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O autorach

Marek Derenowski received his PhD in applied linguistics from Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań. He is a teacher and a teacher educator working at the English Department of the Faculty of Pedagogy and Fine Arts of Adam Mickiewicz University (Kalisz, Poland). He also works at the Institute of Modern Languages of State School of Higher Professional Education in Konin. For the last seventeen years he has also been a teacher of English in senior high-school. His research interests are related to teacher education and professional development, the place of target language culture in foreign language education as well as learner and teacher autonomy.

e-mail: dereno@icpnet.pl

Paweł Korpak is a Ph.D. student at the Faculty of English at Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań and an M.A. student of psychology at the same university. His research interests include psycholinguistics of conference interpreting, the eye-tracking method in translation and interpreting, stress management in interpreting and the approach of non-native speakers of English to English as a lingua franca. Paweł Korpak has already published several articles in the field of interpreting studies and cognitive linguistics. One of them, entitled "Omission in simultaneous interpreting as a deliberate act", was published in the *Translation Research Projects 4*. Paweł Korpak is currently involved in projects related to numerical data processing in simultaneous interpreting, and the psychological profile of a university teacher and a conference interpreter.

e-mail: pkorpak@wa.amu.edu.pl

Mirosław Pawlak is Professor of English in the Department of English Studies at the Faculty of Pedagogy and Fine Arts of Adam Mickiewicz University in Kalisz, Poland and the Institute of Modern Languages of State School of Higher Professional Education, Konin, Poland. His main areas of interest are SLA theory and research, form-focused instruction, corrective feedback, classroom discourse,

learner autonomy, communication and learning strategies, individual learner differences and pronunciation teaching. His recent publications include *The place of form-focused instruction in the foreign language classroom* (Adam Mickiewicz University Press, 2006), *Production-oriented and comprehension-based grammar teaching in the foreign language classroom* (with Anna Mystkowska-Wiertelak, Springer, 2012), *Error correction in the foreign language classroom: Reconsidering the issues* (Adam Mickiewicz University Press, 2012), *Applying Cognitive Grammar in the foreign language classroom: Teaching English tense and aspect* (with Jakub Bielak, Springer, 2013), as well as several edited collections on learner autonomy, form-focused instruction, speaking and individual learner differences. Mirosław Pawlak is the editor-in-chief of the journal *Studies in Second Language Learning and Teaching* (www.sllt.amu.edu.pl) and the book series *Second Language Learning and Teaching* (<http://www.springer.com/series/10129>). He has been a supervisor and reviewer of doctoral and postdoctoral dissertations.

e-mail: pawlakmi@amu.edu.pl

Katarzyna Piątkowska received her PhD from Nicolaus Copernicus University, where she works as an assistant professor in the Department of English. She has presented a number of papers at national and international conferences. Her research interests include second language acquisition, the role of language awareness in language learning and teaching, teaching English as a foreign language to children, and intercultural communicative competence.

e-mail: kapia@umk.pl

Katarzyna Rokoszewska received her PhD degree in applied linguistics from the University of Wrocław (Poland) in 2007. She is an assistant professor at the Institute of Foreign Languages at Jan Długosz University in Częstochowa (Poland), where she teaches EFL methodology and SLA courses. She also worked as a teacher at the Teacher Training College in Częstochowa for ten years. Her research interests include various aspects of second language acquisition and methodology of teaching foreign languages, including teaching foreign languages to young learners. She has a particular interest in individual learner differences, the sociocultural approach and complexity theory. She has published a monograph entitled *Comparing selected modern methods of teaching English to young learners* (Peter Lang, 2011) and many articles.

e-mail: k.rokoszewska@ajd.czyst.pl

Petra Zrníková graduated from the Faculty of Education, University of Trnava, as a teacher of Slovak and English Language and Literature for primary schools. In her

diploma thesis she dealt with the communicative approach in teaching the Slovak language. In 2012 she received her Ph.D. degree in Educational Sciences. Her dissertation was devoted to the comprehension of causative discourse markers in explanatory texts. Since September 2012 she has been teaching English for Specific Purposes in General Medicine, Nursing, and Public Health. She has been doing research in the field of psycholinguistics and didactics, and her academic work has been influenced by Erasmus scholarship at Utrecht University.

e-mail: zrnikova@jfmed.uniba.sk

The role of literature in developing foreign language learners' grammatical and intercultural communicative competence

Katarzyna Piątkowka

Nicholas Copernicus University, Toruń

kapia@umk.pl

Abstract

The place of literature in foreign language teaching has always been limited. Many teachers either do not know how to use literary texts in foreign language classes or are not willing to use them, arguing that literature has little to offer in language learning because of its syntactic, lexical and communicative constraints. However, in this paper it is argued that literature not only represents authentic language, which is the ultimate goal of foreign language teaching, but it can also be incorporated into language classes to develop learners' intercultural and grammatical competence at the same time. The paper provides a sample lesson plan with suggestions for designing activities fostering learners' intercultural and grammatical competence.

1. Intercultural communicative competence

Intercultural competence (Buttjes and Byram 1990; Byram 1997, 2000; Council of Europe 2001; Fenner 2001; Thanasoulas 2001; Byram, Gribkova and Starkey 2002; European Commission 2002; Byram 2006; Risager 2008; Ho 2009; Komorowska and Aleksandrowicz-Pędich 2010; Byram 2012) is defined as awareness and understanding of similarities and differences between the mother tongue culture

and the target language culture as well as other cultures, which helps a learner to place these cultures in a wide context. As a consequence, interculturally competent users can be defined as (Byram, Gribkova and Starkey 2002: 9):

intercultural speakers or mediators who are able to engage with complexity and multiple identities and to avoid the stereotyping which accompanies perceiving someone through a single identity. It is based on perceiving the interlocutor as an individual whose qualities are to be discovered, rather than as a representative of an externally ascribed identity.

The above definition therefore expresses the importance of intercultural teaching to make learners look at other cultures and their representatives from a variety of perspectives and, what is more, to make students look at their interlocutor as an individual, in the first place, and as a representative belonging to a given culture, in the second place. An interculturally aware speaker recognizes social diversity in the native and the target culture. Therefore, intercultural competence includes: 1) the ability to bring together two cultures, i.e. to find a link between them, 2) the ability to use appropriate strategies in order to engage in interaction with the target culture, 3) the ability to mediate between the native culture and the target culture in order to be able to deal successfully with misunderstandings which are the results of cross-cultural barriers, and 4) awareness of stereotypes and the ability to overcome them (Council of Europe 2001: 103-104). In other words, intercultural competence goes beyond cultural knowledge and allows a learner to function across cultures (Council of Europe 2001: 103-104). Consequently, intercultural teaching stresses the importance of developing not only communicative skills in the target language, but, above all, building human relationships with others (Byram, Gribkova and Starkey 2002: 7). One may thus conclude that intercultural competence or awareness aims at developing skills which enable learners to communicate successfully across various cultures, respecting otherness of these cultures and applying appropriate behavior in interaction with interlocutors from different cultural backgrounds (Byram, Gribkova and Starkey 2002: 6).

Byram (1997, 2006, 2012) extends the view of intercultural competence into *intercultural communicative competence*, making it part of language competence. For the past three decades language learning and teaching have focused mainly on the learning and teaching of the elements of language and linguistic skills, with the emphasis being placed on developing grammatical, socio-linguistic, strategic and discourse competence, as established by the advocates of the communicative approach to language learning and teaching (Richards and Rodgers 1986; Hymes 1996). Cultural awareness has been understood as either conscious focus on facts about the target language culture (Hinkel 2001) or part

of pragmatic competence, which emphasizes the importance of applying appropriate conventions and behavior when engaging in interaction with native speakers of the target language (Hymes 1996). As Hinkel (2001: 444) observes, Hymes (1996) recognizes the importance of socio-cultural competence as part of linguistic competence. However, Byram (2006: 1) goes so far as to suggest that competent speakers should possess not only linguistic competence but also abilities which will enable them to negotiate meanings that require cross-cultural analysis, comparison and interpretation and, as a consequence, mediate between their own culture and the cultures represented by their interlocutors. These abilities are expressed through the following types of intercultural communicative competence (Byram 2006: 11):

- 1) *knowledge*, which refers to knowledge of facts about the target language culture and one's own culture as well as knowledge of the processes governing interaction in the target language culture;
- 2) *skills of interpreting and relating*, which pertain to the ability to interpret the products of the target language culture and the ability to relate them to the products in one's own culture;
- 3) *skills of discovery and interaction*, which are associated with both the ability to learn about the target language culture and the ability to use this knowledge, skills and attitudes in interaction with others;
- 4) *critical cultural awareness*, which is tantamount to the ability to think critically about one's own and the target language culture.

A similar approach to intercultural competence is taken by Sercu (2004), for whom intercultural competence incorporates knowledge, skills and attitudes. By redefining cultural awareness and linguistic competence, Byram (1997, 2006, 2012) strongly emphasizes that cultural and language competence cannot be treated as two separate types of competence in language learning and teaching. To sum up, Byram, Gribkova and Starkey (2002: 10) define the following aims of intercultural communicative competence:

to give learners intercultural competence as well as linguistic competence; to prepare them for interaction with people of other cultures; to enable them to understand and accept people from other cultures as individuals with other distinctive perspectives, values and behaviors; and to help them to see that such interaction is an enriching experience.

2. The role of literary texts in raising students' intercultural competence

Following Kramsch (1993), McKay (2001: 329) points out that mastering cultural competence does not necessarily mean acting according to the norms of the target language culture. Neither is providing learners with information about

the target culture the goal of developing cultural competence. Instead, the main goal of fostering cultural competence is to promote learners' ability to see their native culture in relation to other cultures (McKay 2001: 329). Thus, studied with cultural nuances mirroring cultural context of the community where they were created, literary texts appear to provide ideal sources for developing learners' intercultural competence. Their major potential lies in their diversity and the fact that they allow meaning negotiation and close encounters with the target culture (Kramersch 1993; Carter 1996; McKay 2001). The importance of literature is also stressed by the Council of Europe (2001), which recognizes its potential in developing learners' sociocultural competence, aesthetic values, building learners' positive attitudes towards the target language culture and fostering their intercultural competence. Especially significant is the role of literature in bringing learners' attention to aesthetic and imaginative uses of language, which are productive, receptive, interactive and mediating activities crucial not only educationally but also in their own right (Council of Europe 2001: 56). Therefore, the role of literary texts goes beyond a purely aesthetic function.

It is worth emphasizing that any authentic texts, such as magazines, newspapers, instruction manuals, brochures, notes, memoranda, messages, public signs notices, advertisements, etc., can be used in a foreign language classroom as sources of a potentially useful context for developing intercultural competence, as they express various levels of cultural content, either implicitly or explicitly (Gómez 2012: 52). If one accepts the view that the ultimate goal of foreign language teaching is to foster language skills and intercultural competence, it becomes obvious that foreign language learners should be provided with a variety of authentic texts. However, coursebooks for teaching English as a foreign language contain few literary texts. The main reason for such a situation is perhaps the belief that literary texts are extremely difficult to understand for students (Gómez 2012: 52). Furthermore, foreign language teachers find it very difficult to include literary texts in their teaching as they do not feel confident teaching the target language through literature. Some teachers are of the opinion that in order to focus on literary texts, learners have to achieve a certain level of language proficiency to be able to cope with the complexity of language and meaning present in literature (Kramersch 1993, as cited in Gómez 2012: 52). However, when chosen appropriately, literary texts may allow learners to make cross-cultural comparisons, negotiate meaning and, as a result, enhance their interculturality.

3. Approaches to teaching grammar

Approaches to the teaching of grammar can be divided according to their views regarding the structure of a syllabus, the selection of grammatical struc-

tures and the presentation of grammatical material. With reference to the structure of a syllabus one may distinguish between a *structural* and a *task-based syllabus*. In a structural syllabus, the process of teaching the target language is organized around grammatical structures. In this view, the starting point for constructing a syllabus is grammar, namely, the complexity of grammatical structures, the frequency with which given grammatical structures are used by native speakers, the difficulty which given grammatical structures may pose to foreign language learners, the usefulness of grammatical structures, or similarities and differences between grammatical structures. Grammatical aspects in such a syllabus are introduced and practiced step by step, from the simplest to the most complex ones, which is to help learners internalize the grammatical system of the target language so that they will be able to use these structures in communication. In other words, grammar is scheduled in advance. On the course level, it means selecting grammatical structures first. The next step is to choose lexical items, functions of language as well as notions and situations, which will enable the teacher to introduce these structures. On the lesson level, the approach usually employs three phases in the process of introducing a grammatical structure, that is, *presentation*, *practice* and *production* (the so-called PPP approach), whose main aim is to build communicative skills through systematic focus on grammatical forms. In the presentation stage, a given grammatical structure is introduced to learners and is then practiced in the context of usually controlled activities. In the last phase, students are encouraged to use a given grammatical structure in their own production of the target language, which means they are expected to transfer the use of this structure to other skills (Larsen-Freeman 2001: 256).

A task-based syllabus is more derivative in nature. Grammatical structures are not scheduled in advance but are introduced through a communicative task, for example a task- or content-based activity (Larsen-Freeman 2001: 256). The starting point for teaching the target language in this type of syllabus is emphasis on those elements of language that will facilitate the development of communicative skills in language learners. There are many options of addressing grammar in this approach. One of them is to bring learners' attention to a given feature through corrective feedback. Another is to provide students with tasks that develop their fluency. In other words, the goal of meaning-based activities is to provide learners with comprehensible input through focusing their attention on meaning; this aims to develop students' fluency (Fotos 2001: 268).

Grammatical input can be selected according to the following approaches: the so-called zero approach, a modular approach, focus on form, focus on forms or input processing. The *zero approach*, which rejects both teaching grammar and providing students with corrective feedback, is based on devel-

oping fluency through exposure to the target language in a communicative context; thus the approach favors the development of language competence through acquisition (Krashen 1982). A slightly different perspective on the teaching of grammar is represented by a *modular approach*, which tries to integrate a task-based and a structural view (Ellis 2003). In this approach, the key element is providing learners with tasks which develop their communicative competence and implicit knowledge. Such tasks are, however, supposed to be accompanied by those focusing on bringing learners' attention to the target language code and developing their explicit knowledge.

Furthermore, a distinction is made between two contrasting approaches to the teaching of grammar, namely, a *focus on forms* and a *focus on form*. In the focus-on-forms approach, which is associated with a structural syllabus, grammatical structures are selected, taught and tested one at a time whereas in a focus on form approach, which takes place when teachers follow a task-based syllabus, the emphasis alternates "in some principled way between a focus on meaning and a focus on form" (Ellis 1995: 639). Consequently, Fotos (2001: 273) defines focus on form activities as the ones which:

constitute implicit grammar instruction only, and include 'flooding' communicative material with target forms, physically highlighting them within purely communicative activities in such a way that students' attention is drawn to them, and structuring communicative activities so that students must use the forms for successful performance/completion.

In other words, a focus-on-form approach makes learners heed specific grammatical structures through performing communicative tasks, which can be achieved in two ways, that is, students can either be provided with an activity which has them both engage in communication and focus on a grammatical structure at the same time, or they can be provided with corrective feedback on their mistakes while performing communicative tasks (Ellis 1995: 639). Therefore, a focus-on-form approach consists in mediating between developing learners' fluency and accuracy (Ellis 1995: 641). This approach requires students to practice a given grammatical structure (Ellis 1995: 643). The concept of practice, as Ellis (1995: 643) points out, is characterized by the following features: 1) it is based on isolating grammatical features, 2) students are given an opportunity to practice a given grammatical structure in the context of a sentence, 3) learners practice a grammatical structure repetitively, 4) learners are expected to produce a given grammatical form in a correct way, and 5) teachers provide students with corrective feedback. Consequently, in a focus-on-forms approach learners are aware of both what kind of grammatical structure they are learning and the fact that they are involved in practice (Ellis

1995: 643). One of the advantages of applying a focus-on-forms approach is that it builds learners' accuracy whereas a focus-on-form approach provides students with comprehensible input and the opportunity to practice a given grammatical structure in communicative usage (Fotos 2001: 268).

Another approach to teaching grammar is *input processing* (Van Pattern 1996), the exemplification of which can be Ellis and Gaies' (1998) impact grammar, a view which has been adopted in the present paper. Input processing is in line with a three-dimensional approach to grammar (Larsen-Freeman 2001), according to which any description of grammar should take into consideration not only its *morphosyntactic form* but also *meaning* (semantics) set in appropriate *use* (pragmatics) (Larsen-Freeman 2001: 252). In this approach, these three dimensions are not hierarchically structured but are rather interconnected and a balance is sought between grammar and communication. Rather than focusing students' attention on the analysis of grammatical rules, input processing makes students notice a given feature of grammar in the input where it is used in a meaningful way (Larsen-Freeman 2001: 257). Impact grammar suggests employing the following steps in introducing a grammatical structure through listening (Ellis and Gaies 1998):

- 1) *error box* – students are provided with examples of errors that they are likely to make with reference to a given grammatical structure;
- 2) *listening to comprehend* – students are asked to do a short listening task which requires them to attend to the meaning of the text they are listening to; having listened to the text students are asked to fill in a table, which shows their comprehension of the text;
- 3) *listening to notice* – during this stage students are asked to listen to the text again and attend to the grammatical structures in order to fill in the gaps with correct forms of given verbs; in this way, students are engaged in input processing, that is, while doing the exercise, they are supposed to rely not on their explicit knowledge about a particular grammatical structure but on their understanding of the text;
- 4) *understanding the grammar point* – students are engaged in a grammar-discovery task, in which they are expected to focus on the grammatical point under consideration, asked to analyze it and discover the rules governing its use on their own (they are able to do so having performed the listening to notice task) by means of answering questions whose main goal is to develop students' awareness of a given grammatical point;
- 5) *checking* – students are asked to do a similar task to the one they performed during the listening to notice stage by referring to their explicit knowledge they gained through the grammar-discovery task;

- 6) *trying it* – students are encouraged to use a given grammatical structure in their own production of the target language; this exercise goes beyond mere manipulation with a text that students were engaged in doing previous tasks.

