seen a massive conversion of journals from other languages to English, thus determining "a real loss in professional registers in many national cultures with long scholarly traditions" (Swales 2000, p. 67). The story of the Egyptian marine biologist reported by Swales (1990, p. 204) shows that, in order to have her dissertation accepted, she had to rewrite it several times, modifying the original style typical of the Arabic way of writing and adopting the rhetorical conventions commonly shared by the American scientific community. Moreover, the influence of English has greatly conditioned the evolution of local specialised discourses (see Scarpa 2007 for the spread of the nominal style and the related progressive depersonalisation in Italian scientific prose).

These trends have a number of serious consequences. The first is the concentration of immense power in the hands of a restricted group of academic gatekeepers, located in very few countries in the world. These countries have attained the right to enforce norms and to certify the academic recognition of research carried out all over the world. Their academic power in certain disciplines is so strong that it can decide the careers of scholars who need to publish in leading international journals to validate and disseminate their research findings (Curry, Lillis 2004). There is therefore a risk of linguistic monopoly, scholarly chauvinism and cultural imperialism. The exclusive use of English disfavours non-native writers who have "the triple disadvantage of having to read, do research and write in another language" (Van Dijk 1994, p. 276). It may thus give rise to unintentional – or even intentional – discrimination against non-native speakers on the part of the editors of specialised publications (Canagarajah 2002). The demands associated with writing and publishing in English are usually very strict and can be used by academic publications to filter foreign contributions.

Moreover, since only the British or American varieties are favoured, a failure to comply with the journal's linguistic standards is usually penalised with rejection.

Scholarly chauvinism and cultural imperialism may be detrimental to the growth of specialised knowledge itself. There is a risk that 'periphery' perspectives (Canagarajah 1996) in the various disciplines may have no influence on the trends developed in intellectual centres located in a small number of monopolising academies. The periphery, instead, may play a healthy role by questioning views prevailing in the centre and providing alternative perspectives. In recent years, there has been a heightened awareness in the academic world of the valuable contribution of non-Anglophone scholars working within dominant research paradigms and agendas. However, this increased awareness has rarely "translated into a recognition that the discipline[s are] also 'owned' nowadays (to use the new management-speak) by a very large number of people for whom English is neither a first, nor a second language" (Kayman 2003, p. 52). In some cases, 'periphery' publications have changed their language or even title to suggest a more international collocation. For example, in 2006 the *Italian Heart Journal* (which already published in English) changed its name to the *Journal of Cardiovascular Medicine.* As local journals are regarded as second-class research tools by the Italian medical community and since medical literature is regarded as being more competitive if published in the UK or the US, the scientific board of the *Italian Heart Journal* decided to conceal the peripheral provenance of the journal by assigning it to an American publisher, while maintaining an Italian editor.

The complexity of the choices made by non-native English speakers depends on the fact that they participate in at least two different communities: the English-speaking academic community and the global discourse community of their own discipline. To belong to the former community they have to show that they are able to use English and master its norms of use, including grammar rules, word choice, idiomatic expressions and technical aspects such as punctuation and spelling. Moreover, in order to be accepted by the English-speaking academic community, scholars need to be aware of the practices commonly used in expository academic prose, as reflected in the guidelines provided by books on academic communication and by the notes to contributors published in international academic journals. The examples below (from Noguchi 2006, p. 57) clearly illustrate some of the expectations of the English-speaking academic community pointed out by the reviewers of submitted papers:

(1) Thus, for colorectal adenocarcinoma, it is more useful to investigate the expression of X as well as that of Y for predicting tumor invasion and metastasis than examining Y only.

Revised version: *Thus, to predict tumor invasion and metastasis in colorectal adenocarcinoma, not only expression of Y but also that of X needs to be examined.*
Comment: The aim of the study can be more quickly grasped if the phrase dealing with the purpose comes earlier in the sentence.

(2) However, the number of markers is still insufficient. From this standpoint, the present contig must be reexamined using a larger number of landmarks. Recently, RG was developed as a method to scan a large number of restriction sites distributed on entire genome. RG employs [...]
Revised version: *However, the number of markers is still insufficient. From this standpoint, the present contig must be reexamined using a larger number of landmarks. One solution to this problem is offered by RG, a method developed to scan a large number of restriction sites distributed on an entire genome. RG employs […]*
Comment: Adding the discourse signal 'one solution' [...] tells the reader what to expect.

At the same time, membership of the global discourse community of their discipline depends on scholars' compliance with expectations concerning the specific academic genre to which the text they are writing belongs. These include textual and paragraph organisation in terms of information presentation and ordering, as well as the need to consider cross-cultural issues. The 'rules', however, are not always easy to identify or define in clear terms, as is shown by the fact that reviewers and editors often point to problems in the text without being able to indicate exactly what rules are being violated or what criteria have not been met. Here is an example of such comments cited by Noguchi (2006, p. 59):

(3) Comment: There is a problem with the English throughout the text. It is not a very serious one, but it certainly detracts from the message and makes some important statements not immediately intelligible. Among the many examples I could quote, I will select these:
"The clinicopathologic importance of the biologic aggressiveness has been well documented in many reports." (First sentence of Discussion, page 8). What does this sentence mean? I think the authors are trying to say that some clinical and pathologic parameters of thyroid carcinomas have been found to correlate with the tumor aggressiveness, but it sure takes a while to decipher the message.
"The classification by Sakamoto et al defined both papillary and follicular carcinomas as poorly differentiated carcinomas." I assume they are trying to say that Sakamoto's poorly differentiated carcinomas include tumors in both the papillary and the follicular category. [Anonymous reviewer for *The American Journal of Surgical Pathology*, December 1997]

Indeed, stylistic/rhetorical structures may differ from culture to culture; for example, Japanese writers prefer a specific-to-general pattern in contrast to the general-to-specific pattern favoured by American writers (Kobayashi 1984). Another well-known case is the one visually expressed by Kaplan (1966) referring to the difference between linear (English) and circular (Oriental) patterns in the rhetorical structuring of an argumentative paper. Since intercultural differences are bound to influence the comprehension of events by people belonging to different cultures, research in the field of contrastive rhetoric (Connor 1998) has greatly helped the identification of textual aspects which may be attributed to culturally determined schemata reproducing a 'world view' typical of a given culture. It has been shown (Candlin, Gotti 2004, 2007) that the non-native, when communicating in English, is confronted with a psycho-cognitive situation where his/her L1 linguistic and cultural schemata conflict with the schemata dominant in international professional communities, and is thus forced to negotiate and redefine his/her cultural identity in order to successfully communicate in international intercultural settings. The importance of compliance with such conventions (not only linguistic but also cultural ones) for the acceptance of an academic contribution have been aptly pointed out by Mauranen (1993, p. 263):

> The option of not conforming to the norms of the target linguistic culture is not available with respect to grammatical and lexical use, and, as it seems, at least some textual rules must be included in the same category, possibly more than we are accustomed to thinking at present. Breaking grammatical rules has different consequences from breaking textual or rhetorical rules originating in a national culture: by breaking grammatical and lexical rules, a writer conveys the impression of not knowing the language, which may in mild cases be forgiven and in serious cases cause breakdown of comprehension; by breaking rules of a text-linguistic type, a writer may appear incoherent or illogical; finally, by breaking culture-specific rhetorical rules a writer may seem exotic and command low credibility.

Being associated with communities linked to local as well as international conventions, academic discourse has provided fertile ground for the analysis of intercultural variation, both at a textual level and in the communicative strategies embedded in its textualisations. Several research projects have investigated identity-forming features linked to 'local' or disciplinary cultures, as communicated through English in various academic domains by native and non-native speakers. Three recent projects on this issue are the KIAP Project (*Cultural Identity in Academic Prose*)[1] carried out by the

[1] http://www.kiap.uib.no/

University of Bergen, Norway, the SERAC Project (*Spanish/English Research Article Corpus*),[2] conducted at the University of Zaragoza, the *Identity and Culture in Academic Discourse* Project,[3] carried out by CERLIS, the research centre on specialised discourse based at the University of Bergamo. The KIAP Project has carried out a comparative analysis of medical research articles with those of two other disciplines: Economics and Linguistics (Fløttum, Dahl, Kinn 2006). In particular, Fløttum (2006) compared articles written in three different languages: English, French and Norwegian in order to establish whether cultural identities may be identified in academic prose, and, if so, whether these identities are language or discipline-specific in nature. In general, Fløttum's findings show that for cultural identities, discipline has greater influence than language. This means that, for example, there are more similarities between Norwegian and French medical articles than between Norwegian medical and linguistic articles. Statistically both discipline and language have an effect on the frequency of all the six main phenomena studied. However, for most of them, discipline seems to be more important than language.

In the CERLIS Project, special attention has been given to the relationship between socioculturally-oriented identity factors and textual variation in English academic discourse, focusing in particular on the detection of identity traits typical of different branches of learning (Gotti 2012). Within such domains, we have investigated to what extent the cultural allegiance of (native or non-native) Anglophone discourse communities to their linguistic, professional, social, or national reference groups is affected by the use of English as a lingua franca of international communication. To identify textual variants arising from the use of English as a native language or as the lingua franca of science, we have used a corpus formed by English texts for academic communication (CADIS). The corpus also comprises some Italian texts for comparative purposes. Besides including two different languages, CADIS represents four separate disciplinary areas: Law, Economics, Applied Linguistics and Medicine. For each disciplinary area, various textual genres have been considered: abstracts, articles, book reviews, editorials, posters. The structural complexity of CADIS reflects its contrastive orientation: it is designed to be internally comparable, so its texts can be analysed not only by disciplinary area, genre, language and culture, but also historically. This is possible because the corpus covers a time frame of over thirty years, from 1980 to 2011. Including all language groups – native speakers and non-native speakers of English, and native speakers of

[2] www.interlae.com
[3] www.unibg.it/cerlis

Italian –, a total of 2,738 texts (from 635 to 739 per disciplinary area) have been inserted in the corpus. The corpus includes over 12 million words.

Our research project has dealt with identity traits across languages and cultures, as the use of a given language affects the writing of a scholar, especially when it is not his native language. This is particularly evident in the case of English, whose recurrent use by non-native speakers requires a degree of adaptation of their thought patterns and expressive habits. This issue has been dealt with by various members of the CERLIS team. Giannoni (2012), for example, has investigated local vs. global identities in medical editorials. His analysis of Anglo-American journals, English-medium Italian journals and standard Italian journals suggests a considerable extent of intra-disciplinary variation, both within and across languages/cultures. The data investigated allow for the observation of the writing behaviour of three different kinds of scholars: native-speaker English (NEng), non-native (i.e. Italian) English (ItEng) and native-speaker Italian (NIt). Since medical editorials (henceforth MEDs) are signed by only one or two authors, native-speaker status is relatively easy to determine, based on the author's name and affiliation. One notable difference between the NEng texts (cf. quotation 4) and the other two groups (cf. quotations 5 and 6) is the absence among the latter of direct appeals to the medical community. When a course of action is advocated, as in (6), its wording is both impersonal and indirect. Viewed contrastively, this difference may reflect the more tentative orientation of NIt MEDs (rhetorical interference) but also – more intriguingly – greater interpersonal distance in the ItEng sample, where local (Italian) academics address a global community of which they are, linguistically speaking, only peripheral members.

(4) We still have hurdles of ethics, immunology and biology to conquer, and until we do, we must remain on guard against donor scotoma. (NEng, MEED494)

(5) Therefore, we believe that right insula activation has a significant role in the perception of chest pain in syndrome X (the insula is known to receive cardio-pulmonary inputs). (ItEng, MEED511)

(6) Tale strategia può contribuire a ridurre in maniera significativa il rischio di reazioni avverse a farmaci idrosolubili e i costi sanitari ad esse correlati [This strategy may help to significantly reduce the risk of adverse reactions to hydrosoluble drugs and their associated healthcare costs]. (NIt, MEED916)

In her analysis of book reviews (BRs) written in English and Italian by native (NSs) and non-native speakers (NNSs), D'Angelo (2012) investigated how reviewers of different nationalities, within the disciplines of Applied Linguistics, Economics, Law and Medicine, express positive and negative appraisals (respectively PAs and NAs) of their peers' work. The comparison of

the English and Italian sections of the corpus has shown that in all the disciplines considered in the study, BRs written in English are generally much longer than BRs written in Italian. If we concentrate on BRs written in English, an interesting finding is that in all four disciplines considered, NNSs seem to produce slightly longer BRs than NSs. Also Rowley-Jolivet and Carter-Thomas (2005, p. 45) found that clauses in NNS texts (research articles and paper presentations) are considerably longer than in NS texts, something accountable to the more frequent use of the passive form by NNSs than by NSs, which leads to the production of longer, more articulated sentences. D'Angelo's analysis also reveals that a difference exists between NS and NNS in their use of appraisals. Specifically, NS seem to use PAs slightly more than NAs (49.2 vs 31.3), whereas NNS use twice as many PAs as NAs (40.4 vs 20). More important is the fact that in general, NS seem to make a much more frequent use of appraisals: the number of NAs found in texts written by NS is 31.3, whereas the number of NAs found in NNS texts is only 20; along the same line, the number of PAs found in NS texts is 49.8, while the number of PAs found in NNS texts only amounts to 40.4. These results suggest that although reviewers in general prefer giving positive feedback, NNSs are less likely to judge another colleague's work negatively and express less evaluation than NSs do. If in every discipline we further differentiate between native and non-native reviewers, we notice that the use of NAs and PAs follows a clear pattern: every discipline considered sees NNSs consistently using almost twice as many PAs as NAs. These data further validate the hypothesis that NNSs, in every discipline, tend to use evaluation less frequently and, most of all, they tend to prefer evaluating positively rather than negatively. If we consider how hedged NAs are used in BRs, relevant differences appear among the writers depending on whether the author is an Italian or English speaker. Specifically, a wide difference is detected when considering the use of hedges by NS and NNS of English, the former using five times more hedges (13.1) than the latter (2.6). These results are probably related to the fact that in general, Italian and NNS reviewers use evaluation much less frequently than English L1 speakers.

Maci (2012) has compared the argumentative strategies employed in medical research articles (RAs) written by native speakers of English with those written by Italian non-native speakers of English in order to identify any cross-cultural differences in terms of argumentative devices employed by their authors. Analysing the *Discussion* section of 50 articles from two important journals of cardiology, she has identified several differences between the textual organisation of English medical research articles written by native and non-native speakers, which seem to be linked to their authors' linguistic and cultural identity. The main differences are rhetorically realised through hedges and other argumentative strategies, such as the use of

connectives. Indeed, NSs of English tend to exploit more fully modality expressed by modal auxiliaries (such as *may*, *would*), verbs (such as *appear, suggest*), and adverbs (such as *likely*). The modal verb *may*, in particular, frequently appears in the NSs corpus, to such an extent that it can be regarded as a keyword with high keyness (*may* occupies position 15). This is not the case in the Italian NNSs subcorpus, where *may* occupies position 95. The minimal use of hedges in the Italian NNSs subcorpus seems to be counterbalanced by other grammatical devices: whenever the outcome conforms to the expected results and is thus validated, Italian authors tend to interpret outcomes with the use of the present tense of such boosters as *confirm*, *find* and *show* rather than using hedging devices. If hedges are used, there is a preference for *might*, which may be perceived by NNSs as carrying a stronger connotation of probability than *may*, or *should*, employed whenever a suggestion about the correct scientific procedures and/or treatment is made. This occurs especially whenever the results do not confirm the initial hypothesis, or whenever there is a gap in the existing literature filled by the present research. In these cases, NNSs of English seem to prefer the use of hedges and modal expressions to indicate probable interpretations or possible implications:

(7) In our opinion, aortic plaques are those *the most likely to be responsible* for recurrent cerebral events. Furthermore, aortic atheromatosis *should be considered* as a clinical entity itself and should be related to different vascular districts than the cerebral one. This was demonstrated in a study by Pandian et al. [46], who affirmed that […]. (MERA242)

(8) Although no complications occurred in any patient implicating the safety of cryoenergy, these results are slightly inferior to what can be expected with RF energy in terms of acute success. In 17 patients (nine AVNRTs, eight APs) out of 126 patients (13%) with acute successful ablation, recurrence of the arrhythmia and/or AP was observed. The percentage of recurrence is therefore higher than that usually reported with RF energy […]. The high rate of recurrences in this series *may be ascribed* to a possible more limited lesion created by cryoenergy, which *can even further* decrease in dimensions in the early post-ablation phase owing to tissue healing. (MERA250)

A further differentiation can be seen in the use of connectives. There is a lower frequency of connectives in RAs written by NNSs of English, which seems to reflect the trend already established by Italian authors as far as the use of hedges is concerned: whenever the claim is confirmed and supported by scientific literature in the field, Italian researchers seem less keen on exploiting argumentative strategies, as, apparently, reference to the literature becomes the objective evidence supporting the author's reasoning. For instance, the concordance list of *also* shows a different distribution of the

connective: in the NSs subcorpus it is mainly used to underline the findings resulting from the investigation, which may confirm the researcher's hypothesis; in the NNSs subcorpus, *also* is found in connection with reference literature supporting the researcher's data:

(9) […] the immediate postoperative period also demonstrated that the combination of clopidogrel and aspirin was more effective than aspirin alone in reducing MES. (MERA204)

(10) Moreover, BNP is a strong predictor of mortality not only due to heart failure progression[35-37] but also to sudden death.[38] (MERA228)

The more frequent use of *although*, *furthermore, hence*, *in contrast* and *therefore* in the NSs subcorpus is indicative of the presence of a textual organisation in which scientific information is offered in a coherent and convincing way. Here, the problematizing proposition is introduced by *although,* which positions the reader in the correct reasoning path: *although* presupposes the presence of a second part of a sentence which the reader expects to carry the right type of information necessary to decode the semantic value offered by the researcher's investigation:

(11) Although sharing a common familial environment may inflate the estimates of heritability, we found low to moderate heritability for BMI, which in turn represents the maximal possible contribution of additive genes. (MERA209)

In the NNSs subcorpus, the extremely high frequency of such connectives as *on the contrary* and *on the other hand* seems to suggest a preference for a type of argumentation in which the author plays with a twist: first there is the introduction of common shared knowledge (and reference literature); then there is a counterclaim, from the author's research, supported by other cited literature. This is further emphasised by a list of evidential elements (and relevant literature), introduced by *first*, *second*, *third*, etc. which support the results of the researcher's investigation, as in (12):

(12) First, with respect to infero-posterior AMI, where sympathetic activation may follow transient signs of vagal hyperactivity,[20,21] anterior AMI is constantly followed by strong and stable signs of enhanced adrenergic tone;[20] thus, we avoided any potential flaw in the interpretation of the changes in vagal and sympathetic effects. In addition, the effects of cardiac rehabilitation have been extensively studied in patients with anterior myocardial infarction and reduced ejection fraction in whom concern for adverse ventricular remodeling has been expressed.[22,23] (MERA234)

3. ELF in University courses

In the last few decades there has also been a great increase in the globalisation of pedagogic practices in universities all over the world. As part of their internationalisation programmes, more and more academic institutions in non-English speaking countries have promoted courses using English as a medium of instruction (Ammon, McConnell 2002; Hellekjæ, Räsänen 2010; Bowles, Cogo 2015; Wächter, Maiworm 2015; Helm, Ackerley, Guarda 2016). These courses are meant to attract students from as many countries as possible all over the world, and the only feasible solution to the language problem is seen in the use of English as a lingua franca. Sometimes the lecturers remain the local ones, who adopt English as a means of instruction although they are not native speakers of that language. In other cases the teaching of such courses is assigned to foreign lecturers (often non-native speakers of English), who are not chosen specifically for their language competence but rather according to their expertise in the subject they are supposed to be teaching. As they are taught in English, these courses attract many students from other countries. This is part of a large process of "international marketization of HE [higher education]" (Coleman 2006, p. 3), in which universities are fully involved at a global level.

In linguistic terms, the result is a typical English as a lingua franca (ELF) situation in which most lecturers and students – although they are not native speakers of English – use this language as a common means of communication and instruction. Indeed, in the last few years, several studies have taken into consideration the use of ELF in English-Medium Instruction (EMI) courses organised by universities, some of them investigating formal aspects (Ranta 2006, 2009; Jenkins 2007; Björkman 2008a, 2008b, 2009) while others focusing on pragmatic issues (Leznyák 2002; Mauranen 2003, 2006a, 2006b; Guido 2008; Cogo 2009; Kaur 2009; Smit 2009; Suviniitty 2010; Guido, Seidlhofer 2014). As regards the latter, Mauranen (2003) has pointed out the adoption of 'self-regulation' strategies, by means of which speakers tend to adapt their way of speaking to the interlocutors' assumed linguistic competence.

In our analysis of a corpus of EMI courses,[4] we found several turns that show great difficulty in communication in which however the lecturer tries to keep the interaction going with his students. In the following extract, for example, the student does not catch the metaphorical usage of the expression *feel at home* as he thinks that reference is made to his own home, which

[4] The corpus consists of transcriptions of EMI courses on specialized disciplines offered by the University of Bergamo, taught by experts coming from both native and non-native English speaking countries and attended by students from different lingua-cultural backgrounds.

creates great misunderstanding and confusion in the last part of the exchange clearly indicated by the question 'What does that mean?' uttered by the lecturer:

(13) L: air bangladesh exist?
S: yes, it exists
L: what is the exact name?
S: bangladesh biman
L: bangladesh what?
S: bangladesh biman B-I-M-A-N
L: BIN what does that mean?
S: biman means ah like a flying bird
L: flying bird?
S: flying bird ah
L: flying bird <LAUGHS> ah in bangladesh flying bird
S: yeah <SS LAUGH>
L: that's nice <SS LAUGH> but you feel at home when you fly with bangladesh biman?
S: in my home?
L: yeah you feel at home if you fly this company?
S: oh is no more modern
L: it's not modern?
S: yes
L: what does that mean? <LAUGHS>
S: okay it's because it's not a familiar real airline sector[5]

The lecturer uses a formulaic expression in a native-like way, but its figurative meaning is unknown to the student, who instead interprets the utterance only in a literal sense, a clear case of 'unilateral idiomaticity' (Seidlhofer 2004, p. 220). This discrepancy in processing leads to misunderstanding between the speakers. Another lecturer in our corpus seems to be aware of the fact that idioms are culture-bound, as he often checks that the students understand them properly and in some cases he asks them to give their own local rendering of the same concept, as can be seen in the following case:

(14) L: what is the elephant in the bedroom?
S: it means something very very big
L: so it's a sort of contradiction ... how do you say this in italian?
S: *un elefante in una cinquecento*

[5] Transcription conventions: <TEXT> = descriptions and comments; _ = false start; (.) = short pause (1-2 seconds); … = longer pause (3-4 seconds); (xx) = unintelligible speech; {TEXT} = translated text; L = lecturer; S = student.

Another strategy commonly employed in ELF contexts is the recourse to 'self-repairs', which takes place when words or expressions previously formulated are proposed in a different way to facilitate the hearers' comprehension. The following extract shows an example in which reformulation strategies are adopted in order to solve a communicative problem, arising from the fact that S1 does not know the meaning of the word *cosy*. As is confirmed by S1 himself, the problem was somehow solved by directly asking another student ("D") to provide some linguistic help, which she did by mentioning a synonym ("she explained that is comfortable very comfortable"). S1 then continues contributing to the group discussion by using the new word and showing – by means of an explicit reformulation move – that he has understood its meaning and that he is able to use it in context ("he will be a comfortable (.) so cosy chat"). S2 is aware of his better linguistic competence and therefore reinforces the explanation of the adjective *cosy* not only by agreeing with the synonym *comfortable* but also adding a couple of reformulations ("between friends", "relaxed"), as well as some linguistic comments ("it sounds less formal than a comfortable interview (.) sound more formal").

(15) S1: when i read the ehm text (.) i don't know what the word <u>cosy</u> mean and i asked to D (.) and she explained that is comfortable very comfortable
S2: yeah
S1: and so ehm (xx) then he gave his direct number (.) her ehm another personal ehm element (.) and said that ehm he will be a comfortable (.) so cosy chat ... so ehm
S2: cosy chat means ehm comfortable (.) cosy ehm between friends ehm relaxed mm? relaxed (.) so it sounds less formal than a comfortable interview (.) sound more formal so again choosing always the alternative (.) rather than comfortable interview (.) a cosy chat eh?

In the following example, instead, the interaction between two students seems to be very problematic as S2 shows her difficulty in understanding S1 with very direct remarks ("wait (.) what?", "which one?"). This attitude does not help S1's task as shown by the many hesitation marks ("ehm i don't know") and reformulation efforts ("i mean"). Another student (S3) realizes that both S1's difficulties of expression and S2's uncooperativeness are making the situation quite tense and so he tries to facilitate communication by repeating a few words of S1's utterance ("the beginning") so as to show his understanding (both linguistic and emotional) and underline his spirit of agreement, listenership and engagement. This move proves to be successful as it prompts S1 to continue her explanation ("yeah … <u>i i</u> think it's not only <u>ehm</u> catching attention").

(16) S1: i would say that it … ehm i don't know (xx) … like that also the establishing contact (.) cos it's <u>kinda</u> going personal with the reader
S2: wait (.) what?
S1: i mean (.) is taking it personal with the reader … i mean the
S2: which one?
S1: ehm … oh just at the beginning
S3: the beginning
S1: yeah … <u>i i</u> think it's not only <u>ehm</u> catching attention (.) cos catching attention might be just like the first part

This mediating function has also been noticed in other cases. In the following extract, S2 shows his difficulty in understanding S1's explanations of how to go to Milan from Bergamo (well (.) no i'm confused … ah to take the train to get to milan?). S3 intervenes to facilitate understanding specifying explicitly what S1 means ("yes (.) she means that you have to take the train from here to milan"). This intervention proves to be very successful in facilitating communication ("oh (.) i see i see i see ") and is also greatly appreciated by S1, who completes her information by adding further details ("yeah (.) there's a train (.) a train (,) almost at every hour").

(17) S1: mm … no no no no (,) this is milan *porta garibaldi* … but you have to take the train to get there
S2: well (.) no i'm confused … ah to take the train to get to milan?
S3: yes (.) she means that you have to take the train from here to milan
S2: oh (.) i see i see i see
S1: yeah (.) there's a train (.) a train (,) almost at every hour

A further way to promote understanding is by means of 'self-repetitions', which occurs when the speaker repeats something said before to make his concepts clearer (Mauranen 2006b). In other cases, instead, the speaker solves any misunderstanding problem by providing appropriate explanations. In the following extract, for instance, a native speaker (S1) uses the term *Ms* which is unknown to an Italian student (S2). Noticing the latter's puzzlement, S1 explains the spelling of the word and its differentiation from another similar title (*Mrs*). This specification leads S2 to the explanation of the title used in Italy to refer to both married and unmarried women (*signora*).

(18) S1: indeed there used to ehm be (.) ehm mr mrs and miss (.) ehm and then ms
S2: then ms?
S1: yeah writing M-S instead of M-R-S
S2: oh yeah (.) yeah
S1: it's made to avoid this kind of awkward kind of situation ehm
S2: and in italy (.) in order to (.) not to make a discrimination between married and unmarried women they use *signora* {Mrs} for everyone … so even if you are nineteen (.) yeah they call you *signora*

Another strategy used in the corpus to implement language correction is by means of embedded repairs. In this case the interlocutor replies with the right word so that the speaker realizes the mistake he/she has made and subsequently uses the correct word him/herself. An example can be found in the following extract in which an Italian student (S1) uses a wrong word. The Belarusian student (S2) uses the right word in his utterance so that in the following turn S1 modifies his language by using the right term.

(19) S1: so like in germany or italy … and in bielorussia?
S2: in belarus we use last name and the name of father … my father is *Piotr* so my surname is *Petrovich*.
S1: so in belarus you would say professor *Petrovich*?
S2: no professor (.) without professor (.) just ehm *Petrovich*

A further example of *embedded repair* is visible in the next extract, which shows that the NSE adopts the right pronunciation of the verb *promising* in her reply to a previous utterance. When hearing the different version, she realizes she has made a mistake; she first repeats the right pronunciation and then apologizes for the error.

(20) S1: good … and then what happens next?
S2: i think that ehm the the delivery part is also requesting purchase (.) cos i mean they are promising /prɒ.ˈmaɪs.ɪŋ/ you that you'll have fast delivery and that you won't lose anything
S1: that is true (.) yes (.) because they are doing something interesting they are doing something nice ehm they're they are ehm inviting you to buy but they are also
S2: promising /prɒ.ˈmaɪs.ɪŋ/
S1: they are promising /ˈprɒ.mɪs.ɪŋ/
S2: promising /ˈprɒ.mɪs.ɪŋ/ sorry
S1: exactly they are making a promise … if you buy (.) we promise you'll get ehm a gift

In the following case the interlocutor is not actually correcting the speaker, but merely trying to provide an explanation for a particular linguistic habit. The group is discussing the use of titles and appellations in various countries. When S2 remarks that in Belarus professors are addressed only with their surname without prefixing it with the title *Professor*, the Italian student (S1) shows surprise but also finds this habit quite interesting and tries to find an explanation for it by suggesting perhaps the influence of the Russian culture and in particular of the Communist regime in the 20th century, whose aim was "to make everyone equal". The fact that the Italian student tries to recognise the origin of the Belarusian linguistic usage shows that he is willing to build up some common ground with the other student.

(21) S1: ah? with no title or professor just only *Petrovich* … ah that's interesting … is this part of the former russian style (.) because it was somehow imposed (.) or it has always been like that?
S2: it's russian frames
S1: because there was the communist regime (.) so everyone was equal (.) and so perhaps *Petrovich* and not professor was to make everyone equal … very good (.) very nice (.) that's interesting

The clarification of meaning also implies the adoption of cooperative strategies and 'interactive repairs' by both the speaker and the interlocutors whenever difficulties or non-understanding occur (Gotti 2014a, 2014b). Hearers, in particular, recur to 'minimal incomprehension signals' (Mauranen 2006b) or direct questions when they encounter comprehension problems. By means of 'utterance completions' (Seidlhofer 2011) and 'overlaps' (Cogo 2009) they manifest their willingness to cooperate in the fulfilment of the communicative act. Sometimes, instead, minor points of non-comprehension are not raised by the interlocutor, who prefers to adopt a 'let it pass' strategy (Firth 1996) in order not to create unnecessary breaks in the interactive flow, on the assumption that the unclear word or expression will either become clear or redundant as talk progresses. One example is the quotation below, in which the discrepancy of the university systems from which the students come does not allow a clear specification of the year the students are in; noticing the difficulty of finding out this information, the lecturer in the end accepts their vague assertion that they are Erasmus students:

(22) L: also you first year?
S1: ehm
S2: we are third_i'm third year
L: ah
S1: but there are four years
L: but here? you don't know exactly which level?
S2: erasmus we are erasmus
L: you are erasmus okay good hm

3.1. Dilemmas concerning ELF in University courses

Studies on EMI courses have sometimes been criticised for overstating the claim of collaboration/mutual support in ELF interactions. As Seidlhofer (2004) aptly remarks, work on ELF pragmatics is still very much in its initial phase, and the findings available to date may be a function of the type and purpose of the interactions investigated. It is true, however, that the data found in our analyses have shown that the students' awareness of not being native speakers seems to create a higher motivation in their adoption of supportive moves than is commonly noticed in settings only involving native

speakers. Indeed, proactive (Mauranen 2006b; Kaur 2009), interactive (Björkman 2010, Suviniitty 2012) and explicitation (Mauranen 2007) strategies have been found to enhance both communication and learning in ELF. As a result, the adoption of these strategies enables the interlocutors to accomplish their communicative purposes and to achieve the objectives of their EMI courses.

Other studies, instead, have criticised the political and pedagogic value of these courses. As more and more universities in non-English speaking countries are opening up degree programmes entirely taught in English, several people concerned with educational policies wonder whether it is really useful and appropriate to adopt English monolingualism in university courses in non-English speaking countries. This policy seems particularly odd when curricular courses held in English address monolingual/quasi-monolingual audiences, as seen in certain universities, where the offer of entire degree courses taught exclusively in English mainly serves to boost academic prestige and merely to recruit more students – not necessarily foreign, but often coming from other areas of the same country, who are attracted by this 'internationalisation' policy.

Moreover, the Anglicisation process carried out in many European universities implementing EMI courses has been perceived by some as a 'European paradox' (Phillipson 2006, p. 72), as it contrasts with the official EU policy of preserving linguistic and cultural diversity through the adoption of multilingual policies. At some universities, when a course is offered in English, there is usually an alternative group of the same course which is taught in the local language, but this is not the case in all universities and countries, where courses are almost always offered in only one language, i.e. English. In this case students are confronted with a process of 'forced monolingualism' rather than 'optional multilingualism' (Lasagabaster, Cots, Mancho-Barés 2013). Moreover, in many universities, the impetus to English-taught courses has often determined a replacement of ESP courses (Räisänen, Fortanet-Gómez 2008). Indeed, all over Europe many degrees with a tradition of ESP courses have replaced ESP programmes with content courses taught in English. This revision of curricula reflects both the stakeholders' pressure and the students' desire to concentrate more on the learning of specialized content rather than the foreign language.

While internationalisation is perceived as a desirable outcome, on the practical level, the use of English in academic settings outside the Anglophone world also brings new challenges for students and lecturers. There is even the risk of diminished education quality when a lecturer does not teach in his/her native language. Therefore, English should be used in academic settings after careful consideration of the consequences of such practices. Indeed, in many cases, both lecturers and students tend to

overestimate their proficiency in English (Campagna, Pulcini 2014). Where students have an adequate language competence, the learning outcomes of EMI courses are comparable to those reached in courses taught in the local language with little breakdown in communication, and similar understanding of content provided adequate time is given. However, also some limitations have been found: students tend to speak more slowly and pause more often in English, some experience difficulty in simultaneously following a lecture and taking notes, and there is a smaller number of questions asked and answered during lectures in English (Airey 2012). Some scholars have pointed out a more limited participation in discussions when these are carried out in English:

> Most seminars at my department in Sweden are held in English. Although I think most of my colleagues speak good English, it is clear that it lowers the intellectual level compared to scientific discussions in Swedish. When it comes to teaching at the undergraduate level, that is even more clear. The students (and teachers) spend more time trying to understand or find the words. That implies that less effort can be put into actually discussing scientific problems in depth. (Researcher, Faculty of Science, quoted in Kuteeva 2014, p. 339)

While many European countries are rushing to increase the use of English in their higher education systems, in some countries (especially in the North of Europe) the general attitude towards this trend has become more critical. In these countries there is great concern toward the high proportion of English language use and the need to guarantee the adoption of the local language for specialised purposes. In his presentation of the current debate over this issue in Sweden, Salö (2010) reports that many Swedish universities have implemented new language policies aiming at regulating the use of academic English while guaranteeing the survival of academic Swedish. As both languages are considered important, the solution proposed is parallel language use (Josephson 2005). This new policy is meant to guarantee the students' right to receive education in their native language and to protect the national language from the 'threat' of English (Bolton, Kuteeva 2012). However, even this policy has often proved to be ineffective. As Kuteeva (2014, p. 333) asserts,

> the full implications of parallel language use and its practical applications remain unclear, and to this day it largely remains an unoperationalised political slogan […]. Ideally, both languages should be used by students and teachers alike for various academic purposes, but this rarely happens in practice.

Also in Norway the increasing use of English in higher education is seen as a threat. Brock-Utne (2001), for example, mentions five elements that

contribute to this threat: the increasing use of English words in Norwegian academic, bureaucratic or technological discourse; the increase in the sale of academic literature in English vs the stagnation in the sale of academic literature in Norwegian; the recruitment of teaching staff who do not speak Norwegian; the growth in Master's degree courses taught in English; and finally the financial rewards for publishing in English.

Moreover, where English is largely used at master's levels, scholars have complained a reduction in the availability of local terminology at higher levels with a greater recourse to code mixing (Airey 2011). This is also due to the fact that less and less specialised literature originally written in English is translated into other native languages. Referring to the Norwegian situation, Brock-Utne (2001, p. 228) asserts that this is "a development which shows that the market for required texts written in Norwegian and to be used in Norwegian higher education is clearly shrinking. Academic literature written in English replaces academic literature written in Norwegian at a high pace".

4. Conclusion

As shown by the analysis presented here, the use of English as a lingua franca of research and teaching has determined important consequences on the status of academic discourse. The findings reported here reflect the considerable challenges and opportunities that confront scholars and students seeking to achieve a delicate balance between their willingness to adhere to the mother-tongue norms and conventions and their own individual competences and identity traits. Such factors have been found to interact, producing complex realities giving rise to textual realisations characterised by hybridising forms deriving from interlinguistic and intercultural clashes.

The analysis of the globalising trends in higher education shows that although the use of English in academic settings outside the Anglophone world offers greater opportunities in terms of a wider international preparation, it also brings new challenges for both students and lecturers. The studies reported here reflect the considerable issues that confront not only academics but also education policy-makers seeking to achieve a delicate balance between their willingness to integrate more fully in a globalised context and the need to protect their national language for specialised and academic purposes. Such opposing trends have provoked animated discussions concerning not merely linguistic or pedagogic issues, but also more general problems of political and educational relevance at a wide national level.

Bionote: Maurizio Gotti is Professor of English Language and Translation, Head of the Department of Foreign Languages, Literatures and Cultures, and Director of the Research Centre on Specialized Languages (CERLIS) at the University of Bergamo. His main research areas are the features and origins of specialized discourse (*Robert Boyle and the Language of Science,* 1996; *Specialized Discourse: Linguistic Features and Changing Conventions*, 2003; *Investigating Specialized Discourse*, 2011). He is also interested in English as a Lingua franca, English syntax, English lexicology and lexicography, and in the History of the English language. He is a member of the Editorial Board of national and international journals, and edits the *Linguistic Insights* series for Peter Lang.

Author's address: maurizio.gotti@unibg.it

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ELF IN MODEL UNITED NATIONS SIMULATIONS
When East meets West

DONNA TATSUKI
KOBE CITY UNIVERSITY OF FOREIGN STUDIES

Abstract – MUN simulations can be considered a community of practice since they possess Wenger's (1998) three criteria – mutual engagement, a negotiated joint enterprise, and a shared repertoire. House (2003) argues that ELF too can be considered a community of practice since "its diffuse alliances and communities of imagination and alignment fits ELF interactions well because ELF participants have heterogeneous backgrounds and diverse social and linguistic expectations" (p. 573). Speaking English as an L1 offers no guarantee of an ability to interact successfully with a wide variety of interlocutors; there are many varieties of English, many of which are mutually incomprehensible (Ur 2010) and similarly, native speakers of these many varieties of English are not guaranteed to be successful interlocutors with users of ELF (Litzenberg 2013). Indeed, English native speakers are in especially acute need of training to adjust to a lingua franca world (Carey 2013). This short paper will report on observations of ELF-speaking MUN delegates from Japan and Germany to get a sense of some of the shortcomings that native speakers display when communicating with ELF speakers in the context of MUN simulations and will make recommendations for their training.

Keywords: community of practice; MUN simulations; comprehensibility; English Lingua Franca; communication strategies.

The speaker must choose a comprehensible
[verständlich] expression so that speaker
and hearer can understand one another.
(J. Habermas (1979) cited in:
W. Ulrich (1983), *Critical heuristics of social planning*, p. 123).

1. Introduction

For several years, I have been deeply involved with Model United Nations simulations, both from the side of the preparation of delegates/running the event, and in terms of researching aspects of the experience itself. This paper will report on a small section of my ongoing research into MUN interactions. While observing MUN simulations around the world, I have noticed that even though our students are highly proficient users of English,

they face tremendous difficulties gaining and maintaining the conversational floor during caucusing sessions. Furthermore, despite their own fluency and English knowledge they have experienced sudden moments of personal doubt because they were unable to follow or contribute to exchanges monopolized by native speaker delegates. By being shut out of the negotiation process there is no way to ensure that their policies and ideas would become included into the working papers that form the basis of the important draft resolutions.

I began to wonder if the burden of communication, comprehension, and cooperation was being fairly shared between all parties, especially between ELF and non-ELF users. Perhaps it was time to problematize the language behaviors of the native speaker/non-ELF speakers. However, before getting into such details, it would be helpful to offer a brief description/explanation of MUN simulations and clarify their relevance to ELF research.

2. Background to the Research

2.1. What is a MUN simulation?

MUN stands for Model United Nations and the participants are referred to as delegates. Each delegate represents a nation state (and when possible that state is some other country than their own). MUN simulations bring together participants to consider and do research on a particular set of world problems in order to produce solutions called resolutions/action plans. Much preparation takes place before the simulation since the delegates must research their country's policies with regard to the topic/agenda at hand and then come up with solutions to the problems defined. The results of research and solution brainstorming will be included in a concise, technically stylized Position Paper, which will provide a starting point for the face-to-face negotiations at the MUN event. Team-building with other delegates who are representing the same country in different committees ensures that the research is deeper and well understood. Delegates also spend time trying to express all the ideas in their position papers verbally and spontaneously in order to increase their abilities to speak about the issues fluently and spontaneously.

At the MUN event there are a number of different interactional genres that the participants need to master: 1) Procedures, by which delegates can shape the direction of the meeting by making motions for a variety of actions (voting, suspension of the meeting) or expressing points of order and information, 2) Formal debate, in which delegates give timed, formal speeches in front of the meeting assembly to summarize their

positions or appeal to other likeminded delegates, 3) Informal debate/caucusing, in which delegates engage in face-to-face negotiation, in an attempt to find allies, persuade adversaries and promote cooperation. Informal debate/caucusing in MUN is a genre of great potential interest to researchers in communication and interaction, particularly in the ELF research world.

2.2. MUN and ELF as Communities of Practice

MUN simulations can be considered a community of practice since they possess three criteria that according to Wenger (1998), characterize a community of practice – mutual engagement, a negotiated joint enterprise, and a shared repertoire. ELF encounters have also been described in terms of a community of practice:

> The activity-based concept of community of practice with its diffuse alliances and communities of imagination and alignment fits ELF interactions well because ELF participants have heterogeneous backgrounds and diverse social and linguistic expectations. Rather than being characterized by fixed social categories and stable identities, ELF users are agentively involved in the construction of event-specific, interactional styles and frameworks. (House 2003, p. 573)

Mutual engagement, jointly negotiated communication using shared communication resources can be complicated when the interlocutors come from diverse backgrounds, which is nearly always the case in ELF interactions. The need to deal with this diversity requires ELF users to employ a range of accommodation strategies to ensure cooperatively negotiated understandings (Firth 1996; Meierkord 2000; Lee 2013) and the fact of being bilingual (or multilingual) may affect the quality of interactions in certain ways.

Emerging research (Toivo 2017) indicates that bilinguals experience ‘reduced emotional resonance of language’ (Caldwell-Harris, Ayçiçeği-Dinn 2009; Keysar *et al.* 2012; Costa *et al.* 2014) which has both positive and negative implications. On the negative side, a reduction of emotional resonance may lead to a withdrawal from social surroundings or a misfiring of emotion-laden words in the wrong emotional context. However, on the positive side “bilinguals can actually benefit from being able to approach things in a less emotionally involved way. For example, bilinguals have been shown to be able to make more rational decisions in their second language” (Toivo 2017). In fact, it may increase bilingual interlocutors’ ability to cooperatively seek consensus using a variety of communicative accommodation strategies.

Although accommodation strategies are available to all speakers from any language background, the strategies selected and ways they are used may be influenced by cultural beliefs and pragmatic expectations (Lee 2013). For example, according to research on pragmatic accommodation strategies by Lee (2013), East Asian ELF speakers adopt convergent pragmatic solidarity-building strategies such as repetition, paraphrase, and utterance completion (Cogo, Dewey 2012) that mirror their cultural values of positive politeness, consensus building and rapport strengthening. Thus, it is safe to assume that ELF speakers bring their own cultural communication habits to each interaction.

Yet the diversity inherent in ELF communication also encourages accommodation, negotiation and cooperation—ideally, these are also the features of successful MUN interactions. The complication in MUN events is that not all the participants/delegates identify as ELF users. Indeed it is hard to really describe who these speakers are. The traditional native/ non-native speaker dichotomy is not relevant with regards to ELF (Ferguson 2012), nor should it be when one considers the slipperiness and inadequacy of the term "native speaker" to describe a person's communicative competence. Jenkins (2000) attempts to reimagine the native non-native dichotomy by suggesting concepts like Monolingual English Speaker, Bilingual English Speaker, and Non-Bilingual English Speaker.

Yet in some cases, "for lack of a better alternative" (Llurda 2009, p. 120), it may be practical to keep a native/non-native speaker dichotomy as a framework for certain kinds of sociolinguistic research (Haberland 2011) in which neither group is be assumed to be inherently more proficient than the other but their journeys to become users of English have followed differing routes. This will be made relevant later.

2.3. The Native Speaker Problem

Speaking English as an L1 offers no guarantee of an ability to interact successfully with a wide variety of interlocutors; there are many varieties of English, many of which are mutually incomprehensible (Ur 2010) and similarly, native speakers of these many varieties of English are not guaranteed to be successful interlocutors with users of ELF (Litzenberg 2013). Indeed, it may really be the case that English native speakers (however one may define the members of this group) are in especially acute need of training to adjust to a lingua franca world (Carey 2013). It has been reported elsewhere that when monolingual or otherwise communicatively unaware/insensitive English speakers use language that is "too quick, too garbled or overly colloquial" (Skapinker 2016), it can be argued that they are displaying a lack of communicative competence.

Figure 1 summarizes the student diversity at a recent MUN event held in New York City that hosted 6000 student delegates. The organization collects racial statistics for its US based participants and lumps all of the non-US participants into the category of "International" so our assumptions regarding the proportion of ELF users can only be speculative.

Nevertheless, based on personal experience and from a perusal of the conference program, the vast majority of "International" participants come from Europe (especially Germany and Italy) and Asia. So it is certain that a very large proportion of the speakers at this event are ELF users, even if they are not in the majority. Although other countries may differ, the students who qualify to become delegates from our university in Japan typically have no less than IELTS 7.5 and can be therefore comfortably classified as C2—the highest level of proficient user, according to the Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR).

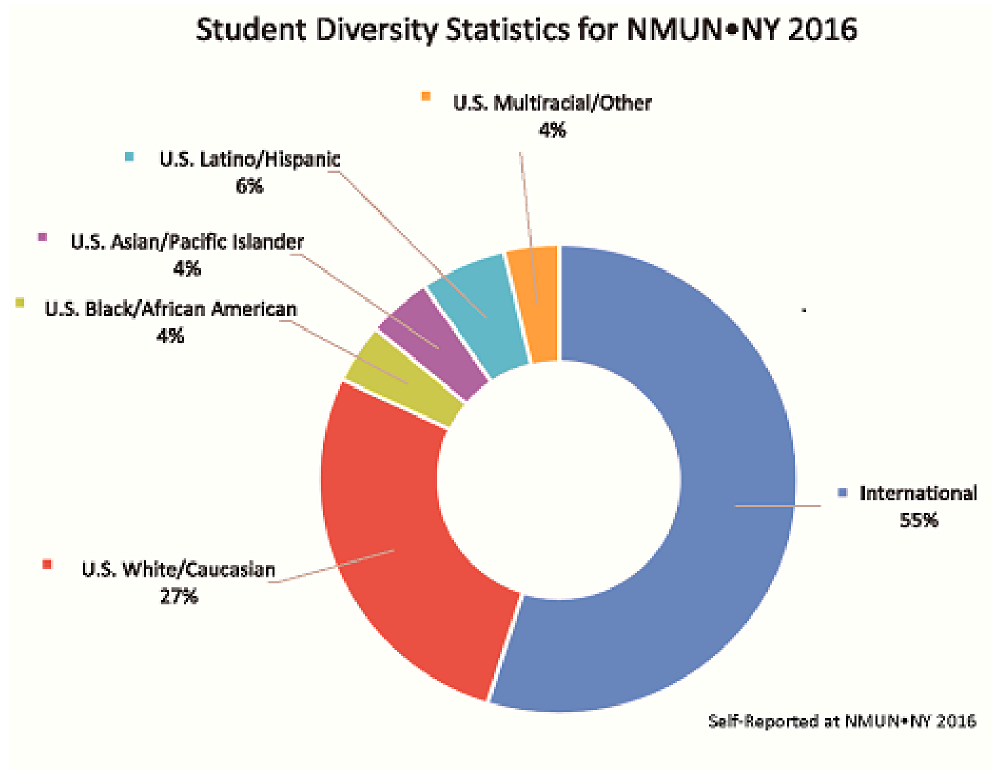

Figure 1
Student Diversity NMUN NYC 2016.