It is worth noting that although most researchers and those interested in the theory of language learning emphasize that approaches which take as starting points potential difficulties students may encounter when learning grammar take into consideration naturalistic processes of language acquisition to a greater extent than those approaches that schedule grammar in advance; this fact is not mirrored in most coursebooks which follow a grammatical syllabus, even though authors claim that the primary goal of those books is to develop communicative skills and fluency (Pawlak 2008: 78).

Whether teachers choose the so-called zero approach, a modular approach, a focus on forms, a focus on form approach or input processing to the selection and teaching of grammar, they still have to make a decision about how a grammatical structure should be addressed. One option is *deductive teaching*, in which students are provided with rules governing a given grammatical structure, its meaning, and use. After becoming familiar with the rules of grammar, learners practice a given grammatical structure through tasks. There are several advantages of implementing deductive teaching in the presentation of grammatical structures: 1) instead of eliciting knowledge of rules from learners, deductive teaching forces students to produce utterances which conform to these rules; that is, this type of teaching puts emphasis on developing learners' procedural knowledge rather than declarative knowledge, 2) learners benefit from rules and they demand rules since they facilitate the building of grammatical competence, 3) deductive teaching may be more effective in presenting the nature of the target language to students, providing the rules are not oversimplified (Larsen-Freeman 2001: 264). Another option of teaching grammar is to introduce a grammatical structure *inductively*, in which case it is the students' role to guess the rules that govern a given grammatical structure, its meaning and function on the basis of the input targeted at them. Brown (1994: 351) asserts that inductive teaching is more favorable since: 1) it is more natural learning (close to language acquisition because students acquire a rule unconsciously) as learners use a given grammatical structure in a communicative situation, 2) it is in line with interlanguage development because it makes learners go through the stages of rule acquisition step by step, 3) it does not overwhelm learners with grammatical rules and enables them both to develop an intuition of what is correct in the target language and to focus on communicative skills, and 4) it builds intrinsic motivation since, instead of being provided with rules of grammar, students discover them on their own.

Another indirect way of building students' grammatical competence is to teach grammar through *consciousness-raising tasks*, in which students' attention is brought to a particular grammatical structure through enhancing its saliency in order to make learners notice a particular feature in the input targeted at them. This can be achieved, for example, through highlighting a grammatical structure in a given passage, using exaggerated voice or choosing texts where a given grammatical structure is used frequently (sometimes called *input flooding*). An illustration of a consciousness-raising approach could be a task requiring learners to induce a grammatical rule on the basis of sentences where a given grammatical form is either used appropriately or inappropriately (Larsen-Freeman 2001: 257). Therefore, in this type of teaching, the concept of *noticing* is essential. Noticing is thought to be crucial but not sufficient in successful grammar learning. One of the techniques focusing students' attention on a particular grammatical structure is to recast or reformulate an incorrect student's utterance (Larsen-Freeman 2001: 256). Sharwood Smith (1993) suggests that we should use the term *input enhancement* instead of *consciousness-raising* with reference to this type of instruction. His assumption is that it is not possible to state if students' awareness has been raised through certain tasks or techniques. Thus, input enhancement, as Larsen-Freeman (2001: 257) points out, can be successfully applied to illustrate how grammatical structures function at the discourse level. One of the techniques developing learners' grammatical awareness is the *garden path strategy*, which consists in providing students with explanation about a given grammatical form without giving them all the information in order to make the aspect appear easier than in fact it is (Larsen-Freeman 2001: 257). An underlying assumption of this strategy is that the mastery of a grammatical structure will be more effective if students learn the exceptions to the rule by making overgeneralization errors and are corrected than if they are given a list of all the rules (Larsen-Freeman 2001: 257). Another strategy to draw learners' attention to a grammatical form is to use so called *input flooding*, which means providing students with input where the target grammatical structure is used very frequently (Larsen-Freeman, 2001: 257). Still another technique promoting learners' noticing is *collaborative dialogue*, which is associated with students giving support to each other with reference to a given grammatical structure (Larsen-Freeman 2001: 256).

Research findings regarding the effectiveness of various approaches to the teaching of grammar are inconclusive. Some studies (e.g. Hammerly 1975; Rivers 1975; Ellis 1995; Rosa and O'Neill 1999) point to the superiority of deductive teaching over inductive teaching. There are also other studies (e.g. Chastain and Woerdehoff 1968; Robinson 1996; Haight, Herron and Cole 2007) whose findings speak to the effectiveness of inductive teaching of

grammar. Still other studies (e.g. Shaffer 1989; Norris and Ortega 2000; Erlam 2003) emphasize the effectiveness of both approaches.

4. Using literary texts to develop foreign language learners' intercultural and grammatical competence

Literature represents authentic language, which makes it an ideal source of linguistic input in a foreign language classroom. It is at the same time studded with cultural aspects, which are potential elements that can assist teachers in developing learners' intercultural competence. One excellent genre that can be used to develop students' intercultural competence is immigrant literature, which is an ideal source for exploring cultural aspects, nuances and differences since it very often introduces protagonists who cross borders and experience cultural differences being caught between two worlds (McKay 2001: 329). This enables students to make cross-cultural comparisons, learn about and evaluate cultural assumptions, beliefs and values from the outside perspective, thus developing skills which are at the center of intercultural competence. In order to illustrate how literary texts might be used to incorporate intercultural and grammatical competence in EFL classes, using Byram's (2006) model of intercultural competence and Ellis and Gaies' (1998) impact grammar, let us consider how a story that captures the experience of immigrant characters might be used. *The line of the Sun* by Judith Ortiz Cofer tells the story of a Hispanic Puerto Rican family moving to New Jersey and trying to adapt to the American way of life with keeping their native cultural identity. The story takes place in the Puerto Rican town of Salud (the first half of the book) and an immigrant neighborhood of New York (the second half of the book). The main protagonist is Guzmán and the book recounts his childhood in his native Salud, his exile in the United States and his return to Puerto Rico. Guzmán's story is told from the point of view of his niece Marisol, who also describes her life as a bicultural person in New York. Incorporating intercultural and grammatical competence into a foreign language class can be undertaken in line with the following procedure with reference to teaching tenses in English:

- 1) reading an excerpt from the book to attend to the message of the text – during this stage students focus on reading a literary text and attend to the message; having read the text, they are asked to do a multiple choice task checking their reading comprehension;
- 2) feedback – students discuss their answers to the multiple choice questions in groups and provide evidence from the text for their answers;
- 3) discussion – students are involved in pair or group work and are asked to have a conversation and discuss aspects relating to the text (they

share their opinions about Guzmán and Marisol and their problems in the United States and Guzmán's coming back to Puerto Rico; students reflect on their own experience of cross-cultural encounters, identify essential cultural assumptions different from their native culture), i.e. they are encouraged to engage in interaction, express their personal meanings and reactions to the story of Guzmán and conduct an analysis of the story through guided instruction; students are also expected to relate their assumptions, beliefs, knowledge and personal experience to Guzmán's and Marisol's perspective on mediating between two cultures (the activity designed in such a way enables teachers to turn a teacher-centered lesson into a student-centered one);

- 4) reading to notice the tenses used in the text – at this point students are provided with an exercise based on the excerpt where their task is to fill in the gaps with appropriate forms of verbs in order to make a coherent text, as in the following example (Ortiz Cofer 1991: 29-30):

They say Guzmán had been a difficult pregnancy for Mamá Cielo, who (to have) little patience for the bouncing ball in her belly. She (to claim) the monkey (to climb) her ribs, that she (to feel) fingers grabbing her bladder and squeezing, so that she (to have) to stop attending the mass for the shame of urine trickling down her legs.

In order to fill in the gaps, students are asked to read the previous text again and attend to the use of tenses;

- 5) understanding the use of English tenses – having completed the text, students are asked to explain their choice of tenses; this can be done through implicit, explicit or consciousness-raising instruction (e.g. using either input flooding, which means providing learners with a text studied with a particular use of a given tense or by using the garden path strategy where learners' attention is brought to the use of for example the Present Perfect tense with reference to its use to express actions having consequences in the present letting students learn the use of the tense with reference to the future through overgeneralization errors; another one option may be a consciousness-raising task where the use of the Present Perfect tense with reference to the future is boldfaced in the text; still another possible strategy is collaborative dialogue, through which learners explain the use of tenses); students are asked to do it by referring to the original text; thus, in their explanations, students are supposed to rely on the context (or additionally on their explicit knowledge in case of explicit instruction);

- 6) practicing – students are provided with another piece of literary work (taken from *The line of the Sun* by Ortiz Cofer), where they are supposed to fill in the gaps with verbs in appropriate tenses;
- 7) production – students are asked to imagine they are Guzmán and write a letter to a friend living in Salud telling about his experience of living in a foreign country and struggling through cultural differences; students are supposed to identify with Guzmán and express their personal meanings and cross-cultural experience; such an activity enables learners to construct their own understanding of intercultural encounters; students are asked to pay attention to the uses of tenses in English.

This example illustrates how teachers can promote intercultural and grammatical competence in an EFL lesson:

- 1) students practice the use of tenses through meaningful learning, e.g. in context through implicit, explicit or consciousness-raising instruction;
- 2) students learn about American culture through Guzmán's perspective (knowledge of facts about the target language culture);
- 3) students learn to read and interpret authentic texts in English (ability to interpret a document from the target language culture);
- 4) students learn how to operate knowledge about the target language culture and use it in interaction with others; they construct their own understanding of both intercultural interaction and cross-cultural diversity in perceiving cultural notions, beliefs, assumptions and values (writing a letter to a friend about the experience of American culture from Guzmán's perspective, discussing the experience of crossing borders and adapting to the American way of life based on Guzmán's experience) (skills of discovery and interaction);
- 5) students are taught to evaluate cultural values and assumptions (they talk about their cross-cultural interactions and experience, engage in analysis and evaluation) (critical cultural awareness);
- 6) learners develop their communicative skills through task-based activities in a meaningful context (they use English throughout the whole lesson);
- 7) students learn grammatical structures in a meaningful context and through meaningful practice, which is essential for successful mastery of grammatical features, since it facilitates the transformation of declarative knowledge into procedural knowledge; this type of teaching may enhance students' motivation since they are engaged in interaction which is meaningful to them (Larsen-Freeman 2001: 258);
- 8) learners are engaged in spontaneous use of language through problem-solving, which triggers off target behavior (Larsen-Freeman 2001: 258); thus, this type of teaching is more effective than mechanical

drills in that it facilitates the transfer of skills from a classroom context to an authentic context (Larsen-Freeman 2001: 258); such an approach to teaching grammar excels the type of teaching applying mechanical drills which do not present authentic context and, as a consequence, neither enable spontaneous use of language nor engage learners in target behavior (Larsen-Freeman 2001: 258); grammatical rules and inert knowledge learned through mechanical drills are not recalled in a communicative situation (Larsen-Freeman 2001: 258);

- 9) if the type of teaching which draws students' attention to form through communicative tasks is believed to be more effective than teaching which is oriented only on presenting linguistic forms in a decontextualized manner (Larsen-Freeman 2001: 256), it may be tentatively concluded that implementing the teaching of intercultural competence and grammar in a single lesson through literature may bring positive results.

5. Conclusions

The main aim of this paper was to show that it is possible to integrate the teaching of grammar and developing students' intercultural skills through the focus on literature. Using literary texts provides an ideal way of exploring cultural differences and developing four skills (McKay 2001: 329). However, literature can also become a vehicle for demonstrating the use of grammar. If language and culture are inseparable, then linguistic competence has to be taught along with cultural competence (McKay 2001: 329). If one accepts that this is the key assumption of language learning, it is obvious that literary texts are excellent sources of cultural notions and linguistic concepts. Nevertheless, it must be clearly stated that in order to promote grammatical and intercultural competence and a better understanding of cultural assumptions represented in literary texts, it is necessary to choose appropriate texts and to structure activities in a careful way so that learners are able to explore cross-cultural differences (McKay 2001: 329) and focus on grammatical structures. In other words, literary texts must be selected in such a way that they are not too challenging conceptually and linguistically for learners (McKay 2001: 322).

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Identifying the characteristics of a teacher as an authority

Marek Derenowski

State School of Higher Professional Education, Konin
Adam Mickiewicz University, Kalisz
dereno@icpnet.pl

Abstract

In the contemporary classroom teachers assume a variety of different roles, reflecting such factors as the teacher's personal attitudes, beliefs, the specificity of the institution, and the personal view of teaching. One of the roles that seems to be especially significant is the role of an authority, which for some may even be considered as something more than just another role to perform. Being the authority requires not only a definite set of features, but also a specific approach to learners and oneself. This is why, the main aim of the study was to find out which teacher characteristics were considered essential while adopting the role of an authority. When becoming an authority, teachers need to develop a unique relationship with their learners, based on mutual trust and respect, which is why the additional aim of the article and the study was to find out which of the selected teacher's personality traits were considered by learners to be indispensable in becoming an authority.

1. Introduction

Ellis and McClintock (1990: 79) identify a role as "a part taken by a participant in any act of communication", whereas, according to Wright (1987: 7), "a role is a complex grouping of factors which combine to produce certain types of social behavior". Thus, an individual's behavior in the classroom is an expres-

sion of his or her roles. Richards and Lockhart (1994: 97- 98) point out several characteristics of the roles performed by the teacher. Firstly, roles may differ with respect to their duration. Some of them are relatively fixed whereas others are flexible and dynamic. Secondly, people may play hierarchical roles or interact on equal terms. In addition, roles seem to be defined by different kinds of work, require different levels of responsibility, and imply different kinds of relationships and different patterns of interaction. While not all teachers try to implement a particular method in their teaching practice, some may describe their teaching in these terms. Some of these methods are entirely dependent on the teacher as the ultimate source of knowledge; others see the teacher's role as that of a catalyst, consultant, guide, and model for learning; still others try to 'teacher-proof' the instructional system by limiting teacher initiative and by building instructional content and directions into texts or lesson plans.

The changes taking place in learning and teaching have resulted in redefining the role of the teacher in the contemporary classroom. Teachers have to become more flexible and open to sharing the responsibility with their learners. They need to become more aware of their behaviors and characters because they have a direct influence on their learners' behavior and motivation to learn. If teachers are to face the challenges of the contemporary classroom, they have to gain awareness of the global character of the enterprise, foresee the future actions, and precisely understand the steps which are necessary for achieving future goals. Even more so, traditional roles need to be redefined and require a 'fresh' approach from educators.

2. Teacher as an authority

According to Peters (1966: 1), the most crucial concept for discussing social control in the school is that of an *authority*. As he writes, "[s]chool is *raison d'être* is to transmit what a society values. The concept of authority is inseparably connected with rule-governed form of life. Authority presupposes some sort of normative order that has to be maintained and perpetuated". A similar opinion is held by Meirieu (www.meirieu.com), for whom teachers should be recognized as certain authority holders in society. However, as the author further claims, this may be difficult to achieve, because today it is impossible to hold on to the idea that the teacher has the right to transmit knowledge in an unchanging manner to future generations of learners. Furthermore, teachers cannot claim an exceptional status without losing credibility, nor can they stay indifferent to changing contexts, new challenges and requirements, as well as, learners' expectations and characteristics.

In the contemporary society, where individualism and democracy are considered to be indispensable, teachers need to redefine their approach to themselves as an authority for their learners. If educators are to adopt the role of an authority, they need to be willing to adopt pedagogy based on three requirements: *difference*, *understanding* and *discussion*. *To differ* means to delay taking hasty actions and making quick judgments. Teachers need to take time to reflect and move away from existing stereotypes in order to keep apart those things that impel and those that bind. *To understand* means to gain and develop knowledge which makes the world comprehensible. Teachers need to understand in order to remain independent of clichéd opinions and easy to obtain solutions. Finally, *to discuss* means to enter a debate with learners in order to articulate well-established learning, value choices, objective knowledge and probable scenarios; to shift points of view, to interrogate possibilities and anticipate objections. Teachers need to engage in a permanent dialogue with learners in order to avoid becoming alone in the process of teaching (Meirieu, www.meirieu.com).

Shindler (2009) identifies five types of teacher authority, and claims that, in order to be effective, teachers should incorporate at least some amount of each of these five types of authority. However, each teacher should carefully consider which authority to use, as each of them requires different personality traits and brings different outcomes. *Authority as power* defines the teacher as a manager of the class whose authority is to influence learner behavior by making requests. *Referent authority*, on the other hand, occurs when the teacher relies on his/her personality to build relationships with his or her learners. Such authority can be developed through getting to know the learners better. It may also result from the teacher having a personality that is perceived by his or her learners as likable or charming. Learners work harder with teachers they like and perceive as caring (Murray and Pianta 2007). *Expert authority* results from teachers being perceived as knowledgeable in the subject they teach, well-organized, and prepared for lessons. Expert authority can develop into respect if the teacher is not arrogant of his or her learners' needs. Finally, a sense of humor can be a great advantage if the teacher knows how to use it constructively without offending the learner. In *reward authority*, teachers reward learners in order to influence their behavior and in *coercive authority* the teacher has the power to say 'no', withhold privileges, and even provide punishment. No matter how much authority the teacher possesses, some learners will take advantage of their freedom to cross lines without concern for boundaries. If exercised properly, coercive authority helps to draw lines and to promote a sense of security in the classroom. Lastly, *position authority* exists by default as the school puts the teacher in a position of responsibility for the management of learners in the classroom (Shindler 2009).

As can be seen from the opinions presented above, the notion of authority can be approached from different perspectives, either as a traditional concept with the teacher in control, or as a specific relationship between the teacher and his or her learners, based on mutual understanding and respect. Yet another definition of authority emphasizes the pivotal role of the teacher's personality as an indispensable constituent of his or her authority. Regardless of the definition we adopt, it seems that without certain personality attributes it will be difficult for teachers to adopt the role of an authority, which is why the subsequent part of the article is devoted to discussing the personality of a teacher.

3. Personality of the teacher

Research concerning the personality of the teacher is mainly based on the assumption that he or she is a significant factor in the effective and meaningful teaching-learning process. Personality influences the behavior of the teacher in diverse ways, such as interaction with learners, the methods selected, and the learning experiences chosen (Murray 1972). Each teacher has unique attributes of personality, which influence both the manner in which he or she behaves towards learners as well as the ways in which they respond. The teacher with pervasive authoritarian characteristics, for example, is likely to manifest them in his/her relationships with learners and in the techniques he/she uses (Morrison and McIntyre 1972, as cited in Lew 1977: 10). Thus, effective identification and use of teacher personality seems to be essential in conducting typical instructional activities. Personality aids teaching, as communication between the teacher and learners takes place, even when the spoken word is absent. The teacher whose personality aids in creating and maintaining a learning environment in which learners feel comfortable and in which they are motivated to learn is said to have a desirable teaching personality (Callahan 1966). In fact, it is emphasized that the personality characteristics of the teacher affect the mental health and personality growth of his or her learners. It may happen that professional educators are judged mainly on the basis of their personality qualities. Obviously, since teachers deal with easily influenced learners and affect their characters development, they ought not to have unstable or critical personalities (Ausubel 1968: 450).

Other essential teacher personality attributes include involvement in the cognitive growth of learners and the capacity to evoke intellectual excitement and intrinsic motivation for learning. It seems unquestionable that learners respond emotionally to the personality characteristics of the teacher and that this affective response influences their judgments of his or her instructional effectiveness. Learners not only appreciate teaching skills, professionalism, coherence, activities orientation, and a pleasant classroom atmosphere, but they are

also highly appreciative to fairness, objectiveness, patience, joyfulness, and sympathetic concern of the teacher. What is more, learners respect teachers who are interested in them, are supportive, kind, and understand feelings. On the other hand, educators ought not to try to adjust their personality to the 'ideal image'. They should remain authentic in their behavior and make the most successful use of these personality characteristics that they enjoy. Behaving naturally in the classroom lowers learners' anxiety and makes teaching more effective and enjoyable. Teachers who are warm and understanding can effectively cater for these learners who need more acceptance and approval, or, if they are older, ego-enhancement and earned status. A compassionate teacher ensures emotional support and accepts learners as people. Such a teacher is often characterized by praising and encouraging learners and has a tendency to interpret their conduct as tolerantly as possible (Ausubel 1968: 454).

The potential to create intellectual enthusiasm and foster intrinsic motivation is another personality trait that seems to have beneficial consequences for instructional success. Teachers who are lively, inspiring, creative and enthusiastic about their subject are perceived as more successful by the school authorities and other experienced observers. Because of such stimuli, learner behavior becomes more productive and greater achievements may be gained. Probably the most meaningful personality aspect having an impact on teachers' success is the extent of their individual commitment to the intellectual advancement of learners. It determines to a large extent whether the teacher will use the afforded opportunities to enhance the intellectual development of students or just go through the official standards of teaching (Ausubel 1968: 455).

While interacting with learners, teachers should pay attention even to these characteristics of their personality which may be seen as rather insufficient, for example a sense of humor. Although it may seem to be one of the least important personality traits, it proves to be quite an important characteristic of a successful teacher. Peachey (2002: 1) emphasizes that a successful teacher should possess a sense of humor and states that "[u]sing humor can play an important part in helping to relax students and help them overcome stress and nerves and so make them more receptive to learning. Humor can also help to improve the classroom atmosphere particularly for students who are worried about making mistakes or nervous about their speaking abilities. It is, however, very important that we learn with our students to laugh 'about' mistakes rather than at people who make them". Some of the studies carried out in the classroom environment indicate that while evaluating their teachers, learners pay more attention to their personalities than their professional description, and thus sometimes adopt them in their own behavior (e.g. Tan 1992; Soner 1995; Aydın 1998; Lewis 2000). In this regard, as Ozel (2007: 74) writes, "the personality a teacher reflects into the classroom

environment in the light of these variables affects his teaching and directive academic behavior". Such a perspective may include a variety of positive concepts that tend to be formed in the personalities of learners. However, these concepts of personality tend to be less positive and more diverse with older learners, because their personality can be more adaptable to outer markers and might succumb to interaction (Alvidrez and Weinstein 1999; Tuan and Wang 2000; Guay 2003). Finally, Nelson (1964) reported that teachers and learners in junior high school diverge significantly in terms of their attitudes towards each other. He found that teachers are cognitively oriented toward pupils while pupils are affectively oriented toward teachers. Personality is, therefore, directly and indirectly related to learning and teaching in the affective domain as well as to that in cognitive and psychomotor domains. If teachers are to be concerned with the learner's development of identity, they should not be afraid of showing their feelings.

4. The study

4.1. The aim of the study

The main aim of the study was to identify which teacher characteristics are regarded by learners as efficiently depicting the authoritative role in the classroom. Additional emphasis was placed on finding out which personality features were considered by learners as the most significant for the teacher to possess when adopting the role of an authority.

4.2. The participants

The study included one hundred seventy-five learners of English from senior high school in Konin. There were eighty male learners and ninety-five female learners. Their average age was seventeen. The learners' English language level could be described as pre-intermediate. All the respondents had three hours of English per week and two hours of instruction in an additional foreign language (German). As far as their previous English language learning experience, at the time the study was conducted 69% of the respondents had been learning English from 7-8 years, 26% of the learners had more than 8 years of English language learning experience, and the remaining 5% had less than 7 years of English language learning experience.

4.3. Design of the study and instruments

The only instrument used in this small-scale study was a questionnaire distributed among the learners (Appendix 1). The Cronbach alpha coefficient for the

instrument was 0.843, showing high internal consistency of the items included. Section One of the questionnaire was administered to collect information about the participants of the study, such as their age, gender, language learning experience, or the number of language lessons per week, whereas Section Two included eight items and was designed to obtain credible data concerning the aims of the study spelled out above. The first two items were 'yes'/'no' questions, in which the respondents had to decide if there was anyone they considered an authority and if their English language teacher could be one of them. In the following question (Q3), the learners had to rank in order of importance five selected teacher characteristics and in question four, the respondents had to use a Likert scale and decide which of the presented features were the most significant for teachers viewed as authorities. In question five, the participants had to use the Likert scale again in order to decide which characteristics they considered to be unacceptable for the teacher to possess. Questions six and seven were 'yes'/'no' questions and asked the learners to decide if the teacher's personality could have a positive or negative influence on their behavior. In both cases, the learners had to justify their answers. The final statement in the survey included a table with fourteen teacher/authority personality attributes which had to be evaluated by the respondents with the use of a Likert scale, where 1 stood for 'not important' and 5 stood for 'very important'.

4.4. Results of the study

66% of the respondents admitted that there was a person in their life who could be considered as a role model or authority, and for the remaining 34% there was no one who could be considered as an authority. 50% of the learners mentioned their parents, 37% chose their teacher, and the remaining 13% of the respondents claimed that it could be an actor, an older sibling, a friend, a grandparent or even the Pope. The respondents who pointed to their teacher often wrote that it was the teacher's personality and his or her approach that made learners perceive him or her as an authority. Others mentioned such characteristics as *fairness, tolerance, being understanding* as well as *being organized, and enjoying teaching*. The teacher as an authority was also characterized as being devoted to work and having extensive knowledge of the subject. The respondents included other essential factors, such as: *appropriate attitude towards the learners, the ability to transfer knowledge effectively, the ability to control the class, self-control, understanding of their needs and problems of the learners, a sense of humor, helpfulness, self-confidence, and, finally, optimism*.

The obtained data seem to correspond with the results obtained in the subsequent question, as knowledge (4.34), experience (4.17), and personality

(3.78) were selected as the most important teacher characteristics. According to the respondents, age (2.17) and appearance (1.19) turned out to be less consequential teacher characteristics. These characteristics were further investigated when the learners had to decide which of the presented features they considered to be essential while adopting the role of an authority, and the results are presented in Table 1.

	Teacher characteristics	1-2	3	4-5
1.	focuses on the learner's needs	16%	34%	50%
2.	listens	10%	23%	67%
3.	objective	3%	17%	80%
4.	stable	10%	35%	55%
5.	responsible	7%	36%	57%
6.	loves the job	17%	24%	59%
7.	competent	3%	11%	86%
8.	well-organized	15%	34%	51%
9.	clarity of presentation	14%	34%	52%
10.	admits mistakes	2%	7%	91%
11.	keen intellect	23%	11%	66%
12.	available to learners	5%	15%	80%
13.	respecting learners	0%	2%	98%
14.	neat in appearance	56%	23%	21%
15.	responsive	35%	29%	36%
16.	accepting learners' views	2%	8%	90%

Table 1: Characteristics of the teacher as an authority (1-2 stand for 'unimportant', 4-5 for 'important', and 3 for 'undecided').

The next question expected the learners to focus exclusively on the negative features manifested by teachers. The respondents' preferences are presented in Table 2.

	Characteristics	1-2	3	4-5
1	bring their problems to school	4%	9%	87%
2	they are only interested in the syllabus	34%	12%	54%
3	they look down on learners	0%	2%	98%
4	they make mistakes	23%	34%	43%
5	unfair	11%	23%	66%
6	overworked	10%	39%	51%
7	are not tolerant	3%	5%	92%
9	teach because they have to	7%	2%	91%
10	demanding	45%	32%	23%

Table 2: Negative characteristics of teachers (1-2 stand for 'unimportant', 4-5 for 'important', and 3 for 'undecided').

According to the respondents, the teacher's personality can affect learners' behavior in both positive or negative ways. A positive influence was

admitted by 89% of the respondents whereas a negative influence of the teacher's personality was recognized by 95% of the learners. In both cases, the participants had to justify their opinions. It is impossible to include all the learners' comments, which is why only some of the justifications are presented below. As to the comments expressing a positive impact of the teacher's personality, they are as follows:

I strongly believe that if my teacher is an open and understanding person, I will be more willing to actively participate in the lessons. His or her behavior has a direct influence on me and my motivation to learn.

I am very sensitive about my teachers' personality. It has a tremendous influence on my motivation in the classroom. The way they treat us and the way they treat the subjects they teach influences us and our approach to learning.

It is similar to meeting new people. If our characters are similar or if our personalities match, we are more willing to find out more about each other. In the classroom it means more involvement and a nice atmosphere.

Learning and teaching are social behaviors. People need to respect each other and be willing to cooperate in a nice and friendly atmosphere. If I am to be active and involved in my learning, my teachers need to show some enthusiasm and appreciation of my work. If the teacher tries to understand our needs and respects our opinions, we are more motivated to respond.

By contrast, the negative influence of the teacher's personality on his or her learners' behavior is manifested in the following comments:

I hate it when teachers ignore our opinions and they behave as if they were better than us. If my teacher is not friendly and open, I am not going to learn. Teachers sometimes think that they do not need to be warm and friendly because we will not respect them. I think it is just the opposite.

I remember one of my teachers whose personality I hated. He was looked down on us and ignored everything we said. Every time we wanted to say something, he ignored us. During lessons he would talk all the time and pay no attention to our opinions. His lessons were not very creative and interesting, but the biggest demotivating factor was his personality.

It is very hard for me to learn if my teacher is not enthusiastic about his or her work. I also feel demotivated when my teacher has no sense of humor. However, what I do not like most about teachers is when they are unfair and insincere. The classroom is like a mini society. If we do not respect others they will not cooperate with us.

The opinions expressed by the learners in the previous questions were later investigated in the final question of the survey. The results for this part of the questionnaire are included in Table 3.

	Personality trait	1-2	3	4-5
1.	warmth	45%	23%	32%
2.	fairness	3%	0%	97%
3.	consistency	25%	33%	42%
4.	sense of humor	12%	22%	66%
5.	sensitivity	18%	21%	61%
6.	enthusiasm	9%	11%	80%
7.	tolerance	0%	2%	98%
8.	openness	0%	5%	95%
9.	strictness	23%	12%	65%
10.	trustworthiness	13%	16%	71%
11.	optimism	9%	17%	74%
12.	creativity	11%	23%	66%
13.	sincerity	7%	35%	58%

Table 3: Teacher personality traits (1-2 stand for 'unimportant', 4-5 for 'important', and 3 for 'undecided').

5. Discussion of the results

It may seem that in the contemporary world young people often manifest negative attitudes towards any form of authority and they express their negative, or at least indifferent attitudes towards having role models in their lives. However, if one reads almost any psychology textbook, he or she is likely to find information about the determining influence role models, especially parents, have on the development of a child. For example *Identification theory* describes a process by which a child internalizes what his or her parents represent to him or her, and then imitates it in his or her behavior. Developmental psychologists often emphasize that it is parents who comprise the most important role models and authority, and that their influence is crucial to their offspring's personality development (Samenow 2013). Therefore, it came as no surprise that the majority of the respondents admitted having a role model and most of them pointed to their parents. It is also very important to mention that a significant number of the learners considered their English teachers as potential role models. On the one hand, such opinions may result from the fact that learners' parents are often preoccupied with their professional careers. On the other hand, learners spend most of their time with their teachers in school. As a result, teachers, provided they have the appropriate set of characteristics, are natural candidates for role models. The attributes mentioned by the learners can be divided into two categories, one of them com-

prising personality features such as *fairness, tolerance, understanding, a sense of humor, helpfulness, self-confidence*, and, finally, *optimism*. The other group includes more profession-oriented traits, such as *being organized and enjoying teaching, having extensive knowledge of the subject, the ability to transfer knowledge effectively, the ability to control the class, self-control*, and, finally, *the understanding of learners' needs and problems*. It seems that learners perceive the authority of the teacher from two perspectives. They see their teachers as ordinary people they have to cooperate with, possessing their unique set of virtues and vices, and as professionals who are there to help them in achieving life goals and personal ambitions.

The above statement naturally corresponds with the results of the next question, in which the respondents pointed to teachers' knowledge, experience, and personality as essential teacher characteristics. The fact that age and appearance were somewhat neglected is not so easy to interpret. On the one hand, young age and youthful appearance may help in the first contact with learners. On the other hand, they may result in learners' lack of respect. Furthermore, after what could be described as an initial infatuation, learners start to pay attention to teacher's professional and personal attributes. Some evidence for these words may be seen in the characteristics that best describe the teacher as an authority. Interestingly, the learners perceived the teacher's authority through a very humanistic perspective, stating that *the ability to admit one's own mistake, respecting learners, and accepting their views* were attributes that described the teacher's authority best. It seems that the learners appreciate it when teachers demonstrate their *human side*. These characteristics were followed by *competence, objectivity, and availability to learners*. These may not be exactly features of character, but they are closely related to the teacher-learner relationship and mutual recognition. It is also important to note that the subsequent characteristics included the *ability to listen and keen intellect*, which naturally integrate with the previously mentioned features. Other authority features, such as *enthusiasm for the teaching, focusing on the learner's needs, responsibility and stability of the teacher, clarity of presentation, and being well-organized*, also received high recognition from the respondents, who expected teachers to be well prepared for their teaching challenges. The only two features which received little attention from the participants included *neatness of appearance* and *being responsive*. One more time, the learners admitted that the teacher's look was not what makes him or her an authority in their eyes.

The learners were also presented with a list of negative characteristics of teachers, among which *lack of tolerance, looking down on learners, and teaching just for the sake of teaching* were emphasized as the most harmful ones. Learners have a very strong sense of their value and if teachers want to

be treated as an authority, they need to treat their students with respect. This will not, in any way, diminish their position in the classroom. Educators have to acknowledge that only through mutual respect and appreciation of learners' beliefs and attitudes can effective teaching based on teacher's authority be achieved. Furthermore, learners do not like it when teachers bring their personal problems to school. It goes without saying that it is very difficult, if not impossible, to leave such problems outside the classroom. However, it is essential to remember that learners should not be held responsible for these problems and there is nothing less professional than letting such problems affect classroom atmosphere. Other unwanted characteristics (i.e. unfairness, being overworked, being interested only in the syllabus, being demanding) were rather predictable for anyone who teaches. Nevertheless, it is worth mentioning that the learners do not consider *making mistakes* as a negative characteristic of teachers. Maybe it is connected with what has already been mentioned about the participants' perception of their teachers as ordinary persons who are allowed to make mistakes as long they admit making them.