As mentioned in the introduction, despite their strong capabilities, over the years our students have struggled to make their voices heard and ensure that their policies and ideas become included into the working papers that form the basis of the important draft resolutions. I began to wonder if the burden of communication, comprehension, and cooperation was being fairly shared between all parties, especially between ELF and non-ELF users. Perhaps it

was time to problematize the language behaviors of the native speaker/non-ELF speakers.

This brings us to the research questions for the present study:

1. Do ELF speakers encounter communication/comprehension difficulties when interacting with non-ELF (English native) speakers?
2. What are the sources/causes of these communication/comprehension difficulties?

3. The Study

Observations of ELF-speaking MUN delegates from Japan and Germany (n=22) were collected through a questionnaire containing an eight-item checklist and one open-ended prompt (see Appendix A) in order to get a sense of some of the shortcomings that native speakers display when communicating with ELF speakers in the context of MUN simulations. The eight checklist items probed possible trouble spots in: conversation management (Q1a, Q1b), cultural knowledge (Q1c, Q1g), manner of delivery (Q1d, Q1e), and lexical knowledge (Q1f, Q1h).

The reader is asked to bear in mind that this is just a preliminary pilot study with an extremely small sample aimed at getting an initial glimpse into this area of concern. The observations will later inform a list of recommendations for non-ELF speaker directed communication training.

4. Results: The Problems Detected

4.1. Checklist

Based on the results of the checklist, almost all of the delegates indicated that they had experienced communication/comprehension difficulties when interacting with non-ELF (English native) speakers. Only two delegates claimed to have never encountered comprehension problems related to those items. Table 1 shows the frequencies for each type of difficulty.

The most frequently cited problem areas related to manner of delivery and lexical knowledge. Nearly two-thirds noted that “a Native Speaker used vocabulary words that I had not heard before” and more than half of all respondents claimed experiencing a Native Speaker who “spoke so fast that I could not understand.” A solid third of respondents agreed that, “a NS used idioms/expressions that were unfamiliar to me.”

Less than a quarter of respondents reported any problems attributable to cultural knowledge or humor. No one reported problems with interruptions causing confusion and furthermore, interruptions leading to a feeling of frustration for the inability to finish an utterance, barely registered. Therefore, if one were looking for an instructional target, vocabulary, speed and idiom use would be promising starting points.

		J* (%)	G** (%)	J+G (%)
Q1a	a NS interrupted me so I got confused and forgot what I was saying.	0 (0.0)	0 (00.0)	0 (00.0)
Q1b	a NS interrupted me so I was frustrated by not being able to finish.	1 (10)	1 (8.3)	2 (9.1)
Q1c	a NS said something that probably needed cultural or special knowledge in order to understand.	3 (30)	2 (16.7)	5 (22.7)
Q1d	a NS spoke in long, complex sentences so I could not follow the meaning.	3 (30)	2 (16.7)	5 (22.7)
Q1e	a NS spoke so fast that I could not understand.	6 (60)	6 (50.0)	12 (54.5)
Q1f	a NS used idioms/expressions that were unfamiliar to me.	3 (30)	5 (41.7)	8 (36.4)
Q1g	a NS used some kind of humor but I could not get the meaning.	3 (30)	2 (16.7)	5 (22.7)
Q1h	a NS used vocabulary words that I had not heard before.	5 (50)	9 (75.0)	14 (63.6)

Table 1
Questionnaire Responses from NMUN delegates (*n=10, **n=12).

These problem areas point specifically at poor skills of accommodation, which is defined as the "process by which speakers adjust their communicative behavior to that of their interlocutors in order to facilitate communication." (Cogo 2010, p. 254) and validates the previous calls for and recognition of the need for training in accommodation directed at native speakers of English (Frendo 2016; Skapinker 2016).

4.2. Delegate voices (Open-ended Question 2)

Most of the students who responded to the questionnaire included a description of one or more of their own experiences. Among those that commented on the issue of speed, here is a sampling (verbatim, unedited):

Some delegates wanted to introduce their working papers and policies and I could only understand half because they spoke fast.

Today my working group (not all of them) tried to (or did it) delete my points in our working paper. Thereupon I talked to them and point it [NS spoke too fast] out. Now they implemented my points.

A delegate spoke very fast during his speech. I had to focus to understand him.

When I was in a working group, NSs are too fast to speak so that it was a bit difficult to fit in the discussion.

I had a delegate explain to me about his policies and who went at it at lightning speed, and it was difficult for me to even come up with questions. I felt that after everyone has had experience explaining policies and stances to many delegates, people will start speaking a bit faster and sometimes omitting details.

Here are comments that included references to vocabulary comprehension:

Some NSs are using words that I never heard so sometimes it was hard to understand.

I was asked by other delegates about our working paper and I said "Let me see" and thought silently for a while because it is natural in Japan that we don't speak aloud when we are thinking and I wanted to make sure what I would answer. But that delegate said "OK, who's your leader? I'll ask him" without any pause. I thought we need to answer instantly rather than perfectly accurate.

Some of the delegates use words which I have never heard before which does not bother me.

I often had to ask some NS about their used vocabulary (because I've worked very intense with many Canadians) and at some occasions I felt very dumb but they were very concerned about me getting their point. In some cases they seemed to feel ashamed not to be able to find a way to express theirselves in a different way.--Canadians are great! Britains were often very fast!

5. Discussion and Conclusions

As Barlett and Johnson stated in 1998, "Native speakers need to become more aware of international business English: to modify their own language, to stop viewing these simplifications as sub-standard forms of English and to realize that they are missing out on an efficient communication tool" (p. 6) and "Whether native or nonnative, communicators need to learn (be taught!) to listen, make situational adjustments, and use sociopragmatic, situational potential to jointly create meanings and operational cultures" (Charles 2006, cited in Charles 2007, p. 279).

Frendo (2016) proposes to offer classes to train native speakers and non-native speakers at the same time in an array of business communication skills such as small talk, presentations, negotiations, and meetings. Among the benefits mentioned, the realization “that the native speakers are not necessarily the ones who do best in the negotiation role-plays, or presentations” which may be conversely a huge benefit to ELF speakers. The native speakers “come away with a greater awareness of their own limitations and an improved understanding of the strategies they might use in order to communicate most effectively in an international context… [by taking] part in role-plays, discussion etc. where it is what they say that counts, not the fact that they are native speakers” (Frendo 2016, n. p.).

Although it may be true that some people are able to accommodate to a certain extent without much or any direct training, they might need some help to learn how to better choose or vary their communication strategies (Sweeney, Zhu Hua 2010).

5.1. Specific Solutions

The following are recommendations for dealing with Speed (adapted from a list by Halsdorf, 2013):

- Raise NS awareness of the definitions and effects of speaking either too fast or too slow.
- Raise NS awareness of why contractions (which contribute to speed) are confusing and best avoided.
    - Contractions are very difficult to perceive in the midst of conversation.
    - Some NNSs inadvertently delete them from their own speech.
- Raise NS awareness of the danger of consonant segmental deletion and elision (especially when two NSs start interacting) will result in a net increase in speed. Add to this a mix of local accents, dialects, or slang, the resulting speech stream will offer huge challenges in comprehension with very little communication payoff.
- Raise NS awareness of the confusion of expressions that create unclear word boundaries because of linking and vowel reduction in commonly reduced phrases that are not consistently taught in language programs (e.g., gonna, shoulda, dijyu).

Here are recommendations for dealing with Idioms (adapted from a list by Halsdorf 2013):

- Raise native speaker awareness of
    - what an idiom is.
    - how difficult they can be to understand.

    - how common idioms are.
- Develop Native Speaker accommodation strategies
    - to make an idiom more transparent (if it is important to the discussion).
    - to monitor whether the idiom used is leading to misunderstanding
- Improve Native Speaker skill using a more globalized version of English that uses idioms sparingly.

The following recommendations are for dealing with vocabulary:

- Raise NS awareness of
    - The effect of their own use of jargon or technical vocabulary on other listeners
- Develop NS accommodation strategies
    - to monitor the effect of their talk on others – to be sensitive to signs of miscomprehension and more proactive in addressing the problem.
    - to make an unfamiliar or technical vocabulary item more transparent through the addition of a paraphrased definition.
    - to paraphrase complex propositions another way
- Improve NS skill using a more globalized version of English that uses jargon and technical vocabulary sparingly or in accordance with the current relevant community of practice.

5.2. Summary and Conclusions

This small-scale pilot study sought to problematize the language behaviours of native speaker/non-cooperative speakers in order to better understand the difficulties that even highly proficient ELF speakers may be having in Model United Nations (MUN) simulations. Almost all of the ELF-speaking MUN delegates from Japan and Germany reported that they had experienced communication/comprehension difficulties when interacting with non-ELF (English native) speakers. The most frequently cited problems included use of unfamiliar vocabulary or idiomatic expressions and unnecessarily rapid speech rates.

Although the ELF speaking delegates graciously took responsibility for their own lack of comprehension, the kinds of problems they reported clearly show that the onus should also fall on their native speaker interlocutors who suffered from communicative insensitivity resulting in poor skills of accommodation. In order to rectify this communicative

shortcoming, it was suggested that native speaker delegates be encouraged to take communication courses prior to participating in a MUN simulation—ideally in partnership with ELF speaking delegates.

The preceding pages should indicate that everyone participating in ELF interactions has strengths and at the same time everyone has weaknesses. We need to learn to appreciate that communicating effectively is the goal and that doing so respectfully, cooperatively and benevolently is the way.

Bionote: Donna Hurst Tatsuki (Ed.D., Temple University, Japan) is Director of the Graduate School for English Language Education and Research at Kobe City University of Foreign Studies. Her research areas include cross-cultural pragmatics, language teaching materials development, conversation analysis, and storytelling/narrative design. Recent research projects include the representations of gender/ethnicity in government approved language textbooks, MUN preparation in the flipped classroom, ELF in MUN simulations, and narrative strategies in complex negotiations. Edited books include *Pragmatics: Teaching speech acts* (TESOL, 2010, with N. Houck); *Pragmatics: Teaching natural conversation* (TESOL, 2011, with N. Houck); *Storytelling: Repositioning Literary Texts in Language Teaching* (Foreign Studies Research Series, 90, Kobe Gaidai, 2015). *Fictions: Studi sulla narratività XV. Special Issue: Stories For Learning: Storytelling And Didactics* (Fabrizio Serra Editore, 2016); *Back to Basics: Filling the Gaps in Pragmatics Teaching Materials* (JALT, 2016 with D. Fujimoto); *Teaching Narratives* (Journal of Research Institute, 54, Kobe Gaidai, 2016).

Author's addresses: dhtatsuki@rapid.ocn.ne.jp; dhtatsuki@gmail.com

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Appendix A

Communication during MUN Simulations

We are doing some research into the communication experiences of MUN simulation participants. Thank you in advance for taking time to answer.

Think back to interactions that you had with delegates who you think were Native Speakers (NS) of English.

Although you may have enjoyed your conversations, you might have also experienced some difficulties too. These moments of difficulty in communication are the focus of this research.

1. Please check (any or all of) the following things you may have experienced:

- ○ a NS interrupted me so I got confused and forgot what I was saying.
- ○ a NS interrupted me so I was frustrated by not being able to finish.
- ○ a NS said something that probably needed cultural or special knowledge in order to understand.
- ○ a NS spoke in long, complex sentences so I could not follow the meaning.
- ○ a NS spoke so fast that I could not understand.
- ○ a NS used idioms/expressions that were unfamiliar to me.
- ○ a NS used some kind of humor but I could not get the meaning.
- ○ a NS used vocabulary words that I had not heard before.

2. Please write about some specific examples with as much detail as you can remember. Use the back of this sheet if you need.

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MODERN AND ANCIENT MIGRANTS' NARRATIVES THROUGH ELF

An Experiential-Linguistic project in Responsible Tourism[1]

MARIA GRAZIA GUIDO[1], LUCIA ERRICO[1],
PIETRO LUIGI IAIA[1], CESARE AMATULLI[2]
[1]UNIVERSITÀ DEL SALENTO, [2]UNIVERSITÀ DI BARI

Abstract – This article explores the emotional experience of Italian seaside resorts whose geographical position in the Southern Mediterranean coasts has always determined their destiny as places of hospitality and hybridization of languages and cultures. A Cognitive-pragmatic Model of Experiential Linguistics (Lakoff, Johnson 1999; Langacker 1991; Sweetser 1990) and some strategies of Experiential Place Marketing (Hosany, Prayag 2011; Jani, Han 2013; Prayag *et al.* 2013) will be employed to 'emotionally promote' Responsible Tourism (Lin *et al.* 2014; Ma *et al.* 2013) in order to enquire into the effects of emotions upon the tourists' experience of the holiday as a path towards their 'personal and cultural growth'. The case study illustrated in this article represents precisely an instance of ELF communication developing from tourists' and migrants' appraisal of: *(a)* the contemporary non-Western migrants' dramatic sea-voyage narratives reported in their ELF variations (Guido 2008, 2012), and *(b)* the epic narratives of Mediterranean 'odysseys' towards 'utopian places' belonging to the Western cultural heritage, translated from Ancient Greek and Latin into ELF. The subjects of this case study under analysis are tourists playing the role of 'intercultural mediators' with migrants in one of the seaside resorts of Salento affected by migrant arrivals. To facilitate tourists' and migrants' processes of 'experiential embodiment' of past and present dramatic sea voyages, they will be introduced to an 'Ethnopoetic analysis' (Hymes 1994, 2003) of two corpora of modern and ancient oral journey narratives – the former collected during ethnographic fieldworks in reception centres for refugees, and the latter including extracts from Homer's *Odyssey* and Virgil's *Aeneid*. The purpose is to make tourists and migrants play the roles of 'philologists' and 'ethnographers' as they realize how such ancient and modern oral narratives are experientially organized into spontaneous 'verse structures' reproducing the sequences and rhythms of human actions and emotions in response to the traumatic experience of violent natural phenomena which, through the use of ergative syntactic structures (Talmy 1988), become metaphorically personified as objects and elements endowed with an autonomous, dynamic force capable of destroying the human beings at their mercy. The Ethnopoetic analysis and translation, together with the

[1] The authors have contributed equally to the overall drafting of this article. Maria Grazia Guido is responsible for sections 1 and 2; Lucia Errico for section 3; Pietro Luigi Iaia for section 4, and Cesare Amatulli for section 5.

subsequent multimodal rendering of such journey narratives into 'premotional videos' for place-marketing purposes (Kress 2009), aim at making both tourists and migrants aware of their common experiential roots, as well as of the socio-cultural values of the different populations that have produced them.

Keywords: English as a Lingua Franca; Responsible Tourism; experiential place marketing; Ethnopoetic analysis; migrants' sea-voyage narratives; classical epic sea-voyage narratives; multimodal video making and subtitling.

1. Research context, rationale, and objectives

This article reports on an ongoing Experiential Place-Marketing project in Responsible Tourism (Hosany, Prayag 2011; Lin *et al.* 2014; Ma *et al.* 2013; Prayag *et al.* 2013)[2] whose principal aim is to 'emotionally promote' (*premote*), through the use of English as a 'lingua franca' (ELF), the seaside resorts of the Salento, an area of Southern Italy affected by migrant arrivals. In the context of this project, migrants, together with international tourists, who happen to be in the same holiday locations, are directly engaged in intercultural activities aimed at the exploration of their emotional experience of such seaside resorts whose geographical position on the Southern Mediterranean coasts of Italy has always made them earn the reputation of hospitable places welcoming voyagers and characterized by a hybridization of languages and cultures. From the perspective of Responsible Tourism, this project intends to ultimately enquire into the effects of emotions upon the international tourists' experience of the holiday as a path towards their 'personal and cultural growth'.

To achieve these aims, this research project has been grounded on a cognitive-pragmatic model of Experiential-Linguistics (Lakoff, Johnson 1999; Langacker 1991; Sweetser 1990) applied to a multimodal Ethnopoetic analysis (Hymes 2003; Kress 2009) of texts drawn from two corpora of, respectively, *(a)* non-Western migrants' sea-voyage narratives, reported in their variations of English as a 'lingua franca' (ELF) (Guido 2008, 2012), and *(b)* epic narratives of journeys across the Mediterranean sea towards 'Utopian places', which are part of the Western cultural heritage, translated from Ancient Greek and Latin 'lingua francas' of the past into contemporary ELF variations. Indeed, both tourists and migrants themselves were encouraged to carry out an ethnopoetic analysis of *(a)* migrants' sea-voyage reports narrated

[2] The aim of Responsible Tourism is to promote tourists' experience of socio-culturally disadvantaged contexts. It "endeavours to make tourism an inclusive social experience and to ensure that there is access for all, in particular vulnerable and disadvantaged communities and individuals", and "makes positive contributions to the conservation of natural and cultural heritage and to the maintenance of the world's diversity" (http://responsibletourismpartnership.org/).

through their respective ELF variations, *(b)* ELF translations of epic narratives of 'odysseys' across the Mediterranean Sea from the Western classical tradition, as well as activities of *(c)* video making with ELF subtitling, based on such ancient and modern sea-voyage narratives for 'premotional' purposes. In this way, both international tourists and migrants, as active subjects and targets of this place-marketing project, are guided to act as if they were 'philologists' and 'ethnographers' – thus becoming aware of their common experiential roots and socio-cultural values, overcoming possible reciprocal feelings of mistrust and even hostility – and, eventually, also as if they were 'advertisers' of the locations they live in.

Ethnographic data collected in these resorts in the course of previous studies (Guido 2016) have revealed how misunderstandings between tourists and migrants are not solely to be ascribed to divergences between the syntactic, semantic and pragmatic structures of their respective native languages transferred into their ELF variations in contact, but also to the two groups' dissimilar experiential 'schemata', meant as the socio-semiotic knowledge shared with their respective primary/native speech communities (Carrell 1983), which enter into conflict. In the case in point, the tourists' and migrants' schemata have been observed to diverge in their respective experience of such seaside resorts, often perceived, respectively, as the actualization of the 'Utopia vs. Dystopia (anti-Utopia)' archetype (Guido *et al.* 2016). Such an archetype is inherent in the very term 'Utopia' with its two Ancient-Greek etymological sources: *eu-topos*, or 'place of good and harmony' (which is how Utopia has been represented in relevant literature on this genre since Thomas More's prototype novel *Utopia*, being also the marketing objective in this project of Responsible Tourism) and *ou-topos*, or 'no place', 'nowhere' which often corresponds to the migrants' upsetting perception of the place of their landing, where all the positive values they expected to find turn into negative ones in an 'upside-down' world. The Observer, in the structure of the Utopian genre, is a Traveller landing in Utopia – or, alternatively, in Dystopia – after a perilous sea-voyage. According to their different experience of the landing place, Travellers can therefore embody the archetypal Heroes that, in Frye's (1976, 1977) definition, experience either the 'descent' into a dystopian place of injustice and evil, or the 'ascent' to a utopian place of justice and good. Migrants fleeing from poverty, war and torture cross the perilous Mediterranean Sea in the hope of reaching the coasts of Utopia and thus 'ascending' to a much longed-for peaceful and prosperous paradise, but often they end up 'descending' into the hell of an absurd and prejudiced Dystopia that is utterly hostile to them. Tourists, in their turn, hope to leave stressing everyday routines at their back and light-heartedly 'ascend' to a recreational Utopia for their holidays, but once they arrive at the long-awaited seaside locations, they often find themselves unwillingly 'descending' the abyss of an appalling

Dystopia having to face the disturbing emergencies of the migrants' dramatic arrivals on the Italian coasts they would not like to cope with, and not even to see.

The aim of the present research project in Responsible Tourism is indeed to ultimately encourage both tourists and migrants to meet and experience the holiday place they live in as a 'shared Utopia'. In it, they can thus rediscover common experiential schemata and narrative structures through a hybrid use of ELF developed with the purpose of promoting the acknowledgement, on the tourists' side, of the migrants' traumatic ELF narrations of sea-voyages (Guido 2008, 2012) and, on the migrants' side, of the epic narratives of Mediterranean 'odysseys' towards 'Utopian places' belonging to the Western cultural heritage, translated from ancient Greek and Latin into ELF variations. The ELF variations used in such contexts of intercultural communication between groups of non-native speakers of English are assumed to foster in both tourists and migrants in contact an awareness of shared linguacultural and experiential narrative features.

The research project was carried out in collaboration with the local administrations of a number of seaside resorts in Salento, Southern Italy, with the objective of advertising them as mythical Utopian places welcoming voyagers. In particular, the research was carried out in collaboration with the administration of Castro,[3] a seaside resort in Salento which has always been a crossroads of peoples, from the Paleolithic Age to Illyrian, Balkan, Messapian, Greek, Roman, Byzantine, Norman and Arab migrations, up to the Ostrogoth and Lombard invasions. In Book III of Virgil's *Aeneid*, Aeneas lands in Castrum Minervae, the ancient name of Castro, describing it as a sea voyage to Utopia. Castro, thus, is promoted as the mythical Utopia, welcoming voyagers: a place of hospitality, of social good and of natural beauty, an alternative to the real, corrupt and xenophobic society. In such contexts, like Ulysses who was invited to narrate his perilous journey at each landing, tourists and migrants were elicited by researchers to co-create a common ELF translanguaging model of intercultural communication (Garcia, Li 2014) to enhance a mutual accessibility to their common experiential schemata and oral narrative structures so as to share sea-voyage narrations.

And yet, Responsible Tourism in Italian seaside resorts affected by migrants' arrivals has not usually aimed at such a cross-cultural sharing of experiential schemata between tourists and migrants. Indeed, the very Utopia archetype is often revisited in Responsible Tourism for Experiential Marketing purposes aiming at activating in the minds of 'responsible tourists' two opposite, and yet coexisting, schemata – namely, the 'Social-Utopia' and

[3] The authors wish to thank the Mayor of Castro, Dr. Alfonso Capraro, for his invaluable logistic support for this research.

the 'Recreational-Utopia' schemata. This frequently implies that tourists are encouraged to act as 'mediators' towards migrants and, eventually, even become 'touristic-resort entertainers' playing the 'Robinson Crusoe' role and casting immigrants in a supporting 'Friday' role. In doing so, they turn the 'immigrant-reception schema' into a 'tourist-reception schema' (Guido *et al.* 2016). Immigrants, on the other hand, often have to activate a Dystopian schema as they feel obliged to accept the unfamiliar roles of 'tourism promoters' imposed upon them, according to a widespread 'touristicization-of-migrants' model of Responsible Tourism.[4]

Evidence of such Utopian/Dystopian schematic conflict emerge in a corpus of conversation data collected in landing places, where it is possible to notice the extent to which ELF variations used by interacting tourists-as-mediators/entertainers and immigrants-as-tourists (Guido *et al.* 2016) with the purpose of achieving successful 'Utopian communication', often turn into 'Dystopian miscommunication' due to participants' schematic divergences. An instance of such a conflict can be found in the following Extract 1 (Guido 2016) from a conversation between a female Italian 'tourist-mediator' (IM – using an Italian-ELF variation and switching from a 'recreational-Utopian schema' to a 'social-Utopian schema') and a Nigerian immigrant (NI – conveying, through his Nigerian Pidgin variation of ELF (also rendered into Standard English), a 'Dystopian schema' as well as an experiential 'migration schema' in conflict with that of his Italian interlocutor): [5]

> *Extract 1: Annotated transcript*
> *IM:* we had a great fun together (.) we eat sing karaoke dance (.) play football together every day (.) this is wonderful (.) eh? *[Recreational-Utopian schema]* (.) an example that can help the other people >to understand the migrants<= *[Social-Utopian schema]*

[4] The Town Council of Lampedusa, for example, has adopted as its official anthem a reggae song performed by a famous pop band, the *Sud Sound System*, together with a group of African immigrants, on the topic of the migrants' 'epic' sea voyage as they invoke a 'sweet Muse' for a safe journey – a classical-literature feature which, together with the Caribbean music, does not actually belong to the African migrants' cultural schemata, alienating them even more from their experience of the island ("Row, row, to Lampedusa we go, / Go, go, for a better life we row, yeah, / *O dolce Musa, portami a Lampedusa* / *O dolce Musa*, bring me to Lampedusa, yeah […]" - https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=szZ84o6H7Qw). A parallel case is to be found in Malta, where a website advertises the need for "volunteers" willing to assist African refugees massively landing there and educate them in English on "European customs" (http://www.gooverseas.com/blog/volunteering-in-malta-beyond-tourismwebsites, accessed 10 August 2014). An extreme case is represented by the agency for Refugee-Camp Tourism providing in Rwanda "life-enriching activities" that offer "unique insights into the harsh lives of refugees" (http://newdawnassociates.com/new/signature-tours/akagerahumure-refugee-community-visit/, accessed 10 August 2014), later substituted by a mitigated text turned into "offer unique insights into the lives of refugees in Rwanda" (https://rwandatraveltrade.wordpress.com/destination-specialist-course/module-1-regions-of-rwanda-akagera-national-park/).

[5] Conversation symbols: [ ] → overlapping speech; underlining → emphasis; ° ° → quieter speech; (.) → micropause; (..) → pause; :: → elongation of prior sound; hhh → breathing out; .hhh → breathing in; > < → speed-up talk; = → latching.

> *NI:* =no (.) dem no:: understand di migrant (.) dem no understand di sea *[Dystopian schema]* […] °you know?° (.) >dem bin trow mi broda down di sea< (.) fo warn di oder pipul in di boat >so dem no go complain fo di bad journey<= *[NI's experiential migration schema] [No, they don't understand the migrants, they don't understand the sea, you know? They threw my brother down in the sea to warn the other people in the boat not to complain for the bad journey]*
> *IM:* =°oh yes° (.) >you told us< (..) °I'm sorry° (..) he know to swim?
> *NI:* a (..) a (..) wen a bin look in di sea mi broda bin de swim (.) yes= *[when I looked into the sea my brother was swimming, yes]*
> *IM:* =so don't worry (.) he got safe (.) be sure *[IM's experiential migration schema]*.

Here it can be noticed that misunderstanding between IM and NI is not caused by linguistic differences in their respective ELF variations in contact, but rather by their different experiential 'migration schemata' in conflict, insofar as NI's account of his traumatic sea voyage to Italy, during which he witnessed his brother being thrown out of the boat into the sea is immediately dismissed by IM who, in her 'recreational-Utopian' set of mind, prefers to wave stressful thoughts away, envisaging instead NI's brother swimming to safety, thus strengthening NI's hopeless experience of having actually landed in an insensitive Dystopia.

To avoid such misunderstandings, the present research project in Responsible Tourism has aimed at making both tourists and migrants aware of their respective ELF variations in contact by highlighting their linguacultural and schematic similarities, rather than their pragmalinguistic differences, and by promoting a hybrid use of ELF – indeed, a collective ELF translanguaging practice – enhancing mutual accessibility to shared experiential schemata and to common narrative ways of expressing them.

The methodology adopted in this research project is the Ethnopoetic Analysis[6] (Hymes 1994, 2003) that both tourists and migrants learn to use under the guidance of researchers as 'intercultural mediators', in order to investigate 'experientially' how ancient and contemporary oral sea-voyage narratives belonging to chronologically and geographically different cultures are naturally ordered into 'ethnopoetic verse structures'. By this definition it is meant that such structures reproduce the rhythms and progression of human actions and emotions related to dramatic 'odysseys' across the sea associated with the traumatic experience of violent natural elements. In the

[6] At the basis of Hymes' (2003, pp. 121-123) Ethnopoetic approach there is the notion that oral narratives are organized coherently according to implicit principles of form/meaning interrelationships. More specifically, an Ethnopoetic Analysis focuses on how content and meaning in native oral narratives emerge from an implicit patterning of lines and groups of lines (verses and stanzas) to create a narrative effect by reproducing the natural rhythms of voice and breath through which actions and emotions are reported.

clausal organization of both ancient and modern oral journey narratives, in fact, natural elements are often collocated in the position of the logical and grammatical subjects of ergative syntactic structures. In this way, they become personified as dynamic actors endowed with an autonomous strength whose aim seems to be that of destroying the helpless human beings at their mercy.

Step 1 of this research project focuses on tourists familiarizing themselves with the migrants' sea-voyage experiences through their oral narrations. To this purpose, an initial introduction to sea-voyage narratives of the Western literary heritage was proposed to trigger tourists' emotional memory of tragic journey experiences. Then, they were guided to an ethnopoetic analysis of some extracts of journey reports collected in reception centres for migrants to make tourists aware of similarities in the emotional structures of both literary and real sea-voyage narratives. Then, Step 2 focuses on migrants who, in their turn, are made acquainted with the ancient sea-voyage narratives of the Western tradition through an ethnopoetic analysis and a translation – into the ELF variations of modern oral narratives – carried out on some extracts from Homer's *Odyssey* and Virgil's *Aeneid*. In Step 3, such ancient and contemporary sea-voyage narratives, together with their experiential ethnopoetic rhythms, were turned into multimodal representations (Kress 2009) through the production of two videos with ELF subtitles aimed at achieving promotional/emotional (*premotional*) effects on both tourists and migrants, so as to make their experience of the seaside resorts they live in memorable as belonging to their process of personal and cultural growth.

2. Step 1 – from experiential embodiment to an ethnopoetic analysis and ELF translation of NPE sea-voyage narratives

Step 1, principally addressed to the tourists in contact with migrants, focuses on the ethnopoetic analysis of an extract from a corpus of African migrants' oral sea-voyage narratives, in which the personifications of violent natural elements (stormy sea and giant waves) and of inanimate objects (a ship; a boat) are due to the structure of ergative clauses [OVS] where the inanimate Object is in Subject position as if it were an animate Agent endowed with its own autonomous energy (Talmy 1988). Such ergative constructions can be found in Proto-Indo-European and Proto-Afro-Asiatic languages spoken by the earliest populations living in natural environments that they experienced as hostile and dangerous to human beings. Ergative constructions today persist in many contemporary African languages (Anderson 1988; Buth 1981; Greenberg 1963; Heine, Nurse 2000) and, as a consequence, they are

automatically transferred to the structures of the ELF variations used by African migrants in intercultural communication (Guido 2008, 2012). Indeed, the Ergativity characterizing earliest oral narratives has also been employed in a number of Western literary reconstructions of ancient forms of folktales. Such a heritage feature of Western literature was exploited, in the case in point, to make tourists acquainted with the ergative structures of 'non-Western' migrants' sea-voyage narrations by making reference to their shared literary knowledge predictably achieved in educational contexts. Hence, in order to trigger in 'Western' tourists a process of emotional identification with the migrants' tragic sea-voyage experience by resorting to their 'cultural memory', they were presented with S.T. Coleridge's well-known poem *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner*, a Romantic revisitation of ancient oral narratives. A dramatization of this poem was thus proposed with the involvement of a group of Italian students of English Literature who, in the course of a physical-theatre representation (cf. Guido 1999, Guido *et al.* 2017) of the 'storm-blast' scene, activated a process of dramatic personification of inanimate objects and natural elements as 'ergative actors' – underlined in the following lines:

> And now the STORM-BLAST came, and he
> Was tyrannous and strong;
> He struck with his o'ertaking wings,
> And chased us south along.
>
> With sloping masts and dipping prow,
> As who pursued with yell and blow
> Still treads the shadow of his foe,
> And forward bends his head,
> The ship drove fast, loud roared the blast,
> And southward aye we fled.
> (Part One, lines 41-50)

In this case, the group of interacting students embodied on stage the ergative personifications of "the ship" and "the storm-blast", thus spatializing and actualizing the poetic context. After viewing the students' physical-theatre representation, tourists were asked to describe their own emotional reactions to the performance – as in the following Extracts 2 and 3 in ELF provided by a non-native speaker of English (dots reproduce pauses in speech):

> *Extract 2:*
> "The students play the sailors and … identify themselves with the ship … they sit … very near … one after the other … on the floor … so they make the form of the ship … they … row row … row because want to escape from the storm … and another group of students play the storm in the form … like … a sort of big bird … they are really violent … they always push the ship to make … to capsize

> … another group of students also play the sea … against the ship … and block the movement of the sailors … they row and push and pull the students that play the sea … but they sit on the floor … and resist … don't want to move when the sailors … row them … I hear that … you know … when the sailors row and row their voice is … like very tired … they make effort when they shout the poem."

Then, the students themselves were requested to tell tourists, through their own variation of ELF, about their personal experience of embodiment of the ergative subjects in the poem, as in the following extracts:

> *Extract 3:*
> *A:* "STORM-BLAST is in capital letters … perhaps to evidence the … the enormous power that it has for the sailors … and is indicated with the pronoun 'he' … like a person."
> *B:* "but it's not a person … here it say 'He struck with his o'ertaking wings' it's like a bird … rapacious bird …. against the sailors."
> *C:* "all sailors become the ship … and they run away … the storm-blast. This is really very violent … the storm-blast 'roars loud' like a ferocious animal … the sailors are … terrified."
> *D:* "We were … very tired … without voice … because the verse was too long … no like the other that was short … and so our voice was tired like the sailors … that row and row."

A preliminary activity like this was meant to elicit in tourists an experiential readiness enabling them to emotionally identify themselves with the dramatic experience represented in the sea-voyage narratives.

At this point, tourists were deemed to be experientially ready to empathize with the migrants' journey reports, like the one reproduced in the following Extract 4[7] from an oral narrative in Nigerian Pidgin English (NPE) – an endonormative variety of English which is normally perceived as an ELF variation once Nigerian migrants land in Italy (Guido 2008). This oral narrative was organized into spontaneous lines, or 'ethnopoetic verses' (Hymes 2003), which are typical of autochthonous oral narratives. Each line is characterized by a rhythm that emphasizes the emotion underlying the narrated story and each is marked by an ergative personification of a natural element, in force-dynamic subject position (i.e., "sea", "waves", "wind", "water"), against which the migrants (identifying themselves with the 'boat' carrying them and, metonymically, with their own 'hands' frantically trying to bail the water out of the boat) have to fight for survival. This extract and the following one are first reported in their original NPE variant and then rendered into a specific variation of ELF. Such an ELF variation was in fact meant to reproduce the same rhythmical and syntactic patterns of the original

[7] The migrant's NPE reports reproduced in this article were collected and rendered into ELF by Maria Grazia Guido, the author of this section.

NPE narrative without retaining the typical syntactic features of this variety (e.g., the pre-verbal tense/aspect markers “bin”, “de”, “don”, or the plural marker “dem”). Such NPE features, in fact, may prove inaccessible to most of the international tourists and migrants taking part in this research project.

Extract 4: Ethnopoetic transcript[8]
di boat bin struggle struggle against di se:::a (.) .hh-heavy won night .hhh
[*the boat did struggle struggle against the sea, heavy, one night*]
di wave dem bin de ri::se (.) like tower, na cold cold o o =
[*The waves were rising like towers and they were cold, cold oh!*]
di b-boat bin sai::l against won stro::ng wind. .hhhh
[*The boat sailed against a strong wind*]
di se::a bin swe:::ll (.) bi::g big round di boat, =
[*the sea did swell big, big around the boat*]
di boat bin sink (.) heavy (.) and dee:::p o o. (..) .hhhh
[*the boat sank, heavy and deep!*]
di boat bin don fight di sea and di::ve = and fight (.) til i bin stop
[*the boat had fought against the sea and dived and fought till it stopped*]
>mek water cold cold bin break against di boat< .hhh
[*so that the water, so cold cold, broke against the boat*]
water don de kom for di boat every wie,
[*water started entering the boat from everywhere*]
no use di hand dem bin de throw dat water out, out, out, o o.=
[*it was no use that the hands were throwing that water out, out, out!*]

In this flashback sequence of actions in which the boat engages in a violent fight against the fury of natural elements, evidence of ancient ergative structures can be found in the personification of inanimate objects, such as the ‘boat’, and of the natural elements, which are precisely in grammatical, logical and psychological subject position within the ergative clauses (Halliday 1994) as if they were endowed with their own autonomous, dynamic force capable of destroying the human beings at their mercy. The Nigerian migrant’s account, thus, represents “water” in subject position eventually winning and starting to get into the boat (signalled by the inchoative past-markers *don de*), thus triggering the emotionally-charged action metonymically performed by the immigrants’ “hands” frantically trying to throw water out. Furthermore, the regular non-stressed/stressed iambic rhythm of the oral ethnopoetic verses, sometimes suddenly broken by a stressed/non-stressed trochee within the same line (as in the first iambic verse unexpectedly turned into a trochee with the stressed adjective “heavy” at the beginning of the phrase), reproduces the fast, irregular pulse of the

[8] Conversation symbols: [ ] → overlapping speech; underlining → emphasis; ° ° → quieter speech; (.) → micropause; (..) → pause; :: → elongation of prior sound; hhh → breathing out; .hhh → breathing in; > < → speed-up talk; = → latching.

migrants' heart overwhelmed with terror. To retain the same rhythmical effect of the original narrative in the ELF version, the NPE pre-verbal past-tense marker "bin" has been replaced by the past-simple auxiliary "did" in an inverted position within an affirmative clause, thus adding emotional emphasis to the narration:

˘ – ˘ – ˘ – ˘ ˘– ˘ –

di boat bin struggle struggle against di se:::a

˘ – ˘ – ˘ – ˘ ˘ – ˘ –

The boat did struggle struggle against the sea

What follows in the next Extract 5 is another ethnopoetic transcript of a Nigerian migrant's narrative which is, again, first transcribed in its original NPE variant, then, in this case, rendered for clarity into its Standard English version (between square brackets), and finally translated into a specific ELF variation respecting the original rhythm of its emotional account of events:

Extract 5: Ethnopoetic transcript:

˘ ˘ – ˘ – ˘ – – ˘ ˘ –˘ – ˘ – –

won old ship bin bo::ard os many many >na wahala every wie o<
[an old ship boarded us, too many, affliction was everywhere]

˘ ˘ – ˘ – ˘ – – ˘ ˘ – ˘ – ˘ – –

An old ship did board us many many, the affliction everywhere, oh

˘ – ˘ – ˘ – ˘ – ˘ – ˘ –

=di deck so:: so::: bin pack (.) di hold so so bin cra::m
[the deck was so packed and the hold so crammed]
˘ – ˘ – ˘ – ˘ – ˘ – ˘ –

The deck so so much packed, the hold so so much crammed

˘ ˘ – ˘ – ˘ – ˘ – – ˘

.hhh di ship wood bin sweat hh di hull bin (.) drip water
[the ship wood sweated, the hull leaked water]

˘ ˘ – ˘ – ˘ – ˘ – –˘

The ship wood did sweat, the hull did drip water

A shift from the initial iambus to a trochee occurs throughout the whole narrative, underlying the instability of the migrants' anguished emotions reflected in the pace of their breath and heartbeat as they narrate their sea-voyage. Only once is an initial trochee introduced in a shorter line marking the sudden passing of the time:

– ˘ ˘ – – ˘

.hh after won day journey

[After a day's journey]

– ˘ ˘ – – ˘

After one day's journey

˘ – ˘ ˘ – ˘ –

= di ship bin don shi::ver (.) o o (.)
[the ship had shivered!]

˘ – ˘ ˘ – ˘ –

The ship had then shivered, oh

˘ ˘ – – ˘ ˘ – – ˘ – ˘ –

no bi move possible (..) inside (.) mek di ship no turn (..)
[no movement was possible inside, not to make the ship turn]

˘ ˘ – – ˘ ˘ – ˘ – ˘ – ˘ –

Nor was move possible inside to make the ship not turn.

In reading and analyzing this sea-voyage narration, tourists, as well as migrants, were made aware of how, in its ergative clauses, the force-dynamic subject is embodied by the "ship" or, metonymically, by some of its parts. The focus in the clausal structure is in fact on the ergative-subject collocation of the "old ship" carrying too many migrants, whose emotional state is rendered by the Igbo term "wahala", a 'substratum loan-word' (Eze 1998) for 'affliction', perceived 'everywhere' on the ship. This feeling of anguish is underscored by the often reduplicated emphatic phoneme /o/, an Igbo/Yoruba emotional interjection. Also word reduplication is a 'substratum-loan structure' typical of Nigerian indigenous languages, transferred to NPE as an 'emotional intensifier' – e.g.: "many many", "so so", referred to the crowds of migrants on board, and "struggle struggle", to the ship's desperate fight against the rough sea. Reduplication contributes to speeding the pace of the ethnopoetic verses as it disrupts the regular iambic rhythm by adding more stressed syllables falling on the reduplicated words, thus conveying the effect of a frantic throbbing of the frightened migrants' hearts. The migrants' disquieting feeling at realizing that they were disregarding the actual capacity of the overcrowded old ship carrying them is embodied by the series of part-of-the-ship ergative personifications conveyed by a metonymic 'dissection' of the ship into its animate parts. In representing this, transitive verbs are used intransitively – e.g., the ship-deck that 'packed', the 'hold' that "so so" 'crammed' with people, despite the fact that the "ship wood" 'sweated', and the hull 'dripped water'. This is a characteristic of the original NPE report that is retained in its ELF version ("The deck so so much packed, the hold so so much crammed").

The emotional intensity of the migrant's sea-voyage narrative is then upgraded by the image of the migrants' collective identification with the ship in its 'epic' battle against the rough sea and its giant waves, transferring to the ship their own 'shivering' for cold and panic. In such a moment of utmost danger, the metre, in both the original NPE version and in its rendering into an equivalent ELF variation, loses its regularity by suddenly shifting from an initial anapest, followed by two stresses on the reduplicated word "many", emphasizing the migrants' deep sense of despair conveyed by the automatic switching to the native Igbo term "wahala":

˘ ˘ ¯ ˘ ¯ ˘ ¯ ¯

won old ship bin bo::ard os many many

to the regular iambic rhythm describing the suffering of the parts of the ship, to be disrupted again by the more rapid pace of the anapest in the next line.

Such ergative constructions and the rhythms of the migrants' sea-voyage accounts can be found also in classical epic narrative of the ancient Greek and Latin tradition which, like the migrants' oral narratives, report the earliest oral journey tales about the struggle of human beings against adverse natural elements. Such ancient epic narratives were then translated into an ELF variation not for artistic reasons, but to be accessible to non-native speakers by relying on analogies with modern migrants' journey narratives in ELF, while being respectful of the original metaphors and rhythms. These translations were then proposed mainly to migrants, in order to familiarize them with analogous sea-voyage narratives of the Western cultural heritage.

3. Step 2 – Ethnopoetic ELF translation and analysis of Ancient-Greek and Latin sea-voyage narratives

Step 2 of this project introduces an ethnopoetic ELF translation of epic narratives of sea-voyages[9] meant to *(a)* encourage Western tourists to revive their 'archetypal schemata' as seafaring voyagers who fought against the fierceness of natural elements and experienced extreme emotions personified in their narratives as animate subjects, as encoded in their community literary heritage – and *(b)* conveying such 'Western schemata' to non-Western migrants who shared the same experiences of crossing the Mediterranean sea to get to Italy. A hybrid variation of ELF was specifically devised in order to render classical journey narratives in translation in such a way as to be perceived as familiar and accessible by both interacting groups of tourists and

[9] The ethnopoetic translations from classical literature into ELF were carried out by Lucia Errico, the author of this section.

migrants, regardless of their being native or non-native English-speakers. At the same time, such a variation had to comply with the ethnopoetic ways of expressing the ergative representations of natural elements and the rhythms of the original epic verses. This entails that, in the case in point, ELF translations of Classical Greek and Latin languages (being themselves 'lingua francas' of the past) were not stylistically conceived for aesthetic effects, but were instead meant to retrace the ethnopoetic origins of epic narratives as oral reports of frightful sea-voyages so as to render them into the parallel ELF structures by which contemporary migrants express their own native oral accounts of shocking journey experiences.

In this specific case study, a comparative ethnopoetic analysis will therefore be carried out between the original texts drawn from Homer's *Odyssey* and Virgil's *Aeneid,* and their translation into ELF. The linguistic and narrative structures of sea-voyages of classic heroes like Ulysses and Aeneas represent in fact cognitive archetypes that have influenced the Western journey literature over the centuries, but they also find parallels in the shared experiential schemata of other non-Western populations.

Extract 6 under analysis is taken from Book XII of *Odyssey* and includes verses referred to the "Scylla and Charybdis" episode, as well as verses describing Ulysses who finds himself alone in the middle of the stormy sea. Such verses were selected as they show evidence of Homer's extraordinary ability to turn archetypal images of sailors exploring sea routes into new visions of places, events and characters in action (Merkelbach 1951, p. 205). In their long voyage across the Mediterranean sea, Ulysses and his companions reach the straits where Scylla and Charybdis, in subject position within the verses, personify the wild violence of the stormy sea, stressed by the fast pace of the hexameter. Scylla is a huge tidal wave personified as a six-head monster snatching sailors up (Pauly 1975); Charybdis is an enormous swirling vortex swallowing voyagers. It is a liquid abyss, a way to the afterlife (Carpenter 1958, p. 109) belonging to the fabulous world of sailors (Kerényi 1963, p. 41). In the original Ancient-Greek verses, such personifications of natural elements (not only Charybdis, the giant water vortex, and Scylla, the tidal wave, but also: Jove, the storm; the ship; the lightning; the waves; hands and feet, metonymically representing the agonizing sailors) are all represented as animate agents causing the reported terrifying events and, indeed, they are collocated in ergative subject position within the verse clauses, thus suggesting possible Proto-Indo-European origins of such oral journey narratives – ancient forms of sea-voyage tales still persisting in the classical literary tradition.

Furthermore, the metrical scanning of the hexameter stresses the emotional intensity of the events narrated in these ancient oral tales by applying the principle of 'recurrence', based on the repetition of figurative

images, tones and rhythms capable of emotionally charging the sense of narration, thus triggering in listeners empathic responses and greater mnemonic capacities. The ethnopoetic translation of these Ancient-Greek verses into ELF, which follows, is intended to render the original fast pace of the rhythm and the ergative personification of natural elements by diverging from the regular iambic rhythm of the narration through the unexpected introduction of the trochee, which stresses the first monosyllabic words in each ethnopoetic verse, thus reproducing the rapid pulse of the frightened sailors' thumping hearts. The repetition of the "and" conjunction speeds the rhythm up even more, stressing the voyagers' mounting terror.

> *Extract 6: Odyssey, XII – verses 234-239 and their ethnopoetic ELF translation*
> ἡμεῖς μὲν στεινωπὸν ἀνεπλέομεν γοόωντες:
> Then we entered the Straits in great fear of mind,
> ἔνθεν μὲν Σκύλλη
> because on the one hand was *Scylla*,
> ἑτέρωθι δὲ δῖα Χάρυβδις δεινὸν ἀνερροίβδησε θαλάσσης ἁλμυρὸν ὕδωρ.
> and on the other *dread Charybdis* kept sucking up the salt water.
> ἦ τοι ὅτ᾽ ἐξεμέσειε, ὑψόσε δ᾽ ἄχνη ἄκροισι σκοπέλοισιν ἐπ᾽ ἀμφοτέροισιν ἔπιπτεν:
> As *she* vomited it up, the spray reached the top of the rocks on either side.

In this passage it is possible to perceive Ulysses' feeling of terror, but also of sublime fascination for the δεινὸν (danger, misfortune) that he is experiencing (Stanford 1959, p. 413). The original description of the frightening "Charybdis scene" is subdivided into two phases (suction and regurgitation), marked by a sequence of three onomatopoeic verbs (Frisk 1970, p. 270), which are:

> 1) verse 236: the aorist ἀνερροίβδησε, from ἀναρροιβδέω, which means "swallow back", "suck down again", and deriving from ῥοῖβδος, which means "roaring noise";
> 2) verse 237: the iterative optative ἐξεμέσειε, from ἐξεμέω, "vomit forth", "disgorge";
> 3) verse 238: ἀναμορμύρεσκε, iterative of ἀναμορμύρω, "roar".

The Ancient-Greek iterative verbal forms reproduce precisely what Ulysses had previously been told about Charybdis by the sorceress Circe (verse 105) – namely, that Charybdis, three times a day, regularly vomited water up and three times every day "she" kept sucking it up. In the translation from Ancient Greek verses to ELF ethnopoetic verses, these three key verbs are rendered through two onomatopoeic verbs: "sucking up" and "vomited up". This is an emotionally-charged report by an eyewitness, Ulysses, a frightened report of what he can see (the foam, the boiling water, and the bottom of the

sea) which also evokes, through the use of onomatopoeic verbs, what he can hear (Elliger 1975, pp. 146-147).