In the theoretical background to the study as well as in the previous questions, the significance of teacher's personality in relation to becoming an authority for learners has been highlighted. For this reason, the last three questions in the survey were devoted to identifying the significance of the teacher's personality in adopting the role of an authority. The respondents almost unanimously admitted that the teacher's personality had either a positive or negative influence on learners. More specifically, the respondents pointed to *fairness*, *tolerance*, and *openness* as the most important personality traits. Once again, the focus was on these features which constitute affective foundations of the teacher-learner relationship and are indispensable for meaningful communication. It was interesting to discover that *enthusiasm* and *optimism* were placed so high on the importance list. It may support the belief that the teacher's positive attitude towards his or her responsibilities has a direct influence on learners' motivation. If learners see that their teacher enjoys what he or she is doing, they are more willing to get engaged in the learning process. It may also help create a stress-free atmosphere in the classroom and foster the development of learners' autonomy. Moreover, the respondents seemed to appreciate it when the teacher can be trusted. This might have been predicted, since one cannot build mutual respect without mutual trust. From the experience of the researcher, it is obvious that it may take a while before learners start to trust their teacher. However, one needs to remember that there is almost nothing as rewarding for the teacher as his or her learners' trust and that it is very difficult to gain such trust, but it is easy to lose it. Not surprisingly, *a sense of humor* and *creativity* turned out to be highly respected by the respondents, since these are

also personality features valued outside the classroom. Learners like it when their teacher has a sense of humor; nevertheless, teachers need to bear in mind that a sense of humor and making fun of learners are not the same. It is sometimes very easy to hurt a learner with the comments we make, especially if this is a teenage learner. Maybe this is also why the respondents pointed to sensitivity as one of the most important personality features. The respondents also do not seem mind if the teacher is *strict* and *sincere*. Appropriate and honest feedback may result in an increase of learners' motivation. Furthermore, strict teachers seem to find positive reception in their learners' eyes as long as they are just and fair. There is probably nothing more essential in becoming an authority for learners than being a demanding and just educator. The importance of this statement has been further proven by the low score obtained by *warmth* as an important personality trait.

5. Conclusion and suggestions for further research

From the analysis of the data provided by the respondents it can be concluded that the learners seem to have a very clear image of who they want to consider an authority. If teachers want to adopt such a role in the classroom, they need to accept certain responsibilities as well as some expectations of their learners. Mutual respect and understanding along with professional conduct seem to constitute the quintessence of the teacher's authority. Furthermore, certain attributes of the teacher's personality seem to have an extremely significant influence on the behavior and motivation of learners. Even if learners sometimes seem to be completely indifferent to teachers' teaching attempts, they really care about what teachers think about them and how they are perceived. Moreover, teachers should always bear in mind that learners are sensitive and very demanding partners. They constantly observe the teacher's reactions and analyze them carefully. For this reason, an effective teacher as an authority can positively influence learners' beliefs and actions. The role of the teacher as an authority is a very demanding one, but if teachers decide to undertake it, they may discover that teaching can be even more rewarding than they may have anticipated. Furthermore, adopting the role of an authority may bring about positive changes in teachers' behavior because they need to become more responsible for and aware of their words and actions. Without any doubt, the potential benefits overshadow the awaiting challenges and teachers may discover that being an authority for their learners does not have to be associated with fear and obedience, but rather with respect and understanding.

The study described above is just a small scale research project, based on only one, not necessarily objective instrument. It would seem warranted to

incorporate other instruments that would provide the potential researcher with valuable quantitative and qualitative data. Maybe interviews or journals could be used for the benefit of the study. Furthermore, the study presents only the learners' opinion. Therefore, it would seem advisable to listen to teachers and explore their perceptions of themselves as an authority for their learners, and find out which characteristics and personality features they consider to be indispensable for becoming an authority.

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Załącznik

Appendix 1

The questionnaire used in the study

I. Personal information

1. Age: 2. Gender: M/F
3. How long have you been studying English
4. How would You describe your language level:
- Elementary: Pre-intermediate: Intermediate:
5. Number of English hours per week:

II. Teacher and his/her personality

1. Is there anyone you can call an authority? **YES/NO**
If yes, who?
2. Would you consider your English language teacher an authority? **YES/NO**
Why?
3. What is most important in being a teacher. Put the qualities in the order of importance, where 5 indicates being the most important and 1 being the least important:
- a) knowledge
 - b) personality
 - c) looks
 - d) age
 - e) experience
4. What characteristics should a teacher have to be treated as an authority? Use a scale from 1 to 5, where 1 indicates 'not important' and 5 'very important'.
- a) focuses on the learner's needs 1 2 3 4 5
 - b) listens 1 2 3 4 5
 - c) objective 1 2 3 4 5
 - d) stable 1 2 3 4 5
 - e) responsible 1 2 3 4 5
 - f) loves the job 1 2 3 4 5
 - g) competent 1 2 3 4 5
 - h) well organized 1 2 3 4 5
 - i) clarity of presentation 1 2 3 4 5
 - j) admits to mistakes 1 2 3 4 5
 - k) keen intellect 1 2 3 4 5

- l) available to learners 1 2 3 4 5
- m) respecting learners 1 2 3 4 5
- n) neat in appearance 1 2 3 4 5
- o) responsiveness 1 2 3 4 5
- p) accepting learners' views 1 2 3 4 5

5. Which of these characteristics do you consider as the most negative for teachers to possess? Use a scale where 1 indicates 'not negative at all' and 5 'very negative'.

	Characteristics	1	2	3	4	5
1	bring their problems to school					
2	they are only interested in the syllabus					
3	they look down on learners					
4	they make mistakes					
5	unfair					
6	overworked					
7	are not tolerant					
8	specific personality					
9	teach because they have to					
10	expect too much					
11	they are just not bound to be teachers					
12	bring their problems to school					

6. Can the personality of the teacher have a positive influence on a learner?
Justify your answer. **YES/NO**

7. Can the teacher's personality have a negative influence on the learners' behavior in the classroom?
If yes how? **YES/NO**

8. Grade the personality traits important for the teacher as an authority. 1 indicates 'not important' and 5 'very important'.

	Personality trait	1	2	3	4	5
1.	warmth					
2.	fairness					
3.	consistency					
4.	sense of humor					
5.	sensitivity					
6.	enthusiasm					
7.	tolerance					
8.	openness					
9.	strictness					
10.	trustworthiness					
11.	optimism					
12.	creativity					
13.	sincerity					

Language policy in Denmark: The approach to English as a lingua franca

Paweł Korpal

Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań, Poland

pkorpal@wa.amu.edu.pl

Abstract

There is no denying that English has become a global language, the so-called lingua franca (McArthur 2002; Crystal 2003; Mair 2003). It is now extensively used not only in English-speaking countries but also in countries where it has the status of a foreign language. The presence of a universal language may facilitate communication among speakers representing different language backgrounds. Nevertheless, many researchers are apprehensive of the fact that the existence of English as a lingua franca may lead to the impoverishment of local languages. The question concerning the interplay between the use of Danish and English in Denmark has been widely discussed by a great many Scandinavian linguists (Jarvad 1995, 1999; Davidsen-Nielsen and Herslund 1999; Preisler 1999; Andersen 2002; Thøgersen 2007). The main purpose of the study was to take a closer look at the approach of Danish people to English as a world language. A group of thirty Danes aged 20-27 took part in the study. They were asked to complete a questionnaire consisting of questions related to linguistic globalization, international communication, foreign language education, the status of English in the Scandinavian countries and the advantages/disadvantages of the existence of a universal language. This was followed by short individual interviews which provided further input on the matters in question. The results of the study manifest general acceptance of English as a language extensively used in the domains of science, media and education. Such intriguing results may be treated as a point of reference for further discussion of the existence of a global language from a sociolinguistic and didactic point of view.

1. Introduction

The present paper represents an attempt to address the notion of the influence of English on Danish and the approach of Danish people to the extensive use of English in Denmark in the domains of science, education, media, etc. Since one can observe a growing influx of English loanwords to the Danish language, this topic has been a contentious issue which is now hotly debated among Scandinavian scholars. At the beginning of this paper, I will define a global language and discuss the prerequisites for the emergence of a lingua franca. Later on I will focus on the benefits and dangers of the existence of a language of international communication. The next section will be devoted to the impact of English on the Danish language. This will be an attempt to provide examples of the influence of English on Danish vocabulary, phonology, orthography and morphosyntax. Then I will go on to discuss the approach of Danish people to English as a lingua franca. I will formulate general conclusions on the basis of the findings of Bojsen (1989), Jarvad (1995, 1999), Preisler (1999), Andersen (2002) and Thøgersen (2007). The observations of these scholars will serve as a theoretical background for my own survey research which intended to determine whether young Danes manifest a positive or negative attitude to the increasing influence of English on their native language. The results of the study shed new light on the question of the interplay between English and Danish and may serve as an incentive to carry out further research on this issue.

2. English as a global language

The notion of English as a global language has been widely discussed among linguists involved in sociolinguistics, language typology and language contact (McArthur 2002; Crystal 2003; Mair 2003). It would be ignorant not to observe that English has emerged as a language of international communication. Several terms have been coined to define this kind of language. English is now referred to as a *lingua franca* (ELF), understood as a unifying language which enables communication among people who have different language backgrounds. The term *international language* (IE) is also used to define a simplified language used for international communication. In sociolinguistics, English is also often referred to as a *global language*, or *globish* (McCrum 2011). Globish is characterized by simplified spelling and pronunciation. Introducing such modifications aims at making international communication easier.

A question remains as to when we can perceive a given language as a global one. As pointed out by Crystal (2003: 2), “a language achieves a genuinely global status when it develops a special role that is recognized in every

country". This may happen twofold. Firstly, a language can be made 'a second language', or an official language, in a given country. In such a situation, the language is granted an official status and is extensively used in the domains of law, politics, media, etc. (Crystal 2003: 3). Secondly, a language can develop into a global one by means of foreign language teaching (Crystal 2003: 3). If a particular language is given high priority in foreign language education, sooner or later it will become a language which is widely used among the inhabitants. Such a process has been visible in Denmark; English has become the language which children are taught in schools. This led to the fact that the majority of Danes, irrespective of their age, have a proficient command of English.

An interesting question which can be posed is why it is English which has emerged as a world's language. One could say that a lingua franca should have a set of defined structural properties and be characterized by easiness of grammatical structures. Modern English, which is practically devoid of inflections, could be perceived as a good choice. Literature and culture could possibly influence the choice of a global language as well. If a language is a vehicle for outstanding literature, it may become one used on a global scale. Important as these factors could be in the process of the emergence of a lingua franca, Crystal (2003: 7) concludes that "a language becomes an international language for one chief reason: the political power of its people – especially their military power". In other words, the political power of the people who use a given language is the main reason why it then develops into a language of international communication.

McArthur (2002: 116) presents in an illustrative way the relationship between English as a global language, other major languages and languages of lesser diffusion. By means of language categories he defines the qualities that a language has to possess in order to become a major, or a global, one:

- Category 1: English, the universalizing language, in a set of one: used by well over a billion people, being learned by millions more, distributed worldwide, and in the forefront of commerce, technology, science, and popular culture.
 - Category 2: Spanish, Chinese, and Hindi-Urdu: each complex used by hundreds of millions, Spanish widely disseminated but not as widely as English, the other two with massive population bases in single specific regions, and all three central to major world cultures and economies.
 - Category 3: Such large, culturally significant languages as Arabic, French, Russian, Malay, German and Japanese: internationally powerful languages in social, cultural, demographic, and economic terms.
- (...)
- Category 7: Very small local languages.

Categories 4-6, which have been skipped here, comprise minor national and regional languages. Based on McArthur's classification, we can conclude why it is English, and not Spanish, Chinese, Hindi-Urdu, French, Russian or German, that has emerged as a world's language. Wide dissemination is not sufficient in order for a language to become a global one; English as a lingua franca is also learned by more people than the languages from Category 2 as well as being used in the domains of politics, trade, technology, science, media and culture.

3. The benefits and dangers of the existence of a global language

At this point, it should be clear why English has become a lingua franca used on a global scale. A question remains to what extent the existence of International English has changed our lives. Some of the advantages appear to be evident. The existence of English as a lingua franca enables international communication and boosts mutual understanding. A plethora of international academic and business communities could not function if it was not for a language of global communication. English enables the exchange of knowledge at international congresses and conferences. The use of English helps reduce the costs which would be incurred for interpreters' remuneration if the speakers were allowed to use their native languages. This is related to mobility, which is another advantage of the use of a lingua franca. Thanks to the fact that more and more people all over the world have a fluent command of English as a foreign language, people can avoid communication problems when travelling abroad.

Although we can benefit from the existence of a global language, some significant disadvantages also need to be mentioned. When discussing the notion of *language power*, Crystal poses the following question: "[w]ill those who speak a global language as a mother tongue automatically be in a position of power compared with those who have to learn it as an official or foreign language?" (Crystal 2003: 14). The scholar concludes that such a risk is significant and he provides examples to bear out his claim. For instance, a researcher whose command of English leaves a lot to be desired may be dismissed from taking part in an international congress. Similarly, his or her article may not be accepted by the reviewer because it does not meet the requirement of output quality. By the same token, it is possible that a skilled manager would not be hired by an international company since his or her command of English is not sufficient (Crystal 2003: 14). Mühleisen (2003: 117) touches upon the problem of English being the almost exclusive language used in the scientific discourse and concludes that "[t]he possible negative effects are drastic and include the loss of knowledge encoded in those languages. The possible positive effects sound rather mundane in comparison". Another problem is the so-

called *linguistic complacency* (Crystal 2003: 15), which means that being a native speaker of English eliminates the motivation to study foreign languages. Given that it is English that is used for international communication, native speakers of English may feel discouraged from learning other languages which are characterized by lesser diffusion. Lastly, Crystal (2003: 17) touches upon the question of *linguistic death* by asking: “[w]ill the emergence of a global language hasten the disappearance of minority languages and cause widespread language death?”. Crystal concludes that a great many indigenous languages are being lost but it cannot be said that the emergence of a global language is a direct reason for this state of affairs. Nevertheless, the existence of a lingua franca may have an influence on the structure of other languages by being the source of numerous loanwords, some of which may not be welcomed by linguistic purists (Crystal 2003: 19). Consequently, extensive use of a global language may impoverish local languages.

4. The influence of English on Danish

The question of the interplay between the linguistic power of Danish and English in Denmark has been hotly debated among numerous Scandinavian scholars (Jarvad 1995, 1999; Davidsen-Nielsen and Herslund 1999; Preisler 1999; Andersen 2002; Thøgersen 2007). The term *Danlish* has been coined to refer to the Danish language highly influenced by English and pseudo-English vocabulary. As pointed out by Sørensen (1974), the impact of English involves not only the incorporation of English loanwords into the Danish language but it also encompasses changes at the level of phonology, morphology and syntax. This section is intended to provide and discuss examples of the influence of English on Danish.

Many people agree that “Denmark is less prone to linguistic purism than the other Nordic countries” (Hansen and Lund 1994: 39, as cited in Gottlieb 2004). It would be interesting to find out why it is the case, i.e. why English is so welcome in Scandinavian countries. Gottlieb (2004: 41) discusses the notion of Scandinavian openness to English and enumerates the features which make Scandinavians willing to use English extensively:

- the high and unchallenged prestige of English in all corners of society;
- the enormous popularity of Anglo-American media products;
- the intensive teaching of English at all age levels;
- the extensive international personal and business contacts of wide segments of the population;
- the close inter-Germanic relationship between English and the Scandinavian languages.

English is omnipresent in Danish media products. It has been made a priority in foreign language education and, thus, it has developed into a language which is now extensively used in various domains. In order to form and maintain international business contacts, it has become necessary for people to have a language used for international communication. As Gottlieb (2004) also suggests, genetic relatedness, i.e. the fact that both English and Scandinavian languages are Germanic languages, has an impact on Scandinavians' openness to English. His conclusions are compatible with my own observations. Even when a non-native speaker of Danish has an excellent command of this language, Danes have a tendency to switch into English when they realize that Danish is not this person's native language. During my stay in Denmark, I also observed that some young Danes used English even when talking to each other. The reason for that was that they felt that English is a language of international prestige, they found it attractive and they preferred to communicate in English rather than to use their native language.

In order to demonstrate that English has had a significant impact on the phonology, morphology and syntactic structures in Danish, I will discuss some of the examples provided in the literature on the language contact between Danish and English:

- *lexical borrowings* (Szubert 2003; Gottlieb 2004): 'branding', 'steak', 'cool', 'entertainer', 'windsurfer': these words were borrowed from English overtly and they function as Danish words;
- *loan translations* (Hansen and Lund 1994; Bønllykke Olsen 2002; Szubert 2003; Gottlieb 2004): 'nuclear family' > 'kernefamilie', 'bag lady' > 'posedame', 'brainwashing' > 'hjernevask', 'countdown' > 'nedtælling': these are examples of the so-called calques in the case of which the phrases were borrowed from English in the root-by-root manner; such loan translations may also function as multi-word substitutes where the structure of the whole idiomatic English phrase is retained in Danish, e.g. 'make ends meet' > 'få enderne til at mødes';
- *hybrids* (Szubert 2003; Gottlieb 2004): 'computer screen' > 'computer-skærm'; 'job satisfaction' > 'jobtilfredshed': these words are not overt lexical borrowings but they consist of an element which is a loanword from English and a Danish element which was not borrowed;
- *semantic loans* (Gottlieb 2004): 'Love you!' [= goodbye] > 'Jeg elsker dig!'; this is a peculiar example of a semantic loan from English; although 'Hav det godt!' is a standard Danish structure which is used to express the English phrase 'Love you!' [= goodbye], 'Jeg elsker dig!' (lit. 'I love you') is now commonly used due to the influence of English;

- *orthographic loans* (Gottlieb 2004): ‘literature’ > ‘litteratur’; although the Danish equivalent of literature used to be spelled with double ‘t’ (‘litteratur’), the spelling has gradually changed due to the influence of English;
- *phonetic loans* (Gottlieb 2004): following the linguistic norm, exclamations in Danish should be pronounced with a slightly rising intonation; however, because of the standard American intonational pattern, they are now often pronounced with a falling intonation;
- *morphosyntactic calques* (Gottlieb 2004): a standard Danish translation of the English phrase ‘a friend of mine’ is ‘en af mine venner’; this phrase is, however, often replaced by ‘en ven af mig’ so as to copy the English structure;
- *translationese* (Gottlieb 2004): a standard Danish word for ‘to announce’ is ‘at meddele’; there also exists a verb ‘at annoncere’ but it means ‘to advertise’; due to the morphological similarity of the two verbs, ‘at annoncere’ is now often used to express the meaning of the English verb ‘to announce’.