> *Extract 7: Odyssey, XII – verses 244-249 and their ethnopoetic ELF translation*
> ἡμεῖς μὲν πρὸς τὴν ἴδομεν δείσαντες ὄλεθρον:
> While we were taken up with this, and were expecting each moment to be our last,
> τόφρα δέ μοι Σκύλλη γλαφυρῆς ἐκ νηὸς ἑταίρους
> Scylla pounced down suddenly upon us
> ἓξ ἕλεθ᾽, οἳ χερσίν τε βίηφί τε φέρτατοι ἦσαν.
> and snatched up my six best men,
> σκεψάμενος δ᾽ ἐς νῆα θοὴν ἅμα καὶ μεθ᾽ ἑταίρους ἤδη τῶν ἐνόησα πόδας καὶ χεῖρας ὕπερθεν ὑψόσ᾽ ἀειρομένων.
> and in a moment I saw their hands and feet struggling in the air as Scylla was carrying them off.

Suddenly Scylla, with her tentacles, snatches from the ship six sailors[10] while Ulysses cannot but look petrified and horrified at how she devours them (Merry, Riddell 1987, p. 254). Significantly, in the "Scylla and Charybdis" scene it is evident a change in style, first descriptive, then dramatic. Drama is conveyed by the narrative device of simultaneity: Scylla is suddenly snatching and devouring six sailors while Ulysses is spellbound at the frightening sight of Charybdis. Such a simultaneity creates a special effect of dramatic pathos and extreme tension (De Jong 2001, p. 304). Ulysses' tale focuses on the terrible death of his companions through the use of specific emotional markers:

> 1) verse 245: in Ancient Greek, the dative μοι represents an empathic marker functionally employed to emphasize Ulysses' affection for his men. In the ELF ethnopoetic translation here proposed, this empathic dative is rendered through the possessive adjective "my" ("my six best men");
> 2) verse 247: the aorist participle σκεψάμενος conveys a sudden dramatic effect, translated into ELF as "in a moment I saw", marking how Ulysses, as a viewer, suddenly realizes the tragic event;
> 3) verses 246-247: in the ELF translation, the repetition of the "and" conjunction at the beginning of each verse speeds up the rhythm, stressing the voyagers' mounting terror.

Extract 8 under analysis is drawn from Book III of Virgil's *Aeneid*, and it represents the happy ending to be desired after a frightening sea voyage of the kind analyzed before. In this extract in Latin (another 'lingua franca' of the ancient times), Virgil reports of Aeneas landing in Castrum Minervae, the

[10] Not coincidentally, perhaps, six is a typical number for casualties, recurring in episodes about death of friends or companions (Fränkel 1921, pp. 86-87; Griffin 1980, pp. 112-115).

ancient name of Castro, the seaside resort contextualizing the present research. Indeed, the correspondence among literary sources, topographic data and new archaeological discoveries seems to validate the hypothesis of Aeneas' landing in Castro where the temple of the Goddess Minerva was located. The arrival at Castro resembles in many ways the sailors' arrival to Utopia after a frightening sea voyage. The very description of Castrum Minervae is reminiscent of Thomas More's land of *Utopia*, welcoming voyagers in a personified crescent-shaped harbour with rugged coasts resembling two arms extended to embrace tired voyagers, like a protecting and reassuring friend.

> *Extract 8: Aeneid, III – verses 530-536 and their ethnopoetic ELF translation*
> *Crebrescunt optatae aurae portusque patescit*
> The wind we longed-for rises, a harbour opens,
> *iam propior, templumque adparet in arce Minervae.*
> as we near, a temple appears on Minerva's Height.
> *Vela legunt socii et proras ad litora torquent.*
> My companions furl sails and turn prows to shore.
> *Portus ab Euroo fluctu curvatus in arcum,*
> The harbour is carved in an arc by the eastern tides:
> *obiectae salsa spumant aspargine cautes;*
> its jutting rocks boil with salt spray and hide the bay:
> *ipse latet; gemino demittunt bracchia muro*
> towering cliffs extend their arms in a twin wall,
> *turriti scopuli, refugitque ab litore templum.*
> and the temple lies back from the shore.

This passage is characterized, in both its original Latin and ethnopoetic translation into ELF, by a cinematic quality due to a precise choice of terms reproducing the sequence of the sailors' perception changing while moving from far away to close up to the harbour of Castrum Minervae. From a distance, *portusque patescit* ("a harbour opens as we near"), and the temple *adparet* ("appears") while approaching. The harbour seems to be hidden within the coast behind *turriti scopuli* ("towering cliffs"), and the temple *refugit* ("lies back"). Also here, as in the *Odyssey* extract, personifications of natural elements recur: the force of the sea (*Euroo fluctu*, v. 533) fuelled by the wind that had carved out the harbour's shape; the harbour itself 'embracing' landing voyagers between the two foaming promontories battered by the waves that, like arms, rescue them.

Extract 9 is taken again from Book XII of *Odyssey* and refers to the episode in which Ulysses and his companions, after crossing Scylla and Charybdis, land on the island of the sun-god, Helios Hyperion. It is possible to identify dystopian elements in the stormy scene of the following verses (*Od*. 12, 403-421), when the tempest arises as soon as Ulysses and his comrades leave the island after having eaten Helios' sacred cows. In the

original Ancient-Greek verses, the personifications of natural elements and inanimate objects (i.e., the god Zeus, son of Cronus; the storm; the lightning; the waves; and the ship) are all represented as animate agents causing the tragic events or being affected by them. As such, they are in ergative subject position within the clauses, which may show evidence of the possible Proto-Indo-European roots of such oral sea-voyage narratives belonging to the Western classical literary heritage.

The topography of the sea in the classical literature, from Homer to Eratosthenes, mainly corresponds to the Mediterranean Basin (Angelini 2012, p. 49; Dilke 1985, pp. 33-36). The haunted *nostos* of seafarers, trying to go back to their Utopian home country by sea, in Homeric poetry, runs across obstacles along the Western Mediterranean routes, and indeed the aim of this analysis is also to enquire into the representation of the sea as a symbol of the limit, as a *limen* between life and death (Mondarini 2005). *Odyssey*'s Book XII narrates the last three adventures of Ulysses' *nostos* to Ithaca: two of them – the episodes of the Sirens and of Scylla and Charybdis – represent a small section (respectively 142-200 verses and 201-259 verses), whereas the third episode in Trinacria, is the longest one (304-453). Circe introduces these three episodes. The last accident in the sequence of events is the storm that wrecks Ulysses' ship, kills his companions and drags him towards Calypso's island, which is the end of his journey. These episodes reveal Ulysses' different perceptions of the sea, triggering in him feelings of bewilderment and dismay, of awe and pity, as evident in the following extract translated into an ELF variation which renders the original hexameter into an iambic rhythm that comes to be suddenly disrupted as the seafarers' emotions become more intense:

Extract 9: Odyssey, XII – verses 403-408/415-420 and their ethnopoetic ELF translation

ἀλλ’ ὅτε δὴ τὴν νῆσον ἐλείπομεν οὐδέ τις ἄλλη (403)

˘ – ˘ – ˘ – ˘ – ˘ – ˘

As soon as we were well far from the island

φαίνετο γαιάων, ἀλλ’ οὐρανὸς ἠδὲ θάλασσα,

˘ – ˘ – ˘ – ˘ ˘ ˘ – ˘ – ˘ – ˘ –

and no other land appeared, *and* only sky *and* sea were round our way

δὴ τότε κυανέην νεφέλην ἔστησε Κρονίων

˘ – ˘ ˘ – ˘ – ˘

then really the son of Cronus

νηὸς ὕπερ γλαφυρῆς, ἤχλυσε δὲ πόντος ὑπ' αὐτῆς.

– ˘ – ˘ – ˘ ˘ – ˘ – ˘ – ˘ – ˘ – ˘

raised a purple billow above our ship *and* waters clouded over.

ἡ δ' ἔθει οὐ μάλα πολλὸν ἐπὶ χρόνον αἶψα γὰρ ἦλθε

– ˘ – ˘ ˘ – – ˘ – ˘ –

She didn't run for a long time, as suddenly came

κεκληγὼς ζέφυρος μεγάλῃ σὺν λαίλαπι θύων.

˘ – ˘ – – – ˘ – ˘ ˘

the shouting West Wind, whirling furiously. […]

Ζεὺς δ' ἄμυδις βρόντησε καὶ ἔμβαλε νηὶ κεραυνόν: (415)

– ˘ ˘ – ˘ ˘ – ˘ –

Zeus then let fly with his thunderbolts,

ἡ δ' ἐλελίχθη πᾶσα Διὸς πληγεῖσα κεραυνῷ,

˘ ˘ – ˘ – ˘ –

and the ship went round and round,

ἐν δὲ θεείου πλῆτο,

˘ ˘ – ˘ – ˘ ˘ – ˘ – ˘

and was filled with fire as the lightning struck it.

πέσον δ' ἐκ νηὸς ἑταῖροι.

˘ – ˘ – ˘ – ˘ –

The men all fell into the sea.

οἱ δὲ κορώνῃσιν ἴκελοι περὶ νῆα μέλαιναν

˘ ˘ – ˘ – ˘ – ˘ ˘ – ˘ – –

Looking like so many sea-gulls about the black ship,

κύμασιν ἐμφορέοντο, θεὸς δ' ἀποαίνυτο νόστον.

˘ ˘ – ˘ ˘ ˘ – ˘ – ˘ ˘ ˘ – ˘ ˘ – ˘ ˘ –

they were dragged on the foaming billows: and the God took away their return.

This extract is a *topos* in the Homeric narrative: the sea-voyage report includes the characteristic features of the 'stormy scene', with the disquieting perception of the sea as a death omen (De Jong 2001). Such a dystopian

scene recurs in other powerful stormy scenes in the *Odyssey*.[11] In this case in point, the metrical scanning of the hexameter emphasizes the emotional strength of the narrated events by becoming faster, which is rendered into the ELF translation by moving from an initial regular iambic rhythm

˘ – ˘ – ˘ – ˘ – ˘ – ˘

As soon as we were well far from the island

to the abrupt introduction of a trochee stressing the first monosyllabic words to mark the start of an unexpected frightening event and to reproduce the fast pulse of the terrified sailors' thumping hearts,

– ˘ – ˘ – ˘ ˘ – ˘ –

raised a purple billow above our ship

to the assonance in a sequence of stressed monosyllabic words,

˘ – ˘ – – – ˘ – ˘ ˘

the shouting ***W****est* ***W****ind,* ***w****hirling furiously*

right up until the anapaest in two consecutive lines beginning with the conjunction "and" speeding the pace even more and emphasizing the seafarers' rising agony at realizing an impending tragic event:

˘ ˘ – ˘ – ˘ –

and *the ship went round and round*

˘ ˘ – ˘ –

and *was filled with fire*

In the original ethnopoetic lines of this extract, the narrative pace of the hexameter becomes faster, reflecting the seafarers' sense of impending threat which materializes through dreadful natural phenomena, such as foaming waves and smoke. The sea is represented as a dark surface with Ulysses' companions fallen in it as ash-coloured spots resembling seagulls (κορώνη, 418), in a striking tonal contrast between light and dark. The description of the scene is organized spatially and the fierce tempest is represented in all its phases: its approach (405-406); the wind rising (408); the waves breaking on the ship (417); the stillness following the storm (426-428).

The focus is on the fury of the wind: it appears in 409 and recurs in 425; in 420-425 the storm wrecks the ship with shocking violence. In this stormy scene, the presence of Zeus emphasizes the fact that it is not an

[11] By way of example, cf. in particular *Od.* 3, 286-300; 5, 279-493; 9, 67-73; 12, 312-17; 12, 403-25; 14, 301-15.

ordinary storm, but an expression of his wrath against Ulysses and his companions. The ethnopoetic rhythm of both the original and the translated verses (all but the last one starting with a stressed trochaic syllable, and two of them beginning with "and" underlying the sailors' increasing anguish), has a vital role in triggering in listeners the perception of nature as a living force, stressed by the personifications of the natural elements whose fury represents the cause of terror (Moulinier 1958, p. 101). Zeus himself is an ergative personification of "the storm" that breaks down with frightening violence, involving in its fury also the other ergative agents of the "lightning" striking the "ship" that "went round and round" till all the sailors fell into the sea.

Extract 10 presented to the two groups of migrants and tourists was drawn from Book III of Virgil's *Aeneid*, and it represents another stormy scene in which again the tempest becomes a personification of an agent that relentlessly tries to destroy human beings:

Extract 10: Aeneid, III – verses 192-197 and their ethnopoetic ELF translation
Postquam altum tenuere rates, nec iam amplius ullae
After the ship sailed, and the shores faded away,
adparent terrae, caelum undique et undique pontus,
and the sky was everywhere, and everywhere the sea,
tum mihi caeruleus supra caput adstitit imber,
on my head a burst of rain billowed
noctem hiememque ferens, et inhorruit unda tenebris. (195)
loaded with tempest, black as night, and every wave grew dark and furious,
Continuo venti volvunt mare, magnaque surgunt
while ruffling winds upset the sea, and huge waves
aequora; dispersi iactamur gurgite vasto.
grew; we were lost hurled over the swirling sea.

In this extract, the seafarers' experience of crossing the sea is represented in tones of fear and anguish and the monstrous natural phenomena suggest identification between sea and death. The extract, indeed, is one of the most compelling instances of sea as a 'no return' (Lindenlauf 2003) emphasizing the contrast between land and sea as opposing powers (Borca 2002). This epic scene illustrates the sea as a relentless boiling force (Angelini 2012, p. 55), as a cauldron, and the Messina Strait is represented as a dystopian place, a *locus horridus* in which the two worlds of humans and monsters are inextricably linked together through the personification of the Sirens as fatal bird-women enchanting sailors with their lethal chants, the Wandering rocks, Scylla, a semicanine man-eating monster (Hopman 2005; Sole 2000) and the hidden ravenous Charybdis. The scene culminates in the storm that typically represents the *transitus* from life to death.

Also in this extract, the ethnopoetic translation of the original Latin verses into ELF is meant to update the ancient metrical forms of the hexameter typical of classical epic narrative, to the iambic pentameter which

is closer to the rhythm of the modern journey narratives and thus it is assumed to be more accessible to different groups of tourists and migrants. Therefore, the objective of rendering Ancient-Greek and Latin narrative forms of classical 'lingua francas' into the contemporary rhythm of an ELF variation is to adapt such epic narrative forms to both tourists' and migrants' everyday modes of communication (Guido 2012; Lakoff, Johnson 1980, 1999) in order to prompt in them an emotional involvement. At the same time, the ELF variation employed in translation re-textualizes ancient journey narratives by complying with the semantic, syntactic and pragmatic structures of migrants' and tourists' native languages transferred to their uses of ELF in intercultural communication.

The intense emotional impact of the rhetorical technique employed makes sailors of the past, as well as migrants and tourists of the present times, all modern representations of the cognitive archetype of the traveller in search of Utopia, at the 'identity roots' of human beings. Reproposing such archetypal characters in ancient and modern sea-voyage narratives is intended as a means to guide both tourists and migrants through a process of internalization of the figures of Ulysses and Aeneas aimed at triggering in them emotional processes of empathy and identification with these classical heroes, and of experiential embodiment of such navigation tales. The ultimate objective is to help 'responsible tourists' experience solidarity with migrants and accept responsibility towards their destiny. In this context, the ethnopoetic translation of ancient classical verses into ELF is meant to update the classical form of the hexameter characterizing epic narrative, making it cognitively and culturally accessible to different groups of international tourists and migrants. In this sense, translating Ancient-Greek and Latin sea-voyage narratives entails transposing classical 'lingua francas' into contemporary ELF variations stylistically and structurally adapted to today's modes of communication (Guido 2012; Lakoff, Johnson 1980, 1999) so as to make tourists and migrants aware of the common experiences shared by ancient and modern, western and non-western populations that have produced such narratives and to prompt their emotional involvement. On the other hand, such ELF variation used in translation is made to comply with the pragmatic and conversational strategies that, in re-textualizing ancient journey narratives, refer to the specific semantic, syntactic and pragmatic structures of migrants' and tourists' native languages transferred to their use of English as a 'lingua franca' for international communication.

4. Step 3 – Multimodal re-textualization of ELF sea-voyage narratives in 'premotional' marketing

Step 3 focuses on another dimension of the re-textualization of ancient and modern sea-voyage narratives, which consists in rendering their dramatic images and frantic rhythms into a multimodal representation aimed at emotionally involving both responsible tourists and migrants, primarily for promotional purposes. More specifically, the Multimodal approach (Kress 2009) adopted at this stage is applied to the making of two videos[12] representing the prototypes for one of the creative activities planned in this Responsible-Tourism project. Video 1[13] is meant as a "multimodal composition" (van Leeuwen 2005) fulfilling both promotional and emotional (or *premotional*) aims. In it, the migrants' ethnopoetic verses from Extracts 4 in Step 1 are employed as captions to highlight mythical images, whereas some epic verses analyzed in Extracts 6, 7, and 8 in Step 2 are used as captions underlying the images of migrants' dreadful voyages through an interaction between acoustic, visual and textual elements. This blend of different modes of representation aims at underscoring the migrants' shocking experiences and, at the same time, promoting Responsible Tourism in Castro, viewed as a new Utopia of peace, hospitality and natural beauty. The "represented participants" in Video 1 (Kress, van Leeuwen 2006) – namely, modern migrants and sea-voyagers of the classical tradition – exemplify the integration between ancient and contemporary 'odysseys'.

This alternative 'premotional' marketing strategy for advertising Mediterranean seaside resorts focuses on the role of the receivers' emotions at the time of choosing their holiday destination, and the audiovisual dimension of this strategy is an essential part of the meaning making process (Kress 2009), as evident from its employment in several audiovisual translation studies (Chaume 2004; Díaz Cintas 2005; Iaia 2015; Perego, Taylor 2012). In this specific multimodal advertisement, images come from a re-enactment of *Odyssey* broadcast by *The History Channel*, from news videos about migrants reaching the Mediterranean coasts of Italy, and from a video of Castro available on *YouTube*. The dynamic alternation of real and mythical voyages, the use of a cinematic and musical score,[14] and the inclusion of selected verses from Homer's *Odyssey* and Virgil's *Aeneid*, along with the migrants' ELF narratives, are designed to help receivers

[12] The videos were created by Pietro Luigi Iaia, the author of this section.
[13] Video 1 can be watched at the following link: https://drive.google.com/file/d/0B8fqW19SmcjebmZqYmVFaDVNWDQ/view?usp=drive_web&pref=2&pli=1
[14] The musical score of this video is from the soundtrack of the movie *Requiem for a Dream*, by Darren Aronofsky (2000). It is entitled *Marion Barfs*, composed by Clint Mansell and performed by the Kronos Quartet.

(tourists and migrants) perceive the experiential similarities between epic voyages and dramatic migrations and attain the personal growth advocated by 'premotional marketing'.

The blending of emotional and promotional objectives, and of ancient and modern odysseys, is realized in extralinguistic terms thanks to the adoption of "narrative" and "conceptual" images. Narrative images represent "unfolding actions and events" (Kress, van Leeuwen 2006, p. 59) and mainly coincide in the premotional campaign with the enactment of Ulysses' sea-voyage. Conceptual images refer to modern migrations, conferring upon them a "generalized" and "timeless" essence (Kress, van Leeuwen 2006, p. 79). Table 1 illustrates the "multimodal composition" (Baldry, Thibault 2006) of the first part of the advertisement, and in particular the association between images in the visual frame and epic/ELF verses.

This first part of Video 1 introduces the dramatic tone of the scenes, regarding Ulysses' alarmed stance on the upcoming struggle against Scylla and the migrants' anguished stance on their hazardous journey in a rubber boat, desperately requesting help from the Italian Navy approaching them. The receivers' attention is attracted by the rapid movement from narrative to conceptual patterns, and by the fast cinematic pace and dramatic soundtrack that convey the traumatic experience represented in such ancient and modern odysseys. Switching from ethnopoetic verses from modern migrants' journey narratives – appearing as captions below images taken from the performed *Odyssey* – to epic verses from *Odyssey* and *Aeneid* translated into ELF – appearing as captions below the images of modern migrants crossing the sea – the structure of the video is also meant to activate in viewers an 'arousal/safety' emotional pattern driving them to watch the video till its end, when the promotional slogan appears.

	DESCRIPTION		VERBAL CAPTION	
VISUAL FRAME	Narrative	Conceptual	Epic verses	ELF accounts
	Cut to a thunderstorm and a night sky			The ship struggled against the heavy sea in the night
	Ulysses and his men are trying to keep the ship stable			The waves were rising like towers
		Cut to migrants on a rubber boat before being rescued	Then we entered the Straits in great fear of mind	

	After a vortex appear in the water, Ulysses is encouraging his men			The boat sailed against a strong wind
	Cut to one of Ulysses' men			The boat sailed against a strong wind
		The migrants in the rubber boat are rescued by the Italian navy	Scylla pounced down suddenly upon us	
		The migrants in the rubber boat are rescued by the Italian navy	And snatched up my six best men.	
		The migrants in the rubber boat are rescued by the Italian navy	I saw their hands and feet struggling in the air	

Table 1
Multimodal analysis of the first part of the premotional Video 1.

Table 2 below illustrates the multimodal construction of the second part of the advertisement, switching from images of migrants rescued by the Navy, to representations of Ulysses and his companions valiantly struggling against natural elements depicted as the monster Scylla, the tidal wave, and Charybdis, the huge swirling vortex, until they reach the anti-climax of such frantic scenes with the arrival of the boat in the safe haven of Castro.

	DESCRIPTION		VERBAL CAPTION	
VISUAL FRAME	Narrative	Conceptual	Epic verses	ELF accounts
	Cut to Ulysses, who is worried due to Scylla's attack			
	Scylla is approaching the ship			The boat sank, heavy and deep!

	Scylla is attacking one of Ulysses' men			
	Scylla is still attacking Ulysses' ship			Water started entering from everywhere
		An aerial view of Castro, with a calm sea		
		A view of one of the harbours of Castro	The harbour is carved in an arc by the Eastern tides	
		An aerial view of Castro	Towering cliffs extend their arms in a twin wall	

Table 2
Multimodal analysis of the second part of the premotional Video 1.

The rapid and unexpected cinematic switch from mythical to actual odysseys has been devised with the purpose of reproducing the speedy rhythm of the original narratives and attracting the receivers' attention to the mounting feelings of anguish and terror. The aim is to trigger in receivers an emotional response that should paradoxically produce a positive effect to the promotional effect of the video upon them. Such a positive promotional dimension is evident towards the end of the video, when the images of Castro are linked to the description – from Virgil's *Aeneid* – of a Utopian harbour that "is carved in an arc by the Eastern tides". These verses are no longer placed below the images but at the centre of the frame, and are followed by the slogan "Castro – the coast of Utopia".[15] Captions, in this video, represent an intersemiotic subtext guiding the receivers' interpretation – in fact, receivers do not perceive them as organized within the spatial and temporal constraints of conventional subtitles (Neves 2009) as they just underscore the sailors' emotional report to the tragic events that they are undergoing. To reproduce such reports 'graphically', a non-conventional font was selected, the *Brush Script MT*, as it is reminiscent of a handwritten account of the sailors' narratives. This relationship between emotional and promotional dimensions is illustrated in Table 3, where only the initial images that contain

[15] This slogan also introduces a cultural reference to one of Tom Soppard's recent plays, *The Coast of Utopia*.

the verbal captions are included, along with the indication of the time frame (in the "HH:MM:SS" format).

T	VISUAL FRAME	VERBAL CAPTION	DIMENSION
00 : 00 : 03		The ship struggled against the heavy sea in the night	Emotional
00 : 00 : 06		The waves were rising like towers	Emotional
00 : 00 : 12		Then we entered the Straits in great fear of mind	Emotional
00 : 00 : 20		The boat sailed against a strong wind	Emotional
00 : 00 : 31		Scylla pounced down suddenly upon us	Emotional
00 : 00 : 35		And snatched up my six best men.	Emotional
00 : 00 : 38		I saw their hands and feet struggling in the air	Emotional
00 : 00 : 45		The boat sank, heavy and deep!	Emotional
00 : 00 : 50		Water started entering from everywhere	Emotional

00:00:57		The harbour is carved in an arc by the Eastern tides	Promotional
00:01:02		Towering cliffs extend their arms in a twin wall	Promotional
00:01:09		CASTRO – THE COAST OF UTOPIA	Promotional

Table 3
Multimodal analysis of the relationship between emotional
and promotional dimensions in Video 1.

The second video here analyzed (Video 2) was designed by adopting a cognitive-functional (Langacker 2008) and multimodal (van Leeuwen, Jewitt 2001) approach, according to which the association between linguistic and extralinguistic "meaning-making resources" (Halliday 1978) aims at conveying the senders' illocutionary intentions, as well as at monitoring the receivers' reactions to the illocutionary effects of the video (Iaia 2015). Precisely, the multimodal composition of this video is devised to help tourists and migrants perceive the experiential similarities between ancient and contemporary dramatic sea-voyages so as to foster the 'personal growth' advocated by this alternative, premotional marketing strategy focusing on the role of the tourists' emotions at the time of choosing their holiday destination. Video 2 under examination portrays the dramatic experience of ancient and modern seafaring people crossing the sea in the middle of a furious storm, and realizes the blend of emotional and promotional objectives by using linguistic and extralinguistic features through a selection of specific visual and acoustic features. The images come from a re-enactment of *Odyssey* broadcast by *The History Channel*, from news reports about migrants reaching the Mediterranean coasts of Italy, and from a video of the Salento area available on YouTube. Also in this video, all of them belong to the categories of "narrative" and "conceptual" illustrations. The former type, which conventionally represents "unfolding actions and events" (Kress, van Leeuwen 2006, p. 59), coincides in the premotional campaign with the enactment of Ulysses' sea-voyage. The latter type, conceptual images, refers instead to modern migrations, again represented as "generalized" and "timeless" events (Kress, van Leeuwen 2006, p. 79). These features then interact with a cinematic and musical score composed by two themes, *Point of no Return* in the first part (Table 1), characterized by a regular rhythm

resembling an iambic verse, and *Epic Movie* in the second one (Table 2), starting with a beat that, like a trochee, reproduces the protagonists' sudden feeling of terror. Also the verbal dimension reflects the combination of epic and real migrations: a selected number of the migrants' ethnopoetic verse transcripts from Extract 5, as well as some epic verses from Coleridge's *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner* (analyzed in Step 1), Homer's *Odyssey* and Virgil's *Aeneid*, from Extracts 9 and 10 (analyzed in Step 2), are used as captions that underlie the association between the images of migrants' dreadful voyages and mythical odysseys. The video is composed of three parts: the introduction (00:00:00 – 00:00:06) represents the moments before the storm; the central part (00:00:06 – 00:00:48) depicts the tragic experience of migrants; in the final section (00:00:48 – 00:01:04) Ulysses and two migrant women who survived the storm look back in despair, before showing the calm sea of Salento, which is connoted as a place of hope and relief.

Table 4 illustrates the multimodal composition of the first part of the advertisement:

IMAGE DESCRIPTION			VERBAL CAPTION	
Visual frame	Narrative type	Conceptual type	Epic verses	ELF accounts
An old ship boarded us, too many		Migrants are on a crowded ship		An old ship boarded us, too many
The deck was so packed and the hold so crammed		The migrants' ship starts to teeter		The deck was so packed and the hold so crammed
And now the 'STORM-BLAST' came	Cut to night sky illuminated by the lightning		And now the 'STORM-BLAST' came	

Table 4
Multimodal analysis of the first part of the premotional Video 2.

The dramatic tone of the premotional campaign is evident from the very beginning of the video, as the crowded ship crosses the sea. The verbal captions stress the epic nature of the migrants' journey: they are in open water on an "old ship" carrying "too many" voyagers, who are about to face the dreadful situation revealed in the second part of the video. The music changes, passing from a calm to a rhythmic soundtrack, thunder is audible in the background, and the narrative illustration of a storm starts with lightning illuminating the night sky. Also the caption with a line from Coleridge's poem in the middle of the visual frame is meant to underscore the sudden appearance of the tempest. Furthermore, the receivers' attention is attracted

by the rapid movement from narrative to conceptual patterns, and by the fast cinematic pace and dramatic soundtrack that convey the traumatic experience represented in such ancient and modern odysseys. Indeed, the switch from modern migrants' journey narratives to Coleridge's poem should activate in viewers an 'arousal/safety' emotional pattern driving them, also in this case, to watch the video till its end, when the final promotional slogan appears, marking an anti-climax.

Table 5 examines the multimodal construction of the second and third parts of the campaign, where Ulysses and his companions valiantly struggle against natural elements such as the storm and the strength of the sea making the migrants' ship capsize.

IMAGE DESCRIPTION		VERBAL CAPTION		
Visual frame	Narrative type	Conceptual type	Epic verses	ELF accounts
	The thunderstorm continues		And he was tyrannous and strong	
	Ulysses' ship is crossing the stormy sea		Suddenly came the West Wind whirling furiously	
	Ulysses and his men are trying to keep the ship stable			No movement was possible inside
	Ulysses' ship is capsizing			not to make the ship turn
		The migrants' ship is capsizing	The ship went round and round	
	Ulysses' ship is being destroyed			The ship struggled against the rough sea
	Cut to the stormy sea		And every wave grew dark and furious	

And the men fell into the sea		The migrants' ship has capsized	And the men fell into the sea	
And only sky and sea were around us	After the storm, Ulysses stares at the sea, hopeless		And only sky and sea were around us	
And only sky and sea were around us		Two migrant women stare at the sea, hopeless	And only sky and sea were around us	

Table 5
Multimodal analysis of the second and third parts of the premotional Video 2.

The rapid and unexpected cinematic switch from mythical to actual odysseys was devised with the purpose of reproducing the speedy rhythm of the original ethnopoetic narratives and attracting the receivers' attention to the mounting feelings of anguish and terror. This multimodal structure also emphasizes the tone of the final part of the video, producing a schematic opposition between the second and third segments, when the sea of Salento is associated with a safe haven, or a Utopian land of hope and relief. These metaphorical connections are visually rendered by the 'fade out to white' effect, which entails the end of a nightmare, and acoustically supported by a more relaxing soundtrack. The real sound of the sea evokes the end of the dangerous event and the arrival at a safe harbour, and should paradoxically trigger in receivers an emotionally positive response to the promotional effect of the video upon them. This positive promotional dimension is then emphasized by the slogan "SALENTO – Look back in relief", which introduces a cultural reference to John Osborne's play *Look back in anger*. Also captions become an essential semiotic resource (Neves 2009), since they underscore the sailors' emotional report of the tragic events that they are undergoing. To reproduce such a report 'graphically', the non-conventional font of the *Brush Script MT* was again selected, as it is reminiscent of handwritten notes of the sailors' narratives.

To conclude, the relationship between the emotional and promotional dimensions is illustrated in the following Table 6, where only the initial images that contain the verbal captions are included, along with the indication of the time frame (in the "HH:MM:SS" format).

T	VISUAL FRAME	VERBAL CAPTION	DIMENSION
00:00:01		An old ship boarded us, too many	Emotional
00:00:03		The deck was so packed and the hold so crammed	Emotional
00:00:07		And now the ‘STORM-BLAST’ came	Emotional
00:00:09		And he was tyrannous and strong	Emotional
00:00:13		Suddenly came the West Wind whirling furiously	Emotional
00:00:17		No movement was possible inside	Emotional
00:00:21		not to make the ship turn	Emotional
00:00:25		The ship went round and round	Emotional

00:00:30		The ship struggled against the rough sea	Emotional
00:00:36		And every wave grew dark and furious	Emotional
00:00:42		And the men fell into the sea	Emotional
00:00:48		And only sky and sea were around us	Emotional + Promotional
00:00:52		And only sky and sea were around us	Emotional + Promotional
00:00:55		SALENTO – Look back in relief	Promotional

Table 6
Multimodal analysis of the relationship between emotional and promotional dimensions of Video 2.

5. Concluding remarks: retrospects and prospects

This article has illustrated the current stage of an on-going experiential-linguistics research project on the marketing of responsible tourism to be applied to seaside resorts in Southern Italy affected by the mass arrivals of migrants, which deters tourists from choosing these locations for their holidays. The project intends to promote an intercultural model of responsible tourism by combining both promotional and emotional (*premotional*) place-marketing strategies through activities that encompass the production of

multimodal videos as well as the implementation of cultural activities of narrative data collection, ethnopoetic analysis and translation carried out by tourists and migrants together acting as ethnographers, philologists, and video-makers. The aim is the integration of tourists and migrants who share the same cultural roots as seafaring peoples and allowing each other to learn about their respective ancient and modern sea-voyage narratives. This can be possible through the use of an accessible variation of English as a 'lingua franca' employed for intercultural communication, as well as for the translation of classical epic sea-voyage narratives so as to disclose their rhythmical and structural similarities with the modern migrants' oral journey reports organized into ethnopoetic verses.

The ultimate research aim is to monitor tourists' emotions and behaviours after experiencing responsible tourism in order to: *(a)* increase attractiveness of the destination for tourists; *(b)* tackle prevailing views of tourism as recreation and lack of commitment or, worse, as morbid curiosity about migrants' landing places; *(c)* encourage tourists to return to the southern resorts of the Mediterranean sea, which today is considered as the 'largest cemetery in Europe' because of the many tragic migrant boat sinkings; *(d)* expand tourists' empathic understanding of today's migration experience situating it within a cultural context that goes back to the ancient and glorious epic literature about odysseys across the Mediterranean sea.

Findings of this research may be of help to marketing practitioners in the touristic sector in many ways. Indeed, understanding the effects of multimodal videos on both tourists and migrants can be useful to increase cultural integration, thus reducing potential negative stereotypes associated to seaside Mediterranean resorts affected by migrants' mass arrivals. Therefore, the cultural and social effects expected in the marketing plan could be met through such an experiential-linguistic approach. Indeed, private or public players in the tourist sector (e.g., hotels or institutions) may use the cultural activities proposed in this research, such as videos developed after journey-narrative analysis and translation, to promote their places and have both tourists and migrants share the same emotions, through the use of English as 'lingua franca'. Thus, insights from the present research could be used by seaside resorts to improve their relationship with current tourists and attract new ones by developing an image associated with responsible tourism. Interestingly, this approach would point out a new way for the development of sustainability in tourism marketing. In particular, the social dimension of sustainability would be strengthened, allowing marketers to combine social responsibility, cultural integration, and tourism development. Therefore, instead of being perceived negatively, the presence of migrants could be managed as an added value of the seaside resorts. The presence of migrants, rather than discouraging tourists from choosing these locations for their

holidays, would increase the image of such places associating them to social sustainability, history, emotions, and creativity. Through the development of marketing tools capable of emphasizing the opportunity of experiencing integration with migrants as a way to grow personally and culturally, tourists could play the role of 'intercultural mediators' between local residents and migrants. In particular, emotional marketing would play a central role. The opportunity to better understand today's migration situations and stories could activate, in tourists, a particular empathic feeling, thus developing a unique image for the seaside places. A responsible tourism image, based on the integration of people from different cultures but with similar roots, could be strategically promoted. Moreover, the marketing tools analyzed in this research would also help to emotionally engage both tourists and migrants through the ancient epic literature related to the Mediterranean sea, thus contributing to the 'promotion' of epic narratives from classical literature. Methodology and insights from this research conducted on the Italian Southern cost may be applied to other seaside resorts in the Mediterranean that are interested in integrating tourists with migrants.

Bionotes: Maria Grazia Guido is Full Professor of English Linguistics and Translation at the University of Salento, where she is also Director of the Interfaculty Language Centre, of the Masters Course in 'Intercultural and Interlingual Mediation in Immigration and Asylum Contexts', and of the International Ph.D. Programme (with the University of Vienna) in 'Modern and Classical Languages, Literatures and Cultures'. Her research interests are in cognitive-functional linguistics applied to ELF in intercultural communication and specialized discourse analysis.
Lucia Errico is Ph.D. Candidate of the Doctoral Programme in 'Modern and Classical Languages, Literatures and Cultures' at the University of Salento, conducting her research within an international cotutelle agreement with the Albert-Ludwigs-Universitat of Freiburg. She has held a research contract with the University-of-Salento Project on "'Made-in-Apulia' Luxury Marketing and Responsible Tourism" co-funded by the CariPuglia Foundation. Her research interests and publications focus on the identification of cognitive archetypes in Ancient-Greek myths and on the representation of Utopian places in classical epic narratives and their translation into ELF.
Pietro Luigi Iaia is Adjunct Professor and Researcher of English Linguistics and Translation at the University of Salento. He holds a Ph.D. in English Linguistics applied to Translation Studies from the same University. His research interests focus on the cognitive-semantic, pragmatic and socio-cultural dimensions of multimodal translation, and on ELF variations in cross-cultural audiovisual discourse and computer-mediated communication.
Cesare Amatulli is Assistant Professor of Marketing at the University of Bari, Italy. He has been Visiting Professor at LUISS University, Italy, and Visiting Researcher at the Ross School of Business, University of Michigan, USA, and at the University of Hertfordshire, UK. He has published in major international peer-reviewed academic journals, such as the *Journal of Business Research* and *Psychology & Marketing*.

Authors' addresses: mariagrazia.guido@unisalento.it; luciaerrico3@gmail.com; pietroluigi.iaia@unisalento.it; cesare.amatulli@uniba.it

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ELF AND LINGUISTIC ACCESSIBILITY IN EU MIGRATION LAWS
A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS ON TEXT REFORMULATIONS

MARIAROSARIA PROVENZANO
UNIVERSITÀ DEL SALENTO

Abstract – The present study examines a corpus of legal texts from the EU regarding Immigration and Political Asylum, that refer to the administrative practices and the procedures for claiming asylum, which involve immigrants and asylum seekers between the European Member States. At the core of the study, there is the awareness that these specialized text-types are mainly built on pragmatic strategies which mainly reflect Western routines. Such an issue is thus thought to be the main cause of misunderstandings between the EU and the mediators and the migrants, especially in terms of the ELF dynamics that are involved in the legal processes of discourse interpretation. Hence, the need to activate processes of hybridization in the form here of written reformulations, aimed at making the texts more accessible (Widdowson 1979) to the empirical receivers of the documents. As for the methodology, a Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough 1995) is applied in order to point out the possible incongruities of the original statements, and thus to propose new reformulations.

Keywords: ELF variations; power asymmetry; simplification strategies; CDA.

1. Introduction

The present contribution aims at presenting some case studies based on specialized textual genres in ELF (English as a lingua franca), with the objective of directing the attention of intercultural mediators and towards specialized uses of the language in professional domains. The interest arises from the need to reconsider specific contexts in the European context, especially in the legal and in the economic fields, in which claims of normative, socio-cultural and juridical character may create conflict at the interpretative level (Guido 2008; Provenzano 2008), and hence, need new processes of adaptation in relation to the context and the expectations of the assumed interlocutors, i.e. immigrants and asylum seekers.

The hypothesis at the basis of the study is that of a 'power asymmetry', that is reflected in the language practices of the EU, wherein the concept of accessibility to specialized-legal concepts is allowed only through shared interpretations of the norms. However, this process may be actualized only by

experts in the field, at the detriment of non-experts, who would be the potential receivers of the laws. The objective is, thus, to focus the attention on: (a) an analysis of the specialized interactions that govern also from a sociological viewpoint, the contact between the participants in the interactions; and (b) a specific focus on the pragmatic modalities of the interaction, which are here only limited to the written mode. Among the discourse fields, there is that of cohesion, in its different forms and functions, that in the specific field of the EU may help create institutional relationships, regarding, for instance, the EU – Member States' positions.

Thus, it is relevant to analyse the role of specific deictic elements, that have the function of: a) representing the institutional relations at hand; b) verify accessibility of the texts to communities of migrants speaking different variations of ELF; and c) considering translation problems of Community texts, including, where needed, equivalence. There will be examples of original texts in English, concerning the right of asylum, and of their translation into Italian, so as to consider the problem of equivalence and the actual reception of the reformulated texts.

2. Linguistic and pragmatic features in the EU legal texts

2.1. Theoretical frame: models

The aim of the present section is to focus on the main aspects of the theoretical linguistic models, by applying them to the analysis of the European legislation concerning Immigration and asylum. In particular, the focus shall be on the model by de Beaugrande and Dressler (1981), that is needed to define the parameters at the basis of the legal communication in the EU, and verify the texts'accessibility in an intercultural perspective. In the description of the theoretical framework, the focus shall be on the textual parameters of cohesion and coherence, and on the ways the textual choices may represent the sense of the dialogic relationships between the EU institutions and the Member States.

The main assumption of the study is that the clarity of the exposition of the laws is at the basis of the success of the interactions; another communicative aspect to be considered is that of the coincidence between the intentionality level and the perlocutionary effect of the stances. In this respect, the theoretical models of reference are: Halliday (1994), that is applied to the CDA (Fairclough 1995), to consider the pragmatic aspects of the analysis. To this model it is added de Beaugrande and Dressler (1981), in order to focus on the textual coherence, referred to the socio-cultural identity of the individual speakers; finally, the model by van Dijk (1980), which

introduces rules of reformulation, aiming at a practical and functional rendering of the legal argument.

2.2. Critical Discourse Analysis

Among the models at the basis of this study is Halliday's grammar, that is considered from the perspective of ideological relationships between the EU, on the one hand, and the Member States, on the other, and the migrant communities. This approach is meant to identify the textual strategies enacted by the European institutions, to realize a covert approach in the drafting of the legal writing, and to cover responsibility in the production of a legal text. Finally, also the possible divergences with the implied receivers' schemata are taken into account.

A functional analysis is thus relevant to the contextualization of the legal texts, and to specify competences also at the practical level of the Member States'national borders.

2.3. 'Schema Theory' and ELF

In this section, the focus is placed on another theoretical model, 'Schema Theory' (Carrell *et al.* 1988), which is explained here specifically with reference to the activation of the comprehension processes enabling interactions in ELF (English as a lingua franca). The two kinds of processes are: *top-down* and *bottom-up,* and they are considered here of importance either to the analysis of the European legal texts in ELF, and to the exploration of the interpretative processes linked to the discourse level. What these processes are, their validity and application to the analysis will be the specific elements of the theoretical section. The *top-down* process concerns the personal knowledge of the reader/text receiver and his/her potentialities of understanding the text content; thus, it regards the socio-cultural background of the text interpreter, and what determines his/her personal interpretation of the world.

ELF is here used to indicate the processes by which non-native speakers of English reflect in the language they use particular features of their first language, and how these transferred practices may be revealed through a Critical Discourse Analysis. Through this process, it will be possible to comprehend the speaker's stance (Hyland 1991), and to see the problems inherent in the linguistic contact. By '*bottom-up* process' it is here made reference to the textual structures and to the pragmatic sense of the utterances. It is thought that applying such processes enables comprehension in an ELF context, particularly in the legal context, where a text acquires the status of a specialized text to be analysed on the basis of these procedures.

From this perspective, also the standard of ‘cohesion’ will be considered in the following section, as this is instrumental to the comprehension (one focus is specifically placed on pronouns and textual referents, because these represent some empirical entities that may only be comprehended through a contextual knowledge).

2.4. Standards of textuality- de Beaugrande and Dressler

Following the preceding section, the attention is placed here on *reference* and on the parameters of specialized discourse by Gotti (2005) that are used here for the analysis. *Reference* is meant here as the extensive area of pronominal forms and substitutes, which are included in deixis (cf. de Beaugrande and Dressler 1981, pp. 48-110). One of the main limits of reference is in its textual representation, and in its effects on the socio-cultural identity of the empirical receivers, who should access the legal documents. These aspects of the reference will be deeply analysed in the following sections, by providing examples of the original sentences and of the intra-lingual process of translation (Gotti 2005). In this perspective, also the parameters of ‘acceptability’ and ‘intertextuality’ are considered in a multicultural dimension. Finally, presuppositions are also at the basis of the analysis, and are associated to Grice’s maxims (1975), in the sense of the ‘quality’; ‘manner’ and ‘relation’.

3. Analysis

In this section the main legal texts from the EU corpus are considered from a pragmalinguistic viewpoint, that is the Schengen Convention (1985), the Dublin Regulation (2003), as these are meant to represent some of the main European textual sources used to regulate migrations among the Member States. As it was introduced in the previous sections, the need to focus and understand the lingua franca uses is correlated in this context to the use of English for legal purposes within the space of the EU. Mostly, the focus is on the intra-lingual, not an interlingual process because of the need to understand specialized lexis and complex structures. Let’s see the most relevant examples and how to analyse them.

3.1. Aspects of the Schengen Convention

Among the relevant examples of text from the Schengen Convention (1985), the focus is specifically on the ones that are relevant for understanding the matters of ‘borders’ within the territory of the EU.

> "Written information provided by *the requested* Member State may not be used by *the requesting* Contracting Party".[1]

The above paragraph stimulates a reflection upon the signification process of the Schengen document, in order to identify the real participants in the interaction. As previously stated, some structures in the text are pointed out to signify the specificities of the Western routines applied to this domain of the EU discourse, and which are practically taken to represent a potential cognitive gap in the interaction process with the migrants. The reference is to the implicit passive "the requested", to be translated into Italian as "lo Stato Membro a cui inoltrare la richiesta d'asilo", which represents a peculiarity within this non-standard variety of English used by the EU authorities. The real subject cannot be easily recovered, if not through a process of contextualization. This process of recovery is in fact representative of the so-called process of *gatekeeping* (Roberts and Sarangi 1999), enquiring into the dynamics of institutional communication. It is possible that cases of miscommunication in this field may happen and this is not due to the socio-cultural 'incompetence' of the interlocutors, but rather to the lack of clarity of the illocutionary force of the message (Sperti 2014). The example previously reported, "the requested Member State", is relevant both in the interpretation, because of the intransitive sentence in the passive, and in the translation process into Italian. In this specific occurrence, the passive that is implicit may determine the inaccessibility of the information, and thus requires contextualization on the part of the reader to make sense of the laws.

3.2. Other aspects of the Schengen text: the lexical case of 'setting the borders'

One of the main aspects of the Schengen text is represented by the lexical issue of the common borders, and the abolition of checks at the common borders of the Member States, as it is evident from this quotation "the *gradual* abolition of checks at the Member States' common borders".

As for the syntactic analysis, represented by the pre-modification, also the lexical case is concerned with concepts of political rather than geographical connotation. The analysis is, thus, based on the identification of the discourse strategies that are applied and that search for the compromise between the freedom of commerce and movement among the Member States, and the implementation of security measures. The two constructs of

[1] From the official text of the Schengen Convention, art. 39 (par. 2).

'coherence' and 'cohesion' are thus investigated here, to see how the coherence is textually built, and how these texts are made accessible to non-experts. In the following sections, it is provided an example from a cognitive linguistic analysis of some of the salient concepts from the text of the Convention.

3.2.1. Lexical Analysis of Schengen

This is a key example connected to "borders" that is to say the distinction between "internal and external borders" as arbitrarily defined by EU lawyers in the continual semantic evolution of terminology. Below is the entire quote of article 1 of Schengen.

> "(from Art. 1) "internal borders: shall mean the common land borders of the Contracting Parties, their airports for internal flights and their sea ports for regular ferry connections exclusively from or to other ports within the territories of the Contracting Parties and not calling at any ports outside those territories;
> external borders: shall mean the Contracting Parties land and sea borders and their airports and sea ports, provided that they are not internal borders; (…)
> internal flight: shall mean any flight exclusively to or from the territories of the Contracting Parties and not landing in the territory of a third State;
> border crossing point: shall mean any crossing point authorised by the competent authorities for crossing external borders;
> border check: shall mean a check carried out at a border in response exclusively to an intention to cross that border, regardless of any other consideration." [my emphasis]

The main issue to consider is to what extent are these basics accessible to potential recipients of the texts i.e. the immigrants as well as legal advisors, in identifying the crucial role of the two States involved in the negotiation process of a document (for example a resident permit). As revealed above the idea is to evaluate the value of linguistic signals for example the illocutionary function within the communicative context. The identifying markers found in the Preamble of the Convention are prevalently deictic (as in the example *those* territories) and in applying the CDA, require an effort from the point of view of identifying the coherence and cohesion, which will be addressed later, during the process of receiving the document. Instead of favouring the legal and political relevance in the definition of borders, the authors of the law opt for references which are both vague and extensive as demonstrated in the example of the definition of external borders. For 'external borders' it is understood that "land and sea borders of the contracting States, as well as airports and land ports with the exclusion of internal borders."

In the following paragraphs, when selecting extracts relevant to requests for asylum other key aspects come to light in their vagueness

regarding the subject of Schengen. The example is taken from art.25 examining the case of a foreigner, called alien (foreign/extraneous) in the law, and refused entry to European territory on the part of European authorities.

Also article 30, paragraph 1 point d), demonstrates the same ambiguity in relation to the concept of "external borders."

In the extract above, negotiation takes place on the basis of geopolitical markers, with pre -modified categories, which distinguishes the category of borders, as geographical and political areas in the representation of occurrences: in this case, the pre-modifier external becomes the key marker in the assigning of responsibility in the matter of requesting asylum.

A reformulation of the key paragraphs of the Convention is repeated in one of the following sections, with particular reference to the definition of "external borders" finalizing the analysis with a re-fulfillment of the Convention, in respect to the cognitive and socio cultural parameters of the interlocutors. It is in fact here that van Dijk's model (1980) is applied in order to make the text more accessible and then tested out on migrants in order to verify its accessibility as in the following example:

> "d) If the Schengen States exempt the asylum seeker from the visa requirement, it is responsible the Schengen State across whose external borders the seeker entered the territory. External borders are the Schengen State frontiers bordering a non-Schengen State.
>
> Until harmonisation of visa policies is fully achieved, and if only some Schengen States exempt the asylum seeker from the visa requirement, comma d) shall apply. Provisions a), b) and c) shall hold as well." [my emphasis]

3.3. The Dublin Regulation

Another legal document which is used by the EU when an application for asylum is lodged is the Dublin Regulation (2003). Similar to Schengen, in the following section key parts shall be considered in order to make "visible" (Giddens 1981), certain discourse practices or socio pragmatic routines of the Regulation, such as discourse manipulation of legal terms. Furthermore the hypothesis behind the basis of the analysis is through the realization of institutionalized language, in other words an interlocution between the EU on the one side and the Member States on the other. The aim therefore, is to highlight the pragmatic effects as defined on a linguistic level, through a choice of texts and then to underline the results of the fieldwork.

Extract from art.2 paragraph (c) of the Regulation:

> "application for asylum' means the application made by a third-country national which can **be understood** as a request for international protection from a Member State, under the Geneva Convention. "**Any** application for international protection **is presumed to be** an application for asylum" unless a third-country national explicitly requests another kind of protection that can be applied for separately". [my emphasis]

The sentence "any application for international protection is presumed to be an application for asylum" is also analyzable as it diminishes the maxim of quality (Grice 1975), and does not present the key information until the end of the sentence. An equivalent translation in Italian could be "può essere considerata". The choice of the passive is a symptomatic choice of the speaker, and is enriched by related processes (Halliday 1994). The noun phrase "is presumed to be" can be analyzed in the form of closure/ elision of the information as can also be seen in the perspective of Appraisal Framework (Martin and White 2005). Pragmatic choices of this type can be also relevant because written texts are analyzed here, thus revealing a sense of manipulation of the perception of the recipient, that is important from two points of view. The first is connected to the translation itself of the noun phrase is presumed to be, into the equivalent Italian register, in which the passive can be rendered as "può essere considerata", therefore moderating the phrase in the interlocutory range by means of a possibility modal, typically found in conventional legal discourse. The equivalence, nevertheless, is pragmatic not semantic in that in the original the vagueness is emphasized in the asserting sharpness of the idiomatic phrase is presumed to be. In a second instance the entire paragraph is contextually vague, also for the concurrence of the indefinites *any* or *a* and the absence of the agent in the process principle. On this basis, the ideological nature of the information is defined, and left unexplained, if not analysed.

In synthesis, it is therefore important to notice the depersonalization of European legal discourse in the written context and as a consequence, to consider the use of these locutions of the passive and their pragmatic effects, also in the range of spoken discourse. A mechanism of reversibility of phrasal construction is the basis of the nature of the relational process and can determine the vagueness in specialist discourse together with the need to identify the subject "any application" in the role of process identifier. (Halliday 1994).

More technically, reversibility is linked to the choice of the active/passive voice in the text (Guido 2004, p. 211) and has ideological implications. Indeed, the effect of the contextual use of the passive is also a disclaimer. It is then worth to point out here some implications of the choice of the passive in the legal writing of the EU in the perception of ELF: mainly, it is taken to be a possible drawback to the interpretation of the prescription, if it's uttered in the context of contact between the European drafters and non-Western receivers such as asylum seekers and immigrants.

The vagueness of the discourse is also determined by adverbial choices that codify the statement on the withdrawal of an asylum application, and they therefore propose exclusive choices as in the following paragraph:

> "withdrawal of asylum application means the actions by which the applicant for asylum terminates the procedures initiated by the submission of his application for asylum, in accordance with national law, either *explicitly* or *tacitly*".

This final extract is concerned with a legal argument which is of crucial importance when entering Community territory – the residence document/resident permit – and it is interesting to analyze both for the content type and for the paragraph structure and finally for the open ended interest of the interlocutors, namely, the asylum applicants. In fact, the Regulation, in contrast to the Schengen Agreement, addresses political asylum seekers and not economic migrants. Therefore, in terms of speech analysis, two sources can be compiled, and their similarity or difference may be evident. The extract is built on the basis of arbitrary terminology, as defined by the construction "any authorization", "temporary protection arrangements", as well as consistent repetition of actions as stressed by the Member States, also emphasized with the use of non finite verb forms (authorizing).

3.3.1. Dublin Regulation – Reformulation

On the basis of the above arguments, an intra-linguistic translation process seems necessary (Gotti 2005, p. 205), which proposes a new formulation of the preceding paragraphs based on specific rules of reformulation. Article 9 follows the key aspects of the law as they relate to the responsibilities of the Member States in screening an asylum application, together with a rewording of the paragraph, from a formal version to a more informal register. Such a process of discourse change is considered fundamental in the interpretation of the complex dynamics of the legal texts comprehension, and the following paragraphs are considered as examples, or models, of ELF reformulation. Thus, reformulation appears as a good strategy for making complex or difficult text-types more accessible to a non-expert audience. The suggestions by students of a course in Intercultural Communication from the University of Salento are considered of extreme help towards this achievement.

> "If the asylum seeker is in possession of a valid residence document, the Member State which issued the document shall be responsible for examining the application for asylum. If the asylum seeker is in possession of a valid visa, the Member State which issued the visa shall be responsible, unless the State issued the document on behalf or on the written authorisation of another State. In that case, this Member State shall be responsible for examining the application for asylum. Consultation doesn't represent 'written authorisation' within the meaning of this provision."

Among the main changes made to the original document is that of emphasizing the transition from a formal conjunction where to if, and a

different representation of the relationship between Member States in the form of two divided paragraphs. In the relationship between translation and reformulation, there are different degrees of variation, the proportion of which can change depending on the interests and the culture of the recipients that determine the changes. Therefore, one cannot think of a homogeneity in the representation of the final version – and in addition, the ideal version proposed at the end is screened based on the responses provided by migrant subjects.

At the base of the transformation there is also the passage of the passive *was issued* to the active voice, in order to determine the actor responsible for the process. Moreover, the formal and distant deictic pronoun is modified in the demonstrative "this Member State" in order to promote a higher degree of cohesion in paragraph 2 of the article, where the relationship between the two Member States is most involved and the recipient's interest, because it is inherent in decision-making responsibility. Using the same perspective, there is the choice to reformulate the phrase "Consultation does not constitute a written authorization within the meaning of this provision" as a simplification strategy for the asylum seeker in support of his right to apply for asylum.

4. Ethnomethodological survey – Results

The text below illustrates some of the results of an ethno methodological investigation conducted with a group of migrants residing in the Lecce area, who were asked for feedback on the main issues covered by the law. The subjects interviewed are non-native speakers and use ELF to evaluate the accessibility (informativity) of the text. In fact, the analysis of these protocols is intended to favor the process of 'linearization' (Brown and Yule 1983) desired by migrants in speech, while the very analysis of 'conversational moves' or moves (Goffman 1981), aims to analyze the interaction process with migrants. The concept of 'linearization' is understood in the sense of representing an order of perception, but also re-actualizing the meaning of Schengen's discourse on the basis of socio-cultural parameters and the conventions of the cultures in arrival.

The data reported and the analysis are crucial in order to: (a) contribute to the explanation and congruity of the contents of the critical analysis results of the speech presented in the previous sections and (b) consider important issues related to the validity of the two legal documents: the Schengen Convention and the Dublin Regulation. For a document to be considered 'valid', it is necessary for its potential recipients to recognize it, including the difficulties encountered in access to the asylum procedure. This depends on

the contextual requirements of the migrant's 'situation'.

The following are the results of the ethnographic survey, with reference to field interview data with Kenyan migrant subjects, who were also asked for an assessment of the degree of accessibility of legal excerpts.

To characterize the content of the interview is to reflect mainly on the language of an epistemologically oriented attitude, that is, expressing a sense of speculation on the contents of the law. It is a perspective supported by the subsequent conversational moves, particularly in the reaction of the second Kenyan subject, whose words are relieved, precisely by the issue of the Schengen visa. In the co-text of this question, doubt is expressed by requests for further clarification ("Is it a Schengen State, Greece? Is it appropriate?") and by the addition of a 'critical' move and an acknowledge move. The following paragraph explains the interpretation of the Kenyan migrant interviewed:

> KM1: Personally, I think that most of the immigrants around don't get the information they wish to have. There is something quite various. (..) You just don't know where to get information from. No contact exchange. There are things that you wish to get clear. Then, you have a residence permit in Italy and then maybe you have another one for Greece, a visa that allows you to stay. Is it a Schengen state, Greece? Is it appropriate? To those limits you simply get to know what you are expected to know and under what circumstances. I imagine some African countries, they may not consent to it.
> I: Yes, perhaps also because the system changes. (further elicitation)
> KM2: If I get a visa from a Schengen state and then I come to Italy, is there a norm saying that the country where you enter is the one that provides you (..) the residential permit? We need to target the people who live in a certain area, at a certain time. Then you evaluate.
> KM1: the residential permit. no, the permit of stay.
> I: May I ask you if you have ever had any difficulty with institutions here in Italy due to language, or any other reason?
> KM1: It is just lack of information.
> KM2: In Africa, this to us is a problem. An immigrant is not as an asylum seeker. The limit of that variation is important. It is important. It actually depends on the country you come from. They don't want to reveal their personal concept.
> I: May I ask you now to indicate how clear the text is?
> KM2: It is not a matter of saying how clear it is. It is just a possibility to get to know what you need.

The use of questions and tag-questions is interpreted as an attempt to solicit further information from the interviewer, and thus becomes part of an indirect speech act (Searle 1969).

Equally interesting is the analysis of the second protocol, partially reported below, with reference to the Dublin extracts relevant to the interlocutor; here the subjects are from Eritrea:

> "First of all, I've been in Germany. (..) no, in Norway and I first heard about the Dublin when I entered the fingerprinting. If I know about fingerprinting, I could decide for another place. I didn't have any idea about this Convention and this fingerprinting."

This reaction is representative of the appropriateness of European law based on the experience of the fingerprint system, unknown to the interlocutor. However, the reaction defined through a challenge move is indicative of law authentication (Guido 2008) through epistemic markers – i.e., could decide - that they make a viable choice alternative, and hence a possible solution to non-knowledge of European routines.

5. Conclusions

The study had began due to the awareness of how the issue of intercultural communication has become of crucial importance in recent years in southern Italy. Among the main findings, is not only the need to reconsider the cognitive availability of legal concepts as fundamental to the success of a specialist interaction, but also the possibility of a new text reformulation so that the specialized text is accessible to groups of migrants present in the territory. The crucial point was represented by the comparative analysis of the legal system in the European Union, and the limits on its adaptation to a supranational system of the various European national states. The reference to migrant legal systems has revealed a need for change in European legal writing that may be more in line with the pragmatic expectations of the refugee group. This model of cognitive-functional analysis should be further implemented to provide adequate solutions and be more in line with the 'schemata' of potential recipients in terms of expectations and other cultural ideas. Correlation between text structure and solicited responses can provide useful suggestions for (a) understanding legal procedures in migrant states and (b) soliciting further changes in the original text structure, so as to prevent communicative failures, or 'non-valid' solicitations in the application of the law.

Bionote: Mariarosaria Provenzano is Tenured Researcher and Adjunct Professor in English Language and Translation at the University of Salento. She holds a Ph.D. from the same University in "Sociology of Migrations and Cultures", with a thesis in English Applied Linguistics and Translation. In 2015 she was also granted the Associateship to the Institute of Education (UCL-University of London), concluding a post-doc research project on 'hybridization' and the new finance languages in cross-cultural contexts. Her current research interests are based on 'intra-lingual translation', especially in the legal field of Immigration, and on academic writing. Among her publications is the volume "The EU Legal Discourse of Immigration. A cross-cultural cognitive approach to Accessibility and reformulation" (2008, Franco Angeli, Milan); (forthcoming) "Mediation issues in the ELF reformulation and translation of European Union texts", siba-ese.unisalento.it, Salento University publishing.

Author's address: mariarosaria.provenzano@unisalento.it

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TOWARDS A CORPUS PRAGMATICS OF ELF THROUGH SEMI-AUTOMATED ANNOTATION SYSTEMS

LAURA CENTONZE
UNIVERSITÀ DEL SALENTO

Abstract – The present paper illustrates an undergoing doctoral research project (Centonze, forthcoming) aimed at introducing a novel approach to the description of spoken discourse in ELF in migration settings which combines corpus linguistics, corpus pragmatics (Aijmer and Rühlemann 2015) – a relatively new research area in the field of language and discourse studies – with the most recent techniques of quantitative/qualitative analysis and corpus annotation by means of semi-automated software tools. More specifically, the project focuses on the pragmatic annotation of speech acts from an ELF perspective and on the analysis of speech acts in their frequencies and collocations in a study corpus by means of *DART* (the *Dialogue Annotation Research Tool* v. 1.1., Weisser 2015), i.e. a research tool which, among other things, includes the functions of both POS (Part-Of-Speech) tagging and pragmatic annotation of spoken discourse. The corpus which is being taken into consideration is an under-construction corpus which will be referred to as the *ELF MiDo Corpus* (English as a Lingua Franca in MIgration DOmains corpus) and consists of over 50,000 words of conversation between asylum seekers and intercultural mediators in symmetrical contexts of interaction. All the different corpus interviews and interactions are transcribed and annotated according to a basic .XML mark-up scheme which proved to be a necessary condition for the whole corpus to be properly scanned for analysis through the *DART* interface. The aim of the present research study is to assess – by illustrating two case studies taken from the corpus – the use of *DART* for the pragmatic description of discourse in ELF and to verify the extent to which (semi-)automated software tools like this can effectively capture pragmatic change in interactional settings.

Keywords: ELF; corpus pragmatics; *DART*; speech acts; pragmatic annotation.

1. Introduction[1]

The use of *English as a Lingua Franca* (henceforth ELF; Seidlhofer 2001) on the part of speakers whose native language is other than English has been gaining momentum in the last decades, especially due to the migration flows of people from their home countries to Europe in order to get a better life and better job opportunities for themselves and their families. As a consequence, there has been an urgent need to train people to provide free-of-charge consultancy services and other related facilities to migrants and asylum seekers both worldwide and locally, and to provide adequate resources for the adoption of a shared variety of English which would act as a *lingua franca* among people belonging to diverse lingua-cultural backgrounds (Cogo *et al.* 2011). A high number of non-profit associations are thus emerging in a way to facilitate such processes and find the most suitable way to grant a permit to stay to migrants and asylum seekers, together with a range of additional services which include facilitating the search for a job and the successful integration of migrants within society, also thanks to specific training courses aimed at enhancing their knowledge of the culture and traditions relating to the hosting country.

By considering the above-mentioned socio-cultural and linguistic scenario, the aim of the present paper is to assess the feasibility of (semi-) automated methods adopted for the pragmatic analysis of spoken discourse, to apply such methodology to an under-construction corpus of interactions between asylum seekers and intercultural mediators in institutional encounters (the *ELF MiDo Corpus*, i.e. the E*nglish as a* L*ingua* F*ranca in* Mi*gration* Do*mains Corpus*, Centonze forthcoming) and to make it available in its annotated version for the analysis of speech acts and other pragma-linguistic features such as turn-taking, syntactic categories of verbs and so forth. By adopting a corpus-pragmatic approach, we provide an integrated model for the analysis of such interactions, which combines the most recent techniques of corpus linguistics, corpus pragmatics as well as POS-tagging of digitalized discourse and which could be of help for the training of intercultural mediators and the identification of pragmatic patterns in ELF conversations in migration contexts. More specifically, by means of two distinct case studies, the present paper provides grounds for the necessity to improve current semi-automated software options available for the retrieval of the pragmatic function of speech acts and to point to their strengths as well as their weaknesses. In order to fulfill our aim, we have analyzed the tags that

[1] The research project was presented on occasion of the ELF symposium "English as a Lingua Franca: Expanding Scenarios and Growing Dilemmas" which took place at Sapienza University (Rome, 6-7 April 2017).

were associated to each relevant speech act within the study corpus sections by means of *DART* (the *Dialogue Annotation Research Tool v.1.1*, Weisser 2015) and focused on two case studies taken from it.

The following sections shall respectively deal with the theoretical background upon which the present study is based (Section 2); the description of the under-construction corpus which constitutes the object of the present study (Section 3); Section 4 shall provide a description of the *DART* software tool which was applied for the analysis of speech acts, together with its functionalities; Section 5 shall present the two case studies where *DART* was applied and then we shall draw conclusions relating to them and provide points for further research in the field.

2. Theoretical background

2.1. Speech act theory

Since the purpose of the present study is to assess the feasibility of (semi-) automated means for the retrieval of speech acts and, more specifically, the adoption of the *DART* software tool in this respect to fulfill this aim, it goes without saying that the theoretical background which was taken into consideration as a bedrock is – first of all – represented by Austin's (1962) and Searle's (1969) theory for speech acts. With reference to the present study, we shall consider both the concept of speech act in its broader sense and definition, together with the three dimensions that a speech act incorporates. Searle's explanation is emblematic and makes it clear what a speech act actually represents and how it becomes contextualized in conversational settings:

> The unit of linguistic communication is not, as has generally been supposed, the symbol, word or sentence, or even the token of the symbol, word or sentence, but rather the production or issuance of the symbol or word or sentence in the performance of the speech act. To take the token as a message is to take it as a produced or issued token. More precisely, the production or issuance of a sentence token under certain conditions is a speech act, and speech acts […] are the basic or minimal units of linguistic communication. (Searle 1969, p. 16)

Starting from what a speech act is *not*, what transpires from Searle's definition of speech act is the extent to which its notion is so concrete that its characteristics may be inferred from the relevant context in which it occurs (in Searle's words, 'the *production or issuance* of the symbol or word or sentence in the performance of the speech act […] the *production or issuance* of a sentence token *under certain conditions*', emphasis added). With regard

to this, Searle makes a distinction between three dimensions of speech acts which constitute three different levels of their realization: a *locutionary act*, which consists of the structure of a certain utterance, which incorporates an *illocutionary force*, residing in the communicative intent and objective of a given utterance, and a *perlocutionary effect*, which represents the effects of an utterance on the interlocutor. For the purposes of the present analysis we shall consider these three distinct phases of the speech act realization in order to assess whether the *DART* software tool applied to discourse in ELF is able to seize them and, if so, to what extent it is accurate.

2.2. Corpus pragmatics and its relevance to ELF

Corpus pragmatics is a relatively new discipline in the field of applied linguistics which is thriving over the last decades and combines the study of corpora – whether digitalized or not – and the analysis of pragmatics in specialized discourse. What makes it innovative as a discipline and is gradually making it emerge as a free-standing field of study is the corpus-assisted approach that characterizes it: as Aijmer and Rühlemann (2015, p. 3-9) suggest, this new trend in the analysis of discourse has brought together two sub-disciplines which are characterized by different methodologies: whilst – in Aijmer and Rühlemann's terminology (*ibidem*) – pragmatics keeps an 'horizontal-reading methodology' which is based upon the analysis of small texts that are easy to read and analyse, the methodology adopted in corpus linguistic studies is one of 'vertical reading', where K*ey* W*ords* I*n* C*ontext* (KWIC) are analyzed in a set of texts – usually very huge sets of data – in order to explore and identify the most occurring patterns.

Corpus pragmatics acquires much more relevance within the framework of the present paper, which considers speech acts in their three-dimensional function and, most of all, in their pragma-linguistic features in a corpus of conversational turns which are retrieved semi-automatically by means of *DART*.

3. The study corpus

The study corpus that is taken into consideration for the present paper consists of a collection of recorded oral interviews between asylum seekers and intercultural linguistic mediators carried out at the local *Consiglio Italiano per i Rifugiati* (*Italian Council for Refugees*) in Lecce as well in other centres in the province of Lecce (including Lecce and the municipality of Andrano, where there is a centre for migrants and asylum seekers in which they are included under certain specific conditions of emergence and under EU-funded projects) which give hospitality and psychological – as well as

administrative – support to migrants and asylum seekers in their quest for asylum and for their permit-to-stay renewal procedure and other migration-related issues (e.g. accommodation; job search; help with administrative formalities; filling in the form for the Italian for Foreigners test). Migrants and asylum seekers taking part into the interviews come from either Mali or Ghana, whereas intercultural linguistic mediators that were involved in the interviews had all been trained as part of a one-year post-graduate master programme in *Mediazione Linguistica Interculturale in Materia di Immigrazione e di Asilo* (*Intercultural Linguistic Mediation in Migration and Asylum-seeking Contexts*, our translation) at the Università del Salento (Lecce, Italy) and were all completing a work-experience module as part of their on-site training. The following table illustrates the breakdown of the corpus that is going to represent the primary set of data under analysis, which was labelled as the E*nglish as a* L*ingua* F*ranca in* Mi*gration* Do*mains* (henceforth *ELF MiDo*) corpus:

	No. words	**Speaker's origin**	**Topic**
1	2,803 words	Mali	Culture; job opportunities; migration
2	3,055 words	Ghana	Migration; permit to stay; family
3	2,841 words	Ghana	Family; leisure activities; money
4	3,989 words	Mali	Hardship of life; problems; migration
5	3,277 words	Mali	School; family reunification
6	2,456 words	Ghana	Home country; host country; culture
7	3,466 words	Ghana	Money; family; children
8	2,279 words	Mali	Everyday life; family; home country
9	4,765 words	Mali	Family; children; home country; reunification
10	3,971 words	Ghana	Traditions; home vs. host country
Tot.	**32,902 words**		

Table 1
Breakdown of the *ELF MiDo Corpus.*

As can be seen in the table provided above, the corpus consists of 10 interviews of approximately 35 up to 50 minutes in length and the topics which constitute the content of each interview are diversified and most of the times involve a report of the migrants' experience as they cross the Mediterranean and reach Italy – either in order to reach other countries (e.g. Germany) or to settle down and start a new life. More specifically, they generally report on key facts that are peculiar to their own experience in Italy together with some anecdotes concerning the cultural differences and problems they have had to face since their arrival in Italy – sometimes these narrations are curious, sometimes embarrassing, sometimes simply sad

vicissitudes. However, as can be seen, the corpus definitely does not constitute an extremely large set of data if compared to more ambitious projects such as the ELFA corpus (Mauranen *et al*. 2008) and the VOICE (Seidlhofer *et al*. 2013). Notwithstanding this, if we consider the specific aim of the present study which is a methodological exploration of annotation procedures by means of semi-automated software tools, this does not represent a disadvantage that prevents us from fulfilling this aim.

4. *DART* and its main functionalities

The *Dialogue Annotation and Research Tool* was developed by Martin Weisser at Guangdong University of Foreign Studies, with an aim to providing a useful tool for the automatic annotation of transcribed spoken interactions as well as for the post-editing of annotated data. The tool represents the offspring of two previous projects which aimed at providing some guidelines and resources for annotation, i.e. *The Expert Advisory Group on Language Engineering Standards* (EAGLES) *WP4 1997-1998* and the *Speech-Act Annotated Corpus of Dialogues* (SPAAC) *2001-2002*. The need for *DART* derived from the limitations of *SPAAC*, one of which was represented by its highly monolithic approach to data, where there was "no separation of linguistic intelligence and output display" (Weisser 2014). *DART* goes further by providing a model characterized by a "strict separation of processing and linguistic analysis routines" (Weisser 2014)[2] and by a more flexible approach which allows one to create new tags and thus personalise research methodologies. In the following figures, some insights into the *DART* interface are provided, together with its sections and uses.

[2] Weisser (2014) is a PowerPoint presentation. Both quotations were drawn from Slide 6 (*Design Background – 3*).

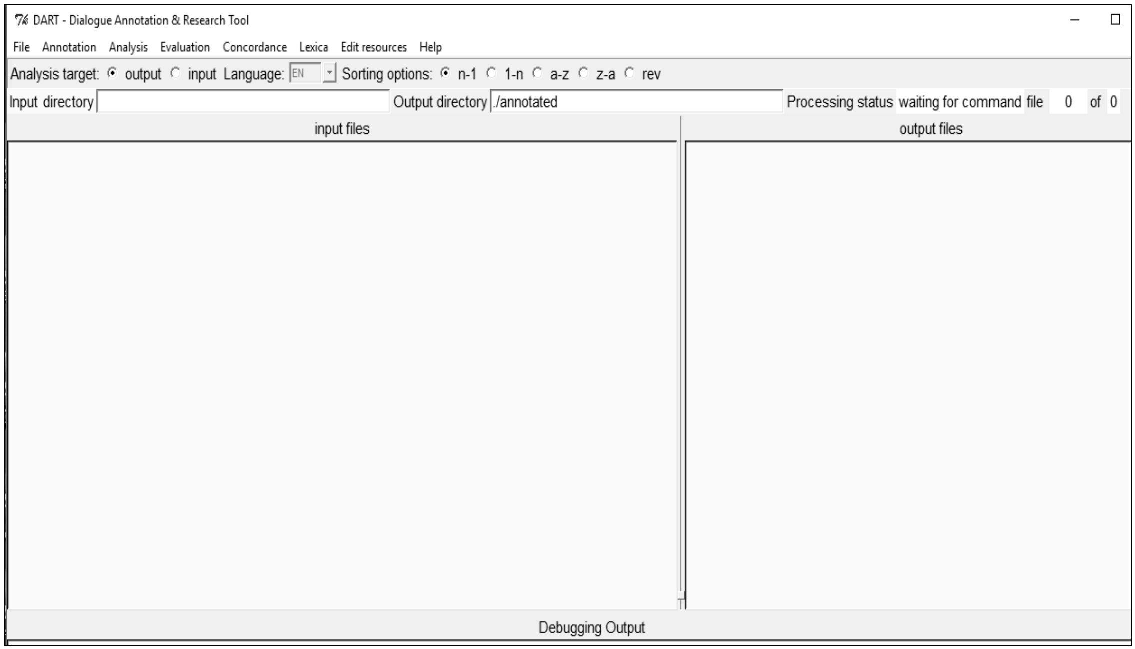

Figure 1
The *DART* interface.

As can be seen in Figure 1, the *DART* interface consists of a *Menu* with several options: from *File* one can upload both single .XML files as well as folders containing a series of files to be processed; the *Annotation* command allows for the annotation of files from two different perspectives: *POS* (Part Of Speech) tagging and *Pragmatic* (which implies the speech act tagging); the *Evaluation* command is the tool which allows us to carry out statistical analysis on speech acts and other parts of discourse, depending on whether we decide to carry out a POS analysis or a pragmatic one; the *Concordance* command identifies collocations for each item that is found in the relevant tagged corpus; the *Lexica* command allows us to see words by tag, whereas the *Edit Resources* command helps us take notes concerning the corpus itself. As one can see, the interface is divided up in two parts: a left one, i.e. *Input Files*, and a right one, i.e. *Output Files*. The *Input File* section represents the first step towards the analysis of corpora in *DART*: the felicity condition in order to carry out analysis in *DART* is the upload of files in .XML format; after being uploaded via the *File Menu*, such files can be then edited using the *Input Files* section. Once the file has been uploaded, a link to it is generated in the left section (i.e. *Input Files*), as Figure 2 shows:

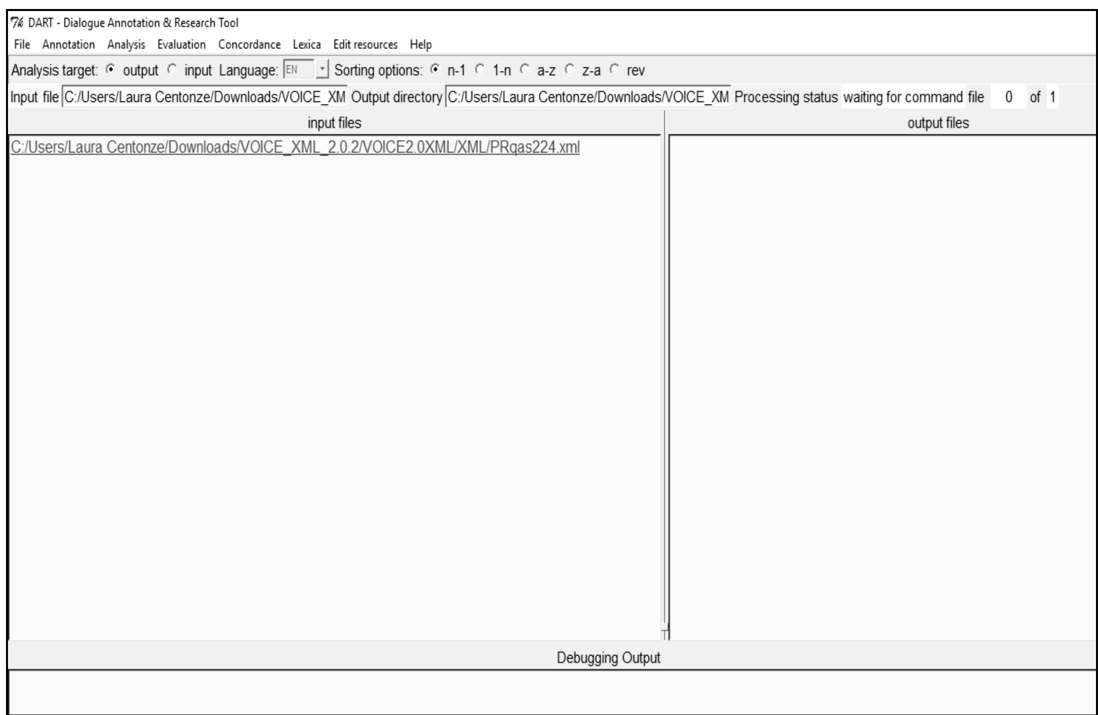

Figure 2
Uploading a file in the *Input Files* section.

After clicking on the link in the *Input File* section, a window like the one below opens (Figure 3); original files can then be edited and an .XML declaration (i.e. <?xml version=”1.0?”> <dialogue corpus=”name of corpus file” id=”number of file” lang=”en”) can be added. This represents a necessary condition for the file to be processed properly.

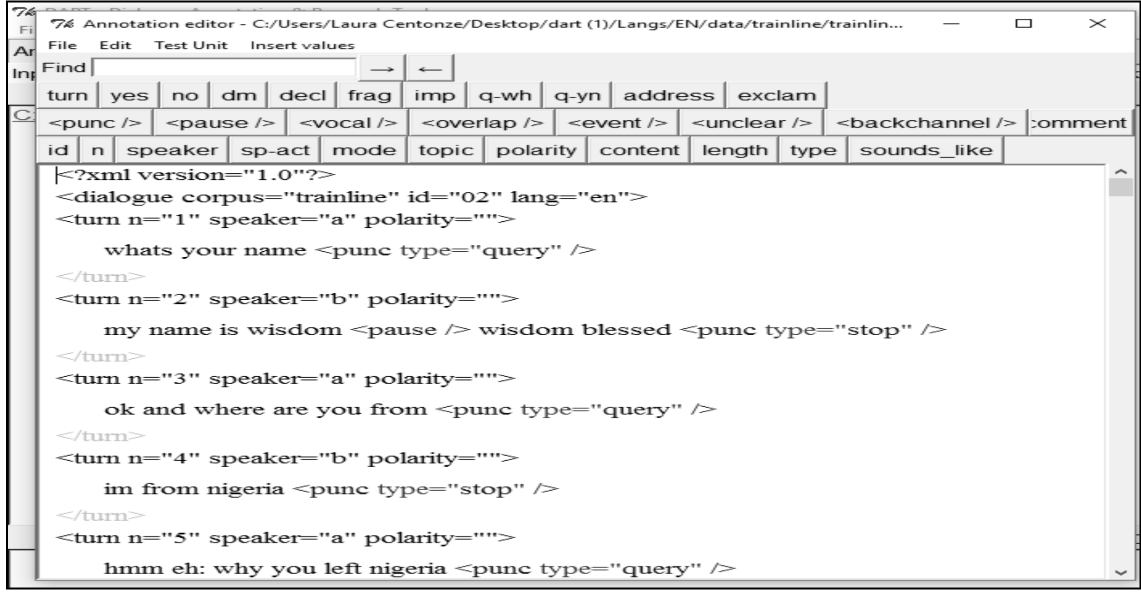

Figure 3
An example of preliminary processing of files in *DART*.

The one above only represents a sample and, as can be seen the dialogue is divided up into turns, which are numbered and each of them is separated by a punctuation mark which varies according to the function of each sentence (e.g. *question* and *statement* respectively "query" and "stop"). A full list of all tags can be found in the Appendix.

Once the whole file is divided up into turns, by means of the *Test Unit* command it is possible to verify the accuracy and conformity of each tag. After this preliminary action is carried out, we save the file and close the editing window; afterwards, we select *Annotation>Pragmatic* from the main menu and the following appears on the screen:

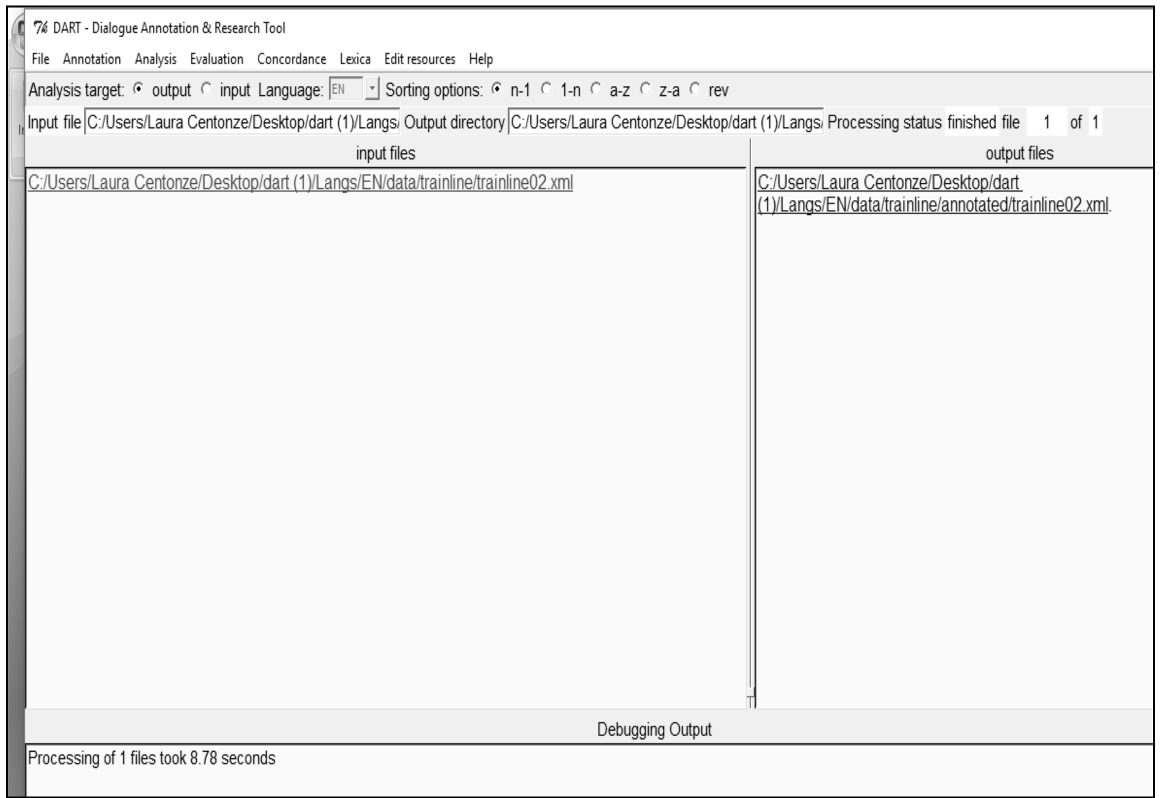

Figure 4
Pragmatic processing of files in *DART*.

Once the link provided on the right is opened, the file which has been processed and annotated pragmatically in *DART* can be displayed (Figure 5):

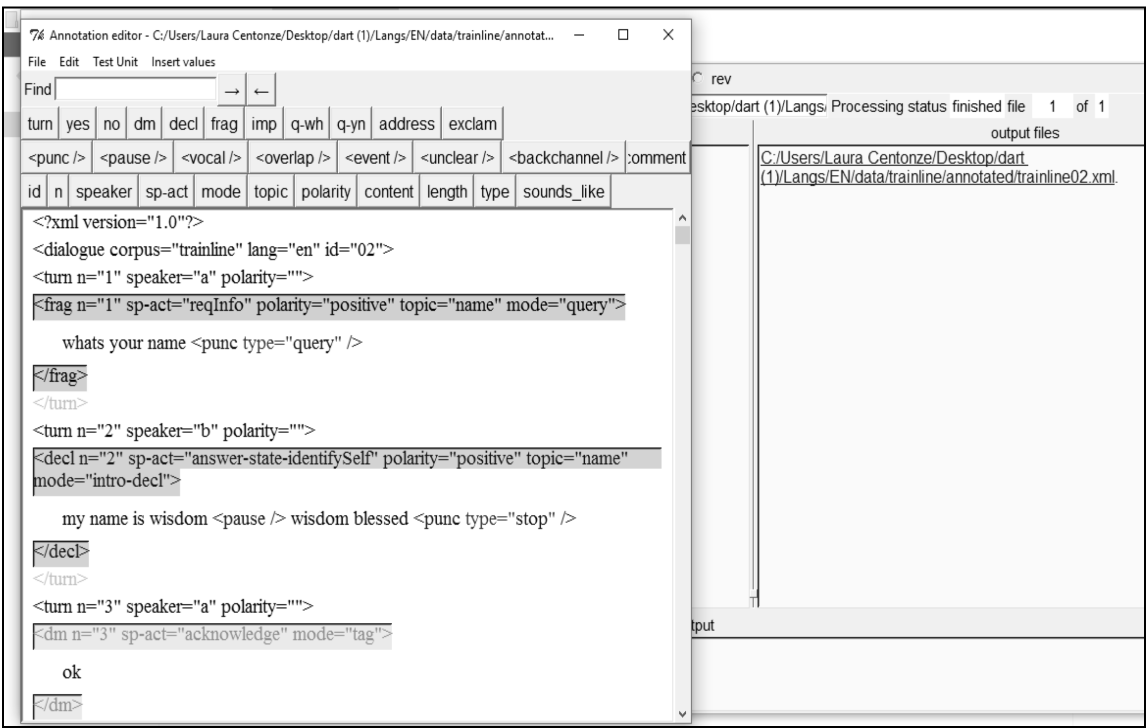

Figure 5
Example of pragmatically-annotated file in *DART*.

As can be seen above, once the processed file is opened the subdivision in turns can be displayed together with a preliminary identification and attribution of speech acts for each fragment. For instance, if the first two turns are taken into consideration, the outcome is the following:

```
<?xml version="1.0"?>
<dialogue corpus="mido" lang="en" id="02">
<turn n="1" speaker="a">
<frag n="1" sp-act="reqInfo" polarity="positive"
topic="name" mode="query">
whats your name <punc type="query" />
</frag>
</turn>
<turn n="2" speaker="b">
<decl n="2" sp-act="answer-state-identifySelf"
polarity="positive" topic="name" mode="intro-decl">
my name is $$$ <pause /> $$$ ### <punc type="stop" />
```

As can be observed, the speech act attributed by *DART* to the first turn corresponds to "`reqInfo`", i.e. a request for information on the part of the speaker, whereas the second turn contains an "`answer-state-identifySelf`" speech act. Moreover, the pragmatic annotation of the dialogue also contains some additional information, such as the type of sentence (whether it is a question/statement), polarity (positive/negative),

topic as well as mode. An exhaustive list of tags which can be attributed in *DART* is provided in the Appendix.

5. Testing *DART* for speech act identification and recognition

In order to assess the feasibility of *DART* as concerns the identification and recognition of speech acts in the ELF MiDo Corpus, we took a 3,000+ sample from the study corpus and ran the *DART* software tool in search for speech act frequencies in that specific section. Preliminary findings are reported below, which include speech act functions and frequencies >10:

Syntactic mode	Speech act function	Frequency >10
dm	acknowledge	74
frag	state	34
dm	exclaim	15
frag	reqInfo	14
decl	state	11
frag	**Unrecognized**	**45**

***dm:** discourse markers; **frag:** fragments (e.g. ungrammatical sentences); **decl:** declaratives

Table 2
Speech act functions in a sample from the study corpus.

As can be seen from the speech act frequencies in the specific sample of the study corpus, there is a higher number of speech acts with the function of `acknowledge` (i.e. to confirm a status of things or some previous statement, 74 items found), with an overall prevalence of `dm` (discourse markers) over `frag` (fragments); if we have a look at fragments, we can see a high frequency of *unrecognised* speech acts, i.e. speech acts for which the *DART* software tool failed to retrieve a pragmatic function. This latter category has represented the focus of the following two case studies, which enabled us to point to some of the weaknesses of the program as regards the accuracy of speech act function retrieval. What is proposed here in order for the study corpus to be annotated accurately is a three-stage model, which implies (1) a preliminary automatic retrieval of speech act functions by means of *DART*, (2) an intermediate phase, which consists of reformulation techniques that are typical of a *retrospective verbal report* approach (Ericsson and Simon 1984) and which inevitably takes into consideration the *text* vs. *discourse* dichotomy highlighted in Widdowson (1996a), and (3) a third phase, during which the data has been predisposed for investigation. The second phase (i.e. retrospective verbal report) plays a pivotal role in the

process of re-definition of unrecognised tags and, in order to carry out this, ten intercultural linguistic mediators were asked to paraphrase strings of conversational turns which fell under the ‘unrecognised’ category according to *DART*, after being given up to 8 lines before and after the relevant speech act in order to be able to interpret each of them appropriately. The following two case studies illustrate three distinct examples where the ‘unrecognised’ speech act function was re-defined.

5.1. *Case study 1:* `sp-act"confirm"` and `sp-act"reqConfirm"`

The first instance that we considered in order to test the above mentioned model with special reference to the retrospective verbal report phase relates to the re-definition of unrecognized tags, i.e. those for which the *DART* software tool was unable to attribute a tag function. The example below is taken from a conversation between a migrant from Mali (b) and an intercultural mediator (a) which is aimed at gathering information concerning the period spent by the migrant at accommodation centers administered by non-profit organizations. The transcript was first reported in its ‘unidentified’ version for speech act function, then we applied the intermediate phase of retrospective verbal report by asking the ten intercultural mediators involved in the project to paraphrase and thus provide themselves the tag which was thought to be appropriate to the relevant context:

```
</turn>
<frag n="846" sp-act="" mode="decl">
rinascita si si si si <punc type="stop" />
</frag>
</turn>
<turn n="497" speaker="a">
<frag n="847" sp-act="" polarity="positive" mode="decl">
rinascita ah? <punc type="stop" />
</frag>
</turn>
<turn n="498" speaker="b">
<frag n="848" sp-act="stateReason" topic="time-spell"
mode="reason-decl">
when i leace de project because when de took us in eh
lampedusa mhm no in manduria dei took us to copertino <punc
type="stop" />
</frag>
</turn>
```

The two *unidentified*/*unrecognized* speech act functions are highlighted in grey and the intercultural mediators were given contextualized strings of turns which allowed them to reformulate in their own words the pragmatic

function associated to the speech act and then compare their answers against the speech act taxonomy provided by Weisser (2015) for *DART* v.1.1. and which can be found in the Appendix. The outcome is represented below:

```
</turn>
<frag n="846" sp-act="confirm" mode="decl">
rinascita si si si si <punc type="stop" />
</frag>
</turn>
<turn n="497" speaker="a">
<frag n="847" sp-act="reqConfirm" mode="decl">
rinascita ah? <punc type="stop" />
</frag>
</turn>
<turn n="498" speaker="b">
<frag n="848" sp-act="stateReason" topic="time-spell"
mode="reason-decl">
when i leace de project because when de took us in eh
lampedusa mhm no in manduria dei took us to copertino <punc
type="stop" />
</frag>
</turn>
```

The name *rinascita* refers to an organization that is available locally, helping migrants get accommodation and other related services. What the migrant (speaker b) is doing in `frag n=846` is to confirm what the intercultural mediator (speaker a) has elicited before that specific turn; probably the migrant had not been able to remember the name of the association and the intercultural mediator, who is aware of the local situation concerning services and facilities available to migrants, has made an attempt to help him/her by providing a series of names. The `sp-act="confirm"` is what the intercultural mediators provided as a final tag; likewise, the intercultural mediator is – in the following turn `frag n=847` – again asking for confirmation on whether s/he has understood the name properly. The tag which all intercultural mediators have agreed upon is "`reqConfirm`".

5.2. *Case study 2:* `sp-act"reqInfo"`

In the second case study, the following excerpt was taken from the study corpus which includes a conversational exchange between the migrant and the intercultural mediator, who is asking about the migrant's life and his/her experience in Italy:

```
</dm>
<dm n="902" sp-act="acknowledge">
```

```
mhm
</dm>
<dm n="903" sp-act="init">
so
</dm>
<frag n="904" sp-act="" topic="location" mode="decl">
youre happy wi with with the fact that you are here <punc
type="stop" />
</frag>
</turn>
<turn n="527" speaker="b">
<yes n="905" sp-act="acknowledge">
yes <punc type="stop" />
</yes>
```

In `frag n=904` the speech act function enclosed in the question “youre happy wi with the fact that you are here” is undoubtedly a request for information on a state of things, as was identified by all intercultural mediators and which can be explicated as follows:

```
</dm>
<dm n="902" sp-act="acknowledge">
mhm
</dm>
<dm n="903" sp-act="init">
so
</dm>
<frag n="904" sp-act="reqInfo" topic="location" mode="decl">
youre happy wi with with the fact that you are here <punc
type="stop" />
</frag>
</turn>
<turn n="527" speaker="b">
<yes n="905" sp-act="acknowledge">
yes <punc type="stop" />
</yes>
```

The speech act function attribution which was carried out manually after collecting all the information provided by the intercultural mediators involved in the analysis has enabled us to improve – albeit to some extent – the final annotated corpus, whose accurate version shall also allow researchers – once the annotated corpus has been made available online – to conduct research which does not merely rely on automated processes of speech act definition and attribution but also on a data set that is somewhat qualitatively assessed and annotated.

6. Conclusions

The present study has aimed at providing some insights into the possible applications of (semi-)automated means for speech act function retrieval and attribution. More specifically, we focused on the *DART* software tool for the annotation of speech acts in a corpus of conversation in ELF in asylum-seeking contexts. As a bedrock for our analysis we adopted a methodology that combined the fundamentals of corpus linguistics and corpus pragmatics with the most recent techniques of discourse annotation. The two case studies provided in the sections above have revealed the extent to which speech acts cannot always be automatically retrieved by means of automated software tools, but are rather context-sensitive and in most cases undergo – as is the case of other grammatical aspects of discourse in ELF, e.g. conjunctions – a process of 're-semanticization' (Centonze 2013), by means of which certain aspects of both spoken and written registers tend to overlap, negotiate a new meaning or simply become hybridized forms. The retrospective verbal report phase allowed us to compensate for this lack of accurateness on the part of the software tool that was adopted for the purposes of our study. Certainly, such an approach is experimental and much is yet to be done in order to generalize findings. Notwithstanding this, such an approach could start to be adopted in several domains and, most of all, in those multicultural contexts which see the intercultural mediator acting as an interpreter among people belonging to different socio-cultural backgrounds. Constructing a corpus and implementing it would allow a more in-depth analysis of different aspects of both spoken and written discourse in ELF and, with special reference to *DART*, a better understanding of how meaning is negotiated through the use of speech acts in spontaneous/semi-spontaneous discourse. Training intercultural mediators in this sense would become necessary and research carried out in this field would undoubtedly provide some useful insights into the dynamics of ELF in multicultural contexts.