Apart from the examples mentioned above, Gottlieb (2004: 47) also touches upon the question of *total shifts*. This happens when Danish people refrain from using their native language and they choose to address each other in English, for example, when they create websites which do not have a Danish version. The question which is often posed by Scandinavian linguists is whether or not such extensive use of English in Denmark leads to *domain loss*. Writing academic papers by Danes in English may be perceived as an example of domain loss (Gottlieb 2004: 47).

As can be seen, standard Danish has been (and is getting) highly influenced by English. This impact is not limited to overt lexical borrowings but it is also noticeable at the level of phonology, spelling and morphosyntax. Bojsen (1989) refers to Danish as *dansk under engelsk-amerikansk fortryllelse* (*Danish enchanted by English*) and reports that more and more young Danes find the use of English attracting and ennobling. In the next section, I will touch upon the question of the approach of Danish people to English as a global language.

5. The approach of Danish people to English as a lingua franca: Studies

The question of the status of English in Denmark has been widely discussed among Scandinavian linguists. In this section, I will present some of the opinions on the (extensive) use of English in Denmark. The question that has been often posed in the context of the impact of English on Danish is whether English loanwords should be perceived as a threat to linguistic purism, or maybe they are an indispensable part of a constantly changing language which is in contact with other languages

(Thøgersen 2007: 25). Should Danes be afraid of the fact that the overuse of English will lead to the extinction of their native language in the nearest future?

Thøgersen (2007: 24) distinguishes between two general approaches to language policy in Denmark, mainly *purismeperspektivet* (linguistic purism) and *verdenssprogspektivet* (the acceptance of the existence of a global language). Danish purists would purport that a duty of all Danish citizens is to retain their native language and to limit the use of English to cases when it is absolutely necessary. They look at language as one of the highest values which forms a nation's identity. According to the supporters of the *verdenssprogspektivet* view, on the other hand, the process of linguistic globalization and the existence of a global language are perceived as a positive trend. The author concludes that the Danish society is divided into people who accept the growing role of English in Denmark and those who are afraid that English will take over the domain of scientific communication. When discussing the advantages of the existence of a global language, Thøgersen (2007: 28) emphasizes that linguistic unification leads to a beneficial state in which people all over the world have access to the same information which, in turn, provides more equal opportunities.

Several Danish researchers have conducted empirical studies which intended to investigate the attitude of Danish people towards English. According to Jarvad (1995: 135), those borrowings from English which identify new things and phenomena are generally accepted by Danes whereas there exists slight opposition to words that compete with well-established Danish words. A few years later, Jarvad (1999) stated explicitly that the loss of domains, such as commerce, education and science, should be regarded as a major threat to Danish. Jarvad (1999: 110) created a dictionary of new words which appeared in the Danish language in 1955-1998 and classified them in the following way:

- borrowing from languages other than English (5%);
- phrases, proper names which retain the English structure (13%);
- hybrids which include an English element (14%);
- pseudoanglicisms (2%);
- semantic loans from English (9%);
- new Danish words (57%).

Based on Jarvad's findings, we can conclude that almost 40% of new words which emerged in Danish in the second part of the 20th century have been borrowed from English. According to Jarvad, it poses a threat to the linguistic power of standard Danish (*rigsdansk*). In her article, Jarvad (1999) expresses a concern that Danish might in the future become a language which is only used in the home since English will take over the domains of media, science and commerce. Hence, Jarvad takes a firm stand as a linguistic purist and she concludes that some actions need to be taken to retain the significance of the Danish language.

Andersen (2002) carried out a study in which she aimed at verifying whether young Danish people have a positive or negative attitude towards English borrowings. The results of a questionnaire demonstrated that 48% of participants fully accept the presence of English loanwords in Danish while only 10% of them have a negative attitude towards these borrowings. One of the main findings from the study is that Danish students associate the use of English loanwords with modernity, adolescence, competence and reliability (Andersen 2002: 41). That is why they find it attractive to communicate in English even when it is not necessary. They take it for granted that the standard Danish language comprises also borrowings from English. In other words, they perceive English loanwords as an indispensable part of the Danish language and they find it attractive to use them in everyday communication. Andersen's research is crucial for this paper since the main purpose of my study, described in the final section, was also to investigate the attitude of the younger generation of Danes to the extensive use of English.

Preisler (1999) examined the use of English among the members of Danish sub-cultures. He discusses the members' favorable attitude towards the use of English borrowings and the psychological reasons for the Danish-English code-switching. Preisler concludes that use of English words results from the sub-cultures' desire to indicate their values and form their own identity (Phillipson 2001: 24). The main cause of code-switching is, thus, not the fact that English is given priority in foreign-language education in Denmark. The reason is more of a psychological nature. Fragments of in-group conversations are given below with the italicized English elements:

A: Sidder du og sletter gamle, *downloadede* ting?

[A: So you sit here and delete the old downloaded stuff?]

B: Men øh... Det er fordi, jeg fik øh... bare 100 *megabyte* af sådan noget halvnøyt noget og sådan noget... (...)

[B; But, uh ... That's because I got uh ... just 100 megabytes of something half-news and also something like... (...)]

C: Uha, 30,5 time til far her.

[C: Uh, 30.5 hours to finish that]

A: 30,5 time?

[A: 30.5 hours?]

C: Ja. *No sleep*, mand.

[C: Yeah. No sleep, man.]

A: Hvad med det der *on-screen display* på din *monitor* og sådan noget, har du fået det til at virke?

[A: What about the on-screen display on your monitor or something like that, did you fix it?] (Preisler 1999: 45-46)

These are only two of the numerous examples provided by Preisler (1999). As we can see, sub-culture everyday communication is characterized by a significant level of Danish-English code-switching. It is worth mentioning that some of the English elements can be classified as sentence-shaped code shifts (e.g. 'No sleep') while other instances, such as 'downloadede', function as English loanwords the structure of which has been adapted to the Danish grammar rules (the suffix '-ed' is a grammatical marking of the past participle).

Also Bojsen (1989) gives examples of the influence of English on Danish and discusses the attitude of Danes to the emergence of English as a global language. As early as in the second part of 1980s, between 10 and 20% of Danish vocabulary consisted of words borrowed from English (Bojsen 1989: 40). The author also discusses the difference in the attitude of young and middle-aged Danes to the growing influence of English on the Danish language and culture. She concludes that middle-aged Danish citizens are frustrated with the process of Americanization. Young people, on the other hand, find the use of English attractive and they associate it with prestige (Bojsen 1989: 41). The younger generation of Danes is a part of the Danish society which is influenced by Americanization to the largest extent. Bojsen (1989: 42) provides examples of total Danish-English shifts. An increasing number of poems in Denmark is now written in English, the reason of which may be that the authors want their works to be published and become renowned world-wide. What is more, song lyrics written by Danish bands are more and more often in English. Also, the names of bands are in English with a view to gaining international renown.

The main purpose of the present section was to discuss the notion of the growing influence of English on Danish on the basis of the observations of Danish scholars. To summarize, we can conclude that English is extensively used in Denmark, especially by young people and sub-cultures. Such people accept the fact that English emerged as a world's language and it has a significant impact on Danish vocabulary. They associate the use of English with prestige and modernity. Middle-aged Danes, on the other hand, are apprehensive of the fact that Danish is now replaced by English in the domains of commerce, science and media. They feel the need for a more strict language policy in Denmark since, if appropriate action is not taken, Danish can become a minor language used in homes as a medium of communication among family members.

6. The approach of Danish people to English as a lingua franca: A survey study

The observations of the researchers discussed above served as a theoretical background for my own survey research in which I also focused on the influence of English on Danish. In this section, I will define the purpose of the

study. Later on, I will describe the process of data analysis and present the results of the questionnaire that the participants were asked to complete. Finally, I will attempt to interpret the results of the study, discuss its limitations and suggest directions for further research.

6.1. The purpose of the study

The main purpose of the study was to take a closer look at the approach of Danish people to English as a world language. My objective was to investigate whether young Danes perceive extensive use of English as alarming or totally acceptable. In general, previous research suggests that young Danes accept the increasing influence of English on their native language. This study intended to check the veracity of these findings. In order to be able to investigate it in a qualitative way, I adopted a method based on a questionnaire, followed by retrospective interviews in which I asked the participants some further questions related to linguistic globalization, international communication, foreign language education, the status of English in the Scandinavian countries and the advantages/disadvantages of the existence of a universal language.

6.2. Participants and materials

A group of thirty Danes aged 20-27 (15 female, 15 male) took part in the study. All of them were born in Denmark and had Danish as their only native language. Most of them had spent most of their lives in Denmark; only two of them had spent more than a year abroad. They were asked to fill in a short questionnaire in Danish which was sent to them online. Preparing the questionnaire in Danish was of crucial importance in the present study. I believed that the use of a questionnaire in English would prime the participants and encourage them to accept English as a language of international communication.

6.3. Hypotheses

The hypotheses can be formulated in the following way:

1. The participants accept the presence of English loanwords in Danish and they use them in everyday communication.
2. The participants accept English as a language extensively used in the domains of science and education.
3. English is not perceived by the participants as a threat to Danish. On the contrary, a good command of English is believed to expand their horizons.

6.4. Data analysis and results

The questionnaire consisted of 10 questions. A five-point Likert scale, with 1 indicating strong disagreement and 5 meaning strong agreement with a given statement, was used in the study. The list of questions together with their translations into English is given below. The mean and median results for the group of 30 participants are given in brackets next to each question:

1. Engelsk bør betragtes som en trussel for dansk (mean: 2.00; median: 1.5).
(*English should be perceived as a threat to Danish*).
2. Jeg har en positiv holdning til engelsk som en videnskabsprog (mean: 4.13/5; median: 4.0).
(*I have a positive attitude towards English as a language of science*).
3. Jeg synes, at engelsk bruges for tit i danske medier (mean: 2.53; median: 2.0).
(*I think that English is used too often in Danish media*).
4. At tale engelsk på et højt niveau åbner døre (mean: 4.20; median: 4.0).
(*Having a proficient command of English expands one's horizons*).
5. Danskere mister deres identitet, fordi de bruger engelsk for tit (mean: 1.87; median: 2.0).
(*Danish people gradually lose their identity as they use English too often*).
6. Der er for mange engelske låneord i det danske sprog (mean: 2.40; median: 2.0).
(*There exist too many English loanwords in Danish*).
7. Jeg synes, at den sproglige globalisering er en positiv proces (mean: 3.67; median: 3.5).
(*I think that linguistic globalization/unification is a positive process*).
8. Den internordiske kommunikation bør foregå på engelsk (mean: 1.87; median: 2.0).
(*People from the Nordic countries should communicate with each other in English*).
9. At lære engelsk er en nødvendighed (mean: 4.60; median: 5.0).
(*To learn English is a must*).
10. Jeg foretrækker at bruge et ord 'bodyguard' frem for 'livvagt' (mean: 3.00; median: 3.0).
(*I prefer using the word 'bodyguard' to using 'livvagt'*).

Consistent with my predictions, I found that the participants in the study have a positive attitude towards English as a global language. The hypotheses described in the previous section were corroborated in the course of data analysis. It turned out that young Danes do not perceive extensive use of English as a

language present in the domains of science and commerce as a threat to their native language (questions 1 and 2). The answers to question 3, nevertheless, show that many participants are aware that the extent to which English is used in Danish media might be too large. Regardless of this finding, the subjects are almost unanimous in claiming that a very good command of English expands one's horizons both in education and on the job market (question 4). Young Danes are not inclined to believe that the extensive use of English may lead to identity loss among Danish people (question 5). They find no correlation between the language which they use and their identity. The answer to question 6 gives inconclusive results. When asked whether there exist too many English words in Danish, most of the participants chose the middle points on the scale indicating neither agreement nor disagreement with the statement. As for question 7, the majority of Danes who took part in the study claim that the existence of a global language and the process of linguistic globalization constitute a positive trend. Thanks to the existence of a global language, the problem of language barrier and the lack of mutual comprehensibility is limited. A question which is often discussed in the context of Scandinavian languages is the notion of inter-Nordic communication. Since native speakers of Scandinavian languages are characterized by significant mutual comprehensibility, a great many language activists postulate that people from the Scandinavian countries should communicate with each other using their native languages. If we take a look at answers given to question 8, we will conclude that the participants in the present study share this opinion. Although they do not oppose to extensive use of English in Denmark, they claim that Scandinavians should refrain from using English when talking to each other. Similar to question 4, the answers to question 9 show that young Danes think that it is not only beneficial but also necessary to know English as a foreign language in the times of linguistic globalization. The last question in the questionnaire aimed at verifying whether the participants use a Danish word 'livvagt' or they tend to use the English equivalent 'bodyguard' which has been borrowed into Danish. It transpired that the majority of young Danes who took part in the study refrain from using the Danish word and they prefer to use the English loanword.

Retrospective interviews with the participants via Skype software provided further insight into the questions of foreign language education, the status of English in the Scandinavian countries and the advantages/disadvantages of the existence of a universal language. The main findings can be summarized in the following way:

- to learn English is of utmost importance when one wishes to work in an international environment; young Danes are fully aware of the fact that a very good command of English is a substantial advantage on the job market;

- great priority is given to foreign language education in primary and high schools in Denmark;
- in general, young Danes accept English loanwords as part of the Danish language; in many cases they are not able to guess whether a given lexeme is a standard Danish word or an English borrowing;
- I did not observe any significant gender differences with regard to the general attitude towards extensive use of English as a lingua franca in Denmark;
- the majority of participants tend to code-switch into English to a larger extent when talking to members within a peer group;
- in general, the participants do not perceive English as a threat to Danish; they do not see the need to make language policy in Denmark more strict or to promote the use of Danish in the domains such as science or media.

7. Conclusions and implications

To conclude, the results of the survey research and the follow-up interviews give a comprehensive view of the attitude of young Danes towards English as a global language. The analysis of the answers given by the participants led me to believe that they are not apprehensive of the extensive use of English in Denmark and they accept the state of the emerging social diglossia. As for the limitations of the study, the involvement of a small number of participants dictates that it can provide only tentative insights into the interplay between Danish and English in Denmark. A more numerous experimental group would give a study more external validity and lead to more reliable results. Moreover, interviewing the participants remotely (via Skype) turned out to be risky; I was not able to connect to three out of thirty participants. Hence, the conclusions drawn from the retrospective interviews are based on the opinions of the majority of the subjects, but not all of them.

As for further research, it could be a good idea to include a group of middle-aged Danes in the investigated sample. In this way, we could examine whether there exists a statistically significant difference between the approach of both groups to the emergence of English as a language extensively used in various domains in Denmark. Jarvad (1995) showed that women and the elderly criticize the overuse of English in Denmark more than men and young people. She also found that people who speak English at a low level are more critical of it than those who have a perfect command of English. I believe that my study would lead to more detailed conclusions if I compared and contrasted two or more experimental groups. Another idea to extend the research could be to create a list of standard Danish words and their English equivalents which have been borrowed into Danish and to ask the participants

which words they use more frequently. In the questionnaire adopted in this study, only one such pair was used: 'livvagt' and 'bodyguard'. It could also be interesting to turn the present research into a longitudinal study. Asking the group of young Danes a set of the same questions in ten or twenty years would be likely to show whether sensitivity to language use and a kind of linguistic patriotism emerges at a later age.

Irrespective of the limitations of the study, I believe that it gives a tentative view on the notions in question and may be an incentive to further research the topic of the status of English in Denmark and other Scandinavian countries. In the times of the increasing influence of English on Danish it seems reasonable to find out more about this process.

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The role of lexicogrammatical patterns in using a foreign language

Katarzyna Rokoszewska

Jan Długosz University in Częstochowa

k.rokoszewska@ajd.czest.pl

Abstract

The aim of the present paper is to examine the role of lexicogrammatical patterns in using a foreign language. For this purpose, the paper first describes two major approaches to phraseology, namely the phraseological approach and the distributional or frequency-based approach, and presents the main typologies of word combinations and terms used to describe formulaic language with a special emphasis on lexicogrammatical patterns. Next, the paper reviews two research perspectives on L2 patterns that focus on the processes of breaking down and building patterns, advocating a more synthetic model of language patterning, which, in congruence with Emergence Theory and Sociocultural Theory, accounts for the processes of chunk-breaking and chunk-making in the learner's use of language in his or her zone of proximal development. Furthermore, the paper examines the major functions of formulaic language in communication and language development. Finally, the paper offers some practical implications for foreign language teachers.

1. Introduction

Recently, the rejection of the view of language as consisting of separate grammar and lexis has led to a growing interest in phraseology and language formulaicity as opposed to language creativity. Language creativity is central to Chomsky's (1972) Standard Theory, X-bar Theory, Government and Binding Theory

and Minimalism, whereas language formulaicity is central to recent cognitive (Langacker 1987) and functional approaches (Hopper 1988, Halliday 1994), especially Construction Grammar (Goldberg 1995). The two general approaches differ in their views on grammar and lexicon. According to the former, grammar is an autonomous system derived from an innate language faculty, whereas according to the latter, it is derived from general cognitive processing mechanisms (Langacker 1987; Bates and MacWhinney 1989) and sub-served communicative functions (Hopper 1988; Halliday 1994). The first approach defines lexicon as consisting of idiosyncratic language items which are not determined by linguistic rules (Chomsky 1972). The second approach focuses on grammaticalised lexis and lexicalised grammar, emphasizing the interface between the two systems. In sum, the first approach emphasizes the analytic, whereas the second the holistic features of language. Wray and Perkins (2000:11) present a dual processing model according to which optimal language processing in communicative situations takes place if a proper balance between creative and holistic processes is maintained. In this model, the creative and holistic systems cooperate as the advantage of the former lies in “the freedom to produce and decode the unexpected”, i.e. novel language, whereas the advantage of the latter in the economy of effort to produce and decode the expected, i.e. formulaic language. The present paper focuses on the role of formulaic language in target language learning, communication and development.

2. Two approaches to phraseology

Phraseology may be defined as “the study of the structure, meaning and use of word combinations” (Cowie 1994: 3168). According to Granger and Paquot (2008), two approaches to phraseology may be distinguished. The first approach, namely the *phraseological approach* (Nesselhauf 2004), is based on the work of scholars from Eastern Europe. It is a classical, deductive, top-bottom approach whose aim is to identify phraseological units on the basis of pre-determined linguistic criteria. In this approach, phraseology is viewed as a continuum from the most opaque and fixed to the most transparent and variable word combinations. What is more, the scope of phraseology is restricted to a specific subset of linguistically defined multi-word units, with idioms constituting the core and free word combinations constituting the periphery. The second approach to phraseology is the *distributional or frequency-based approach* (Nesselhauf 2004), which is rooted in Sinclair’s (1991) pioneering lexicographic work. In this approach, language, in line with the idiom principle (Sinclair 1991), is made up of strings of co-selected words that constitute single choices. It is a more recent, inductive, bottom-up, corpus-driven approach which aims at identifying lexical co-occurrences. It gener-

ates combinations which do not always fit predetermined linguistic categories. The core is made up of frequent multi-word units, while the periphery of infrequent restricted units, such as idioms and proverbs.

The phraseological approach represents a narrow view on phraseology, which posits the existence of clear-cut boundaries between phraseology and semantics, morphology, syntax and discourse, whereas the distributional approach represents a wide view on phraseology, which emphasizes its multidisciplinary nature (Granger and Paquot 2008). As far as the relationship between phraseology and semantics is concerned, it should be pointed out that the phraseological approach, as opposed to the distributional approach, uses semantic criteria, such as semantic co-occurrence and non-compositionality, to identify multi-word units. Word combinations governed by semantic co-occurrence restrictions (e.g. 'a pregnant woman'), which in contrast to locutional co-occurrence restrictions (e.g. 'strong coffee' vs. *'powerful coffee') can be logically predicted from the lexical meaning of a given lexeme, do not belong to phraseology (Allerton 1984). Non-compositionality denotes that the meaning of a given lexical item is different from the meaning of its parts. Although many linguists treat non-compositionality as the main feature of a phraseme, they admit that it forms a continuum from fully compositional to non-compositional items, with fully compositional items excluded from phraseology. The distributional approach is based on Firth's (1951) contextual theory of meaning, in which the meaning of a given word is extended beyond its limits. More specifically, the contextual patterning of a given word, its collocation, i.e. lexical relationships, and colligation, i.e. grammatical relationships, contribute to the meaning of a given word, highlighting the role of semantic preference, i.e. the relationship between a lexical item and a lexical set of semantically related items, and semantic prosody, i.e. the speaker's or writer's attitude to some communicative situation.

The boundary between phraseology and morphology is delineated on the basis of the *polylexicality criterion*, which accounts for the fact that phraseological units are made up of at least two words (Granger and Paquot 2008). However, the boundary depends on the definition of a word, which may be based either on its orthographic form or on its "internal stability and uninterruptedness" (Lyons 1968: 202). For instance, the item 'of course' belongs to phraseology if its orthographic form is concerned but not if its internal stability is taken into account. The boundary in question is blurred by compounds, complex prepositions (e.g. 'due to'), adverbs (e.g. 'in fact') and conjunctions (e.g. 'even if'). Compounds may be solid (e.g. 'bookstore'), hyphenated (e.g. 'father-in-law') or open (e.g. 'high school'), and may often have a different spelling (e.g. 'good will', 'good-will', 'goodwill'). In the phraseological approach, either all or only solid

compounds are excluded from the scope of the study, whereas in the distributional approach all sequences of two or more graphic words are analyzed if they regularly co-occur, with the result that solid compounds are excluded.

The boundary between phraseology and syntax is unclear with respect to word grammar, i.e. “syntactic constraints on the use of lexis”, valency patterns, i.e. patterns which “describe words in terms of the obligatory and optional arguments they accept”, and syntactic flexibility, i.e. the extent to which word combinations undergo syntactic variation, e.g. passivisation, insertion or deletion, without losing their phraseological status (Granger and Paquot 2008: 6). Although collocations are often defined as combinations of lexical words that are restricted in an arbitrary way, some linguists, like Benson et al (1986), divide them into *lexical collocations*, which consist of two lexical words, and *grammatical collocations*, which consist of a lexical and grammatical word (e.g. ‘aim at’) or a structure (e.g. ‘avoid’ + ‘-ing’), and which, according to other linguists, belong to syntax. Syntactic flexibility or form fixedness is often treated as a criterion of the phraseological status, especially the idiom status. The phraseological approach advocates a strict attitude to the distinction between phraseology and syntax, whereas the distributional approach advocates the so-called lexicogrammar interface, which is characteristic of Hoey’s (2005) theory of lexical priming, according to which words are primed to favour particular collocates, grammatical roles and semantic associations.

As far as phraseology and discourse are concerned, Granger and Paquot (2008) point out that the phraseological approach focuses on units which reflect discourse as spoken interaction. In other words, it focuses on routine formulae which perform different pragmatic functions, organize turn-taking, and reveal the speaker’s attitude. In contrast, the distributional approach focuses more on stylistics and rhetoric than pragmatics. While recognizing the importance of routine formulae, it focuses more on multi-word units which structure the text. Having defined lexical bundles as “simple sequences of word forms that commonly go together in natural discourse”, Biber et al. (1999: 990) claim that such bundles, characterized by syntactic and semantic regularity, fulfil important discourse functions, such as organizing or hedging.

3. Typologies of word combinations

The phraseological approach offers a number of typologies of word combinations which may be divided into *lexicological* or *lexicographic* (Cowie 1988; Gläser 1998; Moon 1998), *pedagogically-oriented* (Nattinger and DeCarrico 1992; Lewis 1993) and *psycholinguistic* (Wray and Perkins 2000; Wray 2002). The typologies are based on one or more of such features of phrasemes as

internal structure (e.g. verb+noun, verb+preposition), extent, i.e. the phrase or sentence level, the degree of semantic non-compositionality, the degree of syntactic flexibility and collocability, and discourse function.

To begin with, word combinations in Cowie’s (1988) typology (see Figure 1), one of the most known in English lexicology and lexicography, are divided into *composites*, which “function syntactically at or below the level of the sentence”, and *formulae*, “which function pragmatically as autonomous utterances”, e.g. sayings, catchphrases and conversational formulae (Granger and Paquot 2008: 8). Composites are further divided into *restricted collocations*, which display restricted collocability and figurative meaning of one of the items, *figurative idioms*, which have both figurative and literal meaning and resist the substitution of components, and *pure idioms*, which are semantically non-compositional.

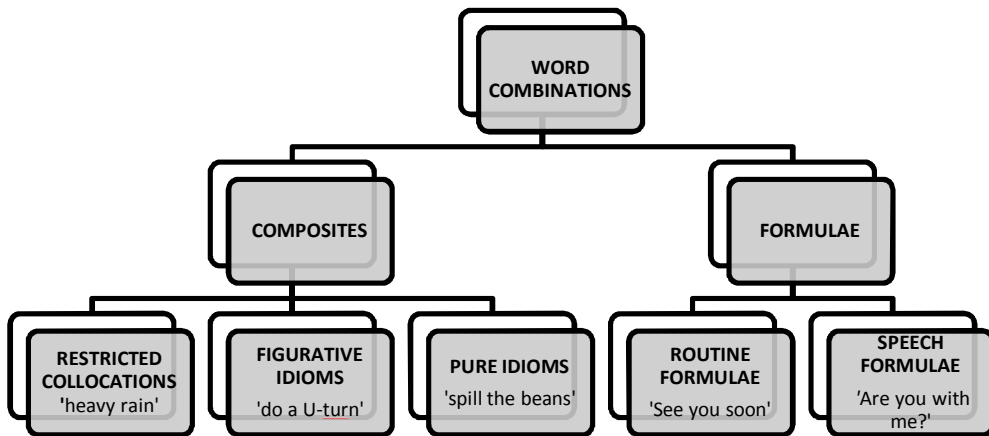


Figure 1: Cowie’s (1988) typology of word combinations.

The three categories form the so called *phraseological continuum* (see Figure 2), which stretches from the most transparent and variable items to the most opaque and fixed ones. Formulae are divided into *routine formulae*, which perform different speech-act functions, and *speech formulae*, which are used to formulate messages and show speakers’ or writers’ attitude.

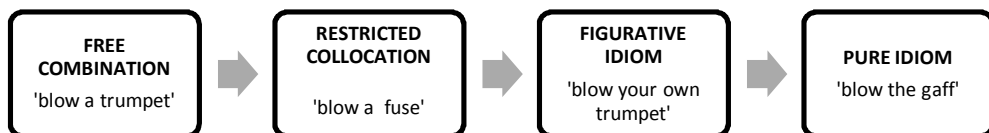


Figure 2: Cowie’s (1988) phraseological continuum.

A similar typology is proposed by Mel'cuk's (1995) on the basis of the meaning-text theory (see Figure 3). In this typology, phrasemes are divided into *semantic* and *pragmatic phrasemes* or *pragmatemes*. The former correspond to Cowie's (1988) composites and as such they are divided into *semi-phrasemes* or *collocations*, *quasi-phrasemes* or *quasi-idioms*, and *full phrasemes* or *idioms*, whereas the latter correspond to Cowie's (1988) formulae.

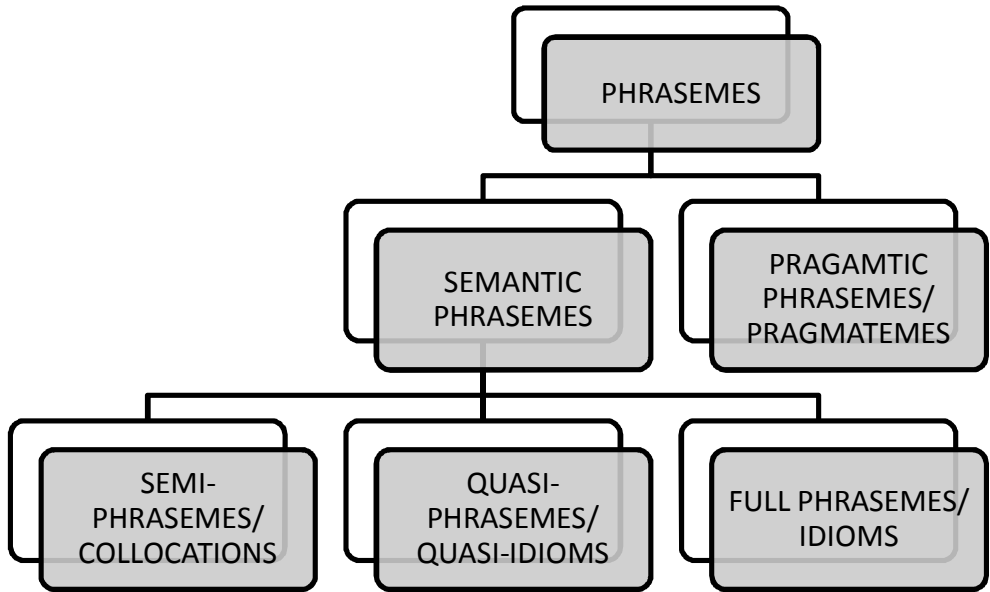


Figure 3: Mel'cuk's (1995) typology of word combinations.

Unlike the two typologies described above, which are based on lexical functions, Burger et al.'s (2007) typology is based on the function of phraseological units in discourse, and it includes grammar. In this typology, phraseological units are divided into three main categories, namely *referential*, *structural* and *communicative* (see Figure 4). The first category, namely *referential phraseological units*, is divided on the basis of a syntactico-semantic criterion into two subcategories, namely *nominative* and *propositional units*. The former correspond to Cowie's (1988) composites. They refer to objects, phenomena or facts of life, function below the level of the sentence, and are divided into *collocations*, *partial idioms* and *idioms*. The latter correspond to Cowie's (1988) formulae or Melcuk's (1995) pragmatic phrasemes. They refer to statements about these objects, phenomena or facts of life, include *proverbs* and *idioms*, and are divided into the units which function *at the level of the sentence* and *at the level of the text*, which is rare. The second main category, namely *structural phraseological units*, includes word combinations which

form grammatical relations. The third main category, namely *communicative phraseological units*, includes formulae which fulfil an interactional function and which are often used as text controllers to start, maintain and finish a conversation or to indicate the addressor’s attitude.

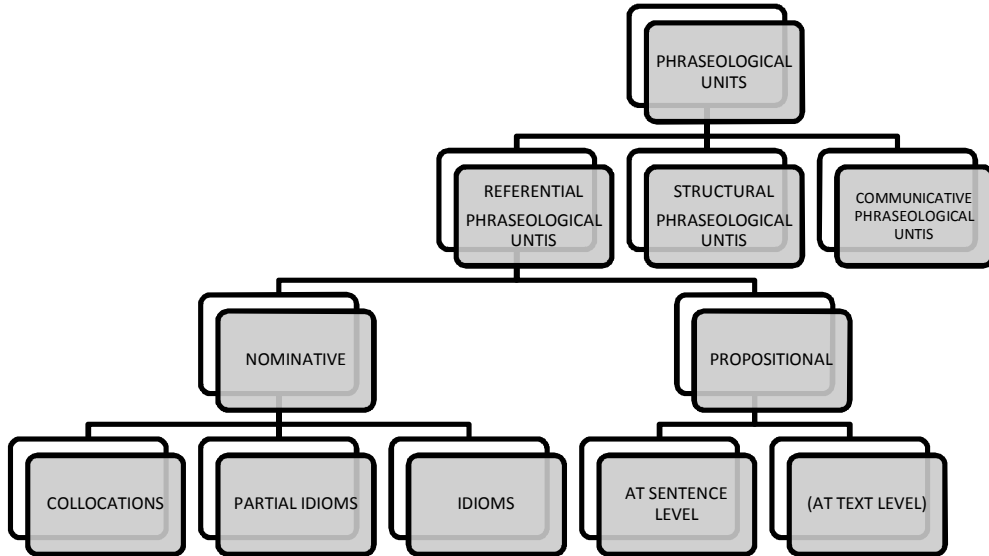


Figure 4: Burger et al.’s (2007) typology of phraseological units.

It is also important to mention Nattinger and DeCarrico’s (1992) pedagogically-oriented function-based typology in which formulaic sequences are divided into three groups, namely *social interactions*, *necessary topic*, and *discourse devices* (Table 1). Formulaic sequences, used for social interactions, are divided into the ones used for *conversations maintenance*, i.e. summoning, clarifying, and shifting turns, and into the ones used for *various conversational purposes*, like questioning, refusing, and expressing sympathy. Necessary topics include *autobiography*, *time*, *location* and *weather*, while discourse devices include *temporal connectors*, *exemplifiers*, and *summarizers*.

FUNCTION-BASED FORMULAIC SEQUENCES		
SOCIAL INTERACTIONS	NECESSARY TOPICS	DISCOURSE DEVICES
CONVERSATION MAINTENANCE Summoning ‘How are you?’ Clarifying ‘What did you mean by X?’ Shifting turns ‘Could I say something here?’ CONVERSATIONAL PURPOSE Questioning	Autobiography ‘My name is...’ Time ‘What time X?’ Location ‘What part of the...’ Weather ‘It’s (very)... today’	Temporal connectors ‘the day before’ Exemplifiers ‘in other words’ Summarizers ‘to make a long story short’

'Do you X?' Refusing 'I'm sorry but X' Expressing sympathy 'I'm very sorry to hear about X'		
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Table 1: Nattinger and DeCarrico's (1992) typology of formulaic sequences.