Bionote: Laura Centonze is a PhD candidate in English Applied Linguistics at the Università del Salento and the University of Vienna. In the past few years, she was a Lecturer in English Language and Translation for the degree courses in Engineering, Archaeology and Economics. She graduated with honours in Literary Translation in 2011 and holds two post-graduate masters, respectively in European Translators (Vistula University, Poland) and in Intercultural Linguistic Mediation in Asylum-seeking Contexts (Università del Salento). Her main interests include intercultural mediation, corpus pragmatics and the exploration of new research methods for the analysis of spoken discourse in ELF in migration encounters.

Author's address: laura.centonze@unisalento.it

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Appendix

Speech act categories in *DART* v. 1.1 (re-adapted from Weisser 2016) (http://martinweisser.org/publications/DART_taxonomy_v1.1.pdf)

Speech-act Label	(Approximate) Function
abandon	abandoning a unit, either choosing not to complete it or due to interruption
accept	responding in an active positive way
acknowledge	signalling decoding, understanding
add	signalling extension/elaboration of information
agree	signalling explicit agreement
answer	answering a question
apologise	apologising
approve	expressing appreciation or approval
attribute	expressing attribution to s.o.
bye	saying farewell; closing a dialogue
complete	completing the interlocutor's move
conclude	indicating a (logical) conclusion
contrast	indicating a contrast, e.g. by means of a contrastive conjunction
confirm	confirming a request for confirmation
correct	correcting what the interlocutor has said
correctSelf	correcting one's own utterance
direct	eliciting the interlocutor's non-verbal response
echo	repeating the interlocutor's words for verification
elab	elaborating the answer to a question or a directive
enumerate	enumerating
exclaim	expressing emotion or surprise
explain	providing an explanation
expressAwareness	expressing awareness, possibly knowledge of s.th.
expressNonAwareness	negative counterpart to the above
expressConviction	expressing conviction, e.g. through use of *of course*
expressOpinion	expressing an opinion/evaluation
expressPossibility	expressing a possibility
expressImPossibility	negative counterpart to the above
expressRegret	expressing regret
expressStance	expressing one's attitude, e.g. through *frankly (speaking)*
expressSurprise	expressing surprise
expressWish	expressing a wish or desire
greet	greeting the interlocutor
hesitate	hesitating before the beginning of a turn/unit
hold	signalling to the interlocutor to hold the line, usually to look up information or to think
identifySelf	identifying the speaker's name/institution
init	initiating a new phase of the dialog
insult	insulting the interlocutor

negate	responding negatively
offer	offering a service to benefit the interlocutor
pardon	signalling misunderstanding/the need for the interlocutor to repeat
phatic	semantically empty discourse-marking expression, such as initial *you know*
predict	predicting some future event
predictPossibility	predicting a possibility
promise	making a promise
refer	indicating a deictic reference (neutral option)
referCondition	referring to a condition
referOpt	referring to an option
referPerson	referring to a person (excluding vocatives)
referReason	referring to a reason
referTime	referring to a specific (point in) time
referThing	referring to a concrete or abstract object
refuse	responding negatively to an offer, etc.
reject	rejecting a proposal
reqConfirm	requesting a confirmation
reqDirect	requesting a directive
reqInfo	requesting verbal information
reqModal	requesting permission, advice, etc.
reqOpt	requesting an option
selfTalk	speaking to oneself (the speaker)
spell	spelling out something
state	conveying information/awareness
stateIntent	indicating the speaker's intention
stateConstraint	stating a potential constraint
stateOpt	stating a potential option
stateReason	stating a reason
summarise	signalling a summary
suggest	proposing action by the interlocutor (or the interlocutor and the speaker)
suggestOpt	suggesting a potential option
swear	expressing an expletive
thirdParty	speaking to s.o. who is not the speaker or the interlocutor
thank	thanking
unclassifiable	a speech-act not classifiable according to the present scheme
uninterpretable	uninterpretable, due to missing or incoherent information

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A PHONOPRAGMATIC ANALYSIS OF ELF SPOKEN INTERACTIONS
Linguistic and paralinguistic features in specialized migration contexts

SILVIA SPERTI
UNIVERSITÀ DEGLI STUDI "ROMA TRE"

Abstract – ELF cross-cultural interactions occurring in specialized migration settings are often characterized by 'gatekeeping' asymmetries between the participants involved, challenging successful communication. The 'phonopragmatic' approach is here applied to the analysis of naturally occurring dialogues among ELF users with the aim of investigating how ELF speakers engaged in intercultural encounters differently appropriate the English language, not only according to their own native linguacultural and paralinguistic 'schemata', but also to specific pragmalinguistic purposes and processes. The phonopragmatic analysis is applied to a number of case studies – illustrating unequal encounters between asylum-seekers, language mediators and legal advisors, taking place at an important centre for legal counselling and assistance to refugees and performed through ELF and Italian Lingua-Franca – with the ultimate objective of exploring the occurring prosodic and auditory processes activated in such cross-cultural dynamics. The investigation of prosodic strategies employed for a pragmatic purpose by ELF speakers from different L1 backgrounds is focused on (i) ELF redefinition of existing native prosodic and acoustic correlates (in terms of stress, intonation, speech rate, and disfluency) in the pragmalinguistic use of an ELF variation; (ii) resulting L1 phonological transfers affecting the conversational composition and progress; (iii) the cross-cultural mediation of meaning, experience and intentionality in terms of phonopragmatic strategies and resulting lexical, syntactical, and stylistic performance; and (iv) the role played by prosody and paralinguistics in the negotiation of speakers' attitudes, emotions, and socio-cultural 'schemata' in spoken specialized discourse related to medical and legal integration, mediated migration narratives, socio-cultural divergences, and cross-cultural representations of traumatic experience.

Keywords: ELF migration contexts; ELF variations; World Englishes; intercultural mediation; phonopragmatics.

1. Research rationale and objectives

Processes of intercultural mediation in specialized immigration domains are here explored focusing on the phonopragmatic dimensions of cross-cultural legal-bureaucratic and asylum-seeking exchanges through the participants'

ELF variations characterized by: (i) different strategies of appropriation of the English language according to L1 linguacultural 'schemata' and pragmalinguistic processes revealing 'gatekeeping' and status asymmetries among the participants in interactions (Guido 2008); and (ii) possible illocutionary intentions and perlocutionary effects in speakers' prosodic strategies actualized in speech segmentation and acoustic variations (Searle 1969, 1983; Selkirk 1984).

Various theoretical perspectives and assumptions sustain and justify the rationale behind the research objectives of this study, i.e. (i) 'gatekeeping' asymmetries between the participants in interactions occurring in immigration domains, where communication is often characterized by challenging pragmalinguistic accommodation strategies and cross-cultural miscommunication (Guido 2008); (ii) the theory of speech acts and illocutionary intentions (Searle 1969, 1983) conveyed by the speakers through the adoption of prosodic strategies of speech segmentation and acoustic variations (Nespor and Vogel 1986; Selkirk 1984); (iii) the interface between the multimodal construction of meaning and its perlocutionary effects on receivers from different socio-cultural and linguistic backgrounds in ELF intercultural interactions (Seidlhofer 2011).

The research objectives aim at enquiring into the use of prosodic and paralinguistic strategies by ELF speakers from different L1 backgrounds in immigration domains, accounting for (i) the influence of existing L1 prosodic and acoustic correlates and phonological transfers into ELF variations; (ii) the construction of meaning and understanding in cross-cultural mediation through phonopragmatic strategies applied to the negotiation of speakers' attitudes, emotions, and socio-cultural 'schemata'; (iii) miscommunication and communication breakdown resulting from status asymmetries in unequal encounters during intercultural mediation processes.

2. Phonopragmatics: methodological attitudes and design

The phonopragmatic approach (Sperti 2017), here applied to migration contexts and domains, is a pragmatic-oriented phonological investigation of the speaker's linguistic and paralinguistic behaviours – naturally aimed to realize illocutionary acts and to produce listener's perlocutionary effects – in cross-cultural oral communication, with critical attention to ELF variations.

The interface between prosody and pragmatics in analysing cross-cultural communicative settings reveals a culture-oriented discourse construction performed by speakers in ELF oral interactions. In other words, illocutionary acts and perlocutionary effects are affected by different culture-

based linguistic and paralinguistic features in ELF derived from L1 interferences that interactants mutually actualize in conversation.

The main objective of this investigating approach is to describe: (i) how speakers' suprasegmental and paralinguistic features are influenced by underlying pragmatic reasons; (ii) how they affect the mutual occurring of speech acts in conversational interactions and their resulting perception and interpretation, and (iii) how native syntactic and stylistic patterns are transferred to the use of different ELF variations and to which extent they impact on the phonopragmatic production and perception of the English messages transmitted in intercultural encounters and, as a consequence, improve or hinder the cross-cultural mediation process.

Therefore, spectral, pitch and formant PRAAT analysis (Boersma, Weenink 2017)[1] of conversation turns and acts occurring in mediation processes in immigration settings is here employed by considering phono-prosodic parameters used in different ELF variations. Firstly, the phonopragmatic analysis has been applied to the selected case studies accounting for different acoustic and prosodic parameters, such as: pitch frequency; pitch contour; speech rate; vowel and tonic syllables duration; pause duration at phrase boundaries and acoustic intensity. Secondly, the acoustic data have been interlaced with register and conversational dynamics[2] revealing specific and well-defined pragmalinguistic fulfillment or gaps.

3. Research context and method: investigating ELF mediation processes

The data presented in the following pages, in support of the phonopragmatic model, here applied to the multimodal analysis of intercultural encounters, represent naturally occurring and real exchanges, representative of an underestimated universe, which moves in the new Italian multicultural society and needs the serious and conscious attention from experts as well as non-specialists. An ever-changing world where diverse individuals, lives and experiences overlap and negotiate mutual representations, feelings and attitudes, by means of expanding, creative and easily exploited communicative strategies involving ELF variations.

The data under scrutiny have been recorded in completely unconstrained, spontaneous and natural conditions; however, they have also

[1] Praat ("talk" in Dutch) is a free and continuously updated scientific software programme designed by Paul Boersma and David Weenink at the University of Amsterdam; it is used for the acoustic analysis of speech (http://www.fon.hum.uva.nl/praat/).

2 The taxonomy applied in the phonopragmatic analysis derives from Guido's (2004) adaptation to Sinclair and Coulthard's (1975) Conversation Frame.

been collected in a manner that preserves and safeguards the privacy of both participants and non-participants in the interaction. This aspect is particularly important, especially in workplaces involving refugees and asylum-seekers. Despite the privacy constraints, the data collected allow for a complete and scientific investigation of different types of inferences that have emerged from the analysis.

Note-taking and observations in an ethnographic research conducted by means of data-driven methodology are here particularly useful to study the prosodic and paralinguistic features of spontaneous speech in intercultural exchanges across many subjects and over an extended period of time (in this case, the data were collected during a 14 months of fieldwork). The present research, therefore, involved prolonged and intensive fieldwork in the typical intercultural setting under study, which after a considerable lapse of time allows the researcher to be felt and perceived as an essential part of that communicative setting, avoiding expected diffidence and suspicions, and building trust with the participants. Actually, in this case the researcher (i.e. the author of this paper) operated in the fieldwork as language mediator. At the beginning, the participants involved in the interactions stopped perceiving her as an external element in the workplace, but after a short period of time probably they even forgot the reason why she was there and her presence was not perceived as awkward and unpleasant.

The recorded data that represent the corpus for the present research have been classified and analyzed according to a scheme established to preserve as much information as possible and allow inferences from conversations between participants, which also include prosodic and paralinguistic features. To protect the privacy of any interactant who came within the range of the microphone and whose acoustic information is saved and represent intelligible speech, proper nouns, places, cities, and villages which may be easily recognized, thus revealing precise information about the identity of any participant, have been concealed and signalled in the text with asterisks (i.e. four **** for places, five ***** for names).

Participants in the interactions will be identified throughout the analysis according to their role in the exchange. In a typical intercultural encounter involving specialized settings an operator (in this case a legal advisor, henceforth LA), a migrant (asylum-seeker, refugee or international protection holder, henceforth AS) and an intercultural mediator (henceforth IM) are seated together. However, the data will show that in most cases this is still a theoretical perspective in considering intercultural mediation while in practice this kind of encounter often occurs in irregular communicative settings and modalities.

The LAs in the exchanges are all native speakers of Italian, living in the south of Italy, in an area around the city of Lecce. They are adult learners

of English and their linguistic competence is quite basic. ASs and refugees are male African citizens. Their linguistic competence of English is extremely varied. Some of them are native speakers of Hausa, Igbo, Yoruba, Ewe, Twi (all Niger-Congo languages) and Arabic, as well as ESL speakers (actually they consider English as their native language) and therefore are very competent; other speakers are illiterate and employ an ELF variations to communicate with their own fellow country–men and –women and with Italian people. Most part of ASs are ILF (Italian as a Lingua Franca) speakers and possess a basic knowledge of the Italian language, particularly influenced by the local and regional linguistic and suprasegmental features of the Italian variety spoken in the area where they live, work and dwell for an indefinite period of time. IMs are Italian and ex-Yugoslavian speakers and are all graduates or postgraduates in foreign languages. Their proficiency of English is often academic but in some cases limited to basic levels of competence.

This assorted lingua-cultural background as a starting point for investigating mediation dynamics is already particularly interesting as indicative of the ongoing variety of approaches and attitudes in the use of the English language by non-native speakers of English worldwide.

In the initial stage of the experiment, the audio recordings were acoustically screened and transcribed according to the following linguistic and paralinguistic parameters:

- *Phonological and extralinguistic features* (signalled in the transcriptions with bold green, capitals and black underlining)
- *The use of modality and verbal choices* (signalled in the transcriptions with bold blue)
- *Key-textual structures* (signalled in the transcriptions with bold pink)
- *Stylistic tendencies* (signalled in the transcriptions with bold brown)
- *ELF accommodation strategies and code-mixing* (signalled in the transcription with bold red for single lexical items and red underlining for ELF syntactical clusters).

In the following extracts some passages are often concealed (by means of […]) since they are considered harmful for the participants' privacy or irrelevant for the concerns of the present study (e.g. Italian exchanges, phone calls, external interferences or interruptions). Nonetheless, in the main perspective of representing real and live spontaneous cross-cultural interactions, it is considered important and relevant to signal in the transcriptions the presence of the previous interferences, which contribute to a proper representation of what actually happens in a centre for legal advice for refugees and asylum-seekers (often based on voluntary work and insufficient part-time staff), in order to evaluate the quality of the most frequent practices, mistakes and vulnerabilities.

The transcription notation applied to the corpus of collected data is adapted from Edward's (1997) system and can be summarized in the following table:

Symbol	Meaning
[ ]	Square brackets mark the start and end of overlapping speech
underlining in black	Prominence associated to pitch accent
CAPITALS	Louder speech
° °	Raised circles enclose quieter speech
(..)	Pauses
(.)	Micropauses
::	Vowel elongation; the more colons the more lengthening
hhh	Aspiration
> <	Speeded-up talk
< >	Slowed-down talk
=	Immediate "latching" and turn-taking

Table 1
Transcription notation adapted from Edward's (1997) system.

4. Case study 1: Asylum-seeking representations and unequal socio-cultural 'schemata'

The first case-study is particularly interesting for its phonopragmatic framework since it is carried out on a controversial cross-cultural encounter in ELF between a Ghanaian asylum-seeker (AS) and his Italian legal advisor (LA) about his serious physical condition, with the assistance of a language mediator (IM).

In the selected extract (as well as in the whole exchange), especially the lawyer (more than the mediator) employs phonopragmatic and pragmalinguistic strategies to be more effective and persuasive as she tries to convey her illocutionary intents also through a variation of paralinguistic means, which are here investigated by a PRAAT speech analysis (employed for the investigation of prosodic and acoustic parameters such as spectral, pitch, and intensity levels, and for the labelling and segmentation of intervals and of time points on multiple tiers), as shown in Figures 1 and 2.

What follows is a segment of the speech analysis:

(1) *LA:* He says that **if** you don't accept to come inside the hospital **they** **cannot** give you more hospitality and **also** you **cannot** come to eat to *mensa* **if** **they** are not sure for the other **if** you **want** to stay with **them** **(.)** you **must** have *fiducia* **(.)** and you **have to** come to the hospital **(..)** **ehm** **and** **then** **(.)** after a certificate you **can** come back **(..)** the doctor in **** doesn't answer and so**::**

today he is in the hospital **but** he doesn't answer to the telephone **(..)** **so** you **must** **decide** what you **want** to do **(..)** **because** he says that **(.)** **if** you come back to come in the hospital **(..)** they **can** give you the opportunity to come with them **(.)** to meet a doctor **(.)** to make this test **(.)** **if** all is ok you **can** come back with **them** and remain inside **** **(..)** **if** you don't **decide** to make this test and this cure **(..)** you **cannot** come to sleep and to eat

[Silence of 14s]

(2) *LA:* **If** it's only for one day two day **(.)** I **think** is better to come in the hospital for one day two day [*IM*: a couple of days] what kind of problem you **can** have? They **could** certificate **(.)** you come back **(.)** live inside the **** till you have better accommodation **(..)** you **can** sleep you **can** [*AS:* this better] **because** we **can** try to have a good condition for you **(.)** **because** I **can** call him another time then [*AS*: why? Why? I'm not sick! You **can** give me] NO**::**! I **know** that you are not sick **(.)** we **know** **because** we read this certificate and **so** we **know** that you are not sick **(.)** **but** **they** **need to** have a new certificate **because** this is from two of February today is nineteen **(.)** **so** before to come **(..)** before to come they **need to** have a new certificate where **is write** that there are not any problem [*AS*: How much time?] after one day two days you **can** come [*IM*: You **don't have to** stay in ****] in **** **(.)** live with them **(.)** eat and **then** I **can** call again Mister ***** and say 'When this man come back he **need to** remain inside the house for all [*IM*: during the day] during the day **(.)** and he **need to** eat more time during the day' **(.)** **if** we **can** change the condition *no?* to stay inside **but** **if** they ask you to make this test **(..)** for one day **(.)** two day **(.)** come inside the hospital **(.)** you are not **eh** [*AS*: **if** one goes to hospital he doesn't come back] yes yes after one day two day **(.)** they **may** call all the test [*IM*: check-up] check-up **ehhh** *radiografie* **(.)** **if** all it's ok and you **can** come back in **** **(.)** live in **** **(.)** for six months [*AS*: no no no] in **** and then you come back here in **** [*AS*: no no I don't] in the tenth of this month **(.)** of the next month [*AS*: why I **cannot** go in the **** hospital?] **but** you don't **have to** change everything **(.)** you have the new appointment in **** in the tenth of March and you **can** come in **** you **don't have to** change everything **(.)** is only one day two day to make this test and then the tenth of march [*AS*: antie antie antie I **can't** go] the tenth of march you **can** come back in **** **(.)** you **can** remain with your doctor **(.)** is only for one time **(.)** for one time **(.)** **then** you have appointment in March and in March you **can** come back to your doctor [*AS*: no no I] **eh** Mister **** I say you what is the situation **(.)** now where you come to sleep? Now **(.)** WHERE **(.)** you **(.)** come **(.)** to sleep? I **want** to **know** [*AS*: **eh ehe**] where? [*AS*: I **will** be there] *Dove*?

(3) *AS*: I **will** be running in the streets [*AS*: In the street?] yeah

(4) *LA*: **Ah** **because** you have the condition to **(.)** the health condition to sleep inside the street?

(5) *AS*: In **** like everybody I **should** leave during the day

(6) *IM*: But after you don't stay during the day out **(.)** you stay in the house **we** spea**::**k with **him** [*AS*: why] **if** you do this exam in **** when you come back you **can** stay [*AS*: why not here? Why not here?] in **** on the night on the day too [*AS*: why not here?]

(7) *LA*: It's not possible **(.)** I called **them** and they say 'it's not possible **(.)** **because** we wrote a certificate some days ago **(.)** **so** for us for our hospital now it's not possible **(.)** it's possible only the tenth of march **(.)** in ****' so **(.)** the

only possibility to have immediately a certificate (.) is to come in **** (.) remain in **** for one day two days (.) **then they** give you a certificate [*AS*: I'**ll** never go] you are a free man you **can decide** for your life **but** this is not a good decision [*AS*: no no] for your life is not a good decision (.) **listen me** [*AS*: no no I **can't** go to ****] *e va be' allora* now this evening where you come to sleep? (.) Where?

(8) *AS*: Anywhere! I **can** stay in the station

(9) *LA*: In the station?

(10) *AS*: Yes

(11) *LA*: **So** (.) **if** you now you go out to the hospital some days ago (.) and now you come to sleep inside the train station?

(12) *AS*: What **can** I do? [*LA*: you **can** come in the hospital] no no

(13) *LA*: Is only a certificate! [*AS*: what kind of certificate? What kind of certificate?] no no is not a good decision (.) you are not in the condition to refuse (.) all the people are in the street (.) **so** it's a big possibility for you to live in **** centre (.) you **must be patience because** step by step you **can** have a better situation **but if** you **decide so** you **can** have only (.) more problem for you (.) for you (.) not for us (.) for us is not different

(14) *AS*: My problem is for you

(15) *LA*: For ME? It's the first time I meet you

(16) *AS*: Yeah wait (.) no **understand** me (.) I'm saying like my problem is is (.) concerning Italy (.) you **know** what to do [*LA*: **but** listen me!]

(17) I **know** all the foreign people in **** (.) and they are all my friends (.) **but if** you listen me (.) **if** you go out (.) **if** you go in the street [*AS*: **Mmm**] with your condition (.) you **can** have more problem for **your sick** (.) you **cannot** find any place to sleep for more (.) for a long long time [*AS*: don't worry] and **so** what (.)what you **have to** obtain (.) [*AS*: don't worry don't worry] and is only **because** you don't like to stay in the hospital for ONE DAYS! [*AS*: it's not one day it's not one day] for one day (.) **but** it's free (.) sorry (.) **but** hospital is not a prison (.) hospital is not a prison **if** you **decide** to go out to the hospital (.) you **can** go out (.) hospital is not a prison [*AS*: no**::**] **so if** after one day two days you **decide** to left them (.) you **can left** (.) **but** now **if** they say 'come to the hospital (.) make this test and then with the new certificate (..) he need a new one certificate (.) more recently (.) **ok?** And then with this certificate you **can** sleep and live with them (..) like other people [*AS*: **ah::** don't worry don't worry] like other people (.) **if** you come now you **can** have more problem than now [*AS*: no**::** they tell me to go out no**::** I **can't** do what you are asking me to do] you are a big man you an adult [*AS*: ye:s] you **can decide** alone [AS: **ehh**] **but** I **think** this is not good for you

(18) *IM*: We advice you to go in the hospital of ***** for a couple of days

(19) *AS*: Tell me to go to **** in the hospital I'm fine here
[…]

(20) *AS*: If you **need to** have some help (..) come in our office (.) **because** we **want** to help you (.) **ok? But** we are open only (.) in Thursday morning (.) **so if** you go away now (.) you **can** come back after one week (.) **but** I **know** what is the situation inside the train station (.) I **know** that is not a good solution [*AS*: I will never go to that place]

(21) *IM*: Listen to us! Our advice [*AS*: hei sister sister I don't go] ok (.) you are free (.) do what you **want** (.) only solution that we **can** give you in this moment (.)

is this (.) hospital of **** for a couple of days (.) <we don't have other solution now> **so** (.) go!
(22) *LA*: Only to obtain a certificate [*AS*: why not here? Why not here?]
(23) *IM:* **Because** there is no bed FREE!
(24) *LA*: Is full! Is full!
(25) *AS*: Who said that?
(26) *LA*: Hospital!
(27) *IM*: Now we speak with hospital in ****
(28) *LA*: Is full! So **if** you **need to** have immediately <like them ask> a certificate you **have to** come <in another hospital> (.) listen us (.) why are you so hard?
(29) *AS*: No no I'm not hard [*LA*: yes yes] no
(30) *LA*: If I say you this is only to help you (.) <only to help you> listen me (.) we have big experience with foreign person and we **know** (.) is very hard to live without an accommodation (..) after some days you are no clean (..) after some days you have not a place to sleep [*AS*: this is the reason I'm telling you] you **can decide** [*AS*: no I'm not deciding you're deciding] no you **decide** no:: YOU (.) this is our system (.) is not beautiful (.) **but** is this (.) **so** inside this system you **must** accept [*AS*: no no **they decide**] something for yourself not for us <for yourself> and [*AS*: no no no] then you **can** obtain some help [*AS*: no no no]
(31) *IM*: In this moment all we **can** do is this [*AS*: **Ahh** thank you thank you]
(32) *LA*: We **cannot** make other **because** you don't give us the possibility to help you
(33) *IM*: If you **want** come back come back ok **think** about it
(34) *AS*: No (..) auntie no no (..) you **know** (..) >don't make it that you don't **know** you **know**< [*LA*: **But** is only to obtain a certificate]
[…]
(35) *IM*: *Vabbe'* (.) we are here
(36) *LA*: **If** you **need** some help (.) you **can** come back

4.1. Acoustic analysis

The intercultural mediation process under analysis is a typical example of an 'unequal encounter' based on persuasive aims and pragmalinguistic power asymmetry. The main emerging peculiarity of the dialogue is the unbalanced distribution of conversational moves corresponding to a considerable employment of paralinguistic tools in the performing of speech acts. To fulfil her illocutionary goals, the LA activates different phono-prosodic strategies as revealed by the acoustic analysis (cf. Figure 1 below). A wide variety of prosodic resources are employed to focus on lexical and semantic items with a pragmatic aim, including pitch accent placement, pauses and silence, phrase boundary placement, prominence, pitch movement variations and focus marking (as signalled in the transcription).

As an ELF user, the lawyer tends to transfer her L1 phono-prosodic features to spoken interactions: she operates evident L1 variations involving intonation (patterns of pitch rises and falls and pattern of stress), rhythm, contrastive stress (used to mark words, phrases or clauses), pauses (used to

signal pragma-syntactic boundaries), speech and articulation rate, intensity, distribution of theme vs. rheme information in intonation units, all of which are typical of her Italian-Apulian variety.

Moreover, the LA tends to manage the whole interaction without the help of a language mediator (even if present). Therefore, her linguistic and paralinguistic effort is totally devoted to fulfil her illocutionary goals, i.e. giving new information to the AS and finally persuading him to accept her solutions, yet neglecting the cross-cultural gap between her Western perspective in considering medical and assistance treatments and his non-Western 'schemata', which probably a language mediator may have been able to fill.

Besides, the phonological analysis reveals a shift in the LA's phonopragmatic attitude throughout the exchange. Figure 1 is an telling example of the opening prosodic and phonological behaviour shown by the LA in her several cues:

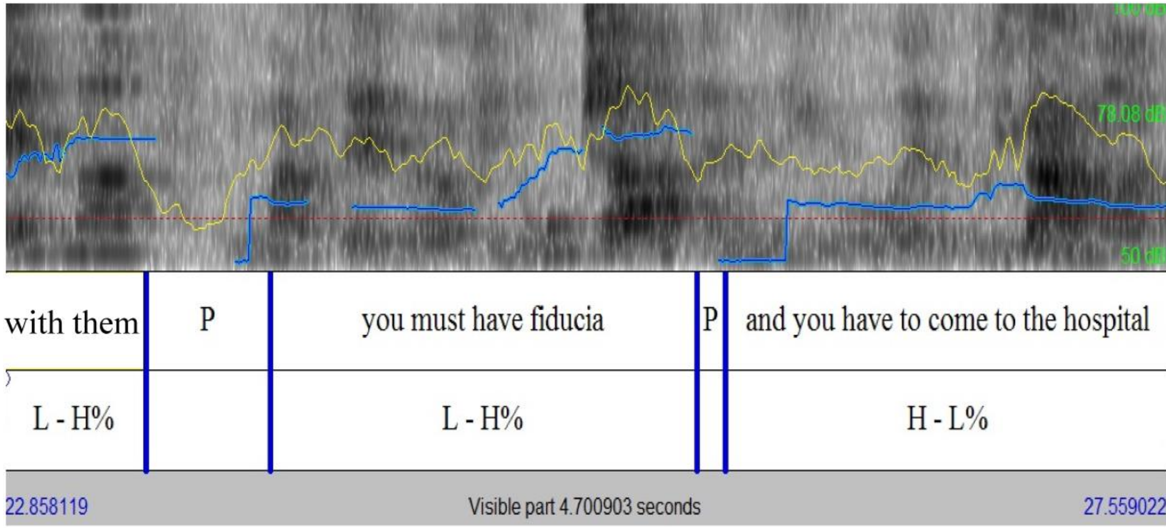

Figure 1
The utterance waveform, the *f0* contour, the intensity and the spectrogram of an utterance in turn (1).

The acoustic analysis shows to what extent prosodic signals can be used to measure and detect intentionality in speech. In this case study, it is also necessary to underline that the lawyer's ELF variation (marked by a number of Italian intonational and paralinguistic transfers) is here employed with the aim of enabling and simplifying the accessibility of her persuasive message about crucial medical and bureaucratic issues, which are noticeably problematic for the migrant. The phonological and prosodic dimension of this passage is crucial, as marked by a phonopragmatic use of timing and L1 intonational phrasing transfer, pauses and maximum pitch (perceived also in terms of intensity) on key-directives employed by the LA (as also underlined

in Figure 1 on words such as *fiducia, come, hospital*).

The LA's phonopragmatic behaviour is particularly interesting because it reveals a gradual change of attitude throughout the encounter: from (1) to (4) the paralinguistic patterns employed to convey her illocutionary aims are characterized by regular tonal trend, low intensity and slow speech rate. After perceiving the AS's opposition, the LA changes her paralinguistic position: from (11) to (17) her voice is creaky with a great increase in speech rate, intensity and pitch movements, signalling her personal emotional involvement, communicative distress and illocutionary failure. Spectrogram in Figure 2 is an interesting example of this marked phonopragmatic behaviour:

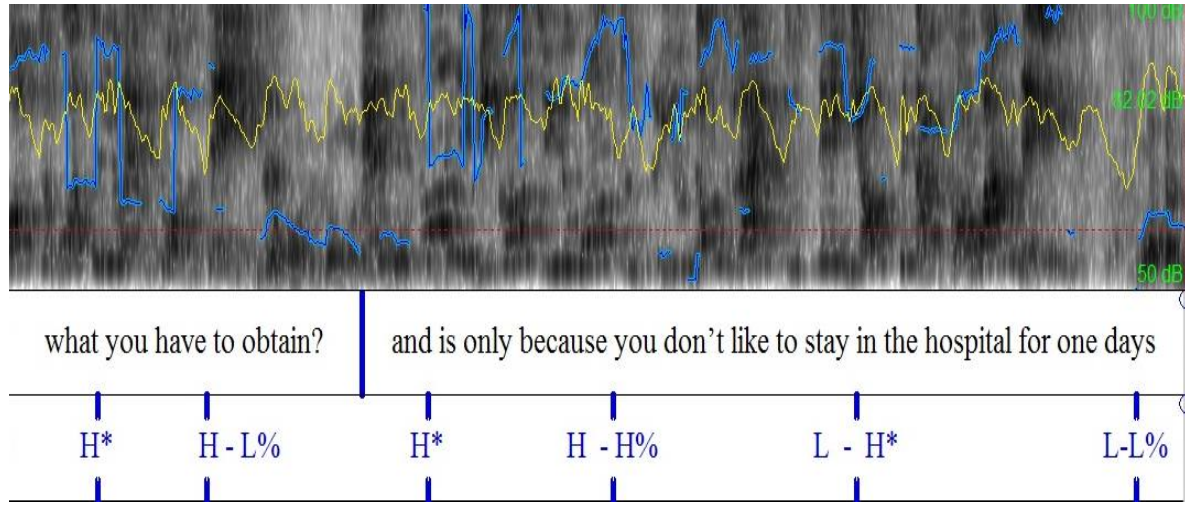

Figure 2
The utterance waveform, the *f0* contour, the intensity and the spectrogram of an utterance in turn (17).

On the other hand, the AS adopts an unusual (only apparently) phonopragmatic attitude: his replies are limited to several repetition in overlapping speech, moving from very short and unvoiced disfluencies (throughout the exchange as a steady vocal background) to dispreferred backchannels, often produced by means of high volume and frequent tonal pitch movements, in order to produce effective perlocutionary impression on the LA.

4.2. Conversational analysis

The phonopragmatic analysis is useful to reveal hidden and invisible communicative dynamics among interlocutors. This is particularly interesting when investigating intercultural encounters and mediation processes. At the basis of the exchange in case study 1 there is a serious socio-cultural divergence in conceiving medical treatments and representing asylum-

seeking status. The conversational analysis confirms and supports this ethical perspective and consolidates the previous phonopragmatic outline.

The exchange is marked by the LA's very extended eliciting moves in (1) and (2) that sound like a monological comment of the AS's current situation. His frequent overlapping speech and underneath backchannels interrupt the LA's challenging moves in (4), (9), and (11) and dispreferred responses in (7) and (13). The rhetorical strategy performed by the Italian lawyer in order to persuade the asylum-seeker to undergo the necessary hospital treatments is repeatedly constructed and deconstructed during the conversation, with correspondent phonopragmatic changes, as for instance in the very long cues in (17) (20), and (30).

On the other hand, the IM's role in the exchange can be rightly considered controversial. Her intervention is quite limited (probably by choice) and her moves in (6), (18), (21) are prescriptive and summoning, which is not particularly peculiar to an intercultural mediator.

4.3. Register analysis

As far as register and discourse management are concerned, the whole exchange is characterized by the frequent repetition of the same concept, namely the Italian medical protocol for infectious diseases.

The LA's long utterances are cohesively and coherently constructed by means of parataxis and coordination (she often uses *if, because, but, and, so* in the logical building of past and future events and prescriptions), and declaratives (e.g. *I say you what is the situation*). Moreover, the 'schema'-biased conversational framework is also marked by an interesting contrast between *they/them* and *we/us* in the Italian officers' representation of relations and power status.

The use of deontic modality (i.e. *can, need, don't have to, must, will*) confirms the LA's illocutionary aim in creating a mutual commissive framework around the AS's personal experience. In addition, the reciprocal use of mental verbs, such as *know, decide, want, think, understand*, by the three speakers involved, signals the epistemic quality of the conversation, based more on cross-cultural evaluation/judgement processes than on factual/action events.

As for verbal aspects, present simple is usually used to refer to past or present events, without distinction. However, it is noteworthy the use of continuous aspect as tool for conscious self-representation of current events and physical state by the asylum-seeker who actually is an ESL speaker.

Sentence structure and lexis are very simple. The Italian ELF variation applied to specialized migration domain results in popularized structures aimed at enhancing persuasion and reliance (e.g. *certificate, checkup, sick, doctor, hospital, *be patience, sleep, eat, condition, only solution*). Besides,

code-switching in (7) and (35) underlines the LA's and the IM's disappointment about the mediation failure.

5. Case study 2: 'schema'-biased attitudes in integration processes and practices

The second case study under examination is a particular case of mediation process in ELF carried out mainly by an Italian intercultural mediator (IM) with the help of a legal advisor (LA) to a Nigerian asylum-seeker (AS).

It is especially interesting to observe that, in the following passage, different socio-cultural 'schemata' about migration and asylum experience, and especially assisted repatriation, emerge from the participants' conversational exchanges.

The intercultural encounter is an example of informative mediation process, because the mediator supplies information to the asylum-seeker, introducing the unpleasant subject of return after asylum rejection and then developing it. In other words, the long encounter is based on a focus interview aimed at evaluating the real conditions for a voluntary repatriation:

(1) *IM*: Do you **know** **if** there in **** the situation is dangerous now?
(2) *AS*: (..) Everything (..) you **know** everything is a problem there (.) **but** to me **if** I'm staying around this place (.) anything come across me could take me danger (.) **so** for me to living here **so** (..) that's the problem (..) yeah anything you **want** (.) you **can** write I don't **know** (..) up to now **they** kidnap (.) **they** still continue in **** kidnapping right now **so** **hhh**
[...]
(3) *IM*: Do you have legal problems in ****?
(4) *AS*: Yes (.) I told you my story the problem I had before **so** what (..)
(5) *IM*: **Mmm**
(6) *AS*: **So** it's safer than here (.) **but** in my country (.) I ran out of my country **because** of some problem I have (.) **understood** what is (.) **so** now the police problem (.) my problem now is over **but** **they** kidnap people in **** (.) **they** kidnap (.) and **they** **know** my address **so** **if** **they** come across me anything up to me come to me that (..) **so::** anything up to me in my country kidnapping or people or any society (.) in my country is safer to live than **like** this (.) no document
(7) *IM*: **Mmm** (.) **but** you don't have a trial (.) an appeal
(8) *AS*: I have it before (.) I had it before (.) **but** you **know** I'm not sure the appeal is going to take place (..) I have three month now don't recognize in the country (.) I **cannot** go to (..) **so::** **tss** (..) my life is in danger also here
[...]
(9) *IM*: What kind of (..) degree do you have?
(10) *AS*: I have six years (..) school
(11) *IM*: Elementary?
(12) *AS*: Yes
(13) *IM*: Have you done formation courses in Nigeria?

(14) *AS*: No
(15) *IM*: In Italy?
(16) *AS*: No
(17) *IM*: Ok (.) your native language is?
(18) *AS*: Yoruba
(19) *IM*: **So** (.) in Yoruba you **can** write (.) read and (..) speak?
(20) *AS*: Yeah (.)
(21) *IM*: Other languages?
(22) *AS*: No
(23) *IM*: English
(24) *AS*: English yeah
(25) *IM*: You **can** write (.) you **can** speak (.) you **can** read?
(26) *AS*: Yeah
(27) *IM*: Italian?
(28) *AS*: **Eh**?
(29) *IM*: Italian?
(30) *AS*: **Eh** (..) I **can** speak it little not too much **but** (..)
(31) *IM*: Ok (.) what kind of job did you make in ****?
(32) *AS*: *Negotio* (.) *negotio*
(33) *IM*: **Ah** (.) driver
(34) *AS*: No (.) that was my father's business [*IM*: **ah**] today is *negotio* (.) that's my own profession (.) *negotion* (.) that's where you are selling the (..)
(35) *IM*: *Abiti*?
(36) *AS*: Yes (.)
(37) *IM*: Shopper?
(38) *AS*: Yes shop (.) yes **so** the tanker driver was my father business
(39) *IM*: Ok (..) **would** you **like** to follow some formation courses in your country?
AS: When I go back yes
(40) *IM*: What kind of jobs **would** you **like** to do?
(41) *AS*: I just **want** to go back school (.) to study to go back school (.) to school (..) that's what I **want eh** (..) or *negotion* this **maybe** this *commercio*
[…]
(42) *AS*: Yes (.) **because** I'm just here five years (..) now I have problem **so** in Nigeria also there is problem **so** up to day **they** still kidnap in Nigeria up today **so but** now I'm living here **so** I don't have not my document **so** I'm tired (.) I'm not fine again (..) **so that's why** I **decided** to go back (..) **because** I don't have protection
(43) *IM*: Do you risk to be arrested?
(44) *AS*: If I go back they arrest me in the airport
[…]
(45) *IM*: Are you fine? Are you well?
(46) *AS*: Now?
(47) *IM*: With your health
(48) *AS*: I'm not ok (.) I'm not fine (.) just I'm not fine **so is better for me** to go where my family live (.) who care for me (..)
(49) *IM*: **Mmm**
(50) *AS*: I **know** you tried (.) you tried and **so** thank you (.) thank you very much **but so it's better for me** to **decide** to go back
[…]

(51) *LA*: Ok **eh** *allora* to come from the airport till **ehh** your village **(.)** your city **(..)** **they** pay for you everything **(.)** **ok?** **So** there are not any problem **(.)** **they** buy ticket or pay **(..)**
(52) *AS*: **They want** to give me to Nigerian immigration?
(53) *LA*: Nigeria immigration?
(54) *IM*: What do you mean?
(55) *AS*: **If they want** to help me **(.)** is better to give me to the embassy of Italian in Nigeria **(.)** **but** then **if they** give it to Nigerian immigration **(.)** now is finished **(.)** nothing for me **(..)** I don't have anything **(.)** **if they want** to help me not give it to Nigerian immigration or Nigerian government **(.)** no I'm here **(.)** **if they want they** help me in the Italian embassy in Nigeria or **they** help me here
(56) *LA*: *Ma tu vuoi tornare in Nigeria*?[3]
(57) *AS*: Yes **(.)** yes I **want** to come back **(.)** **but** anything **they want** to do for me **(.)** **they should** help me with the Italian embassy in Nigeria **(.)** anything **they want** to do to help me [*LA*: **eh**] **but** Nigerian immigration
(58) *LA*: 'Immigration' what is?
(59) *AS*: Nigeria
(60) *LA*: Immigration like government? Nigerian government?
(61) *IM*: What do you mean with 'immigration' **(.)** sorry?
(62) *AS*: *La questura* **(..)**
(63) *IM*: **But they** left you in Nigeria **(.)** you are free **(..)** not in *questura* **(.)** in a place that you **want**
(64) *AS*: Yes **(.)** **but you don't understand** **(..)** **if they want** to assist me to me to stay a better life in Nigeria **(.)** a good life in Nigeria **(.)** anything **they have to** give it to Italian embassy in Nigeria **(.)** **so if they** give it to Nigerian immigration or Nigerian government **(.)** all this thing **(..)** I **cannot** get anything
[...]
(65) *AS*: I'm tired **(.)** I **don't know** what to do **(.)** November **(..)** the time is very far **tss** **(..)**
[...]
(66) *AS*: Is finished here?
(67) *LA*: No wait some minutes **because** **e::h** there are another form **so if** you **prefer** you **can** sign **(..)** and then **we can** complete it too with the same information
[…]
(68) *AS*: **So** October?
(69) *LA*: No **(.)** November it's impossible **(.)** for October **(..)**
(70) *AS*: **But** you **will** give me a copy of this one?
(71) *LA*: **Eh** yes
(72) *AS*: Is it possible?
(73) *LA*: *Sì*
[…]
(74) *LA*: Yes now when it's ready **(.)** I **will** send it tomorrow morning and then **(.)** **we will** meet **(.)** the third of September
(75) *AS*: Ok

[3] ***But*** *do you* ***want*** *to come back to Nigeria?*

5.1. Acoustic analysis

Here the phonopragmatic analysis reveals that the focus strategies applied, as well as the variations of ELF used (Nigerian and Italian variations of ELF), are different from those examined in the previous case-study.

More precisely, the previous extract is an example of a typical mediation process where the IM assists the LA in preparing the AS's reconstruction and entextualization of his personal experience in Italy, after the rejection of his asylum request. The use of ELF (rather than Standard English) by both the intercultural mediator and the legal advisor is aimed at – as usual in an ELF communicative context – enhancing the intentionality of their utterances, neglecting standard forms and structures. The IM's main objective is to provide the AS with a better accessibility to legal and bureaucratic issues regarding the long and complex asylum-seeking procedure, which is completely new to his socio-linguistic and cultural background.

As a consequence, once again, phonopragmatic strategies are exploited by the speakers with the illocutionary aim of underlining crucial parts of the message, and to make the process of understanding legal-bureaucratic procedures easier and more effective for their receiver. In addition, together with the L1 pragmalinguistic influence on ELF, the speakers' involvement is also signalled by a change in either speech rate (in terms of numbers of words per minute) and pitch range (i.e. in terms of low/high frequency variation of voice).

The phonopragmatic analysis conducted by considering different levels of investigation and by means of the acoustic and spectral study shows that the phonological and prosodic dimensions of this passage are influenced by the conversational dynamics of the exchange. After an evidential opening from (1) to (8) and the surveying interview, the AS, elicited by the IM's series of questions, finally reveals his attitude and viewpoint in (42): Figure 3 shows an interesting tonal pattern commonly used by the man during the exchange, especially around phonopragmatically marked utterances:

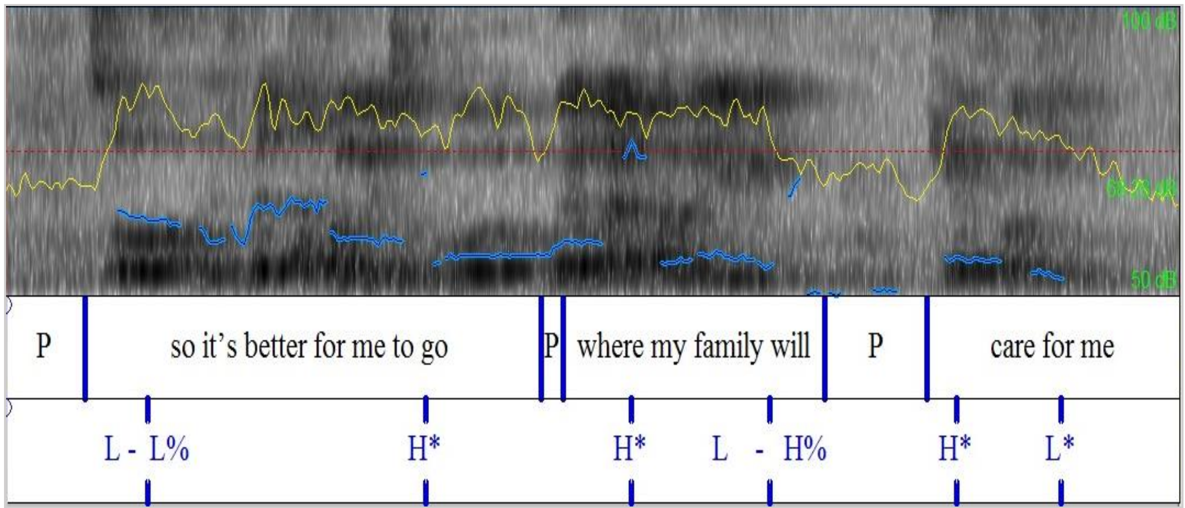

Figure 3
The utterance waveform, the *f0* contour, the intensity and the spectrogram of an utterance in turn (48).

Sometimes, the AS's paralinguistic behaviour appears ambiguous: he mainly employs a condescending tone, but his interlocutor, the IM, is not always able to interpret his attitude towards the issue of the conversation: in (6) and (8) the increasing speech rate reveals tension and irritation. After the interview, the AS's same phonological attitude persists towards the LA in (55) and (64). Figure 4 shows, instead, a more assertive pattern, which appears to be more introspective than perlocutionary:

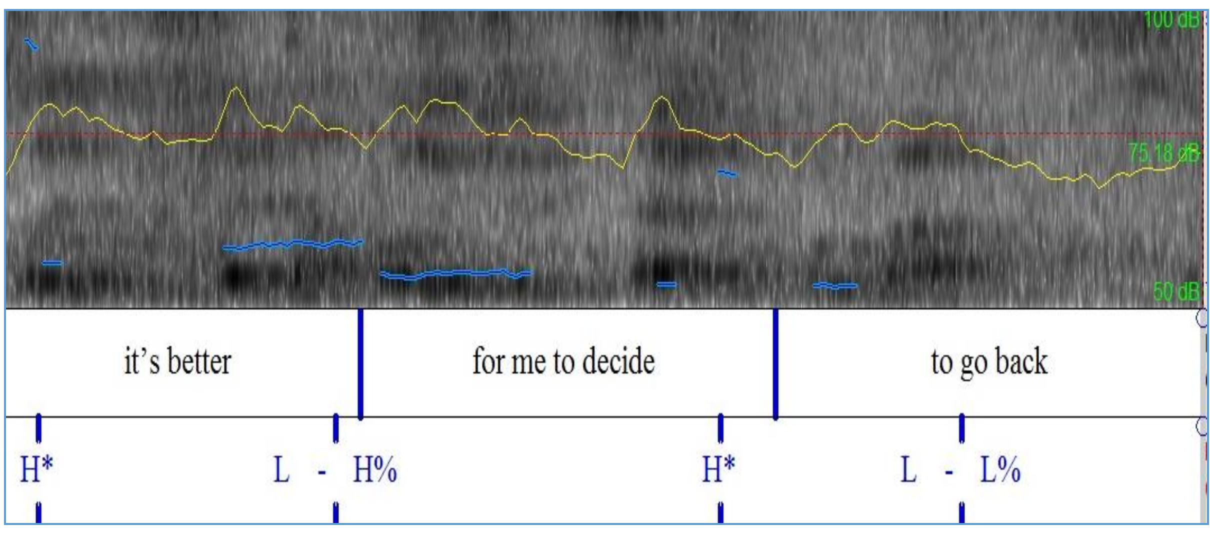

Figure 4
The utterance waveform, the *f0* contour, the intensity and the spectrogram of an utterance in turn (50).