In contrast to the phraseological approach, the distributional approach has not proposed any categorization of word combinations. However, it is possible to present a typology of distributional categories which includes the types of units obtained by two main extraction procedures used in the studies conducted in line with this approach (see Figure 5). The first extraction method, called the *n-gram* or *cluster analysis*, is a quantitative method which enables one to obtain recurrent continuous sequences of two or more words, no matter what their idiomaticity or structural status is like (Biber et al. 1999). Such sequences are divided into *sequences with no free slot* which are called *n-grams* (more specifically, bigrams and trigrams), *lexical bundles*, *clusters*, *chains*, *recurrent sequences* or *recurrent word combinations*, and *sequences with one or more free slots* called *collocational frameworks* or *phrase frames* which form a special category of recurrent sequences, e.g. 'a + ? + of', 'an + ? + of', 'be + ? + to', 'too + ? + to' (Renouf and Sinclair 1991). The second extraction method, called *the co-occurrence analysis*, involves the statistical uncovering of significant word co-occurrences. This method extracts discontinuous sequences of two or more words and checks if they meet the threshold level of co-occurrence.

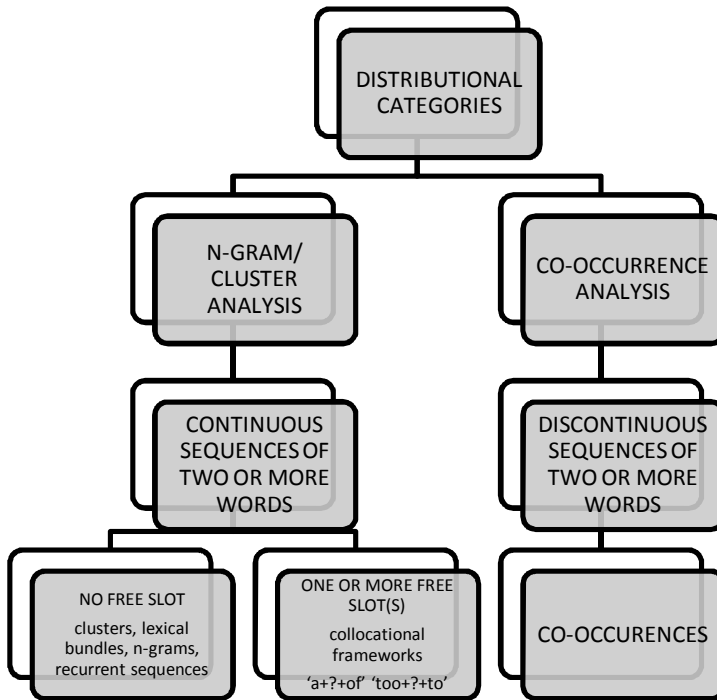


Figure 5: A typology of distributional categories (Granger and Paquot 2008).

In order to reconcile the phraseological and distributional approaches, Granger and Paquot (2008) proposed a classification which constitutes an extended version of Burger et al.'s (2007) typology. In this classification, phrasemes are divided into three main categories according to their function, namely *referential*, *textual* and *communicative phrasemes* (see Table 2). *Referential phrasemes* are used to convey a content message in that they refer to objects, phenomena or real-life facts. They include *lexical collocations*, *idioms*, *similies*, *irreversible bi- and tri-nominals*, *compounds*, *phrasal verbs* and *grammatical collocations*. *Textual phrasemes* are employed to structure and organize the content, or in other words the referential information, of a text or discourse. This category constitutes an extension of Burger et al.'s (2007) structural category. It includes such grammaticalised sequences as *complex prepositions*, *complex conjunctions*, *linking adverbials* and *textual sentence stems*. *Communicative phrasemes* are used to signal one's feelings and beliefs towards the content expressed as well as to address interlocutors directly to focus their attention, involve them in a conversation or influence them. They include *speech act formulae*, *attitudinal formulae*, *commonplaces*, *proverbs* and *slogans*.

PHRASEMES		
REFERENTIAL FUNCTION	TEXTUAL FUNCTION	COMMUNICATIVE FUNCTION
REFERENTIAL PHRASEMES	TEXTUAL PHRASEMES	COMMUNICATIVE PHRASEMES
lexical collocations 'heavy rain' idioms 'to spill the beans' similies 'as old as the hills' irreversible bi- and tri-nominals 'bed and breakfast' compounds 'black hole' phrasal verbs 'blow up' grammatical collocations 'depend on'	complex prepositions 'in addition to' complex conjunctions 'so that', 'as if' linking adverbials 'in other words', 'last but not least' textual sentence stems 'the final point is ...', 'another thing is ...'	speech act formulae 'happy birthday' attitudinal formulae 'I think that' commonplaces 'It's a small world' proverbs 'A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush' slogans 'Make love, not war' idiomatic sentences quotations

Table 2: Granger and Paquot's (2008) classification of phrasemes.

4. Lexico-grammatical patterns

The two approaches to phraseology offer numerous terms to describe formulaic language. Wray and Perkins (2000) identified over 40 such terms, the most common being *chunks*, *collocations*, *fixed expressions*, *formulaic sequences*, *formulas*, *idioms*, *language-using patterns*, *lexical bundles*, *lexicalized phrases*, *multiword units*, *prefabricated routines and patterns*, *ready-made expressions or utterances*, and *unanalysed chunks of speech*. Linguists, like Schmid (2003), argue that the term *collocation* or *collocate*, which constitutes the core of the phraseological approach, should not be confused with the term *co-occurrence* or *co-occurrent*, which was coined by the distributional approach. In the COBUILD dictionary project, the term *collocation* was defined as follows: "lexical items occurring within five words either way of the headword with a greater frequency than the law of averages would lead you to expect" (Krishnamurthy 1987: 70). In a similar vein, Granger and Paquot (2008: 12) state that "the term collocation should not be used to refer to statistical word co-occurrences but instead kept in its traditional meaning of usage-based lexically restricted combinations".

The term *lexicogrammatical patterns* is connected with recent cognitive-functional approaches to language and the distributional approach to phraseology. In Goldberg's (2003) *Construction Grammar*, patterns are constructions defined as any form-meaning patterns whose form or function is not predictable from its component parts. According to Larsen-Freeman and Cameron (2008: 82), who applied Complexity Theory to SLA, language consists of "form-meaning-use dynamic patterns of language using", or simply language-using

patterns. In their view, patterns are not discrete abstract symbolic representations on which some logical operations are performed. They do not always correspond to traditional linguistic categories but are accepted as conventional by the community. They include words, idioms, patterns partially or fully filled with lexis, and grammatical constructions. Building on this explanation, Macqueen (2012: 320) provided the following operationalization of the term: "A lexeme and its co-text is a lexicogrammatical pattern (...) A lexeme's co-text or primings are the words around a lexeme which form typical collocational/colligational syntactic chunks, e.g. adjective-noun, verb-preposition, verb-noun". She also made a distinction between *chunks* and *patterns*, defining the former as "strongly associated, automatic sequences of language bits' or in other words 'more automatic, strongly associated types of patterns", and the latter as "emergent, recurring sequences of language bits that display stability and variability over time" (Macqueen 2012: 271).

Language-using patterns have a number of characteristics. They are dynamic, i.e. they change all the time, probabilistic, i.e. they reflect the statistics of language use (Thelen and Bates 2003), and conventionalized if used frequently, but they may change if there exists some variability (Hopper 1988). Furthermore, patterns are unpredictable, i.e. their form or function is not predictable from the component parts (Goldberg 2003), compositional, i.e. arising from the components predicted with some probability, emergent, i.e. adapted by language users in communication (1988), and heterochronous, which means that using them on a local timescale may be a part of language change on longer timescales (Lemke 2002).

Research into L2 patterns is conducted within two general approaches. The *grammatical and analytical approach* focuses on breaking down patterns, whereas the *lexical and pragmatic approach* focuses on building patterns (Weinert 1995). In other words, the first approach focuses on chunk-breaking or segmentation, while the second approach on chunk-making or association. Studies conducted in line with the first approach examine interlanguage formulae. They treat patterns as the pre-grammatical unanalysed stage of acquisition and analyze the induction of rules from the formulae. Studies conducted in line with the second approach examine target language formulae, especially lexical patterns known by native speakers. They analyze the process of building lexically-driven patterns. However, recent studies indicate that the two processes, namely pattern-breaking and pattern-building, may be complimentary.

Macqueen (2012), based on her ethnographic study into the emergence of lexicogrammatical patterns in students' essays, proposed a model of language patterning which, in congruence with Emergence Theory and Sociocultural Theory, accounts for both grammatically- and lexically-driven patterns as well as for the processes of chunk-breaking and chunk-making in the learner's

use of language in his or her zone of proximal development (ZPD) (see Figure 6). In this model, the horizontal axis indicates the linguistic status of a lexicogrammatical pattern. One end of the axis represents colligation, i.e. grammatically-driven or morphosyntactic patterns, and the other end represents collocation, i.e. lexically-driven or lexicosemantic patterns. The vertical axis indicates the sociocognitive status of the pattern. One end stands for the process of breaking down unanalyzed chunks. In this process, sequences of phonemes, morphemes, lexemes and phrasemes which are strongly associated or primed in memory undergo segmentation or analysis. The other end of the axis stands for the process of chunk-making or association. Association involves the priming process in which linguistic bits become associated in restricted ways and automatically retrieved. In other words, they become associated or primed to co-occur. Chunk-making and chunk-breaking are ideals which do not exist without the dialectical relationship. All patterning falls somewhere between the two endpoints. On the horizontal axis, all collocations have some grammatical features, while all colligations have some lexical features. On the vertical axis, chunk-making is a process of association which starts with any receptive or productive encounter of a cluster of signs. Chunk-breaking is a process of analysis which starts with any associated sign cluster. Patterning is “the dialectical process of chunk making and breaking” (Macquoen 2012: 271). The model looks like a target which represents the learner’s access to the L2 community. This access is limited by focus operation, i.e. perception, attention and noticing, focus ability, i.e. previous L2 experience, memory and aptitude, and focus desire, i.e. attitude, motivation and goals. With respect to ZPD, the horizontal axis represents symbolic linguistic tools, while the vertical axis represents sociocognitive tools, both of which are constructed within the individual’s ZPD through interaction.

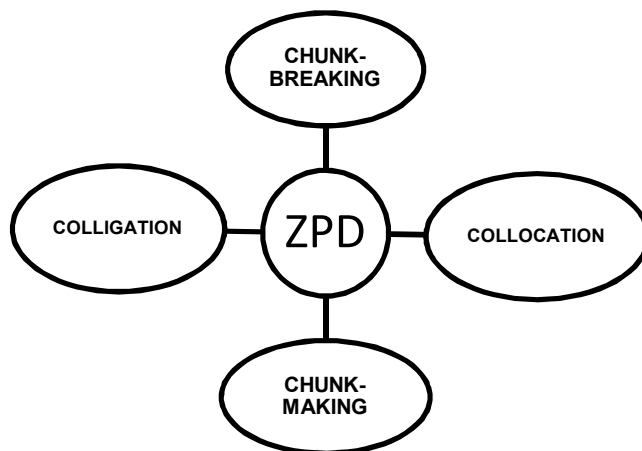


Figure 6: Macquoen’s (2012) model of language patterning.

Macqueen (2012) illustrates the model of lexicogrammatical patterning by analysing the use of the phrase 'all around the world' and its transformation to the phrase 'surrounded by world population' in essays composed by one of the subjects involved in her study. Macqueen (2012) explains that the phrase 'all around the world' was used six times in the same form in different essays by the subject, which means that it was a chunk-like pattern. The subject tried to replace this phrase to avoid repetition. According to Macqueen (2012:273), the process of chunk breaking took place in four steps: "1. Break the pattern and extract 'all around'. 2. Translate 'all around' into Spanish. 3. Look up the Spanish translation, find 'surrounded by' and insert. 4. Replace 'the world' with 'world population'". Macqueen (2012) claims that the chunk-like pattern is fused but segmentable, and that this tension is manifested in the linguistic form, which is represented on the horizontal axis, and in the sociocognitive status, which is represented on the vertical axis of the model. As far as the linguistic form is concerned, the pattern is more collocational as it is "tied to the lexical anchors *around* and *world*" (Macqueen 2012: 274). During the segmentation process, the pattern is shifted towards colligation on the horizontal axis because it is divided and because some considerations about word class, position and grammatical relations are involved. As far as the sociocognitive status is concerned, the phrase 'all around the world', which is probably stored as one whole in memory, is divided into parts, i.e. 'all around' and 'the world', which are chunk-like as well. Macqueen (2012) claims that in the process of chunk-breaking, the subject is at the same time chunk-making using different resources, like L1, a bilingual dictionary and another L2 pattern. As far as the target focus is concerned, it is said that movement in the subject's ZPD took place because of the subject's goals, like meeting exam criteria and paying attention to language so that the same patterns are not repeated all the time. In other words, the subject showed some sense of discourse patterning. The subject de-automatized the pattern and acted upon it in a personal way, which in this particular case led to a less native-like pattern. Summing up, the whole process of chunk-making and chunk-breaking analysed on the basis of the said example indicates a non-linear character of language development in which different stages do not always look like steps which actually approximate proficient use of the target language.

5. Functions of formulaic language

According to Wray and Perkins (2000), formulaic language serves as a tool for social interaction (see Table 3). In other words, three main functions of social interaction may be achieved through formulaic as opposed to creative lan-

guage. The first function refers to the *speaker's manipulation of his or her world*. This function reflects the fact that the speaker is not able to fully satisfy his or her own physical, emotional and cognitive needs and that is why he or she needs to involve other people to obtain the aims that are beyond his or her own power. In order to manipulate the world, the speaker uses commands, requests and bargains to carry out directives as well as various politeness markers to express them in a proper way to obtain a given goal. The second function refers to *the speaker's expression of his or her individual identity*. Formulaic sequences are used so that one is taken seriously by others and one can separate oneself from the crowd. The types of sequences used for the first purpose include story-telling as well as turn claimers and holders, whereas the types of sequences used for the second purpose include personal turns of phrase. The third function refers to the *speaker's expression of his or her group identity*. Formulaic sequences are used to achieve the effects, like affirming membership and a place in the hierarchy. For signalling the overall membership, the following types of sequences are used: 'in' phrases, group chants, institutionalized forms of words, and rituals. For signalling the place in the hierarchy, the following types of sequences are used: threats, quotations, forms of address, and hedges. Wray and Perkins (2000) explain that just as satisfying one's physical needs is crucial for one's survival, asserting one's individual and group identity is vital for making sure that one is neither subsumed by or excluded from the group. It is interesting to point out that different types of speakers use different types of formulaic language for different needs. Children need to get carers to look after them and to express belonging. Adults have different needs and have to express them in a more subtle way because of their relationships with others in communication. L2 learners, who often lack sufficient knowledge of the L2, may use L2 sequences appropriately and inappropriately, as well as interlanguage sequences coined to compensate for the gaps in their target language knowledge.

FUNCTIONS	EFFECTS	TYPES
MANIPULATION OF OTHERS	satisfying physical, emotional and cognitive needs	commands – 'Keep off the grass' requests – 'Could you repeat that please?' bargains – 'I'll give you ... for it'. politeness markers – 'I wonder if you'd mind'
ASSERTING SEPARATE IDENTITY	being taken seriously	story-telling – 'You're never going to believe this, but...' turn claimers and holders – 'Yes, but the thing is...'
	separating from the crowd	personal turns of phrase – You know what I mean
ASSERTING GROUP IDENTITY	overall membership	'in' phrases – 'Praise the Lord' group chants – 'We are the champions' institutionalized forms of words – 'Happy birthday' ritual – 'Our Father, which art in Heaven'

	<p>place in hierarchy (affirming and adjusting)</p>	<p>threats – ‘I wouldn’t do that if I were you’ quotation – ‘I wouldn’t want to belong to any club that would have me as a member’ (G. Marx) forms of address – ‘Your Highness’ hedges – ‘Well I’m not sure’</p>
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Table 3: Formulaicity as a tool for social interaction (Wray and Perkins 2000: 14).

According to Wray and Perkins (2000), formulaic language also serves as a short-cut in information processing (see Table 4). Formulaic sequences function as compensatory devices for memory limitations. They are used to minimize the effects of a mismatch between the speaker’s potential linguistic capabilities and his or her actual short-term memory capacity. According to Becker (1975), the speaker does not produce frequent word combinations from scratch. Instead, he or she uses formulaic sequences to reduce the amount of new processing. Recent studies indicate that the brain, familiar with a given language task, is able to bypass the processing route used to learn it. Formulaic sequences perform three functions which, apart from processing shortcuts, refer to time-buying and manipulating information. With respect to the first function, formulaic sequences increase the production speed and/or fluency. For this purpose, standard phrases with or without gaps, and standard ideational labels with agreed meanings are used. According to Pawley and Syder (1983), the role of formulaic sequences in reducing the processing load explains why certain collocations and expressions are preferred by an individual and the whole speech community over other phrases possible in a given language. Word combinations which are stored and retrieved together become associated with agreed meanings which may be transparent or opaque. Words and their collocates may form phrases which could have several meanings but are normally interpreted in one agreed way in communication. The second function, namely buying some time in a conversation is fulfilled to promote fluency, rhythm and emphasis through the use of standard phrases with simple meanings, and to plan time without losing the turn through the use of fillers, turn-holders, discourse shape markers and the repetition of the preceding input. The third function of formulaic sequences, which refers to manipulating information, is used to extend one’s memory through the use of mnemonics, lengthy texts one is required to learn, and rehearsal. These are the means of retrieving information that is otherwise too difficult to recall. According to Wray (1998), processing-related functions of formulaic sequences are secondary to interaction-related functions and as such they appeared later in evolutionary terms. It is important to add that different types of speakers experience processing limitations. Adult native speakers may have problems with speaking while doing other activities or with formulating and

expressing complex ideas. Children's language processing is constrained by limited short-term memory capacity. Adult L2 learners possess language knowledge which is inadequately organised (Ellis 1994). Both types of learners can lessen their processing problems by relying on formulaic language, which allows analytic processing to operate where necessary.