On the other hand, the IM uses an authoritative tone as she takes on the leading and 'gatekeeping' role of the exchange: her mainly questioning and

eliciting moves are signalled by means of regular falling-rising contours and high intensity to sound more persuasive and engaging (e.g. in (40), (43), (45) and (61)).

5.2. Conversational analysis

The same dynamic pragmatic framework is further supported by the conversational pattern woven throughout the interaction between the IM and the AS. Hence, the phonopragmatic analysis reveals the multimodal construction of meaning and pragmatic intensions realized through a mutual exchange of acts (i.e. the mediator's illocutionary force affected by Western-oriented perspectives and socio-cultural backgrounds on the asylum experience, triggering the migrant's perlocutionary effects of signalling communication breakdown and mediation failure).

In this long exchange, the LA and the IM exchange their roles during the mediation process: the LA appears only in (51), after a long interview carried out by the IM with a usual series of elicitations in order to collect information about the AS' legal position, before giving place to the LA who re-gains the 'gatekeeping' position from (51) to (67).

As a consequence, the moves in (1), (3), (7), (43), (45), and (47) are all eliciting and focusing means to build the AS's personal story and asylum experience after rejection in order to establish the effective desire and willingness to voluntarily come back in his country. Nonetheless, the AS's backchannels in (42), (48), (50), (55), (57), (64), and (65) reveal the AS's psychological distress, amplified by a negative and traumatic migration experience, where denials, marginalization and isolation derive from opposed and conflicting perspective in considering socio-cultural experience such as migration, family relationships and sense of belonging to one's own country, divergent in Western and non-Western cultures, as the IM's and the LA's challenging moves in (49), (54), (56), (61) and (63) underline.

Indeed, the Italian officers seem to perceive the AS's anxiety and discomfort, which are not the required assumptions for voluntary repatriation, but eventually still resume the Western stereotypes and socio-cultural schemata about migration experience and personal values, legal procedures and protocols supported by the LA in (51) and (67).

5.3. Register analysis

Again, phono-prosodic attitudes correspond to lexical choices, in terms of novel lexical and morphological features and popularization processes on the one hand, and morphological and lexical simplification strategies on the other.

The IM's register is characterized by ELF accommodation strategies (e.g. *legal problem, a trial, an appeal, buy ticket, you are free*) and very brief questions aimed at improving her illocutionary goals, i.e. collect as much information as possible about the AS's personal experience to entextualize his narrative for the request of assisted repatriation.

On the other hand, the AS's backchannels show a dispreferred position about the IM's perspective underlined by frequent textual markers (e.g. *so, but, if*), verbs indicating mental processes (*decide, want, would like, understand, prefer*), and conative contacts (e.g. *you know*, *yeah*, *ehm*).

The application of prosodic and acoustic devices, especially by the LA and the IM, is not limited only to lexical and non-lexical elements (such as modal verbs; hedging cues and ELF syntactic patterns; conatives and disfluencies: *ok?, ah, mmm, hhh*), but it is extended also to paralinguistic elements involving kinesics, proxemics and voice quality (such as the legal advisor' and mediator's fixed gaze and their standing and upright position; and the migrant's lower gaze, seated position and uncomfortable posture and gestures). This reveals the speakers' willingness to fulfil their illocutionary goals of persuading and imposing their perspective on the one side, and of signalling distress, anxiety and a confused attitude on the other hand.

6. Case study 3: intercultural divergences in the perception and interpretation of legal-bureaucratic procedures

In the following exchange, an Italian mediator tries to gather accurate and relevant information from a Nigerian young man whose asylum application has been rejected. The mediator is aware of his troubled past of job exploitation in the Italian countryside as a farm worker; the whole encounter is based on this assumption. The following exchange, therefore, is particularly challenging because the mediator is alone during the preliminary encounter with the Nigerian AS and aims at reconstructing his personal experience, according to Western socio-cultural 'schemata':

(1) *LA*: **So if** you stay in **** and in **** is sure that you work more time **(.)** that you have not contract **(.)** *no?* Is sure **(.)** **so** there is a specific project in **** who **can** help the person with this kind of problem **(.)** **ok?** **So we can try** to listen your story about your job condition and **then we can** go together to this project to **understand if** it's possible to take a permit to stay for this problem **(.)** **ok?** **(..)** Now you **can** speak with our intercultural mediator and **so:**
[…]

(2) *IM*: Now **we can try** to reconstruct rebuild your story in Italy **(.)** **because we have to** find **if** **(.)** there are cases of exploitation in your job **(.)** when you have

worked here in Italy [*AS*: Yeah] **ok?** Let's start from **** when you arrived here in Italy (.) **ok? So** (.) you arrived in Italy (.) where?

(3) *AS*: Lampedusa
(4) *IM*: Lampedusa (.) and then
(5) *AS*: Lampedusa to Ragusa
(6) *IM*: Ragusa?
(7) *AS*: Siracusa
(8) *IM*: Siracusa (.) then
(9) *AS*: **They want** to (..) *questura* in Trapani (..) in Trapani I get *foglio di via*
(10) *IM*: **Mmm** (.) ok (.) and then you went when?
(11) *AS*: **They** give me *foglio di via* then I went to **** (..) I left Trapani to *****
(12) *IM*: Ok (.) what have you done in ****?
(13) *AS*: I've just been looking for job (.) people standing in the (..) and looking for job (.) I still leaving in *****
(14) *IM*: And then (..) have you found a job?
(15) *AS*: Yes (.) sometimes **if** you get it today (.) tomorrow no get (.) only to pay or to rent a house in ***** (.) **because you know** there is not a good job (.) **eh**
(16) *IM*: Ok (.) what kind of job?
(17) *AS*: **So** (.) sometimes in some people's house (.) sometimes someone called me (..) yeah
(18) *IM*: **Mmm** (.) ok (.) do you remember who called you? For job (..) African people
(19) *AS*: No**::** (.) Italian
(20) *IM*: **Mmm** (.) and then you **have to** pay for this (..) money?
(21) *AS*: Yes
(22) *IM*: And (..) do you remember their names?
(23) *AS*: Yeah (.) yeah (.) I get one of their names (..) **because** I don't have document (.) he **have to** pay me three hundred euro (.) *trecento euro* (..) they never paid me because I don't have any document
(24) *IM*: Ok and **ehh** where this happened?
(25) *AS*: In ****
(26) *IM*: In *campagna*
(27) *AS*: Yes (.) *campagna* (..)
(28) *IM*: And (..) do you remember the name of this man?
(29) *AS*: Yes (.) I have the telephone number (.) I **know** him in *campagna*
(30) *IM*: **Ah** (.) ok (.) last summer?
(31) *AS*: Last year (.)
(32) *IM*: **Eh** (.) ok **so** (.) you have worked in *campagna* in *****
(33) *AS*: Yes
(34) *IM*: **Ehm** how much time?
(35) *AS*: I begin the work in October 20**
(36) *IM*: And finished when?
(37) *AS*: March (.) March 20**
(38) *IM*: Ok (.) and during this period (..) °**they** have never paid you°
(39) *AS*: **They** have never paid me
(40) *IM*: **But** three hundred euros only (..) for all this period?
(41) *AS*: Yes
(42) *IM*: Only three hundred euros
(43) *AS*: Yes (.) only three hundred euros (.) *non c'è ora* (.) *quando stanco* (.)

mattina sette (.) *lavoro* (.) sometimes it was seven o'clock (.) sometimes three o'clock (.) sometimes four o'clock (.) **but they** don't **want** to give me the money

(44) *IM*: And where did you live?
(45) *AS*: I'm living in *campagna* (.) yeah
(46) *IM*: With him
(47) *AS*: No (.) no (.) no
(48) *IM*: In an abandoned (..) house
(49) *AS*: Yes (.) *bravo*
(50) *IM*: **E::h** (.) with other people
(51) *AS*: Yes with other people
(52) *IM*: Without light (.) without water
(53) *AS*: Without light (.) without water
(54) *IM*: **So** you have a person that transport you from the from the abandoned house to work?
(55) *AS*: Yeah (.) no (.) it not **so** far to work
(56) *IM*: **Ah** ok (.) and this man that you pay is an African man
(57) *AS*: No (.) is an Italian (..) ****
(58) *IM*: Ok (.) how much money?
(59) *AS*: *Giornata* is thirty euro (.) in **** you work for *cassetta*
(60) *IM*: **So** sometimes you started in the morning till afternoon or evening
(61) *AS*: Yes
(62) *IM*: And what kind of fruits? Tomatoes?
(63) *AS*: No (.) salads (.) olives
(64) *IM*: When you stayed in this house
(65) *AS*: Yeah
(66) *IM*: The food? Where did you find the food?
(67) *AS*: I went to **** to collect food
(68) *IM*: And now you live in *campagna*?
(69) *AS*: Yes (.)
(70) *IM*: Do you have any evidence that you worked there?
(71) *AS*: Yes (.)
(72) *IM*: What kind of evidence?
(73) *AS*: I have the telephone number (.) I have a *carta*
(74) *IM*: And you (..) **they** paid you one euro for *cassetta* (..) and in **** where did you live?
(75) *AS*: Abandoned house (.)
(76) *IM*: Like in ****?
(77) *AS:* Yes
(78) *IM*: And how many *cassetta* did you=
(79) *AS*: =Sometimes fifteen *cassetta* (.) sometimes twelve (..)
(80) *IM*: **But** (..) fifteen euros (..)
(81) *AS*: Yes (.)
(82) *IM*: And then you received this money (..) at the end of the day?
(83) *AS*: Yes (.) no (..) of some week
(84) *IM*: At the end of the week
(85) *AS*: Yeah
(86) *IM*: **Ehm** (.) ok (..) with other people?
(87) *AS*: Yes (.) many people

(88) *IM*: And you worked Monday till (..)
(89) *AS*: Sunday (..) Monday to Sunday (.) throughout the week
(90) *IM*: **But** there there were bad people? (..) who exploited you?
(91) *AS*: Yes (.)
(92) *IM*: What kind of people?
(93) *AS*: The *padrone* is the farmer (.) is Italian (.) and then he have one (..) one black man
(94) *IM*: **So** there were white people and black people together?
(95) *AS*: No:: (.) is black people and the owner is a white man (.) the farm owner
(96) *IM*: Ah (.) and these black people were friends of this (..)
(97) *AS*: The owner yes (.)
(98) *IM*: And then you went away from ****
(99) *AS*: I went away when the condition is too bad
(100) *IM*: Why?
(101) *AS*: **Because** the place where I was sleeping is not good (.) and everyday the rain beating (.) you **know**
(102) *IM*: **Eh**? (.) Who beat?
(103) *AS*: The rain (.) the rain
(104) *IM*: **Ah** ok (.) ok (.)
(105) *AS*: **Because** this work begin in January
(106) *IM*: Yes (.) yes (.) **so** nobody beat you?
(107) *AS*: No (.) nobody beat me (.) I'm not well (.) I'm sick
(108) *IM*: **But** condition like this (..) you found in other place where you worked (.) **so** bad (..)
(109) *AS*: No (.) no=
(110) *IM*: **Because** sometimes for you is not bad **but** for the Italian law this is not right (.) **ok?**
(111) *AS*: Yeah
(112) *IM*: **So try** to remember (..)
[…]
(113) *IM*: Ok (.) **so we can try** to reconstruct your story and then next **we**ek **we try** to talk with this new project (.) now **we have to** write your story in Italian
(114) *AS*: **It's better for me** to come back next week
(115) *IM*: Yes
(116) *AS*: Ok

6.1. Acoustic analysis

At the beginning of the encounter, the LA starts by means of an assertive eliciting move in (1), which is pronounced in a falling tone and at a slow and articulated rate interrupted to frequent pauses. This phonopragmatic behaviour is requested by the demanding task assigned to the IM, namely inquiring into the AS's personal past events.

Therefore, from (2) to (112) the IM's moves are all clearly aimed at investigating and reconstructing the latter's asylum experience. Figure 5 can be seen as a representative example of a dialogic exchange between the IM and the AS, which is clearly influenced by the former's inquiring tone:

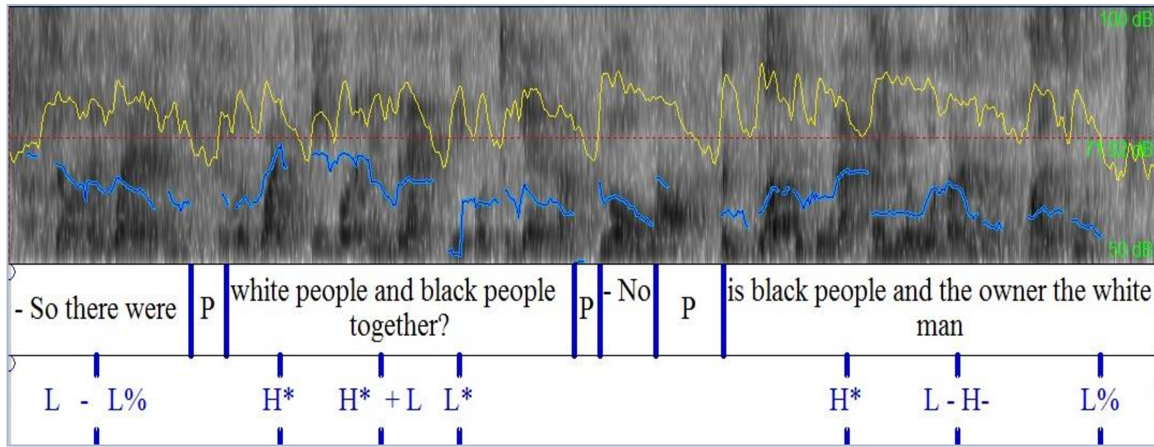

Figure 5
The utterance waveform, the *f0* contour, the intensity and the spectrogram of turns (94)-(95).

Nonetheless, throughout their conversation, the IM perceives that the AS's narrative of his past experience in Italy is not satisfying as expected, and her final eliciting moves are mainly characterized by a tonal transfer from the Italian variation she speaks, typical of the South-eastern part of Italy. In Figure 6 the IM's utterance is marked by rising-falling-rising tone typical of the Italian question pattern; moreover, the marked use of pauses before phrase boundary signals a deliberate perlocutionary intention:

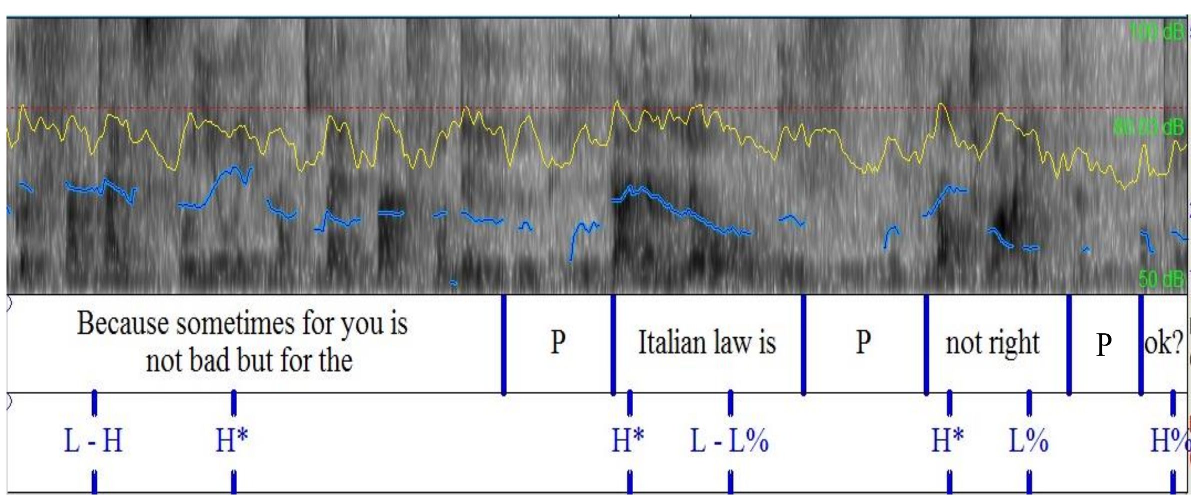

Figure 6
The utterance waveform, the f0 contour, the intensity and the spectrogram of turn (110).

On the other hand, the AS's phonopragmatic behaviour appears neutral and detached, which is perceived as ambiguous and misleading by the western-biased the IM's perspective. Her frequent disfluencies in formulating questions and comments signal an uncontrolled management of her 'gate-keeping' role in leading the mediation process. Most probably, different

socio-cultural 'schemata', activated during the exchange by both speakers involved, affect the mutual judgemental process of this intercultural exchange. A mutual lack of confidence and suspicion is perceivable during this exchanged.

6.2. Conversational analysis

The move/act analysis is again a practical tool to detect the unequal biases emerging from cross-cultural encounters. The exchange under scrutiny consists of an unsuccessful 'gate-keeping' interview (Roberts & Sayers 1987) conducted by the IM who, as seen in the previous paragraph, tries to carry out a series of eliciting moves in order to obtain important information about the AS's past, as overtly confirmed by the declarative move in (2). Yet the latter, apparently uncooperative, regularly replies with preferred responses, descriptive of his job experience in the Italian countryside.

However, the long series of the AS's preferred responses (from (15) to (88)) induce the IM to introduce a Western perspective concerning human and workers' rights, above all in (90) and in (108), further supported in (110), echoing the LA's turn in (1). However, turn taking here is pragmatically inconsistent and asymmetric: the IM's approach is affected by the LA's directives related to strictly legal issues since she is implicitly willing to make the AS aware of his critical position in the foreign country where he in vain asked for asylum. Therefore, the mediation process is unable to fulfil the initial illocutionary purposes and concludes with a downgrade closing in (113), supported by the AS's rejection finalizer in (114).

6.3. Register analysis

In the first part the IM, who aimed at investigating the AS's past, neglects textual accuracy. Her questions are often incoherent and 'schema'-biased (Guido 2008) since they do not respect the AS's *accessibility* and *informativity* (van Dijk 1980) about the legal consequences related to court denials and job exploitation. The register is quite low and informal, often marked by ELF accommodation strategies.

Besides, status asymmetry between the IM and the AS is mainly conveyed by the 'gatekeeping' interrogation tone used by the Italian mediator. However the IM downgrades her leading position through the employment of stylistic and textual devices such as the use of *we* as well as of modal verbs; yes-no and wh-questions alternated to rhetorical questions (e.g. in (54), (56), (60)) – where the textual marker *so* acquires a conclusive value aimed at entextualizing the AS's declarations; disfluencies (e.g. *mmm, ah, eh*); and marked textual structures (e.g. *Now we can try to reconstruct, ok?, But condition like this (..) you found in other place where you worked, so*

we can try to reconstruct your story).

What the IM really wants is to help the young man; she is visibly careful and fairly committed as it becomes evident in her use of the present tense for past actions, conatives, hedges and acknowledging moves. Nonetheless, the IM's repeated attempts inexorably fail; her discourse strategy is pragmatically unproductive and does not cause the expected results on the AS, namely verifying his legal position and providing him with useful information for humanitarian protection. Moreover, after the IM's overt declarative in (110), performed with hesitancies and pitch emphasis, the AS dispreferred vague reply (cf. *yeah*) shows his uncooperativeness and not completely explicit attitude probably due not so much to reticence as to socio-cultural 'schema' divergence, derived from different lingua-cultural background.

7. Conclusions

Mediation processes in immigration domains require a significant communicative effort, especially from the mediator's side. This type of activities involves a certain amount of suprasegmental and rhythmic features, such as employing a measured pace that is appropriate for his/her interlocutors, who often are refugees or trauma victims, and other paralinguistic and extralinguistic features (voice quality, facial expressions, posture, gestures, eye movements and gaze, body movements and space management). Since cross-cultural mediation exchanges are spontaneous and urgent, they also show a greater emotional and attitudinal involvement in the topic of discourse or in the interaction, which may emerge in different ways as speakers modify and affect their speech prosody according to linguacultural transfers from L1, as well as pragmatic conveyance of intentionality.

In the three case studies under analysis, speakers tend to modulate their prosodic patterns and intensity level, and to change quantity and duration of pauses as well as their pitch range and focus by applying different speech rates and prominence. This use of prosody may result in perception difficulties, if not in misunderstandings, for any speaker involved in intercultural conversations, especially when different ELF variations are spoken as a means of communication with low level of proficiency and accuracy, and speakers' native languages possess intonational systems, which differ considerably from each other.

Moreover, the data provided in this paper for the phonopragmatic analysis has revealed that L1-affected ELF variations (rather than Standard English) are constantly employed in mediation processes or in intercultural

exchanges involving migrants and officials or experts. If the use of ELF is aimed at enabling and simplifying the semantic accessibility of legal-bureaucratic procedures and concepts by migrants from different lingua-cultural backgrounds, it is also true that it may even cause miscommunication and misinterpretation of the message. Furthermore, the pragmatic control of intonation patterns in conveying attitudes and emotions account for idiosyncratic perceptive interpretation of emphasis on salient parts of the utterance as well as of silence and other paralinguistic and extralinguistic cues (e.g. shifts in intensity or speech rate).

Therefore, the advocated follow-up of this research could include a more detailed investigation of the effects produced by the illocutionary acts emerging from mediation exchanges and partly analysed in this study. This could help to explore the perlocutionary effects and potential misunderstanding triggers by all the participants involved in these kinds of cross-cultural interactions. Mediators' training should take into account that intentionality is always interpreted according to perceived auditory schemata in perception, which are affected by receivers' linguacultural and pragmalinguistic backgrounds. In this case, therefore, the phonopragmatic analysis may be useful not only to measure and detect the employment of phono-prosodic strategies revealing speakers' illocutionary acts, but also to make future mediators aware of the mechanisms underlying mutual positioning and perception, as well as possible triggers for misinterpretations, in order to avoid and prevent them.

The approach applied in this study may provide useful basic tools for the improvement of the mediators' education and training, not only in legal-bureaucratic contexts. More attention and research investigation need to be devoted to this crucial and necessary figure in intercultural communicative settings with the aim of developing adequate and varied practice programmes in mediators' education and training.

The results of this study have confirmed that prosody is one of the most relevant communicative means speakers and listeners use both in the production and in the interpretation of speech acts, along with the choice of lexical and syntactical items, paralinguistic and extralinguistic tools. At the same time, the phonopragmatic analysis has also shown how difficult and challenging investigating (spontaneous) spoken discourse can be. Hence, further investigation should aim at analysing the role of socio-cultural and pragmatic factors in the use of prosodic patterns as well as in the effects of illocutionary acts in the cross-cultural mediation processes, in terms of perlocutionary effects on interlocutors.

Considered from this perspective, the phonopragmatic approach could be a useful pedagogical strategy applied to the training of any kind of intercultural mediator – especially in a prevailing ELF-oriented attitude and

expanding scenario – who, in order to play a successful and effective mediation role, should consider not only the pragmalinguistic processes involved in conversation (in terms of a correct semantic and pragmatic disclosure of the linguistic message), but also paralinguistic and extralinguistic approaches and phonopragmatic habits deriving from different L1s and transferred by each speaker to his/her respective use of ELF.

Bionote: Silvia Sperti is a Lecturer and Researcher in English Linguistics and Translation at Roma Tre University and an Intercultural Mediator. She holds a Ph.D. in English Linguistics applied to Intercultural Communication from the University of Salento (Italy). Her research interests focus on the investigation of phonopragmatic and socio-cultural dimensions of intercultural communication in specialized discourse, with special attention to ELF variations and World Englishes in cross-cultural interactions, mediation processes and language teaching. Her publications include: *Phonopragmatic Dimensions of ELF in Specialized Immigration Contexts*, "Investigating ELF intercultural mediation in asylum-seeking contexts. A phonopragmatic approach" and "ELF Reformulations of Italian 'Lingua Franca' Uses in the Subtitling of the Migration Movie *Lamerica*".

Author's address: silvia.sperti@uniroma3.it

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IMMUNOLOGICALLY SPEAKING: ORAL EXAMINATIONS, ELF AND EMI

HUGO BOWLES
UNIVERSITÀ DI ROMA "TOR VERGATA"

Abstract – "English-medium instruction" (EMI) is the name given to the use of the English language in universities to teach academic subjects in countries where the majority of the population does not have English as a first language (Dearden 2014). What this definition fails to mention is that interaction during EMI courses is almost entirely through the medium of English as a lingua franca (ELF). This article focuses on the challenges facing lecturers and examiners working on English-taught programmes (ETPs) in ELF and the role of language experts in supporting them. As a basis for discussion, the article uses data from a set of immunology oral examinations carried out during an undergraduate degree programme in Medicine being taught through EMI. Qualitative analysis of the data shows that this particular oral examination involves students and examiners co-constructing highly specific, chronological narratives of immunological sequences. It is argued that, far from being an exclusively linguistic matter, this kind of narrative co-construction involves acquiring a unique discursive skill set and that preparing students for the examination needs to involve increasing students' awareness and practice of the construction process. Discussion focuses on how far qualitative results of this kind of local examination data are generalisable to other EMI contexts and whether there are recommendations for language experts and policymakers in understanding and improving the quality of EMI lecturing and assessment through in other languacultures. The article will also examine how far an ELF orientation to pedagogy can assist EMI lecturers, examiners and students in their decision-making regarding materials, methods and their own English usage.

Keywords: English as a lingua franca; English-medium instruction (EMI); oral examination; knowledge transmission; immunology.

1. Investigating EMI and ELF

This article will investigate the way in which learning and knowledge are constructed through the medium of ELF during oral examinations of an immunology programme taught through "English-medium instruction" (EMI). EMI has been defined as "the use of the English language in universities to teach academic subjects in countries where the majority of the population does not have English as a first language" (Dearden 2014, p. 4) and has been expanding continuously across the world over the last 15 years. Dearden's

2014 survey of 55 countries was based on the premise of "a fast-moving worldwide shift, in non-Anglophone countries, from English being taught as a foreign language (EFL) to English being the medium of instruction for academic subjects such as science, mathematics, geography and medicine" (p. 4). This university-led shift from EFL to EMI has been confirmed in Europe-wide surveys (Ammon, McConnel 2002; Wächter, Maiworm 2015), which have shown an increase in English-medium instruction, typically in large institutions with a growing number of degree programs at bachelor's, master's and PhD levels delivered through English. Recent data from the Asia-Pacific region (Fenton Smith *et al* 2017) has confirmed this trend. One of Dearden's conclusions was that "the private sector will continue to drive the push for EMI for some years to come" and that "public institutions may therefore be constantly playing 'catch-up' in order to survive as places where quality education can be accessed" (Dearden, 2014, p. 32). One of the ways in which "catching up" in terms of quality can be successfully achieved is through research into learning and assessment on EMI courses. This article, which uses local data to discuss implications for EMI assessment more widely, aims to make a contribution to this kind of research.

1.1. EMI and the language/content curriculum

One of the most important educational questions raised by the expansion of EMI courses is how EMI relates to other types of learning context in which English is already used as a second language or as a lingua franca for the purposes of knowledge transmission. These contexts include primary and secondary schools in which CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning) has been adopted, as well as language schools and universities, in which courses in English for Academic Purposes (EAP) or English for Specific Purposes (ESP) have been the norm. The relationship between EMI and these other forms of teaching in English is shown in figure 1, which has been adapted from Airey (2016). The diagram shows the position of EMI on a continuum, ranging from language-focused teaching on the left to content-focused teaching on the right.

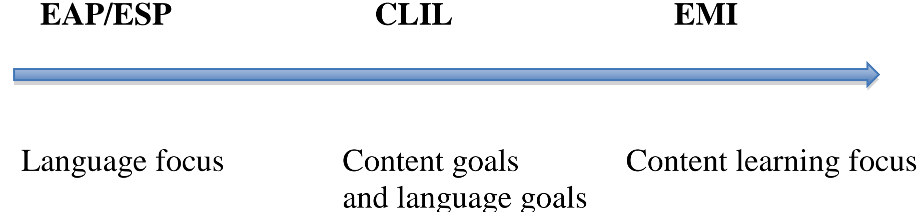

Figure 1
The language/content continuum (Airey 2016).

The teaching of EAP and ESP, on the left of the diagram, has traditionally had a strong language focus, while CLIL, in the centre, has adopted a mixture of content and language and aims to develop both. On the right, we have EMI, which involves content-based learning that happens to be in English. This "language-to-content" continuum is a useful backdrop for the question of the role of language experts in EMI courses. EAP and ESP courses tend to involve specialised language teaching, but for EMI courses, in which there is no declared aim of improving students' English, the role of the traditional English language teacher is called into question. If university authorities are required to set up quality control procedures for new English-taught programmes (ETPs), it is unclear what kind of criteria they might use to describe and support successful interaction between teachers and students. One of the aims of this article is to explore EMI teacher-student communication and the pedagogical problems raised by the interaction.

1.2. EMI oral interaction and ELF

Oral discourse studies are crucial for an understanding of the pedagogical implications of EMI, yet despite the proliferation of ETPs around the world, comparatively little research has been done on oral interaction in EMI contexts. Although there have been some classroom-based studies (Costa 2012; Basturkmen, Shackleford 2015; Molino 2015), they are vastly outnumbered by studies of lecturer and student perceptions of EMI (see Giordani 2016, for an extensive bibliography).

The global spread of the multilingual classroom (Kramsch 2014) and the increasing pedagogical focus of ELF (Sharifian 2009; Matsuda 2012; Bowles, Cogo 2015) are a challenge to current language learning and teaching policies in all kinds of context. This is particularly true for EMI courses, which are conducted almost entirely in ELF. The relationship of EMI with English as a lingua franca and its implications for teaching are relatively unexplored. The most detailed work on EMI oral interaction with an ELF focus are two book-length studies by Smit (2010) on a hotel management course and Björkman (2013) on university Applied Science programmes. Both books are qualitative studies, which provide important descriptions of ELF classroom discourse in EMI settings. Although Björkman recommends raising awareness of target ELF discourse as a pedagogical requirement, the variety of ELF discourse in different EMI contexts suggests that the nature of the awareness that needs to be raised is still highly specific and may require considerable expertise on the part of the applied linguist in identifying it and making it explicit to lecturers and students. By examining data from one EMI speech genre (the oral examination), this study aims to foreground this pedagogical problem and provide some further recommendations.

1.3. Oral examinations

The oral examination is a particularly important EMI speech event because it is an area of EMI in which student's language difficulties often come to the fore (Dearden 2014). There is a lack of research on oral examinations, perhaps because, in the anglophone world, most school and university examinations adopt written formats and so there has been no pedagogy-led drive to do research on oral assessment. This holds true even from monolingual perspectives. In Italy, for example, where there is a strong tradition of oral examination in schools and universities, apart from two studies by Ciliberti (1999) and Anderson (1999), very little research has been done on the oral examination as a situated practice.

As regards EMI assessment in general, perception studies in different countries have shown that students' difficulties in expressing themselves in English may adversely affect their exam results (Al-Bakri 2013; Borg 2011; Chapple 2015; Floris 2014; Sagucio 2016). One perception study has also shown that quality of English may be a factor in assessment which is causing bias, if the examiner is regarded as either making undue allowances in favour of students with presumed low quality English or marking them down because of it (Berdini 2016). Despite its being an area in which students' difficulties have been highlighted and whose objectivity has been called into question, very little research has been done on oral examination interaction in EMI contexts. Again, this may be partly due to the fact that examinations in traditional EMI subjects such as Engineering, Economics and Medicine are more frequently conducted in written formats, but it may be also because privacy laws and reticence on the part of university authorities make it difficult for researchers to obtain useful data. This study aims to make a start on researching this crucial area of EMI.

2. Data and method

The data to be discussed in the article is taken from university oral examinations of a course in immunology being taught through EMI at the Medical School of a university in central Italy. The immunology course and examination, which were conducted in ELF, were part of the 3rd year undergraduate programme at the Medical School. The examination was entirely oral and took place at the end of the course, though it could be repeated at 3-month intervals if the student failed. There were two examiners (E1 and E2 in the transcripts), who were both Italian L1, and each student was examined separately by each examiner for an average of 15 minutes. The examiners compared notes after examining a student in order to decide his or her final mark. Each examiner concentrated her questions on different aspects

of the immunology programme.

The corpus contains 30 recordings for a total of about 10 hours. There are 12 recordings of students whose L1 is not Italian (3 native speakers and 9 non-native speakers of English), and 18 recordings of students with L1 Italian. Having an L1 Italian examiner and an L1 Italian student doing an oral exam in English is not a typical ELF scenario, but it is extremely common on EMI courses in Italy, where there are fewer international students than in other countries. Informed consent for recording was obtained from examiners and students prior to the examinations, and recordings were transcribed in the Jeffersonian style. Transcripts were analysed qualitatively, using conversation analytic procedures with an emic orientation. Using this CA procedure means that although the data was full of the codeswitching, non-standard forms and repetition that are typical of ELF usage, analysis did not focus specifically on these features unless they were actually made procedurally relevant by the speakers themselves during the interaction (Seedhouse 2004, p. 42).

3. Results

Analysis was aimed at describing the distinctiveness of the immunology exams in line with Hyland's description of the disciplinary identity of academic discourse:

> Academic discourse helps to give identity to a discipline and we need to understand the distinctive ways disciplines have of asking questions, addressing a literature, criticizing ideas, and presenting arguments. (Hyland 2013, p. 179)

To accommodate Hyland's suggestion, results were divided into two sections. The first looks at discursive distinctiveness – the linguistic patterns that characterise the oral interaction - and the second at cultural distinctiveness – whether the interaction shows characteristics that can be identified with a local disciplinary culture.

3.1. Discursive distinctiveness

Preliminary analysis of the data suggested that the exam had a discernible macro-structure made up of three phases - an opening sequence, the main body of conversation and a closing sequence, in which the student's mark is decided.

The opening sequence involves negotiation of the topic of the exam, as shown in the following extract:

Extract 1 (E1, S13)
E = examiner; S = student
01 E1: thank you (7.0) okay this is enough so **let's talk about the(.)**
02 **maturation process of the T cells** the generation of T cells
03 S13: it's okay
04 E1: [**where the story begins?**
05 S13: [okay first of all progenitor eh (.)okay **the progenitor T cells**
06 **arrive () from the fetal liver** or the other bone marrow and they go

This opening sequence shows clearly that the expectation of the examiner is for a narrative. She begins by telling the student what the story is going to be about - "let's talk about the maturation process of the T cells" (l. 1-2). This "let's talk about" phrase, which seems to be a standard formula in the opening sequence, immediately introduces the examination as an interaction that is going to be co-constructed by the student and the examiner together. The examiner then asks the student to start - "where the story begins?" (l. 4) - and the student begins her narrative talking about the T cells - "the progenitor T cells arrive from the fetal liver" (l. 5-6). From this point on, the trajectory of the student's narration has to be constructed. It is a story that the examiner already knows and hopes the student also knows. She wants the student to tell it back *to* her and *with* her. This is how the examiner continues:

Extract 2 (E1)
036 E1: so e::h so **we are in the bone marrow** what
037 the progenitor that will become T cell what
038 does it do?

The expression "we are in the bone marrow" (l. 36) shows the examiner's strong orientation to the story, with an inclusive "we" projecting the idea that the examiner and the student are in the story together.

The examiners are both very clear that they want the story to proceed in a certain kind of order. In the next extract, the examiner introduces the narrative topic as tumor immunity and then seeks to establish its future trajectory:

Extract 3 (E2, S18)
14 E2: [ok, ok so ehm ok, so let's talk about tumour immunity=
15 S18: =ya.
16 E2: but you know, the [THE SECTIONS=
17 S18: [**the tumour-**
18 E2: [no, no, **don't start with the tumours**,
19 because **I am doing immunology**.
20 S18: ok.
21 E2: ok, so **we'll start with immunology**.
22 S18: ya.
23 E2: **but with innate immunity**=
24 S18: =ok=

25 E2: =first of all, because is the most important in this case.
26 S18: yes.
27 E2: ok? quindi, first of all is the ehm **innate [immunity**.
28 S18: [it's a tumour-, ya.
29 E2: then we will talk about what you were saying**, CTL**, and then
30 we will talk about ehm **tumour immunoediting** and tumour
31 escape, [ok?
32 S18: [right, ok.

The student starts her turn with "the tumour" (l. 17), but she is immediately interrupted by the examiner who says "no, don't start with the tumours" (l. 18) and qualifies it by quite pointedly saying "I am doing immunology" (l. 19). She explains this statement of identity by first saying "we'll start with immunology" (l. 21) and then defining the topic more precisely as "but with innate immunity" (l. 23). She continues in this vein, explaining exactly what she wants the student to talk about in sequence – first "innate immunity" (l. 27), then "CTL" (l. 29), then "tumour immunoediting" (l. 30). She is being very clear about the order in which the narrative is supposed to proceed.

However, troublespots sometimes occur in the interaction. In this next extract, the student is on the wrong narrative track:

Extract 4 (E2, S17)
98 E2: [Ok THE **ADAPTIVE adaptive** is also this you know? So can
99 you define what **adaptive** in your response
100 S17: the will be produced eh () **antibodies**
101 E2: no E NO I mean you have already talked about antibodies
102 S17: yes
103 E2: ok? **let's not talk about antibodies** I mean the adaptive response
104 **can you can you go back to the beginning of immunology**?
105 S17: yes

Here the examiner asks for an explanation of "adaptive". The student immediately starts talking about antibodies (l. 100), but the examiner stops her – "let's not talk about antibodies" (l. 103) - and asks her to go back to "the beginning of immunology" (l. 104) and start the story again. In all our data, there is a very strong orientation by the examiner to getting the story told in the right sequence.

Another way that the examiners have of signalling the order of the narrative is to connect it explicitly to their own level of understanding, as shown in the following extract:

Extract 5 (E2; S10)
23 S10: eh eh TM eh TM TM TM17
24 E2: ok (0.3) ok when are these activated by that antigen and by what
25 eh eh cytokines and what do they release? ok **so I'd like to**
26 **progress in this way otherwise I don't understand** it ok?

Here the examiner asks a series of questions in lines 24 and 25 and justifies the request by saying that she needs this sequence of answers because "otherwise I don't understand it" (l. 26). What the examiner means by "understand" here is not that she does not understand the sequence but that she does not understand the student's reasoning because it has not been expressed sequentially, and she can only get that understanding if the story is told in the right way. This comment illustrates once again that her questions are aimed at pointing the student in the direction she wants the narrative to go.

Understanding in the oral also needs to be reciprocal. It is not only the examiners who explicitly clarify what they have and have not understood. The next extract shows that the student also needs to understand what the examiner says she has understood and not understood:

Extract 6 (E1; S8)

243 S8:	[() antibodies () against antigen
244 E1:	not the result **I understand the result of the selection**
245 S8:	**ok**
246 E1:	**I do not understand how the selection is made** I mean if we
247	have two B cells ok that undergo mutation
248 S8:	**ok**

Here the examiner explains what she does understand with "I understand the result of the selection" (l. 244) and what she does not understand with "I do not understand how the selection is made" (l.246), and the student acknowledges her own understanding of the examiner's understanding with successive "ok"'s (ll. 245 and 248).

Another very powerful clue that the students need to pick up on is a very specific idea of explanation required by the examiner.

Extract 7 (E1)

225 E1:	if you **explain it instead of just sayin' a word** I can evaluate you

What the examiner means by "explain" is that the student needs to provide some kind of verbal proof of understanding. This reflects an Aristotelian perspective, which may underpin the style of oral examination generally in the Italian educational system, that knowledge cannot be said to have been achieved until it has been successfully communicated. In the case of immunology, the explanation has to be carried out in very careful steps. In extract 6 below, the examiner is very critical of the way the student has not included all the steps that she should have:

Extract 8 (E1; S17)

56 E1:	step two? no **step one is finished**
57	because if you don't know the part(h)icipants **let's go on step**
58	**two**
59 S17:	**adhesion**

60 E1: **no this is step three** I'm sorry. Cells need to be () on specific
61 signals to go to adhesion (.) that's why **there is a step two**
62 **between rolling and adhesion**.

Here the examiner says "step one is finished" (l. 56) and then "let's go on step two" (ll. 57-58). The student tries to say "adhesion" (l. 59) but is immediately corrected "no this is step three" (l. 60) and the examiner explains why – "there is a step two between rolling and adhesion" (ll. 61-62).

The fact that the exam is in ELF is not an impediment for this kind of step-by-step procedure. This becomes clear if we look at how a student who is a native speaker of English produced her narrative:

Extract 9 (S15)
18 S15: e::m (.) B- happens before, when you're acute, anyway em o::k
19 **I'll start with hyperacute**. **Hyperacute occurs**, initially, like
20 years back, before they knew anything about blood type, you
21 know, **it occurred** because they **transplanted** a bio- a different
22 bio blood type in with the transplant. And obviously this
23 **immediately initiates** () **because there's anti-a and anti-b**
24 **antigens**. U::h so the antibodies against these would attack the
25 endothelial cells of the vessels of the transplant, they'd ca:use
26 instant coagula:tion, ischemia, obviously ischemia=

Here the student has taken a very long turn. This is fairly typical of our data – speakers with English L2 tend to take shorter turns and speakers with English L1 longer ones. However, despite the length of the English L1 student's turn, the trajectory of her narrative is very unclear. The student is going backwards and forwards in her story without the kind of chronological sequencing that the examiner requires. She starts with the end product – "I'll start with hyperacute" (l. 19) – and gives it a present tense narrative – "Hyperacute occurs" (l. 19), but then reframes it as a past tense narrative – "it occurred … transplanted" (l. 21). She then goes back into the present – "this immediately initiates" (ll. 22-23) and then even further back to the cause – "because there's antigens" (l. 23). So her narrative is hard to follow because there are many different elements being introduced (antigens, antibodies, endothelial cells) in an order which is not chronological.

Narrative research has shown that a story with one character doing x, y and z in chronological order (*ordo naturalis*) is easier to follow than a story that is told with a character doing z, then y, then x in reverse chronological order (see Brown 1994, pp. 15-18). A story with *two* characters doing x, y and z is harder to follow than a story with *one* character doing x, y and z. This is not a question of the words being used in the narrative but of *how* they are being used and how this relates to the way we think. It is a question of cognitive load – having to keep track of different pieces of information at the same time. It is hard to follow what the English L1 student is saying in her

narrative because different concepts are piled on top of each other in an order that it is hard to keep track of.

The fact that the cognitive weight of a complicated utterance can undermine comprehension is highly relevant to EMI, where heavy noun phrases and complex structures are more frequent than in ordinary conversation. The fact that the examinations are being conducted in English as a lingua franca may even be advantageous for the sequential chronology required by the examiners. ELF usage tends towards accommodation and simplification and this tendency makes the kind of simplified step-by-step approach that is required in these immunology exams much easier to acquire.

Within this narrative framework, the data also shows that correct terminology is important for structuring the story. In extract 10 below, the examiner explicitly discusses this point:

Extract 10 (E1; S17)

45 S17:	selectins
46 E1:	OH **HOW MANY SELECTINS ARE THERE**?
47 S17:	there are mainly rolling type one and type four
48 E1:	how many selectins are there? how many selectins exist? type
49	one and type four (1.0) is not an answer that matches the question.
50	**CAN YOU NAME THE SELECTINS?**
51 S17:	no I can't
52 E1:	you can't. ok it's very difficult **to talk about transendothelial**
53	**migration** also because expression of selectins is regulated (4.0)
54	by what or which cell if you don't remember the name?
55	that's why is difficult to talk about these receptors.

The examiner's first question – "how many selectins are there?" (l. 46) – is delivered in a raised voice. After the student's first answer (l. 48), she repeats the question (l. 48), justifying her repetition by explaining that the student's response was not an answer to the question. Within the same turn, she changes her question slightly to "can you name the selectins?" (l. 50), again in a raised voice. When the student answers that he cannot (l. 51), the examiner explains that it is difficult to describe a process – "to talk about transendothelial migration" (l. 52-53) – if you cannot name the particular selectins involved.

The student's ability to use specific terminology is not confined to the use of correct nouns and noun phrases, but extends to the verbs used to describe processes. In the following extract, there is an interesting orientation to the way in which the student uses process verbs when constructing his narrative:

Extract 11 (E2; S18)

128 S18:	perforin, they ehm they **have** (.), so they **express**, they **release**
129	perforin=
130 E2:	=yes=

131 S18: =which **perforates** the cell membrane=
132 E2: =yes=
133 S18: =ehm and they **secrete** granzymes=
134 E2: =yes=
135 S18: =that **invade** the cell=
136 E2: =yes=
137 S18: =through the perforated membrane and ehm and ehm (.) ehm and
138 that's(.)=
139 E2: =the granzymes not really **invade** [((laughs)).
140 S18: [right, ok.
141 E2: they **enter** a cell=
142 S18: =yes.
143 E2: and then [**activate**
144 S18: [**ACTIVATE** ()
145 E2: ehm:: **a-activate** def- [ensins.
146 S18: [defensines, right.
147 E2: **that are called caspases**, ok?
148 S18: rhm, yes ok, the caspase pathway.

This extract is a prime example of a co-constructed narrative, in which the student first gives a chronological description of what takes place after the release of perforin. He achieves this by using a set of short verb phrases – "they express, they release perforin" (l. 128), "perforates the cell membrane" (l. 131), "secrete enzymes" (l. 133), "invade the cell" (l. 135), each of which is acknowledged by a "yes" from the examiner. This exchange between student and examiner is extremely rhythmical and has latching turns. However, at turn 137 the student hesitates ("through the perforated membrane and ehm and ehm") and is interrupted by the examiner, who queries his use of the term "invade" in the previous turn. The examiner's intervention is accompanied by laughter, which perhaps signals that her interruption is not to be interpreted as hostile, and she follows it up with a reformulation of the student's use of "invade" – "they enter a cell" (l. 141). The examiner then continues the description herself, using the sequenced verb phrases "and then activate" (l. 143) and "ehm:: a-activate defensins" (l. 145). This suggests that the examiner is acknowledging and repairing the student's hesitation in l. 137 herself by reconstructing this part of the narrative for him. The student shows an orientation to the examiner's reconstruction by echoing the words "activates" (l. 144) and "defensins" (l. 146), as if to demonstrate that he is keeping up with the narrative construction and fully understands the process. In her final reconstructive turn (l. 147), the examiner rephrases "defensins" as "caspases", indicating again her orientation towards the precise use of explicit terminology, which in turn is rephrased by the student as "the caspase pathway" (l. 148).

Summing up the results in terms of discursive distinctiveness, our data shows that students need to develop a number of linguistic and metalinguistic skills that are specific to the examination. Examiner and student both show an

orientation to the demonstration of knowledge through a particular type of narrative co-construction in which correction of the narrative by the examiner is used as a device for both conversational repair and knowledge transmission. In the construction of the narrative, the student needs to demonstrate an ability to "explain" the topic under discussion through the detailed, step-by-step reconstruction of immunological processes using precise immunological terminology, particularly process verbs.

3.2. Local and cultural distinctiveness

There is also evidence in our data of a local cultural understanding of what is distinctively disciplinary, particularly in the way that the examiners themselves talk about their discipline during the examinations. The following extract provides a good example:

Extract 12 (E1; S17)

04 S17:	so after a (.) the receiving of a (.) of a (1.0)
05	informational inflammation state
06 E1:	this is a rather generic and (.) please. **Try to be biologic** in
07	your response so receiving informational inflammation state
08	(1.0) is something that does not exist

Here the examiner exhorts the student to "try to be biologic" in his response. What does she mean by a biological response? Returning to extract 3, in which the student was asked about tumour immunity, the student had wanted to start with the tumour, but the examiner's response was "don't start with the tumours" and "I am doing immunology". Likewise, in another extract, not quoted in this article, when a student was asked a question about kidney transplants, the examiner directed her away from talking about kidneys, saying "I'm not a nephrologist". In our data, it seems that the examiners have a very strong idea of how they see their own discipline and how they identify as immunologists. In their own words, they are not nephrologists, they are not oncologists, but they are "doing immunology". This very specific linguacultural attitude feeds into the way these oral examinations are supposed to proceed.

If we now dig a little deeper into the attitudes underlying the examiners' approach, their declared identity as immunologists may to some extent be determined by the medical syllabus that they have to follow. In Italy the immunology exam comes in the third year of medical school, but it is not a clinical exam. Clinical exams usually take place in the sixth and final year of the programme, so the Italian immunology examiners tend to have a non-clinical orientation. From the perspective of anglosaxon medical training, on the other hand, the idea of having an immunology course in the third year is quite unusual. The study of immunology is considered a specialist field. What

is more, it is taught and examined from a strongly clinical perspective. Below is a typical written exam question from a paper in Immunology in an English Medical School:

> *Describe the characteristics of a granuloma and the key immunological events that lead to its formation.* (The Royal College of Pathologists, Part 1 examination, Immunology: first paper, Tuesday 23 September, 2014 – retrievable at https://www.rcpath.org/resourceLibrary/immunology-paper-1---past-papers.html)

The question is clearly framed from a clinical perspective with a typical problem-solution framework, which was first identified by Hoey (1983; 2001) as a popular organising pattern for the production of texts. The question requires the student producing the text to start with the problem of what a granumola is ("Describe the characteristics of a granuloma") and then to work towards a solution by describing how it came to be a granuloma from an immunological perspective ("the key immunological events that lead to its formation"). This schema reflects the problem-solving nature of medical training and assessment in English universities, in which students are presented with clinical problems and asked to find solutions, working backwards from the problem. It may also explain why the L1 speaking student in extract 9 starts her narrative with a tentative explanation of *why* hyper acute occurred ("it occurred because they transplanted a bio- a different bio blood type in with the transplant") rather than the chronology of the immunological process itself. The EMI immunology oral in our data starts from the other end. The story that needs to be told is not about tumours or granulomas because it has to start at the beginning of the formation process ("at the beginning of immunology" in the examiner's words, line 104, extract 4). It might eventually end up with the granuloma or the tumour at the end of the process, but that is not really the point of the exam or of the story that the examiners want to be told.

4. Recommendations

The discursive and cultural results regarding the distinctiveness of the immunology examination, suggest that a number of recommendations can be made for applied linguists working with students and teachers on EMI courses. The first of these is the importance of understanding disciplinary variation. This is a question of the educational culture of particular countries and can only be studied by close observation in the EMI classroom and examination room. Our results suggest that the conduct of the immunology examination reflects a local epistemology, which is made up of examiners' expectations of how the oral should proceed and how students should

construct and express their knowledge as a particular narrative sequence. If this is the case, then applied linguists will need to examine the local epistemology of the EMI courses in which they are involved. These may vary from country to country but may also vary between universities within the same country, between disciplines (e.g. Economics and Medicine) and between sub-disciplines (e.g. Immunology and Oncology). Exploring local EMI context involves an ability to record transcribe and analyse classroom discourse along the lines used in this article. It also involves close professional collaboration between the linguists and the disciplinary professionals of the kind discussed by Sarangi and Candlin (2003) in order to gain as much insight as possible into the local disciplinary culture. Linguistic experts need to build a good relationship with EMI lecturers and students and discuss their recorded performances in considerable depth.

In relation to ELF, our results have shown that the fact that the oral examination was carried out in ELF was not an impediment to the interaction. There is no evidence in our data of a breakdown in communication between examiners or students brought about by a lack of intelligibility in their discourse. It is therefore particularly important to correct the perception that the reason that the students' oral exams may go awry is because of a lack of quality in their English. This misconception is often quite difficult to correct. The students with English L1 often assume that they do not need help with oral examinations because they can already speak English fluently, while speakers of L2 English typically think that to improve their oral performance they simply need more English classes to improve their grammar and vocabulary. The misconception can only be corrected by using discourse evidence to increase students' awareness of the reasons for their poor performances; in the case of the immunology exam, for example, this might be an inability to produce the required narrative sequences in the right way, not the fact that they were using non-standard grammar. The same applies to the examiners. If the transcripts of the exams were to be shown to the examiners, they would probably remark on how badly their English comes across and how they needed to improve it. The linguist needs to reassure them that they have conducted a complicated exam in immunology in their second language without any problems of language misunderstanding at all.

One final point relates to the question of ESP materials. Some ESP materials for medical subjects adopt an anglosaxon problem-based approach. For example, a vocabulary learning exercise might start with a description of a medical problem in English – the transplanted kidney or the tumour - and get the students to fill in the gaps in the process leading up to it. This may be a perfectly good way of teaching medical vocabulary, but its downside is that it reinforces the problem-solution framework, which may not be appropriate in countries or in medical subjects which do not adopt the problem solving method. It is certainly not going to help the EMI student to conceptualise the

framework require for an immunology oral in English in Italy. Language exercises about nephrological problems with problem-solution style texts might improve their lexical knowledge but they are not going to assist them in structuring their immunological "steps" in the oral. This applies particularly to the L1 English speakers attending the EMI course, who may be at an advantage in terms of everyday language use but are at a huge disadvantage in terms of the oral because the narrative approach that is needed - the "biological" response, the step-by-step approach - is the exact opposite of the written problem-solving approach that they have been used to if they have had an anglosaxon school education in the sciences.

5. Conclusions

What conclusions can we draw from the very specific kinds of spoken discourse produced in the immunology exams in relation to EMI and ELF? First, one cannot make generalisations about "oral exams in EMI" or about "oral exams in European EMI" or even about "oral exams in Medicine". We need to make a lot of distinctions and the work of distinguishing needs to be based on local data. Future research in this area will need to include discourse analysis of EMI oral interaction which is supported by ethnographic data on how the discourse is informed by local educational cultures at national and local level.

The results also suggest that the rethinking of language support programmes in EMI needs to be informed by an approach that involves an ELF orientation to pedagogy. Applied linguists involved in EMI programmes will need to focus much less on decontextualised language and much more on cognition, intelligibility and understanding in interaction, as well as on the influence of local academic epistemology and culture on discourse patterns in particular disciplines. This kind of expertise is not easily acquired and requires appropriate input in applied linguistics courses at postgraduate level and English language teacher training programmes. Whether lecturers, students and universities are going to be receptive to this kind of approach is, however, quite another question.

Bionote: Hugo Bowles is associate professor of English Language at the Department of Economics and Finance at the University of Rome Tor Vergata. His research interests cover many areas of applied linguistics and language education, particularly English for specific purposes, English as a lingua franca and literary stylistics. He recently coedited the Palgrave collection *International Perspectives on Teaching English as a lingua franca* and is currently researching the role of ELF in English-medium instruction (EMI). In the area of stylistics, his new book *Dickens and the stenographic mind* will shortly be published by Oxford University Press.

Author's address: bowleshugo@gmail.com

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ELF IN THE ENGLISH CLASSROOM
Great ideas and burning open questions

ENRICO GRAZZI
UNIVERSITÀ DEGLI STUDI "ROMA TRE"

Abstract – Research in the field of English as a lingua franca (ELF) has been inherently connected to studies in the broad areas of Applied Linguistics and English language teaching (ELT) ever since the unresolved academic controversy on the nature of English as a global language started, in the early eighties. So far, several research projects have been carried out to enhance ELF-informed pedagogy and incorporate the use of ELF into the English syllabus through innovative teaching/learning practices (Author 2013; Bowles and Cogo 2015; Gagliardi and Maley 2010; Vettorel 2015). However, even though a shift in perspective has been advocated in order to reconceptualise the traditional approach to ELT (Lopriore 2010), this transition poses challenging open questions for discussion, including: Should any native-speaker language model be provided in language education? How are 'errors' going to be distinguished from creative forms of ELF? How are teachers supposed to behave when deviations from the adopted language model take place? How should teachers assess the use of ELF in the English classroom? The aim of this paper is to focus on these queries and stimulate a discussion to provide tentative answers.

Keywords: ELF; ELT; pedagogy; errors; assessment.

1. Introduction

The international spread of English in the age of globalization has turned this language into the world's primary lingua franca (ELF), although this process, which has social, economic, political and cultural connotations (Blommaert 2010), has been characterised by constant linguistic variation and adaptation that is typical of language-contact situations. Mauranen (2012, pp. 29-30) explains that:

> ELF takes place in speaker interaction; interactants come together with their own hybrid variants, variants that resemble those of people who share their background [...] but are different from those used by the people with whom they speak. [...] Therefore, ELF might be termed second-order language contact: a contact between hybrids. [...] Second-order contact means that [...] a large number of languages are each in contact with English, and it is these contact varieties (similects) that are, in turn, in contact with each other. [...] The hybrid similects that come together in ELF are related through being kinds of English, which makes major contact phenomena a good point of departure for making macrosocial predictions for ELF.

To add to an already complex picture of ELF development, let us also consider that English is not to be intended as a static, monolithic entity. In fact, *English* had rather be considered a comprehensive term that refers to a constellation of language varieties including not only official standard forms [e.g. British Received Pronunciation (RP) and American Standard English (ASE)], but also all non-standard varieties used by native speakers of English (NES) (e.g. regional varieties and local dialects), and, last but not least, World Englishes (Jenkins 2015a; Schneider 2011), i.e. the indigenized variant forms of English, which emerged in former British colonies and have progressively evolved into distinct, stabilised varieties (e.g. Indian English), or into English-based creoles (e.g. Jamaican Patwa). Essentially, what characterises English today is its dynamic plurilithicity (Pennycook 2009), and ELF is part of this picture to the extent that it is not conceived of as a distinct variety, but rather as a context-bound variable way of using the L2 (Jenkins 2011). Following Hopper's (1998) theory of emergent grammar and Tomasello's (2008) usage-based theory of language, Grazzi (2013) observes that ELF emerges as a natural affordance in authentic intercultural settings where interlocutors, who are normally non-native speakers of English (NNES), negotiate meaning through discourse and implement co-operative strategies, like accommodation, to achieve their pragmatic goals successfully.

On reflection, however, the contact between a NNES's mother tongue and English (first-order contact) deserves further exploration. Theoretically, following Mauranen's line of reasoning, we may assume that first-order contact includes all possible communicative situations where a non-native speaker's L1 is in touch with one or more native-speaker varieties of English. Nevertheless, it should be pointed out that educational institutions (e.g. schools, Universities, the British Council, private language schools, etc.) are by far the most common learning environments where a systematic and structured first-order contact between a NNES' language and English takes place. As a compulsory subject of most school curricula around the world, English is taught as a foreign language (EFL), i.e. as the language that is spoken by and 'belongs' to its native speakers. Therefore, the varieties that are usually chosen as exonormative reference models in school education and by Qualifications Authorities[1] (namely Trinity College London ESOL, University of Cambridge ESOL, and The City and Guilds International ESOL) are standard English (SE) − most probably RP or ASE − and/or British or American mainstream English. Because first-order language

[1] In Italy, for instance, it has become fairly common practice that middle-schools and high-schools offer optional afternoon English courses run by private language schools, sometimes in co-operation with school teachers. These courses prepare students to take the exams for the ESOL qualifications, which are aligned with the specifications of the levels of the European Framework of Reference (CEFR) of the European Council.

contact is often mediated by graded language syllabuses and teaching materials, and because language teachers are not necessarily native speakers of English, we should recognize the simple fact that a *hybrid variant* form of English, to use Mauranen's definition, is likely to emerge not only in authentic communicative environments, but also − in many cases prevalently − in pedagogic environments. Hence, it is this English, or better the *similect* that is developed in the English classroom, that students are going to use outside school as an international lingua franca, whenever they communicate in authentic multilingual and multicultural settings, for instance on the Internet, when travelling abroad, for leisure, etc. It seems reasonable to conclude that EFL (i.e. the subject taught at school) and ELF (i.e. the second-order contact of similects that takes place in real intercultural encounters) are not mutually exclusive languages, as long as they tend to converge by means of the learner/L2-user's performance (Grazzi 2013). In line with Seidlhofer (2011, p. 187) we may conclude that: "Learners of English as a foreign language assume the role of users of English as a lingua franca. As they move into contexts of use outside the classroom, EFL learners become ELF users".

One could object that the similect that is spoken in the English classroom actually corresponds to what is normally referred to as *interlanguage* (Selinker 1972) or *transitional dialect* (Corder 1981, p. 17). In reality, the concepts of similect and interlanguage are inherently different, as I am going to show. Interlanguage is defined by Corder (1981, pp. 15-16) as a "type of idiosyncratic dialect", i.e. the individual student's unstable language that is not shared by a social group. In this view, deviations from SE codified norms are considered *developmental errors* that mark the steps of the "interlanguage continuum" (Corder 1981, p. 90), the linear learning process that evolves between two opposite ends: the learner's L1 and the *target language*, English.

The students' similect, in contrast, has a social dimension to the extent that the process of learning English is "situated" (van Lier 2004, p. 8) within the environment of the classroom, where pupils interact to carry out several communicative tasks. In so doing, they *appropriate* (Rogoff 1995) English as an affordance to mediate meaning and express their cultural identities via the lingua franca. The fundamental difference between interlanguage and similect, we may conclude, is that while according to the former the student's L1 is considered a hindrance to the acquisition of the target language and becomes the main cause of 'interference' [e.g. errors caused by the occurrence of "negative transfer" (Odlin 1989, p. 26)], according to the latter the student's L1 is a valuable resource for the acquisition of English, which, as we have seen, takes place through the dynamic intra-personal and inter-personal contact between these two languages [e.g. non-standard ELF lexicogrammar forms resulting from the strategic use of cross-linguistic

transfer (Odlin 1989, p. 28)]. According to Lantolf and Thorne (2006, pp. 294-295), who draw on Vygotsky's (1987) seminal theory of the process of learning a first and second language,

> Adults, in particular, have a well-developed first-language system, which [...] is their primary symbolic artifact for regulating their own cognitive activity. It is therefore natural that they should rely on this artifact to mediate their learning of anything, including additional languages. [...] Thus, pedagogies that seek to avoid reliance on learners' first language are, in our view, misguided.

In short, while the interlanguage hypothesis tends to view the L1 and the L2 as discrete, self-consistent objects that should be kept apart, the concept of similect is focused on the natural process of language contact and variation (Heine, Kuteva 2005), whereby diverse communities of learners adapt English to cope with their communicative needs, to express their cultural identities and to exploit their language experience and different language competences through participatory activity and social practice (Lave, Wenger 1991).

These reflections on the nature of the learner's language in the English classroom and on the process that leads to the emergence of a similect that students can use as a lingua franca let us see the intrinsic link between ELF research and the broad area of English language teaching (ELT), where the impact of globalization entails a conceptual reformulation of language education in respect to today's changing nature of English and its multicultural and multilingual dimension (Jenkins 2015b). In this line of reasoning, the aim of this article is to face some of the burning issues of the day concerning the implementation of ELF-informed pedagogy, and consider the new challenges that lie ahead for language teachers, methodologists and language practitioners. To this end, the purpose of this study is to attempt to provide answers to a selection of questions that were raised and considered during a pre-service teacher-education course in language teaching methodology for future Italian teachers of English (TFA) that I held at the University of Tor Vergata, Rome, in 2015, a course which was focused particularly on Global Englishes, ELF and the transition from native speakerism towards multiculturalism and multilingualism in ELT. The key questions that will be discussed in the following sections are:

1. Should a native-speaker language model be provided in language education?
2. How are 'errors' going to be distinguished from creative forms of ELF?
3. How are teachers supposed to behave when deviations from the adopted language model take place?
4. How should teachers assess the use of ELF in the English classroom?

Presumably these queries, which touch on theoretical as well as practical aspects of ELT, conceal doubts and reservations that are common among language educators and applied linguists whenever the controversial topic of ELF is called into question. Nevertheless, these legitimate concerns about the pedagogical consequences of the global spread of English induce ELF researchers to reflect on the implications of this complex sociolinguistic process in order to suggest tentative answers that may contribute to the development of a more effective and updated English curriculum.

The following sections are intended to shed new light on our understanding of the controversial topics raised by the key questions presented earlier. Nevertheless, given the exploratory nature of this study, and due to space constraints, the answers provided here certainly do not claim to be exhaustive, although they may hopefully stimulate critical thinking and promote further discussion for language educators and applied linguists. My line of reasoning is based on the theoretical framework that I have adopted to carry out ELF research projects over the last few years (Grazzi 2013, 2015, 2016), which combines Vygotsky's (1978, 1987) sociocultural theory (SCT),[2] its relatively recent implementation in second language development theory (Lantolf 2000; Lantolf, Thorne 2006), and van Lier's (2004) ecological approach to language learning.

2. Should any native-speaker language model be provided in language education?

This simple question is probably the first one that comes to mind when the dominance of native speakerism in ELT is at stake. The answer, however, cannot be just a simple *yes* or *no*, but requires a more complex argumentation. First of all, the question itself is misleading and reveals a widely held misconception that is typical of schooling, the rather fetishistic idea that a language model corresponds to a static, discrete, and self-contained system of prescriptive norms, which is in the hands of an idealized native speaker and is obediently passed on to language learners by their teachers. For instance, Jenkins (2007, p. 36), who used the term "gatekeeping" to define language educators' conservative attitude, noticed a typical contradictory behaviour apropos of non-native teachers of English, who show openness towards ELF, while in practice they tend to adhere to a "traditional RP model" (Jenkins 2007, p. 99). In a diachronic perspective, the

[2] Lantolf (2004, pp. 30-31, in Lantolf, Thorne 2006, p. 1) defines SCT as "a theory of mind [...] that recognizes the central role that the social relationships and structurally constructed artifacts play in organizing uniquely human forms of thinking".

common fallacy of the NSE exclusive ownership of English eschews the social, historical dimension of all natural languages, which in fact is marked by variability and change. English is no exception, or better yet, it may be considered the epitome of language change induced by language contact, a long process that started in the middle ages, went on in the modern age and in colonial times, and still continues today, in the era of globalization. Even from a synchronic point of view, deference to the exonormative standard language model fails to provide a realistic picture of the vivid, kaleidoscopic variety of contemporary native-speaker language usage, let alone World Englishes and the entire linguacultural landscape of ELF.

This said, it seems appropriate to reformulate the concept of *diversity* that underpins a more realistic view of English, and then suggest a different understanding of the role of the NES model in an ELF-informed pedagogy. Looking at the English classroom through the lens of ecological educational linguistics, van Lier (2004, p. 7) focuses on the related concepts of diversity and variability and contends that

> A good teacher understands the learners, and this means taking the differences into account. [...] Whereas variability relates to the way different learners learn, and what that means for the teacher, diversity addresses the value of having different learners and teachers in a class (or school), and in more general terms, different kinds of people in a society, rather than a homogeneous population, however defined. In biology diversity is essential in an ecosystem, and in the same way, a diverse society (in terms of language, ethnicity, religion, interest, etc.) may be healthier in the long run than a homogeneous one. In addition, the language to be learned (whether L1 or L2) is presented as one that is not one monolithic standardized code, but a collection of dialects, genres and registers. It is often tacitly assumed that learners would be confused by being presented with a diversity of dialects, cultures, social customs, but it could be argued that more confusion ultimately results from the presentation of a homogeneous language and a single speech community, generalizations that in fact do not exist. With appropriate language learning and awareness activities, learners should be perfectly capable of understanding diversity, since it will be easy to establish that it exists in the language all around them, at home, in the community, in school, and around the world.

van Lier's vision of the value of diversity in language education may very well apply to ELF to enhance teachers' and learners' awareness of the plurilithic nature of English today. The major challenge in ELT, however, is how to manage the convergence of:

1. the EFL curriculum and its "requirements of performance [that] concern in particular comprehensibility and self-expression, compliance with a target language model (which is not necessarily standard English), [...] grammatical accuracy and situational appropriateness, participation in a speech fellowship or expression of [one's] self" (Kohn 2011, p. 81);

2. the emergence of learners' similect in the English classroom, as explained in the previous section;
3. the students' use of ELF in diverse authentic multicultural and multilingual authentic contexts (e.g. in telecollaboration and other network-based activities), characterized by other requirements of performance, as for example "negotiation of intelligibility" (Jenkins 2000, p. 166) via the implementation of appropriate communicative strategies like "accommodation" (Jenkins 2000, pp.168-171), cross-cultural transfer (Odlin 1989, p. 28), "idiomatizing and re-metaphorizing" (Pitzl 2012, p. 49).

As Kohn (2011, p. 89) observes,

> The need for pedagogic interventions that help close the gap between school and real life has become obvious and urgent. Insights from the social constructivist perspective emphasize the natural inevitability for speakers-learners to develop their own English, thus backing up the general call for pedagogic change.

Hence, to answer the initial question in this section, the following tenets should be taken into account:

1. In a Vygotskian perspective, the multiplicity of NSE and NNSE varieties of English show that language is a complex symbolic artifact and that it is the communities of users who change and adapt it to serve their communicative needs and carry out several activities in different sociocultural contexts. Therefore, the ideas that *correct* English is a monad immune to change, or that it might change independently of its speakers, or even that only native speakers are entitled to change 'their' language are common fallacies. A shift in perspective in ELT (Grazzi 2013; Cogo, Dewey 2012; Jenkins 2007, 2015a; Seidlhofer 2011; Sifakis, Sougari 2010; Vettorel, Lopriore 2013) presupposes that heterogeneity of communicative practices in different contexts and for different purposes, as well as the multiplicity of *Englishes* should not be neglected in language education, but on the contrary should be embraced with an open mind.
2. Even though mainstream EFL syllabuses are still largely based on the NSE model, and although most students and language teachers aspire to develop NSE proficiency levels, with Kohn (2011, p. 84), who approaches language learning in a social constructivist perspective, we may observe that

> Standard English and native speaker English can thus only serve as models and provide *orientation* [emphasis added] for non-native speaker-learners' performance and learning in so far as they have gained a second existence in

> the speaker-learners' internally constructed world. But this internal construction is not just a mirror image of the external 'thing'; it is the result of processes that feed on intake from external data and, not less importantly, on knowledge, attitudes and interests already available.

The English classroom, as we have seen earlier in the Introduction, provides the primary social setting where the contact between L1 and L2 usually takes place. Nevertheless, ELF research has shown that nonconformity is intrinsic to second language development. Pitzl (2012, p. 37), for instance, contends that "it is this tension between conventionality and norm-following creativity at one level and nonconformity and norm-developing creativity at another level that ensures intelligibility and functionality of new linguistic output". Hence, we may assume that even though proficiency levels are usually defined according to the prototypical NES model, learners will inevitably deviate from it because a) variation is contingent on the learning process, and b) because the L2-user's linguacultural identity inevitably mediates the contact between their L1 and English.

3. The final consideration in this section is that ELF research has never advocated the *apriori* elimination of a NES model in ELT, nor its replacement with ELF, which, as we have seen, is not an encoded variety of English that could be taught as such, but rather a variable way of using it by NNES in diverse multilingual and multicultural communicative contexts. We had rather observe, instead, that ELF is inherently connected to one or more NSE models (either SE or other non-standard varieties of English) from which it normally tends to deviate. Jenkins (2007, p. 19) points out that "The goal of ELF is [not] to establish a single lingua franca norm to which all users should conform". In addition, in line with Seidlhofer (2006), Jenkins (2007, p. 20) affirms that she is "in favour of the more sensible notion of raising all English learners' awareness of the global role of English, and of the effort that everyone needs to make to achieve successful global communication".

In this phase of language change on a global scale, ELF research is descriptive rather than prescriptive, and its pedagogical indications, based on empirical observations, aim at "Making suggestions as to what is not necessary to teach for ELF communication, rather than prescribing what should be taught" (Jenkins 2007, p. 22). In conclusion, it seems reasonable to say that the crux of the matter is not whether a NSE model is still needed in ELT, but how possible it is to a) move from a monolithic towards a plurilithic approach in ELT; b) design a new curriculum for the English classroom where a gamut of language models (including World Englishes) and examples of successful NNES language usage are made available to students; c) plan new tasks and learning activities in order to enhance learners'

"collaborative dialogue" (Swain 2000, p. 97) and exploit their *agency* and potential as *languagers* (Swain 2000; Seidlhofer 2011), i.e. their creative ability to use language to negotiate and produce meaningful, comprehensible output.

3. How are 'errors' going to be distinguished from creative forms of ELF?

Since the early '70s, when the so-called *communicative revolution* in ELT took place, most applied linguists, language teachers and even official English language assessment boards have tended to consider *fluency* more relevant than *accuracy* in verbal communication. In line with Hymes's (1966, 1972) notion of *communicative competence*, which emphasized the importance of the interconnections between different language levels (i.e. syntax, morphology, phonology, lexis, etc.) and the variable components of contextualized discourse (namely, Situation, Participants, Ends, Acts, Keys, Instruments, Norms and Genres, usually referred to as the SPEAKING model), 'errors' ceased to be considered indicators of unsuccessful learning and an obstacle on the way to appropriate linguistic competence, as instead was the case with the previous grammar-translation and audio-lingual methods. On the contrary, 'errors' came to be seen as superficial indicators of deeper cognitive processes that language students activate when they learn a foreign language (Corder 1981). 'Errors', in this perspective, were the result of the learner's "heuristic hypothesis" (Corder 1981, p. 79) about the second language, that is to say, 'errors' provide evidence of the learner's conscious and subconscious attempt to systematize their knowledge about the L2 by means of inference strategies, as well as learning and communicative strategies. For this reason, enhancing learners' mutual intelligibility and fluency have become a sort of a guiding principle for Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) and the assessment of learners' command of English.

As French (2011),[3] former assistant director of Cambridge Language Assessment ICAEA, explains in an interview on BBC Radio 4: "In terms of communicating, what we are concerned about is whether the messages are communicated and if the error interferes with communication. Then it is an issue. But if it doesn't, particularly at the lower levels, then picking up on the details is not such a problem."

It is quite evident, therefore, that there is a red thread running through CLT and ELF theory as far as the pragmatic importance of mutual

[3] http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b013q210

intelligibility and communicative competence are concerned. For this reason, Leung (2005, p. 120) has proposed "a re-articulation of the concept of communicative competence in English as a second or additional language in contemporary conditions", where native-speaker English is not the unique reference model in ELT. He (2005, p. 139) contends that

> it seems absolutely necessary for the concept of communicative competence to attend to both the standard and local Englishes, and to tune in to both established and emergent forms and norms of use. [...] In the light of what we now know in terms of World Englishes and ELF, it is quite clear that, from the point of view of curriculum conceptualization, the unquestioned and routine adoption of a particular native-speaker variety of English and a particular set of idealized social rules of use is no longer educationally satisfactory or desirable. [...] The pedagogic language model for any English-teaching programme should be related to its goals in context.

In line with Leung, it seems reasonable to assume that one of the criteria to distinguish 'errors' from creative forms of ELF consists in taking into consideration the communicative contexts and the pragmatic function(s) that different forms of learners' discourse are expected to accomplish. This entails that the degree of acceptability or unacceptability of non-standard language forms may essentially depend on two fundamental factors: a) the intelligibility of non-standard forms in discourse; b) the congruence between discourse and the variability of multicultural and multilingual communicative contexts (e.g. the use of the appropriate language variety; the use of the appropriate language register, etc.).

In conclusion, a tentative answer to the initial question in this section may be that the polycentric nature of ELF defies the classification of non-standard uses of English as 'errors', and questions the notion of standardness (Coupland 2000). Consequently, decisions about the acceptability of deviations from any given language model in the English classroom depend inevitably on the students' tasks and their pedagogic goals. As Seidlhofer (2011, p. 98) observes,

> ELF users too are seen to be languagers. [...] They are focused on the interactional and transactional purposes of the talk and on their interlocutors as people rather than on the linguistic code itself. [...] The focus is on establishing the indexical link between the code and the context, and a creative process in that the code is treated as malleable and adjustable to the requirements of the moment.

The following section will further explore the topic of 'errors' and its implications, particularly as regards the language teacher's role within the framework of an ELF-aware pedagogy.

4. How are teachers supposed to behave when deviations from the adopted language model take place?

The natural emergence of a similect within the English classroom poses a challenging issue for language teachers, who usually hold favorable attitudes toward the global spread of English as a lingua franca, but at the same time are at a loss when it comes to managing deviations from the exonormative NSE model. This raises a critical question about the teacher's behavior in ELF-aware language education: when and how are teachers supposed to provide corrective feedback (CF) for learners' non-canonical forms of speech?

The basic assumption to answer this questions, as was mentioned earlier, is that ELF, which is not (yet) an encoded variety of English, is not supposed to replace Standard English or other native-speaker varieties of English in language education. ELF researchers who are focused on raising ELF awareness among language teachers believe instead that in order to update the English curriculum it would be necessary to provide learners with a wider perspective in viewing and understanding the plurilithic nature of English today. This entails, for instance, the incorporation of World Englishes in the English syllabus and the integration of ELF as a viable option to carry out international communication. This would also be consistent with the theoretical postulation of the student-centred approach in language teaching/learning. Jenkins (2007, pp. 21-22) contends that

> ELF is a matter of learner choice. [...] In this sense, ELF increases rather than decreases the available choices, while it is the insistence on conformity to [native-speaker] NS norms [...] that restricts them. [...] ELF researchers merely suggest that learners should be put in a position to make an *informed* choice by means of having their awareness raised of the sociolinguistic, sociopsychological, and sociopolitical issues involved. [...] At present, they restrict themselves to [...] making suggestions as to what is not necessary to teach for ELF communication, rather than prescribing what *should* be taught.

Let us now consider some relevant cases of ELF utterances that are taken from a corpus that I (Grazzi 2016) compiled in 2015 as part of a European research project on ELF and intercultural telecollaboration. A group of Italian and Finnish high-school students volunteered to interact online in order to improve their intercultural and communicative competences. They created a community of practice (CoP) (Wenger 1998), whose task was to discuss several topics related to their cultural background and lifestyles. The examples that have been selected here are intended to show how the contact of the Italian and Finnish similects turns learners into *languagers* who produce authentic ELF discourse.

The utterances produced by Italian students are indicated by (I), while those produced by Finnish students are indicated by (F). Each utterance may contain more than one non-standard form of ELF, but only those that belong to the two typologies that are presented here, *lexical transfer* and *creative use of English*, are taken into consideration. These are underlined and followed by a short description given in brackets.

Examples of *lexical transfer*

1. How to start? Well, I have interest in a lot of things and this would be a quality if I didn't have the terrible habit of getting annoyed of almost everything after a while. (I) *(false friend; cross-linguistic transfer)*
2. My favorite singer is Celine Dion: her voice is perfect and limpid. (I) *(non-standard collocation; cross-linguistic transfer)*
3. Tell me if you prefer starting a new topic, because I could keep on this without problem, at least for a little more. (I) *(non-standard multi-word units (MWUs); cross-linguistic transfer)*
4. Finland don't have pretty much traditional food. We are like English kitchen. (F) *(false friend)*

Examples of *creative use of English*

1. I love Finland and the Finnish people and culture, but somehow my heart longs abroad. (F) *(non-standard idiom; re-metaphorization)*
2. For my 18 years old I gave a very big party where we danced a lot. (I) *(non-standard MWU)*
3. I could say my adolescence was very centered in music. (F) *(extension of semantic field: from physical* centre *to figurative meaning; re-metaphorization; cross-linguistic transfer)*
4. At the moment I don't have any life-controlling hobby, as I'm trying to focus on the schoolwork. (F) *(open-choice principle in complex word formation; re-metaphorization)*
5. I've done karate for eight years and this is the ninth one. It's a very beautiful activity which allows me to get the stress off my chest and be more calm, in a peaceful state of mind. (I) *(non-standard idiom; re-metaphorization; cross-linguistic transfer)*
6. I think that it's important and formative to do a sport which motivates you and better and color your life. (I) *(re-metaphorization; cross-linguistic transfer)*

These examples show that ELF variations are instances of language continua (Trudgill 1999) and that especially with cases of cross-linguistic transfer the contact between the L1 and the L2 may result in new, creative constructs that reinforce the meaning potential of ELF. Lexical substitutions or grammatical modifications in multi-word units (MWUs), for instance, should be considered approximations rather than 'errors'. As Mauranen (2011) and Vetchinnikova (2014) argue, memory for meaning is stronger than verbatim memory for structure, hence, we may add, this explains why variability in MWUs is a typical feature of ELF. According to Vetchinnikova (2014) the

process that leads to variability in MWUs is similar both for NES and NNES, although the higher occurrence of this phenomenon in ELF discourse is probably due to the non-native speakers' lower amount of exposure to complex English MWUs.

Most notably, the instances of ELF speech reported above did not seem to lead to any significant communication breakdowns within the CoP. This seems to confirm the hypothesis that ELF is an effective mediational tool for the English classroom whenever learners are given the opportunity to interact in real multicultural settings. van Lier's (2004, p. 85) words offer an illuminating description of the dynamics of language change in the language classroom:

> Speakers want to embroider and invent, sounding new and different, signaling their individual and group identity. On the other hand, speakers (and often official agencies and institutions, such as schools) wish to establish official standards and guidelines for 'correct' language, thus attempting to reduce variations in use. [...] 'Language' in its more general sense, is emergent, not fixed, in flux rather than static. Like culture [it is] open to processes of inclusion and exclusion, prescribed and proscribed patterns of use, permeated by value judgment, markers of identity, and signs of success.

This said, we may answer the key question in this section by saying that when the focus is on ELF and fluency-oriented instruction, teachers should distinguish non-standard deviations that do not affect the overall communication flow from deviations that require CF to avoid misunderstandings. Ellis and Shintani (2014, p. 275) observe that "Learners are in a classroom to learn a language and believe that having their errors corrected will help them to achieve this". The authors (2014, p. 275) go on to say that "CF is likely to be more effective if it occurs in response to learners' attempts to communicate". With Lantolf (2000), Ellis and Shintani (2014, p. 262-263) explain that

> Sociocultural Theory claims that CF mediates learning not by providing learners with 'data' which they then process internally, but by affording them opportunities to collaboratively produce new linguistic forms. [...] Thus, correction is not something done to learners but rather something carried out with learners. It enables the joint construction of a zone of proximal development[4] [...] It constitutes a form of other-regulation directed at helping learners to self-regulate (i.e. access and use the L2 independently).

[4] Vygotsky (1978, p. 86) defined the zone of proximal development (ZPD) as "the distance between the actual developmental level as determined by independent problem solving and the level of potential development as determined through problem solving under adult guidance, or in collaboration with more capable peers".

In conclusion, we may say that within a sociocultural framework, once the teacher has taken into account a) the learner's developmental level; b) the learning objectives of classroom activities; c) the pragmatic features of the communicative event students are involved in, they should help learners identify relevant deviations from the norms and repair them in order to improve the comprehensibility and pragmatic effectiveness of their discourse. Different types of oral and written CF can be selected for this purpose (see for example Ellis, Shintani 2014, pp. 264-265). Alternatively, teachers should also promote peer-correction in a ZPD (Vygotsky 1978; Lantolf, Thorne 2006; van Lier 2004), which fosters cooperative learning practice and stimulates students' language awareness.

5. How should teachers assess the use of ELF in the English classroom?

The critical issue that is addressed in this section, the assessment of learners' use of ELF, is directly connected to how teachers position themselves in relationship to the variability of English in today's web-connected global village. ELF researchers, as we have seen earlier, envisage a general change in perspective as regards language education, in order to tackle the unresolved problems stemming from the incorporation of ELF into ELT. The move from monolithic native speakerism to the multicultural and multilingual dimension of ELF (Jenkins 2015b) questions deeply entrenched beliefs, attitudes and approaches that language teachers and even students tend to cling on to, to the point that resistance to change may somehow be considered prejudicial. For this reason, this study attempts to sketch out an alternative paradigm in mainstream English teaching that is inclusive of diverse English voices, and which culminates with the discussion on assessment criteria, a controversial topic that is directly connected to the issue of 'errors' presented in Sections 2 and 3.

The rationale behind this article, as was mentioned in the Introduction, is that EFL and ELF tend to converge through the learner's/L2-user's performance when students are involved in intercultural language practice within an authentic international communicative context, e.g. on the Internet. In a social constructivist perspective, innovative web-mediated learning activities such as cooperative creative writing and intercultural telecollaboration (Grazzi 2013, 20015, 2016) provide the appropriate ecological setting where ELF emerges as a *legitimate* mediational artefact (Lantolf, Thorne 2006) that learners/L2-users from different linguacultural backgrounds share and co-construct. Consequently, it is argued that ELF non-standard features should not be automatically stigmatized by language

teachers as 'errors', on the basis of the traditional interlanguage paradigm. On the contrary, they should be taken as acceptable alternative forms, provided these a) do not hinder communication, and b) favour the performative use of ELF. With Widdowson (2003), we may conclude that the fundamental criterion for the assessment of learners' use of ELF should be based on the L2-users' ability to negotiate meanings and produce discourse that is intelligible and appropriate to their pragmatic goals. This entails that in assessing students' performance in ELF-mediated contexts teachers should also consider the students' ability to implement appropriate adaptive communicative strategies, as for example accommodation, repetition, cross-language transfer, paraphrasing, substitution, coining new words, asking for clarification, self-repair, code switching, building rapport within a CoP. In a nutshell, learners'/L2-users' success should be assessed in terms of their *lingual capability* (Widdowson 2015). The logical entailment of the principles that should guide language teachers in the assessment of learners' ELF performance is that more time and effort should be dedicated to the development of the communicative strategies mentioned above, which are consistent with Leung's reconceptualization of communicative competence (see Section 3). These strategies, we may contend, should become a central component of the English language syllabus, with a special focus on stimulating students' ELF awareness.

The following section is meant to recap briefly on the main points that have been raised so far, in the hope that the tentative answers that were given to the four key questions raised in this article may contribute to the ongoing debate over a new education policy for ELT, in an age when English is going through a huge transition from a foreign to a global language.

6. Discussion

Notwithstanding the fact that the variability of English in the age of globalization and of the digital revolution is plain to see, and even though nowadays the communities of NNESs outnumber those of NESs, the dominant pedagogical model in ELT is still firmly rooted in native speakersim. After more than twenty years since the primacy of SE has been challenged and the phenomenon of ELF has been the object of advanced University research, international conferences and academic publications, it seems that mainstream ELT has hardly been affected by the great sociolinguistic changes that have turned English into an international lingua franca. In other words, we could observe that in most cases the English curriculum has been immune to sociolinguistic changes and has tended to perpetuate anachronistic ideologies such as the monolithic nature of English, the native-speaker's ownership of the language, and the idealization of an

abstract, archetypal native speaker as the reference model for teachers and learners. Hence, it seems reasonable to argue that a radical change is needed in language education (Cogo, Dewey 2012) in order to turn the English classroom from a temple of orthodoxy into a vivid environment that is attuned to the complex linguacultural dynamics that are taking place nowadays.

The aim of this article, that is based on a social constructionist approach to language development, is to enhance critical thinking as regards the implications of ELF in ELT and teacher education. It has focused on four engaging questions that should lead researchers and language educators to further investigate into the possibility of activating a process of awareness raising, in order to suggest new pedagogical trajectories. The four areas of language educations that have been taken into consideration are: a) the role of native-speaker language models in mainstream language education; b) the distinction between 'errors' and creative forms of ELF; c) ELF deviations from standard norms, the role of teacher's corrective feedback, and the role of learners' peer corrective feedback in a ZPD; d) ELF and assessment in the English classroom. The selection of these controversial topics was not random, though. In fact, they had stimulated heated discussions during a teacher education course (TFA) that I held at the University of Tor Vergata, Rome, and during several undergraduate courses on Global Englishes and ELF that I have taught in the past few years. Therefore, the methodological considerations that are offered here are the result of those debates, which will hopefully generate further understanding of the relationship between ELF and pedagogy.

7. Conclusions

The conceptualization of English as a global language places a strong emphasis on the plurilithic nature of this language (Pennycook 2009; Hall 2013), its context-bound variability, its multilingual dimension (Jenkins 2015b), and most importantly its socio-pragmatic effectiveness. In addition to these core tenets, the conceptual scheme underpinning the ideas set forth in this article is informed by the relatively recent implementation of Vygotsky's (1978, 1987) sociocultural theory in educational linguistics (Lantolf 2000, 2004; Lantolf, Thorne 2006; Swain 2000, 2006; van Lier 2004), by Hopper's (1998) theory of emergent grammar, and by Tomasello's (2003, 2008) usage-based theory of language. This shows that a blended approach in ELF research is necessary in view of a theorization of an ELF-aware language curriculum for the English classroom.

By and large, the expected outcome of this article is to show practitioners involved in language education how possible it is to embrace a

broader notion of English language teaching/learning that incorporates today's global, multicultural dimension of ELF.

In schematizing, the essential notions about language that are supposed to provide a sound theoretical support to a deep change in ELT could be synthesized as follows:

1. Meaning and form are dialectically dependent upon one another and are intrinsically connected to speakers' cultural backgrounds. Language, therefore, had rather be conceived of as *languaculture* (Agar 1994).
2. Grammar is not a pre-existing closed system but is *emergent* in dialogic activity (Hopper 1998).
3. Language is a rule-governed system, but is not controlled by rules. Rules are like inherent building codes - that make communication possible thanks to *linguistic recursion* (Mooney, Evans 2011).
4. *Structural change* is determined by social and cultural phenomena in which structures are used and adapted to speakers' variable needs (Tomasello 2003).
5. Language is a *complex adaptive system* (CAS) (Larsen-Freeman 2016).

As for the pedagogical implications of ELF-aware language teaching, the redefinition of the teacher's roles may include the following indications:

1. The teacher guides students to make higher standards achievable through a relocation of their identity and culture in intercultural settings where they can express their "social and personal voice" (Kramsch 1993, p. 233) as *languagers*.
2. The teacher should support the implementation of effective communicative strategies in ELF contexts to improve learners' communicative competence.
3. The teacher fosters collaborative dialogue within multilingual and multicultural communities of practice, e.g. through web-mediated interaction, to improve learners' intercultural competence.
4. The teacher encourages peer corrective feedback and language development within a ZPD to give students the opportunity to raise their awareness of the variable nature of English as a lingua franca.
5. The teacher considers deviations from standard norms acceptable, provided a) they do not affect the overall communication flow; b) they are consistent with the learners' language level and sociopragmatic goals; c) they are appropriate to each specific communicative context.
6. The teacher should present several varieties of English so that learners become familiar with the concept of multilingualism and linguacultural diversity.

7. Conformity to NS-models should not be enforced in the English classroom and the assessment of learners' competences should be based on the students' *communicative capability* (Widdowson 2003).

Obviously, these points are not exhaustive, as they are intended as part of a wider pedagogical framework that requires further research projects, appropriate teacher-education programs, as well as new syllabuses and teaching materials. In any case, ELF studies have shown that a whole new scenario has begun to unroll in ELT and it is advisable that educationalists, school institutions and language teachers cooperate to face the new challenges of language pedagogy.

Bionote: Enrico Grazzi is associate professor of English at the University of 'Roma Tre', Department of Foreign Languages, Literatures and Cultures, where he teaches English for the degree course in Foreign Languages and Cultures. His main interests are: English as a lingua franca (ELF), educational linguistics, and sociocultural theory (SCT). His main research projects are based on a Vygotskian approach to second language development that incorporates ELF theory and Network-based Language Teaching (NBLT). His field of research is mainly concerned with English language teaching (ELT) and the implementation of innovative learning activities like fanfiction and intercultural telecollaboration. His main publication associated with these areas of research is the book: *The Sociocultural Dimension of ELF in the English Classroom*. Rome: Editoriale Anicia, 2013. Enrico Grazzi is also a qualified teacher trainer and a textbook writer. He is a past President of TESOL-Italy (2002-2004), a member of the Associazione Italiana di Anglistica (AIA), and a member of the following research networks: English as a Lingua Franca Research Network (ELF-ReN) and CultNet.

Author's address: enrico.grazzi@uniroma3.it

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VOICING BELIEFS AND DILEMMAS FROM WE- AND ELF-AWARE REFLECTIVE TEACHER EDUCATION CONTEXTS
Teachers' personal responses to rapidly changing multilingual contexts

LUCILLA LOPRIORE
UNIVERSITÀ DEGLI STUDI "ROMA TRE"

Abstract – The social fragmentation processes due to the recent tidal migration flows, together with the diffusion of technologies and social networks, have created new sociolinguistic environments where languages are undergoing a transformative process. As a result of increasing global mobility, the sociolinguistic reality of English, and its different realisations have become much more complex and controversial than those of other languages in the world. Issues of identity, standards, proficiency levels, intercultural communication and language relevance for English language learners and teachers, demand for a paradigmatic orientation and a reconsideration of the English curriculum, teacher education, research and classroom practice. Language teacher education is a field where, according to local contexts and to pedagogical traditions, different theoretical frameworks are being used, specific approaches adopted, course components differently combined, and teachers' and trainers' espoused theories and beliefs about English are often challenged. The purpose of this presentation is to describe and discuss a World English (WE) and English as a Lingua Franca (ELF)-aware approach embedded in English language teacher education courses in Italy. The adoption of such an approach elicited teachers' awareness of changes occurring in the current status of English and induced a reflective perspective on the implications of teaching it within a moveable scenario where English teaching traditions are often challenged. The relevance of this approach will be discussed and teachers' voices from three teacher education courses will be reported as representative of emerging dilemmas and a shift in perspective.

Keywords: English as a lingua franca (ELF); teacher education; pedagogy; reflective approach; dilemmas.

1. Contexts of change: new language landscapes

Demographic trends show that the world population will grow to 10 billion by the end of this century and most of this growth takes place in the developing countries where populations are younger and English is being taught at an earlier and earlier age at school. The last thirty years, characterized by globalization processes and major societal changes, have in diverse ways influenced language education and determined challenging innovations in English language teaching (ELT), redefining its construct and its approaches.

The sociolinguistic reality of English has become today much more complex and controversial than those of other languages in the world; this is

predominantly due to its global spread, its emergent role as the mostly used language in international communication and on the web, as well as to the ongoing nativization of non-native Englishes in various parts of the world.

English globalisation processes – particularly the ones occurred in the last three decades – are mostly associated with aspects such as the role English plays in facilitating international political relations and business, internet-based communication, air-traffic control, access to scientific knowledge, films, music and literature, and in improving social exchanges across linguistic communities. In his second report on the status of English, *English Next*, David Graddol claimed that the relationship between English and globalisation is a complex and reciprocal process since "economic globalisation encouraged the spread of English but the spread of English also encouraged globalisation" (Graddol 2006, p. 9).

English has grown all over the countries in addition to the autochtonous languages, but without actually threatening their existence, rather 'with the advantage of being ethnically neutral' (Knapp 2015, p. 174) and English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) has become the main medium of the process of globalization, as it was very clearly described by Jenkins *et al.*,

> ELF is simultaneously the consequence and the principal language medium of GLOBALIZING PROCESSES. The English language has become a lingua franca on such a scale worldwide partly in response to globalization; but also, large-scale globalization is in part incumbent on the emergence of a globally diffuse lingua franca. Therefore, close consideration of theoretical accounts of globalization given in the (typically interdisciplinary) literature is directly relevant to furthering our understanding of ELF. If globalization is the means by which the world has become more INTERCONNECTED, with our economic, cultural, political, professional and social spaces ever more entwined, then lingua franca interactions in English are the primary means by which those connections are made, by which human relations are maintained across conventional boundaries. In other words, ELF is at once a GLOBALIZED and GLOBALIZING phenomenon. (Jenkins, Cogo, Dewey 2011, p. 303)

Parallel to the globalisation processes of English, the intensification of recent tidal migration flows, together with the unstoppable diffusion of new technologies, social networks and multimedia, have created new sociolinguistic environments where all languages are undergoing a unique transformative process of their borders as well as of their traditional functions (Hoffman 2000).

One of the most challenging and problematic changes in language teaching has been the moveable and liquid scenario where new language contacts are disputing traditional language standards and forms of communication. Just as Pennycoook's 'transcultural flows', ways in which cultural forms move, change, and are re-used to fashion new identities in

diverse contexts, forcing us to rethink language and culture (Pennycook 2006).

This new scenario has inevitably questioned and destabilised the language education models teachers have been brought up with and still refer to. Teachers are facing new types of learners, with different language and cultural backgrounds, with special needs in terms of literacy and communication forms, and whose technological skills are much more sophisticated than those of their teachers.

In almost all European countries there is a growing demand for teaching the country official language as a second language to migrants, and more and more school teachers are revisiting their own teaching in order to meet the multilingual population needs and to adjust the language of schooling to the new learners' needs. Teachers are inevitably led to reconsider how to teach their own mother tongue and to adjust to learners' multilingual capacities. This new scenario triggers a shift in teachers' long-established teaching habits, challenges traditional teaching perspectives and opens up to a renovated interest in language education.

The most used second language in the world has raised a number of issues linked to its different instantiations and its function in a global, multicultural and plurilingual society. While marking new linguistic landscapes, English has enhanced the development of different cultural and language identities of non-native English speakers and teachers, as well as of teacher educators who are adjusting to these new scenarios. English has thus emerged as a post-modern form of communication where ELF is definitely 'more than English' within a complex, but fluid, sociolinguistic reality.

There are thus numerous and unavoidable implications in teaching English to multilingual learners in different contexts all around the world, and in environments where ELF has become the most widely used form of plurilithic communication adopted by people with different language backgrounds to communicate with each other.

2. Shifts in language teacher education

The current development of English and of its instantiations, from World English to English as a Lingua Franca, in plurilingual contexts, has elicited studies on its current role and status as well as on the contents and type of approach to be used in language teacher education courses for future teachers of English (Sifakis 2004, 2007, 2017; Bayyurt, Sifakis 2015; Lopriore 2016a; Vettorel, Lopriore 2017).

Barbara Seidlhofer (1999) underlined the shift occurring in teacher professional development programs within contexts where learners need to be

guided towards the achievement of proficiency in more than one language besides their own, while learning and appreciating the cultures of other languages:

> In short, there is a sense of breaking the professional mould, with a broader conception of what it means to teach languages going hand in hand with a more comprehensive view of the languages to be taught. Thus monoculturalism seems to have been replaced by multiculturalism, monolingualism with multilingualism, and targets seem to be criterion-referenced rather than (native- speaker) norm-referenced. (Seidlhofer ibid., p. 234)

Teachers of English are educated in the study of English as a standard variety whose possible and acceptable varieties are those officially adopted in former English colonies. They have studied to adhere to standard models of English, conforming to the native speakers' one. This type of education is highly influential in the ways non-native speakers will talk about English, and this is particularly true when one decides to become a teacher of English and assumes the responsibility of being an 'expert' for language learners.

Language teacher education "[…] serves to link what is known in the field with what is done in the classroom, and it does so through the individuals whom we educate as teachers" (Freeman 1989, p. 30). In order to reconsider traditional English language teaching, where teachers' view of the language is still strongly linked to teachers' individual experience of learning and living that language, the shift in perspective cannot but start from the observation of language itself. English is no longer the language most teachers were taught and/or brought up with, it has 'grown' into something different, it needs revisiting and asks for new ways of looking at it (Sifakis 2004, 2007; Lopriore 2012, 2016a, b).

The reflective approach, originally developed in teacher education to elicit teachers' reflection-on-action by asking them to voice their thoughts about their beliefs, their teaching and their understanding of the learning process (Schön 1983; Wallace 1991; Richards and Lockhart 1994; Freeman 1989; Freeman and Johnson 1998; Johnson 2009; Freeman 2016), might be considered as the most appropriate teacher education approach in a time of change, where teachers are required to thoroughly reconsider their beliefs and understandings of the language they teach, particularly if pre- and in-service teacher education courses are World English (WE) and ELF-informed, as underlined in Jenkins *et al.* 2011 article on ELF research.

> However, what most assuredly has taken place is very considerable (and sometimes heated) debate about the claims of ELF researchers with regard to ELT methods, materials and practices. The debate has understandably given rise to a fair deal of controversy in the ELT profession ([…] and Jenkins (2007) for a discussion of the complex issues of attitude and identity in

> relation to ELF and language teachers). Because ELF research findings pose substantial challenges to current beliefs and practice, it is likely that further engagement with ELF in the language classroom will be contested and hence gradual. For as Roberts (1998) points out, changes in the CURRICULUM and any rethinking of PEDAGOGIC PRACTICE that these changes require often provoke controversy, and can be very unsettling (Jenkins, Cogo, Dewey 2011, p. 305).

In the emerging English landscapes, new ways in devising models and actions for language awareness activities require more exposure to and investigation of authentic language data in order to trigger teachers' reflection, unveiling their existing beliefs about language, about English, and about teaching.

3. WE and ELF informed language teacher education

The diffusion of WE and ELF demands for a shift in the design and implementation of the FL curriculum, of classroom practice as well as the identification of new teaching and learning tools and materials. In the last decade research studies into ELF, for example, have provided stimulating findings in the English language teaching and learning processes and challenging suggestions to be considered central in English teacher education.

> Research findings in ELF have major implications for a multitude of common beliefs and assumptions about what is sanctioned as good practice by the profession. The PEDAGOGIC IMPLICATIONS of ELF include the following key areas in particular: the nature of the LANGUAGE SYLLABUS, TEACHING MATERIALS, APPROACHES and METHODS, LANGUAGE ASSESSMENT and ultimately the KNOWLEDGE BASE of language teachers. All this has, of course, far reaching implications for language teacher education. ELF research, then, is not about determining what should or should not be taught in the language classroom. Rather, ELF researchers feel their responsibility is to make current research findings accessible in a way that enables teachers to reconsider their beliefs and practices and make informed decisions about the significance of ELF for their own individual teaching contexts. (Jenkins, Cogo, Dewey 2011, p.305)

Research studies on ELF have recently highlighted aspects of the communicative processes, such as the accommodation process in ELF interactions in terms of pragmatic strategies use (negotiation, repetition, rephrasing or paraphrasing strategies) that unveils speakers' willingness to accept differences and adjust to the interlocutors' linguacultural practices during, for example, instances of miscommunication, and whose implications have too often been disregarded in language education (Knapp 1987; House

2002, 2009; Seidlhofer 2004, 2011; Seidlhofer, Breiteneder, Pitzl 2006; Jenkins 2007; Klimpfinger 2009; Mauranen, Ranta 2009; Hüttner 2009; Cogo, Archibald, Jenkins 2011; Knapp. Meierkord 2002; Jenkins, Cogo, Dewey 2011; Cogo, Dewey 2012; Baker 2015).

The perspectives emerging from most research studies on ELF communication demand for a view of English as a social practice and for a better understanding by teachers and learners of the inherent language variability and diversity of English. These conceptions should now inform ELT teacher education programs, moving beyond the 'native'/'non-native' distinction. The process is slow, but it is moving ahead, and English and subject matter teachers are increasingly being involved in bottom up processes leading to a shift in perspective in terms of both contents and approach and in favour of an ELF-informed and an ELF-aware perspective in language education (Sifakis 2007, 2017; Lopriore, Vettorel 2015, 2016; Lopriore 2016 b, c; Bayyurt, Lopriore, Vettorel, forthcoming).

4. Voicing changes: case studies in teacher education

Revisiting language teacher education courses in a time of change means focusing mainly on those aspects that the changes English is undergoing, specifically ELF, have highlighted as pivotal in learners' language capability development.

The three pre- and in-service language teacher education courses under scrutiny here were organized and run at a university in Rome; they were run within a WE and ELF-informed perspective. Almost all courses lasted between 18 and 20 weeks and were attended by an average of 70 participants, mostly Italian native speakers.

WE and ELF were course embedded notions through all the course components, the approach was meant to:

- engage the participants in a reflective process;
- challenge their beliefs and views about language;
- develop their knowledge, skills, attitude and awareness in order to make their own informed choices;
- develop their professional identity as non-native teachers of English.

The transdisciplinary module *From English to Englishes* in all three courses was aimed to offer teachers the opportunity to learn about English, explore its current instantiations – WE and ELF – discuss the implications for English teaching and learning and identify ways to take the current state of English into account.

The main areas addressed in the new courses were:

- Spoken language features;
- Pragmatic issues, not just formal issues of language;
- Young and multilingual learners' repertoires of codes;
- New forms of audio materials and types of aural perception;
- Translanguaging strategies and learners' shuttling among codes & languages;
- Creative use of language;
- New repertoires & multimedia.

Teachers were involved in:

- Exploring and discussing the notion of authenticity in reference to current uses of English, and what the language learners needed to be exposed to and use;
- Exploring the notion of culture in language teaching and discussing changes in English speaking cultures, as well as in intercultural communication in multicultural and plurilingual societies. Noticing different instantiations of English in a variety of contexts within course-books, course materials or English materials from a variety of multimedia sources;
- Discussing their individual reactions to features of 'non-standard' Englishes, particularly if they were going to be used in an EFL classroom;
- Reflecting upon opportunities and implications of including different samples of English, English speaking cultures and intercultural communication awareness in their teaching;
- Exploring the potential of 'noticing' and 'languaging' activities;
- Including 'noticing' and 'languaging' in the activities they devised.

All this was achieved by exposing the teachers to multiple video stimuli, engaging them in group discussions in class or during their individual and group work on the platform. Individually and in small groups, the teachers developed teaching plans and teaching materials to be later used in the classroom, they discussed their practicum experiences and produced their end-of-course teaching projects when acting on the Moodle platform. Teachers, in small groups, were engaged in 'noticing' the language being used in course-books and audiovisual resources, through focused awareness tasks. They were also involved in 'languaging' tasks whereby they were encouraged to make meaning through the language encountered, that is talking-it-through. They had then to adapt materials and devise lesson plans within a non-standard perspective, using noticing and languaging tasks.

Trainee teachers – individually and in groups – were asked to explore English language in use through task-based activities, identify differences,

discuss norm deviations and the degree of acceptance of non-standard uses of English. Teachers were involved in individual and group tasks, engaged in considering how far they were ready to detach from traditional routines, when they usually rely on familiar course-books, by taking the risk of exposing their learners to new Englishes or ELF, and/or to accept and include deviations from the norm (Lopriore 2016a, c).
Some of the tasks included:

- exploring WE and ELF through corpora: from the BNC to the VOICE extracts and through videos.
- identifying ELF traits and exploring them as localised forms.
- investigating the notion of intelligibility.
- noticing and using different types of communicative strategies.

Task examples During their *From English to Englishes* module,

1) teachers were first introduced to language corpora and to different ways of consulting them; in small groups they learnt how to consult English corpora, eg the *British National Corpus*, using the *Corpus.BYU.edu*,[1] they were then guided to consult the *VOICE Corpus*[2] and asked to compare samples of spoken exchanges and notice differences between the BNC and the VOICE examples, particularly in the different uses of communicative strategies.
2) Teachers were later on presented with different short excerpts of TV series (eg LOST, Bing Bang Theory, Modern family, Breaking Bad etc. with non-native speakers interacting in English with native speakers), asked to notice differences in interactions or strategies used by the interactants, and if intelligibility had been a problem.

In their final lesson plans teachers included:

- cross-cultural activities;
- speaking activities;
- English as a medium for learning about different cultures;
- learners' use of communicative, repair strategies & accommodation skills.

4.1. Teachers' voices voicing dilemmas and beliefs

During the courses, trainee teachers had the opportunity to discuss the approach used in the course and the issues that had emerged in terms of WE

[1] Website https://corpus.byu.edu
[2] https://www.univie.ac.at/voice/

and ELF and new ways of teaching English. Their comments were quite revealing of the changes that had been triggered by the course.

In the comments that teachers made during the discussion, different issues were raised: some address teachers' response to the current status and instantiations of English, some highlight the limitations of teaching materials in terms of authenticity (T.3) that still resist incorporating samples of WE or ELF; others (T.1, T.5, T.7) reveal teachers' surprise in discovering different variations of English (T.2), the relevance of exposing learners to authentic materials (T.3) that triggers different attitudes towards non-standard forms, while some comments highlight the importance of the approach used (T.4, T.6, T.8) as well as teachers' uncertainties (T.6).

Their beliefs had been challenged by the exposure to other instantiations of English and their comments at the end of the courses have unveiled their profound dilemmas:

> "I now see so many different ways of saying things in English. It is so rich…" (T.1)

> "Watching films and soap operas with my learners, I realised I had never understood how spoken language works…*non importa se non è standard*/it doesn't matter if it is not standard" (T.2)

> " […] the themes are all about English life in UK and the functions are all about situations of real life but students look like just visitors, tourists. ….we are not always tourists in UK, so we need to learn to deal with all life situations" (T.3)

> "Considering the evolving status (of English), teachers can't insist on proposing static models; but they should, instead, expose their students to many varieties at the same time: educating, thus, to difference" (T.4)

> "Another thing I did not know before was that even a native speaker of English can consider himself a foreigner in a country where a new variety of English is spoken because of its culture" (T.5)

> "It's not enough to understand what teaching materials and tools to be used, but HOW teachers should use them" (T.8)

> "I did not know of the several changes of the language in all the world and that English takes a lot of words from the country where it's spoken" (T.7)

> "These 'new forms of English' make me feel uncertain, …*ho capito, ma poi come controllo/* I understood, but how can I be in control?? (T.6)

5. Conclusions

The adoption of a WE- and an ELF-aware reflective approach, later on embedded within all course components, sustained the participants' appropriation of their own teaching process and triggered a more focused awareness and use of course-books and materials. This new type of awareness emerged both in the teachers' lesson plans and projects and in their group discussions on the course; also, a shift in perspective in terms of attitudes and identities emerged. Yet, awareness cannot be taught, it can only be enhanced through reflective approaches where teachers explore, discover and make decisions about the subject they teach or they use for teaching, i.e. English.

The approach adopted elicited teachers' awareness regarding changes occurring in the current status of English and induced a reflective perspective on the implications of teaching it within a moveable scenario where English teaching traditions were inevitably challenged and dilemmas are still there and coexist with teachers' new professional profiles. If awareness of the current plurality of English is raised in teacher education courses, there are good chances that this perspective is taken into account afterwards in the classroom with students. Hence, the importance of theoretical concepts linked with hands-on activities in teacher training courses to provide chances to experience the implications of WE and ELF in a plurilithic perspective.

Bionote: Lucilla Lopriore, associate professor, Roma Tre University. MA TEFL, Reading University, PhD in Italian as a foreign language, Siena University. TESOL Italy President (1996-1998), TESOL Intl. Board of Directors (2001-2004), TESOL Research Professional Council Chair (2013-today). ELLiE longitudinal Project Italian coordinator. Qualified as Language Teacher Educator (6-week course): a) British Council, Norwich, UK (1988); b) Fulbright, S. Francisco State University, USA (1989). As teacher educator, she has run numerous pre- and in-service courses for English language teachers, CLIL teachers, teachers of Italian as a second language, language and cultural mediators in Italy and abroad. A course-book writer, she has published extensively on early language learning, ELF, ESP, assessment and teacher education. Recipient of scholarships from the British Council (1981; 1988; 1991), from the Fulbright commission (1989; 1999) and from the EU (2001; 2007). Coordinator and member of the Scientific Committees of several research projects at national and international level for the Ministry of Education, for the European Centre of Education, for the European Union, for INDIRE. Her main research interests are: ELF, CLIL, teacher education, educational linguistics, early language learning and assessment.

Author's address: lucilla.lopriore@uniroma3.it

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THE PLURALITY OF ENGLISH AND ELF IN TEACHER EDUCATION
Raising awareness of the 'feasibility' of a WE- and ELF-aware approach in classroom practices

PAOLA VETTOREL
UNIVERSITÀ DI VERONA

Abstract - The plurality into which English has developed, and its extended lingua franca role, have significant implications for ELT. Besides being taught as a foreign / second language, English increasingly constitutes a consistent presence in the 'outside-school' world, and encounters with (linguistic) otherness can be experienced daily, from the multicultural and multilingual school environments to mobility and digital communication. Raising awareness of the multifaceted sociolinguistic realities of Englishes and ELF in teacher education constitutes a first and fundamental step towards a more 'inclusive' and 'realistic' approach in ELT. If language educators are familiarised with the complex reality of English, and critical reflection on its implications in ELT is actively promoted in teacher education, teachers can not only realize the 'feasibility' of a WE- and ELF-aware approach in classroom practices, but also its 'suitability' to prepare learners to communicate through English in its current plural and lingua franca dimensions. An example comes from the pre-service TFA (*Tirocinio Formativo Attivo*) and PAS (*Percorso Abilitante Speciale*) teacher education courses held at the University of Verona, where part of the English Language Module focused on issues related to WE, ELF and their pedagogical implications. The Module aimed at fostering awareness of WE- and ELF-related issues, as well as critical reflection on beliefs deriving from traditional Anglocentric approaches. This, together with the WE- and ELF-aware material evaluation and the design of activities and lesson plans, that were also part of the Module, can be seen as a starting point to encourage and support a WE- and ELF-aware pedagogic perspective, one that sees communicative 'capability' (Widdowson 2003, 2012, 2015; Seidlhofer 2011, 2015) as an important aim to prepare learners to become effective and competent ELF users in today's world.

Keywords: English as a Lingua Franca; teacher education; WE- and ELF-aware pedagogical practices; English Language Teaching.

It is interesting to note that learners who are inhibited in school later manage to lose their inhibitions through communicative participation in authentic speech fellowships and communities of practice
(K. Kohn 2015, p. 64)

1. World Englishes, ELF and teacher education

The plurality into which English has developed has been documented by research concerning World Englishes varieties and, more recently, English as a Lingua Franca. Even though ELF is a relatively recent research field, it has thrived for almost two decades now, providing an ample body of literature and findings as to its uses, users, contexts and functions in several domains, from academia to business. Interest in the implications that ELF has for ELT has grown significantly over the last ten years in particular, and implications of ELF research in and for ELT have been widely examined and discussed in terms of materials, classroom practices and, maybe even more extensively, teacher education. There has been an increasing interest in the role teacher education can have in the promotion of a reflective approach towards a WE-, and above all, ELF-aware perspective in English language pedagogy and ELT. A significant number of courses and programmes are being implemented in different parts of the world, as a growing body of literature shows (e.g. papers in Matsuda 2012, 2017a; Vettorel 2015a; Lopriore, Grazzi 2016; Cogo, Bowles 2015; Bayyurt, Akcan 2015a; Tsantila, Mandalios, Ilkos 2016). Generally, most of these teacher education proposals include aspects related to knowledge of the sociolinguistics of WE and ELF, as well as of issues their complexity raises (such as the ownership of English, alternatives to the native speaker model, plurilingual and pluricultural repertoires of bilingual speakers of English, implications in and for ELT). Most programmes also highlight how an understanding of these issues ought to be accompanied by critical reflection on current practices in ELT – both at a general and at an individual and local level, as well as by the evaluation, adaptation and development of materials and lessons plans that are informed by awareness of ELF and, more generally, of Englishes. Bayyurt and Sifakis (2015b, 2017), for example, maintain that ELF-informed teacher education should be developed along three phases: exposure to the complexity of English usage; critical awareness, both internal as to beliefs and convictions, and external as to the current complexity and variability of English; action plan, experimenting with material design and classroom implementation. In addition, experiences of these proposals for teacher education programmes often include examples of (online) resources and guiding lines, both for teacher education (e.g. papers in Matsuda 2017a; Vettorel 2015a; see also Galloway and Rose 2015), and classroom practices (e.g. papers in Alsagoff *et al.* 2012, Matsuda 2012; Lopriore, Vettorel 2015, 2016).

Providing examples of resources and involving teachers in designing WE- and ELF-aware classroom (localized) activities represents a fundamental moment to raise awareness of a WE- and ELF-informed

approach, first of all since it can contribute to bridge the gap between theory and practice – that has often been identified as one of the main drawbacks for teachers in implementing a plurilithic pedagogic approach to WE and ELF. Consequently, and particularly when active reflection is carried out as a shared scaffolded and collaborative moment (e.g. Marlina 2017, p. 111), it can allow teachers to realize the 'feasibility' of implementing a WE- and ELF-aware pedagogic approach in their pedagogical practices, alongside awareness of its importance and relevance in preparing learners for the complexity of communication through English today.

2. Issues involved

According to Sifakis (2017, p. 2) ELF awareness comprises three main components: "awareness of language and language use, awareness of instructional practice and awareness of learning". The first includes aspects related to language awareness, as well as "developing awareness of the processes of languaging […] and translanguaging" (Sifakis 2017, p. 4) in ELT pedagogy. The second component concerns the extent to and the ways in which an ELF-aware approach correlates with teachers' (and other stakeholders') beliefs and attitudes towards issues such as "normativity, appropriateness, comprehensibility and ownership of English by native and non-native users alike" (ibid.). The third component, awareness of learning, should take into account the ways in which the roles of 'learner' and 'ELF user' are closely interrelated due to the innumerable opportunities of communication experiences through ELF – both digital and face to face – in outside-school contexts (e.g. Seidlhofer *et al.* 2006; Vettorel 2014).

All three components, and the second in particular, can be set within the call that has been made for a post-normative framework (e.g. Dewey 2012; Blair 2015), whereby a critical view on how established beliefs about languages (and communities) as fix(ed) and separate entities are increasingly being challenged, responding to the deep sociolinguistic modifications English has seen over the last decades, particularly in the fluidity and hybridity of ELF communication. ELF research in teacher education has shown that

> [t]eachers have strong convictions about their role in the ESL/EFL classroom that is often in contrast to their perspective about what their learners need in order to be successful communicators. Research shows that, while there is a growing acceptance of the need for learners to use English successfully in communications involving other nonnative users, teachers consider their role in the language classroom to be one of the custodians of Standard English. (Bayyurt, Sifakis 2017, pp. 3-18; see also Vettorel 2015b, 2016)

Teacher education constitutes hence a fundamental step towards a possible realistic enactment of an ELF-aware approach in classroom didactic practices. Unless the plurality into which English has developed (WE), and its use as a lingua franca functional variety become part of teachers' knowledge and (professional) awareness, a move towards a plurilithic and ELF-aware approach in ELT would be difficult to envisage. First, teachers who have been in the profession for some time may not be familiar with WE and, above all, ELF, nor with the pedagogic implications and issues related to SLA(T) that have been increasingly raised in the last decade, by ELF and by other areas of sociolinguistic research. Furthermore, teachers' beliefs – deriving both from their experiences as learners and as EFL teachers, may be so consolidated that resistance to change is prevalent. Familiarizing (prospective) teachers with both WE and ELF would allow situating the latter within more general issues of language variability and language change, as well as language spread, globalization and superdiversity, moving away from a 'deficiency' paradigm, too.

Dealing with such topics and issues in pre-service teacher education appears even more fundamental: ELF research involving trainee teachers of English seems to point towards a shift in perspective (e.g. Bayyurt, Sifakis 2015a, 2015b; Lopriore 2016; Vettorel 2016; Vettorel, Corrizzato 2016a, 2016b) with a positive opening towards an ELF-aware approach, that may thus hopefully inform future generations of English teachers.

Teacher education can hence play a major role in: 1. familiarizing teachers with the issues brought about by the complex sociolinguistic realities of Englishes and ELF today; 2. promoting critical reflection on a) their beliefs and perceptions, b) how they relate to 1., c) how to take them into account in their (localized) pedagogic practices. With Sifakis, teacher education can prompt "a reflective dialogue *both* with their specific and broader teaching context […] *and* with their own deeper beliefs and convictions about language, communication and their own role in the ELT classroom" (Sifakis 2017, pp. 10-11; see also Sifakis 2014). As Matsuda argues, given the current complex sociolinguistic reality of English, "ELT must reflect, and also must prepare students for, this 'messiness' of English, and […] the traditional approaches to ELT do not do an adequate job in doing so" (2017b, p. xiii).

In this perspective, WE- and ELF-informed teacher education can promote reflection also on ELT practices in general (Sifakis 2017), on long-standing tenets, e.g. the supremacy of the native speaker model, native-like proficiency, as well as the prevalence of Anglo-centred perspectives in ELT. With Seidlhofer, looking at how ELF works in practice "can also make a valuable contribution to rethinking priorities for teaching", focusing attention on elements that are salient for effective communication 'despite' their non-

conformity to SE norms (Seidlhofer 2011, pp. 207-208), and on the fact that "what is significant about ELF is not the non-conformist form it takes but how the forms function, how they are put into strategic communication" (Seidlhofer 2011, p. 198).

Teacher education can hence trigger critical reflection as to the challenges posed by a WE- and ELF-informed perspective in "a safe space for transformation", that can provide "invaluable scaffolding as participating teachers engage with and process the idea to make it their own" (Matsuda 2017b, pp. xv-xvi). Besides, active and critical reflection can foster appropriation and informed awareness of how adopting a WE- and ELF viewpoint does not mean '*to teach* ELF', nor should it be conceived of as 'a battle against EFL'. ELF-awareness is certainly not a pre-defined and imposed set of prescriptive 'rules' (Jenkins, Cogo, Dewey 2011; Seidlhofer 2011), nor "a new 'method' or 'approach' to teaching", (Sifakis 2017, p. 7). Rather, an ELF-aware pedagogy involves a shift in perspective, one that takes account of the current realities of how English is used, with teachers "co-constructing appropriate ELF-related methodologies for their learners" in their local contexts, within an 'ecological approach' (Sifakis 2017, pp. 9-10), creating links with learners/users' of English actual current and/or future experiences of language use and communication.

Along the same line, Kohn (2015, 2016) argues against a separationist view of ELF/ELT, and sets forward the case for a 'weak' vs. 'strong' orientation to Standard English in teachers' conceptualizations of language learning and classroom practices. A weak orientation

> incorporates a social constructivist view according to which learners take some kind of SE as a target model that provides orientation but at the same time leaves room for the cognitive and emotional processes by which they create their own brand of English (thereby appropriating English for their own purposes). (Kohn 2016, p. 26)

As Kohn reiterates elsewhere (2015, p. 64), rather than subscribing to a "behaviouristic cloning understanding of learning" with a strong SE orientation, a 'weak version' "opens up a new pedagogical perspective for a differentiated range of ELF-related learning objectives and activities beyond issues of normativity". Including awareness-raising moments in ELT, as well as activities related to comprehension and production skills and communication strategies, Kohn argues, would contribute towards the development of ELF competence and effective communication in the complexity and fluidity of ELF.

3. WE and ELF in TFA / PAS teacher education courses: an example from practice

In Italy, the *Tirocinio Formativo Attivo* (TFA) and *Percorso Abilitante Speciale* (PAS) pre-service teacher education courses have been offered by universities from 2012 to 2016. These programmes, addressed at lower and upper secondary school would-be teachers, comprise a general part on didactics followed by a more specific one dealing with the trainees' disciplinary areas. Unless participants have at least 3 years teaching experience to attend *PAS* courses, a consistent practicum (19 ECTS) is to be carried out as integral part of the TFA programme.

Since Academic Year 2012-2013 the Department of Foreign Languages and Literatures at the University of Verona has been involved in both TFA and PAS teacher education for foreign languages.[1] 18 out of the total 36 hours for PAS and 12 for TFA English Language/Didactics courses were focused on WE, ELF and their pedagogical implications, and included examination of topics and issues in the following areas:

- historical and socio-cultural factors related to the spread of English and its current pluralization (WE), including exemplifications of language variation;
- English as a Lingua Franca: characteristics and functions, speakers and contexts of use;
- active reflection on the pedagogical implications of WE and ELF, including a critical evaluation of ELT course-books, and the creation of WE- and ELF-aware lesson plans and classroom activities.

From 2012 to 2016 a total of 58 teachers attended the TFA English courses and 106 the PAS ones. In general, TFA participants had less than 5 years' teaching experience, while for PAS trainees experience ranged between less than five years and 5-10 years, involving also teaching languages other than English (German, Spanish and to a lesser extent French). Findings related to a research project for TFA and PAS courses from 2012 to 2015 have been discussed elsewhere (Vettorel 2015c, 2016; Vettorel, Corrizzato 2016a, 2016b, 2016c). The research project aimed at investigating whether, how and to what extent trainee teachers' beliefs and "pedagogic knowledge" (Borg 2006) about the inclusion of a WE- and ELF-aware perspective in their teaching practices could undergo a change after attending the course.

[1] TFA courses for prospective teachers of English, Spanish, German and French were run in Academic Year 2012-13 (lower secondary school) and 2014-15 (lower and upper secondary school). PAS courses were offered from 2013 to 2016, in the last two years for English and Spanish only. For an overview of PAS and TFA courses see Vettorel, Lopriore (2017).

After providing an overall view of main results as emerging from the aforementioned research project, in this paper I will focus on findings related to the PAS 2015/16 course, particularly as to the reflective comments in the online Moodle forums. Examples of activities and lesson plans trainee teachers developed either as part of the course activities, or in their final reports, will also be illustrated.

3.1. Trainee teachers' reflections – WE and ELF

In general, the aforementioned Module on WE and ELF contributed to raise trainees' awareness of WE and ELF, of issues concerning this sociolinguistic complexity, as well as of their implications for ELT. It also helped promote awareness of how Englishes and ELF are characterized by variability and language change, which was at times related to reflections on the same processes in Italian as well as Spanish as a foreign language. The need to make students aware of these aspects and of the diversity and plurality of Englishes they encounter, and will encounter, was emphasized, too.

It should be pointed out that most teachers were not familiar with WE, and especially with New Englishes, before attending the course; many trainees explicitly stated that during their studies they were exposed to Standard British and, in some cases, American English. When awareness of the plurality of English was expressed, it was often related to their personal and/or working experiences other than teaching. As one trainee's comment sums up, "[in my job] I met people from all around the world and I understood that British English and its grammar were not the ones with the 'D.O.C.' label"[2] (SR, forum, PAS 2015/16).

Including awareness of WE and ELF in teacher education was deemed a very important point, both to foster knowledge of issues and, above all, to provide opportunities for active reflection for WE- and ELF-aware pedagogic practices (Vettorel, Corrizzato 2016b). Particularly significant were considered the critical evaluation of ELT course-books (Bayyurt, Lopriore, Vettorel in preparation), and the design of WE- and ELF informed activities and lesson plans, that were often created starting from the adaptation of existing materials (Vettorel 2016; Vettorel, Corrizzato 2016b).

As to students, it was pointed out that they are generally accustomed to American English because of films, songs, videogaming and social media (including twitter), and how these resources could be fruitfully used in teaching practices, too. Some trainees also referred to the possibility of taking

[2] D.O.C. generally refers to locally-produced quality wine and food (*denominazione di origine controllata*); in this case the "guarantee of origin" implies a reference to native varieties of English.

into account the presence of students of non-Italian origin in their classes as to raising awareness of WE varieties.

Challenges concerning the perceived need to refer to 'normativity' in pedagogical practices, that have also been raised in other studies on WE- and ELF-informed teacher education (e.g. Dewey 2012, 2015; Bayyurt, Sifakis 2015a, 2015b; see also Vettorel 2015b, 2016), were mentioned, too. For example, one trainee teacher expressed her 'being confused' as to standardness and normativity issues in pedagogic practices as follows:

> it seems to me that we all agree on the importance of using English as LF, in a simplified way in order to keep or let communication going and that there is not a monolithic view of this language we love teaching. Yet, with all this that can't be denied, I have got a question for you, dear colleagues: can you go and take part in the funeral of the "s" of the third person singular with indifference? Today the "s" or the comment tag, tomorrow the saxon genitive. What about in ten or twenty years? Is most form dying out? Is it going to vanish from our lessons? Am I the only person who still buys books on phrasal verbs? (AC, forum, PAS 2015/16)

This kind of reflections emerged during class work, too, and were at times shared in the dedicated online forums (Vettorel 2016), where the perceived challenges a WE- and ELF-aware perspective poses to well-established beliefs prompted comments and discussion, as the following reply to the previous comment exemplifies:

> I agree with you, A. The fact that English has become an international language seems to be a sort of justification. But I think that it's not a question of laissez-faire or being easy-going. We should be aware and make our students aware that the world is evolving constantly and spoken languages represent the world and its changes, in primis SE. And this interpretation does not mean to deny the importance of what we were taught or what we are teaching now. (FB, forum, PAS 2014/15)

The opportunity to share reflections like the ones exemplified above in a 'safe place for transformation' was an important element also to reflect on their own experiences as L2/ELF users and as teachers in a new light. For instance, internationally oriented school exchanges – and above all eTwinning,[3] were widely mentioned as a highly relevant ELF-aware pedagogical tool, above all since they can promote opportunities for learners to communicate with peers of other linguacultures through English in its lingua franca role. Several trainees had positively experienced international exchanges either as learners,

[3] https://www.etwinning.net/en/pub/index.htm; e.g. Vettorel (2017); Kohn (2016); Kohn, Hoffstaedter (2017) and Grazzi (2016) for telecollaboration.

or in their teaching. One trainee teacher, reflecting on her experience when she was a secondary school student in two international exchanges, one involving other young people from Belgium, Great Britain, Spain, Greece and Germany in France and the other Danish students, commented that

> as we shared neither a common first language we chose ELF as our language of communication and even if I'm sure we made some 'mistakes' […] they were generally unproblematic and no obstacle to communicative success. I agree with E. that the most important aim is 'to keep communication going'. (ADM, forum, PAS 2015/16)

Other trainees, always referring to similar experiences their students had, shared the following reflections:

> Some of my students were very proud trying to converse with them [students of different L1s] [...] sentences were not grammatically correct and sometimes lexis was not appropriate but dialogues were on and they were satisfied. (FB, forum, PAS 2015/16)

> In the hostel, they [my students] met a group of Spanish students and they tried to speak together. At the beginning, my students were not at ease because they wanted to be grammatically correct as their English teacher taught them. I tried to explain them that the most important thing was to be effective. I told them to make short and clear sentences, with few subordinate clauses. I also suggested not to worry about mistakes and that we would have talked about them afterwards. Little by little, they understood what I meant and the communication with the Spanish kept going on. During our way home, some of my students asked me to reflect about their and their Spanish friends' mistakes. They also wanted to understand what kind of English they had used in their conversations, because they were aware that it was not the British English they were studying at school. I tried to explain them that what they committed were not properly mistakes but simplifications and simplifications did not stop communication. In front of a mistake people usually stopped talking because they wanted to be correct, but the interaction was not successful any more. We agreed that the language they had used was a sort of passe-partout to keep in contact with people from different countries and speaking different native languages. They used ELF. (SR, forum, PAS 2015/16)

These comments show how communication exchanges occurring in authentic settings can constitute not only real opportunities to experience language use in ELF contexts, but also prompt meta-reflection on how 'communication in action' works in these contexts. In the words of two trainees, "ELF belongs to the 'real world' that exists outside the language classroom" (SB, forum, PAS 2015/16); "one of teachers' aim is to teach with links with real world" (PAS 2013/14, forum). After realizing a WE- and ELF-aware lesson plan in class,

another teacher said that "[students] looked far more interested; in a sort of way they felt it really had to do with the world around us. And I could involve some students that come from WE environments too. So it was really engaging" (BT, interview, PAS 2012/13).

In this perspective, it should be noted that several trainees made specific references to the importance of including in classroom practices Communication Strategies and accommodation skills as tools that would prepare students to effectively communicate 'beyond standardness'. For example, commenting on the language use dimension in class activities, one trainee shared the following comment in the online dedicated forum:

> I always emphasize the fact they do not always have a prompter next to them in real life and so, they have to find a way to communicate, no matter how. I often suggest paraphrasing as a useful tool and I make them explain or give a definition of some words using only English words. Sometimes, we play a sort of timed game: I give them a situation and they have to set up a dialogue speaking with a partner trying to manage the conversation without any help and pretending the other person has not got all the day long to wait for the information. (CU, forum, PAS 2015/16)

The issues on WE, ELF and their implications for ELT discussed in the PAS and TFA courses can be said to have fostered awareness of, critical reflection upon, and active engagement towards a WE- and ELF-aware shift in perspective, that was then reflected in the activities and more articulated lesson plans that were devised by the trainees, as the next section will illustrate.

3.2. Teachers' proposals – examples of ELF-aware lesson plans and activities

In this section, some examples of ELF-aware activities and lesson plans that were devised by the trainee teachers during the PAS and TFA courses will be briefly illustrated[4]. In general, the plans and activities can be grouped into the following four main areas:

a) English(es) in the World: fostering awareness of the spread of English, of its diversification and of language contact (English with other languages, other languages with English);
b) Varieties in World Englishes (Inner and Outer Circle);
c) English as an International Language / English as a Lingua Franca;

[4] For further examples see Vettorel 2016; Vettorel, Corrizzato 2016a, 2016b.

d) Intercultural perspectives in World Englishes and English as a Lingua Franca.

The activities that were developed at times cut across the four areas, and aims such as the development of communication strategies and intercultural communication skills were often present as an underlying thread in several lesson plans.

The "English as a Lingua Franca in Venice" lesson plan (MDA, final report, PAS 2014/15) is addressed at lower secondary school students. After an introductory lesson based on the textbook in use and aimed at raising awareness of the spread and diversification of English in the world, the activities are centred on language use in an ELF context. The main focus of the plan is a trip to Venice, where the young learners experience English in its lingua franca role through different cooperatively-structured team activities. After a noticing task on the presence of English in the linguistic landscape, they are asked to interview tourists of different L1s at the railway station, and then to ask foreign people for help in compiling a list of lexical items in English. The interviews allow them to be directly and actively involved in using English, taking part in interactions with people of different linguacultures through first-hand experience. This 'fieldwork' lesson aims thus at fostering language use in cross-cultural contexts, as well as, more generally, at enacting pragmatic strategies in real communication and at developing intercultural communicative skills. In the trainee teacher's words, "ho pensato a un progetto che potesse mettere in contatto i miei studenti con una visione più attuale dell'inglese e riflettere sulla dimensione di questa lingua come lingua di contatto"[5]. The post-lesson feedback from the learners was enthusiastic, not least in terms of motivation; it is also interesting to note that a trainee attending the PAS course the following year mentioned this experience in a very positive way, commenting that the students "met a lot of people from abroad and talked amusingly and easily to them. More than this, they forgot the effort of speaking English all the time" (AS, forum, PAS 2015/16).

Similarly, the lesson plan "English, the Global Language!" (AR, final report, TFA 2012/13) aims at making students reflect upon the global spread of English and its presence in the environment through a series of different tasks and materials. A particularly relevant point in this project is the fact that the video that was used to raise awareness of ELF was part of a project carried out the previous year with other students, who interviewed tourists of different L1s in Venice via English. The video thus constituted not only an

[5] "I have thought about a project that could put students in contact with a more up-to-date view of English, and allow them to reflect upon the contact language dimension this language has developed", my translation.

opportunity to come into contact with and be exposed to different accents, but also to see English in its lingua franca role at play in an environment the students are likely to be familiar with, given that the school location is not far from where they live.

A series of teaching units aimed at fostering awareness of the plurality of English and its lingua franca role were developed in the "Journey towards Awareness of World Englishes" lesson plan (CA, final report, PAS 2014/15). The six units included South African, Australian, American, Indian and British English varieties, as well as English as a Lingua Franca with a speaker from Saudi Arabia and one from Norway. Didactic activities were devised to support comprehension and to foster noticing of differences and similarities, in some cases also starting from textbook materials. The approach taken here is particularly interesting since the video-messages were produced once again by 'real' people, who, after being contacted, sent them to the class; a skype web conference was also realised. This contributed to create a high level of motivation, since the plurality of Englishes was experienced in a more 'personalised' and natural way. As the trainee commented,

> planning this ideal journey towards the awareness of World Englishes was not as easy as I had expected. It was a thrilling experience though. There is a whole world to explore out there, full of possibilities for the students to grasp. The aim behind this project is to have a glimpse of the varieties of Englishes for the students to choose their path among by presenting them with a range of perspectives to approach English and "make them ready for difference" (Crystal 2013).

As to the dimension of intercultural awareness and communication skills, some lesson plans focused on projects involving interactions in international school partnerships either face to face or via eTwinning. For instance, "Travellers' Tales around Europe" (LG, final report, TFA 2014/15) includes curricular activities, that could also be developed as a whole-year project, and are centred upon discovering the most interesting tourist spots in Verona - a city close to where the students live - and Rome. As a final product, learners are asked to write a postcard to their eTwinning European partners about what to see in Verona; the information gathered during the lessons and in the final 'postcard' are then used in a web-conference meeting with one of the eTwinning partner classes, where students interact through English with their peers belonging to a different linguaculture, exchanging information about places of interest in their respective areas.

These lesson plans, that were successfully realized in class, exemplify how the WE- and ELF-related awareness-raising and reflective moments during the PAS and TFA courses contributed to prompt a shift in perspective that was reflected in didactic action, too.

4. Concluding remarks

Teacher education represents a fundamental step in developing teachers' knowledge and awareness of the linguistic plurality of English and cultural differences, of the multifaceted reality of English today (not 'just British English'), of the important role of ELF in international communication, as well as of the relevance of pragmatic and communication strategies to foster intelligibility and effective communication, particularly in the fluidity and hybridity of ELF interactions.

At the same time, as Marlina (2017, p. 110) points out, "[a]s an anti-normative paradigm (Kubota 2012), the EIL paradigm and the teaching of EIL challenge deeply ingrained assumptions, beliefs or preconceived views of language use, language teaching and language learning that are often perceived as 'normal'" (see also Dewey 2012; Cogo, Dewey 2012; Widdowson 2012, 2015). And, as Seidlhofer reiterates (2015, pp. 25-26),

> Questioning the validity of conventional assumptions is […] to undermine teachers' sense of security. Even if they are made aware of ELF, and recognize its possible pedagogic implications, they are unlikely to act upon their awareness unless they feel secure in what they do. This suggests that any change in their teaching will have to be related to the framework of their familiar pedagogic practice, particularly the use of textbooks.

WE- and ELF-informed teacher education can hence be an empowering tool, contributing to promote active reflection and engagement in linking 'theory' and 'practice', triggering a pedagogical reasoning that enables teachers to make WE- and ELF-informed choices 'from below' in their (local) classroom practices in ways that create connections with 'real' (authenticated) contexts of language use.

Signs towards a change in perspective – realized through the presence of pages and activities related to the diversity of Englishes – are (but slowly) starting to appear in course-books; however, speakers of English with a diversity of linguacultural backgrounds, both in terms WE varieties and, above all, of ELF interactions are still largely underrepresented. Since (in the Italian context for example) teachers have a major say in the choice of course-books, an increased and more widespread awareness of the above issues could certainly impact on English teachers' decisions as to the choice of materials, and consequently, possibly, on those of materials writers and publishers, too.

Zacharias (2017, p. 163) points to the fact that trainees attending teacher education courses including topics related to English as an international language "stated that teaching through EIL pedagogy has challenged their creativity as teachers because EIL materials were not readily

available"; similarly, as we have seen in the examples of activities in the previous section, the opportunity to devise materials for PAS and TFA trainee teachers meant critically looking at course-books from a WE- and ELF-aware viewpoint, then going beyond ready-made proposals, as well as beyond the classroom walls.

In a WE- and ELF-aware perspective, the development of a 'communicative capability' to successfully interact in different contexts and with people of diverse linguacultural backgrounds through English becomes a foregrounded pedagogic aim. International school partnerships in digital contexts (telecollaboration and eTwinning projects), that seem to be increasingly incorporated in EFL curricular activities, offer opportunities of communication through English in English as a Lingua Franca communicative contexts. Such environments can therefore constitute a particularly interesting pedagogical area for ELF, and can represent an important and viable 'source of inspiration' for teachers, teacher educators, and materials writers in the development of ELF-aware pedagogic practices.

With Sifakis (2017, p. 14) ELF-aware teacher education should raise teachers' awareness of "the extent to which their current teaching and learning context is open to engage with change, and prompt them to engage in action research with their classes". I believe that collaborative Action Research projects seeing ELF researchers, teacher educators and teachers working side by side would represent extremely important opportunities in order to develop and implement 'feasible' ways of introducing an ELF-aware approach in classroom practices. Such active cooperation would on the one hand mean to discuss challenges, and on the other hand encourage to experiment and put into practice activities, materials and tasks teachers would be comfortable with, at the same time going beyond their 'comfort zone', in their local teaching context. Ongoing cooperation between researchers and teachers could also help overcome the limited time (e.g. Marlina 2017; Zacharias 2017) in pre-service teacher education programmes, and possibly extend these experiences also to in-service teacher education. This would allow to explore issues, that are often complex and perceived as challenging, more in depth, as well as implement opportunities for praxis related to a WE- and ELF-aware pedagogy.

I also feel, from my experience both as a EFL teacher and as a teacher educator, that there are some 'areas' towards which teachers can be more sensitive, and where an ELF-informed approach could be regarded as offering valuable opportunities for more 'inclusive' didactic approaches in ELT. First, since migration processes have strongly impacted schools, too, classes are more and more multicultural and multilingual since primary school. This means that encounters with several linguacultures are most often part of everyday school life, and a WE- and ELF-aware approach could offer

opportunities to take account of the diversity of experiences, languages and cultures that have become an integral part of educational realities, and as a preparation to the diversity of Englishes in 'real life' – in communicative and intercultural competence terms.

Second, and as important, it could help implement a focus on the development of communication skills and the ability – or, in Widdowson's terms 'capacity'/'capability' – to communicate. That grammatical competence constitutes but one of the three components of Communicative Competence has been a tenet since Canale and Swain's 1980 seminal paper, together with sociolinguistic/pragmatic and strategic competence. However, as several ELF studies have shown, the grammatical side of communicative competence is still a primary concern for teachers, together with monolithic ideas of one (British) standard variety (and grammar) of 'the' language, of an omniscient native speaker, as well as several other conceptual tenets that have been deeply questioned first by WE and then by ELF.

ELF research into communication strategies has amply shown that ELF speakers make effective use of communication and pragmatic moves to co-construct meaning and cooperatively reach effective communication and mutual understanding. Aiming at developing 'strategic competence' and communicative capability would seem fundamental to equip learners/users to be able to use English to communicate in its current complexity – 'Capacity', intended as "the ability to use a knowledge of the language as a resource for the creation of meaning" (Widdowson 1983, p. 25), and 'capability' as "a knowledge of how meaning potential encoded in English can be realised as a communicative resource" (Widdowson 2003, p. 177), in their going beyond the separation of different aspects of Communicative Competence, can offer teachers, and teacher educators, a broader view, one that can be projected onto language use. In this perspective, promoting awareness of the importance and relevance of communication strategies, and strategic competence, both in terms of language and intercultural abilities, can represent a further area of engagement for a cooperation between ELF researchers and teachers. It could also possibly be perceived as 'less destabilising', as many of the comments from PAS and TFA trainees indicate, since it would resonate more with their 'pedagogic reasoning' given its close connection with communicative capability as a holistic concept, that is, finding ways of understanding changes, re-thinking practices in and for their own contexts, and 'guiding' learners towards language (re)use in a communicatively effective way.

I would like to conclude with two trainee teachers' reflections, that summarize the ways in which teacher education can positively work in developing awareness of how an ELF-aware shift in perspective in ELT

practices would foster, among other things, leaners/users' 'communicative capability':

> out of school contacts with English(es) are already part of young people's lives. Consequently, teaching is not only the knowledge of grammatical rules or lexical items, but also an ability [...] to function through the practice of cross-cultural communication strategies and the development of a great tolerance of differences. (FB, forum, PAS 2015/16)

> I think a monolithic view of English can no longer represent the only reference point: as teachers, we must prepare learners to effectively use English, so its lingua franca role has to be taken into account, raising awareness through cultural exchanges, speaking and chatting via Skype with foreign people, watching films or videos in English from different countries [...] Our students must be aware that English is a means of communication beyond and across community and territorial boundaries. (ADM, forum, PAS 2015/16)

Bionote: Paola Vettorel is assistant professor in the Department of Foreign Languages and Literatures – University of Verona. Her main research interests include ELF and its implications in ELT; ELF and digital media. Among her recent publications: 2014, *English as a Lingua Franca in wider networking. Blogging practices*, Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin; 2015, *New Frontiers in Teaching and Learning English*, Cambridge Scholars, Newcastle-upon-Tyne; 2016, *WE- and ELF-informed classroom practices: proposals from a pre-service teacher education programme in Italy,* in "Journal of English as a Lingua Franca" 5 [1], pp. 107-133; 2017, (with L. Lopriore), *WE, EIL/ELF and awareness of their pedagogical implications in teacher education courses in Italy*, in Matsuda A. (ed.). *Preparing Teachers to Teach English as an International Language (EIL)*, Multilingual Matters, Bristol, pp. 197-209.

Author's address: paola.vettorel@univr.it

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