FUNCTIONS	EFFECTS	TYPES
PROCESSING SHORT-CUTS	increased production speed and/or fluency	standard phrases – 'Put the kettle on, will you?' standard ideational labels with agreed meanings – 'personal computer'
TIME BUYERS	vehicles for fluency, rhythm and emphasis planning time without losing the turn	standard phrases with simple meanings – 'make a decision' fillers – 'if you want my opinion' turn-holders – 'and another thing' discourse shape markers – 'Firstly... Secondly' repetitions of preceding input (A: 'What's the capital of Peru?') B: 'What's the capital of Peru?'
MANIPULATION OF INFORMATION	gaining and retaining access to information otherwise unlikely to be remembered	mnemonics – 'Thirty days hath September' lengthy texts one is required to learn – 'Shall I compare thee to a summer's day?' rehearsal – 'rehearsing a telephone number while looking for a pen'

Table 4: Formulaicity as a tool for a short-cut in processing (Wray and Perkins 2000: 16).

Two general functions of formulaicity, i.e. ensuring one's physical and social survival through communication and avoiding processing overload, serve in fact the same purpose, namely efficient interaction between the speaker and the listener. Formulaic sequences employed to lower the processing effort lead to the speaker's fluent and efficient production. They are said to bypass the generative system partially or totally. At the same time, formulaic phrases used for social interaction lead to the listener's successful comprehension because he or she is more likely to understand a message in a formulaic as opposed to a novel form, without recourse to analytic decoding. The listener's success lies in the speaker's interest as the speaker needs to be understood to survive physically and socially. Thus, it is the speaker who benefits from using formulaic sequences in production and comprehension. In sum, Wray and Perkins's (2000) model explains the individual's strategic choices made in social interaction which depend on some tension between priorities, like the need to decode novel input successfully, the need to process input efficiently, and the need to ensure that the message will be understood.

Formulaic language is also a significant feature of language development. Locke (1993), who examined holistic and analytic strategies in the child's language processing, proposed that two separate but complementary neural

mechanisms are responsible for language development, namely the mechanism called *specialization in social cognition* (SSC), which is located in the right hemisphere, and *grammatical analysis module* (GAM), which is located in the left hemisphere and which corresponds to Chomsky's (1972) Universal Grammar. Wray and Perkins (2000) enumerate four phases of language development with respect to the two mechanisms. In the first phase, the SSC is responsible for the identification, selection and storage of meaningful units in response to social stimulation. In the second phase, the GAM, which starts to operate from 20/30 months, is responsible for the identification of constituent parts of the items acquired via the SSC. The third phase is the time of integration and elaboration as the two mechanisms interact. In this phase, the expansion of the lexicon as well as the automatization of syntactic and phonological processing take place. The balance between the two mechanisms changes in that the SSC dominates the GAM in dealing with frequently occurring items, which leads to increased automaticity, while the GAM is active in identifying commonalities among formulas and setting up semi-productive frames, whose number is lower than the number of formulaic sequences. In the fourth phase, which takes place in adolescence, a fully equilibrated system appears. With respect to adult L2 learners, it is said that they may fossilize in the second or third phase. According to Wray and Perkins (2000), the individual's choice of formulaic sequences represents a complex dynamic process and depends on the following factors: the knowledge of the L2, the stage of cognitive development, the purpose in speaking, the complexity and novelty of an idea, the interactional context, and the competition from simultaneous activities.

6. Practical implications

Recognizing that formulaicity plays an important role in language, communication and language development has important implications for teaching foreign languages. First of all, formulaic sequences or recurrent language patterns should be adequately represented in teaching materials reflecting the patterns that are most frequently used. The question whether the frequency of the patterns should be based on the use of native speakers or competent intercultural language users remains open in the light of the current debate on native speakerism, in which the view of language learning as the approximation of the ideal native-like, often superior, competence is juxtaposed with the view of language learning understood as the gradual complexification of learners' language system. Nevertheless, there arises a need for better convergence between corpus linguistics and coursebook writing. Second of all, formulaic sequences should be presented and practised explicitly so that the

focus of a foreign language lesson changes from artificially isolated language bits to natural lexicogrammatical patterns frequently used in everyday life communication. The need to teach collocations was first powerfully advocated by Lewis (1993) in his Lexical Approach. Although the approach was quite revolutionary in its focus on grammaticalised lexis, it downgraded the role of grammar in teaching foreign languages. More recent approaches to teaching formulaic language, rooted in the up-to-date cognitive and functional theories in linguistics, advocate the interface between grammar and lexis, pointing out to the existence of grammaticalised lexis and lexicalized grammar. These approaches include the phraseological approach or the phraseological teaching method (Boers et al. 2006), a new version of the Lexical Approach (Boers and Lindstromberg 2009), the AWARE approach (Ying and O'Neill 2009) and the pattern-focused pedagogy (Hyland 2008; Nattinger and DeCarrico 1992). In general, they put phraseological patterns at the heart of language instruction, making learners notice and practise them in a meaningful way. Third of all, there arises a need to test these approaches in practice to check whether and how they work for the benefit of the learner.

7. Conclusions

The present paper aimed at examining the role of lexicogrammatical patterns in using a foreign language. It has described two major approaches to phraseology, namely the phraseological approach and the distributional or frequency-based approach. The former is a classical, deductive approach, which deals with linguistically defined multi-word units which form a continuum from the most opaque and fixed to the most transparent and variable ones. The latter is an inductive, corpus-driven approach, which identifies lexical co-occurrences which are not always congruent with predefined linguistic categories. The paper has also presented typologies of word combinations characteristic of each approach, reconciled in Granger's and Paquot's (2008) model, and reviewed the terminology which refers to formulaic language with a special focus on lexicogrammatical patterns defined as word sequences which have the tendency to recur. Next, the paper has outlined the research into L2 patterns which focuses on interlanguage formulae and target language formulae. The former perspective is analytical or grammatical, whereas the latter is pragmatic or lexical. The former focuses on the process of breaking down patterns, which involves inducing grammatical rules from unanalyzed wholes. The latter deals with building lexical patterns in that it focuses on the patterns which non-native speakers know. The paper has suggested a more synthetic model of language patterning, which, in congruence with Emergence Theory

and Sociocultural Theory, accounts for both grammatically- and lexically-driven patterns as well as for the processes of chunk-breaking and chunk-making in the learner's use of language in his or her zone of proximal development. Finally, the paper has examined the role of formulaicity and emphasized the need to teach formulaic language to foreign language learners by means of various recent phraseological approaches with a word of caution that they need to be put to the test.

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The effectiveness of different techniques of providing oral corrective feedback: An overview

Mirośław Pawlak

Adam Mickiewicz University, Kalisz
State School of Higher Professional Education, Konin
pawlakmi@amu.edu.pl

Abstract

Following the trends in research into the effectiveness of form-focused instruction in general, there has been a visible shift of focus in studies investigating the effectiveness of oral corrective feedback (CF) from attempting to show that such pedagogic intervention works to comparing the contribution of different CF techniques, often with respect to their short- and long-term influence on the growth of explicit and implicit second language knowledge (cf. Sheen and Ellis 2011; Mackey 2012; Pawlak 2013). The aim of the paper is to offer an overview of the findings of these empirical investigations, both descriptive and experimental in nature, with a particular emphasis being placed on the crucial distinctions between explicit and implicit feedback, and input-providing and output-prompting error correction, both of which have been the focus of the bulk of the current research. The importance of moderating variables, impacting the value of such CF options will also be indicated. This overview will serve as a basis for a handful of pedagogic recommendations as well as a consideration of the future directions of research into the effectiveness of different ways of providing oral corrective feedback.

1. Introduction

Although there are still scholars (e.g. Truscott 1999; Krashen 2003) who express doubts about the effectiveness of corrective feedback (CF) in general and

oral error correction¹ in particular, the vast majority of second language acquisition theorists and researchers are convinced that this type of pedagogic intervention is beneficial to target language development. This positive contribution of feedback has been postulated by a number of theoretical positions, such as, for example, the Noticing Hypothesis (Schmidt 1990), the Interaction Hypothesis (Long 1996), the Output Hypothesis (Swain 1995, 2000), the Counterbalance Hypothesis (Lyster and Mori 2006), Relevance Theory (Nižegorodcew 2007), Skill-Learning Theory (DeKeyser 1998, 2007a), connectionism (Ellis N. 2005), Sociocultural Theory (Lantolf 2006) and the Delayed-Effect Hypothesis (Lightbown 1998). There is also mounting empirical evidence demonstrating that appropriately provided corrective feedback can result in the development of not only explicit but also implicit knowledge (see section 3 below for discussion), and that its positive effects extend beyond temporary gains on immediate posttests, let alone the fact that its presence in the classroom is usually expected to a greater or lesser extent by both teachers and students (see Ellis 2009a; Sheen and Ellis 2011; Pawlak 2013; Lyster and Ranta 2013, for reviews). Last but not least, a strong case for the beneficial role of error correction can also be made on pedagogical grounds, not least because such reactive negative evidence may be a vital source of data for developing interlanguage systems, data that are not available in abundance in many foreign language contexts (see Pawlak 2013, for a detailed discussion of such arguments).

In light of these considerations and following the tendencies evident in research into form-focused instruction in general (cf. Pawlak 2006), there has been a shift of emphasis in studies of oral error correction from merely attempting to demonstrate that this instructional option works to seeking to determine which types of corrective feedback techniques are the most beneficial in the short and long run for the development of explicit and implicit language knowledge (cf. Sheen and Ellis 2011; Mackey 2012; Pawlak 2013). Accordingly, the aim of the present paper is to offer an overview of the findings of these empirical investigations, both descriptive and experimental in nature, with the main focus on the key distinctions between explicit and implicit as well input-providing and output-inducing corrective feedback, as they are used to respond to errors in meaning and message conveyance, since it is them that have gar-

¹ The author is fully aware of the fact that many specialists prefer to use the term *corrective feedback* rather than *error correction*, mainly because the former has somewhat less punitive connotations (cf. Larsen-Freeman 2003). As he explains elsewhere (Pawlak 2013), however, the term *error correction* is more comprehensible to practitioners who commonly use it to refer to their treatment of inaccurate forms in learners' oral or written production. For this reason, there is no need to abandon it altogether and therefore it is used here interchangeably with such terms as *corrective feedback*, *error treatment* or *corrective reactions*.

nered the most interest from researchers. In the first place, a framework for investigating error correction will be discussed and the contributions of corrective feedback to the growth of explicit and implicit second language knowledge will be explored. This will be followed by a brief overview of the methodological considerations involved in different types of studies and the discussion of the most important findings of such research. The overview will serve as a basis for a handful of pedagogic recommendations and a consideration of future directions of research into the value of various oral CF techniques.

2. A framework for investigating corrective feedback and its outcomes

Before undertaking an overview of research into the efficacy of different oral CF techniques, it is warranted to briefly present a framework for investigating error correction in general and to consider the effects that this type of pedagogic intervention may exert on the development of explicit and implicit second language knowledge. As demonstrated in Figure 1, which depicts a framework of this kind proposed by Ellis (2010) and later slightly modified by Pawlak (2013), the first focus of empirical investigation is the selection of a specific oral feedback technique employed in response to an error committed by a learner. One of the first attempts to provide a classification of these CF moves as they are employed in communicative task performance was undertaken by Lyster and Ranta (1997), who divided them into six categories, that is: (1) *explicit correction*, which is direct and overt, and in which the teacher provides the correct form, making it clear that an error has been committed, as in: L: 'I buy some fruit' – T: '*I bought some fruit. You need the past tense in this sentence', (2) *recast*, which is an implicit reformulation of part or the whole of the initial utterance which preserves the intended meaning, as in: L: '*My brother is more taller than me' – T: 'My brother is taller than me. And what is he like?'², (3) *elicitation*, in which case the teacher overtly asks the student to rephrase the erroneous utterance, thereby requiring self-correction, as in: L: '*John live here for ten years' – T: 'Once again', (4) *metalinguistic feedback*, in which the teacher draws upon specialist terminology to signal to the learner the occurrence of an error, its location or nature, as in: L: '*It depends from my mother' – T: 'You need a different preposition in this sentence. It is different from the one you use in Polish', (5) *clarification request*, in which the student is asked to reformulate his or her utterance because it is problematic in some ways, as in: L: '*My mother fly to Paris last week' – T: 'I beg your pardon?',

² It should be emphasized at this juncture that, as demonstrated by Sheen (2006), among others, recasts can differ along a number of dimensions, a point that will be considered when discussing the results of studies of the effectiveness of various CF options in section 3 below.

and (6) *repetition*, where the teacher repeats the erroneous utterance in its entirety or just the part containing an error, often using rising intonation to highlight the adjusted element, as in: L: *‘There are two book on the desk’ – T: ‘Two book?’.³ Although this taxonomy has been applied in a number of descriptive studies (see the following section), more recent research has focused on two key distinctions, namely those between *explicit* and *implicit feedback*, on the one hand, and *input-providing* and *output-inducing CF*, on the other (cf. Ellis 2010; Lyster and Saito 2010; Sheen 2010a, 2010b; Sheen and Ellis 2011; Pawlak 2013). When it comes to the former, it is related to the degree of learners’ awareness that an error is being responded to and it has most often been operationalized as the contrast between *explicit correction*, frequently accompanied by a *metalinguistic comment* (1 and 4 above), where the evaluative nature of the teacher’s reaction is evident, and a *recast* (2 above), in which case the corrective intention is not always transparent. As regards the latter, it concerns the expectation that the learner will try to modify his or her incorrect utterance in the direction of the target language, thereby making an effort to self-correct, and it has most often been investigated in terms of the difference between, yet again, *recasts* (2 above), which, as corrective reformulations of what has been said, place little onus on the learner to undertake self-correction, and *prompts*, which could take the form of clarification requests, elicitation, repetitions or metalinguistic clues (3-6 above), all of which are aimed to get the learner to engage in some kind of self-repair.⁴

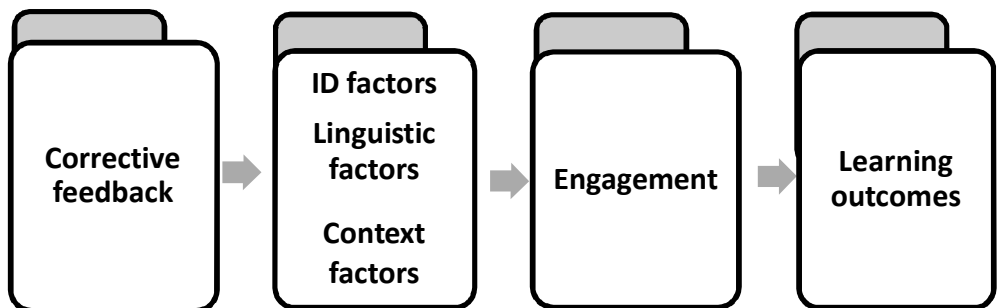


Figure 1: A framework for investigating corrective feedback (Ellis 2010).

Although the choice of a particular technique is without doubt of vital importance with respect to the effectiveness of correction, it should be borne in

³ It should be pointed out that the use of the learners’ mother tongue is very likely in lower-proficiency classes in some of these categories (i.e. explicit correction, metalinguistic feedback, elicitation).

⁴ Prompts are sometimes described as a category that is intended to trigger negotiation of form (see Lyster and Ranta 1997; Lyster 2004).

mind that its effects are bound to be affected by a number of mediating variables. As illustrated by the second component of the framework in Figure 1, they can be related to *individual learner differences*, *the inherent characteristics of the linguistic features* being the object of correction and *contextual factors*, with the caveat that interactions between these three sets of variables appear to be inevitable. Since a detailed discussion of the three categories is beyond the scope of this paper, suffice it to say here that researchers have identified a wide range of *cognitive* (e.g. aptitude, working memory), *affective* (e.g. anxiety, motivation) and *social* (e.g. attitudes, beliefs) ID factors that can mediate the effects of different types of error correction, the effects of corrective feedback have also been shown to hinge on the *nature and complexity of the targeted linguistic feature* (e.g. developmental readiness, targeted language subsystem, item or system learning), and the contribution of error treatment is also a function of the *context* in which it occurs, whether it is conceptualized in terms of *macro factors* (e.g. the characteristics of the overall educational setting) or *micro factors* (the activities performed, group dynamics, the nature of classroom interaction, etc.) (cf. Ellis 2010; Sheen 2010a, 2010b; Spada and Tomita 2010; Sheen and Ellis 2011; Pawlak 2013). Irrespective of the specific CF option employed and the role of mediating variables, what can hardly be overestimated is the learner's response to reactive negative evidence, or what has been labelled in Figure 1 as *learner engagement*, which has to be of adequate quality if students are to acquire a problematic linguistic feature or gain greater control over this feature. According to Ellis (2010), this response can be of three types, that is: (1) *behavioral*, which manifests itself in the occurrence of uptake and repair (i.e. there is an attempt on the part of the learner to repeat the correct form or to self-correct), (2) *cognitive*, which is related to the extent to which learners notice, attend to and process the corrective information, and which is thus not amenable to direct observation, and (3) *affective*, which has to do with learners' attitudes to the occurrence of correction or the specific forms that it might take. What should be stressed at this point is that the presence of the behavioral response may not be sufficient to constitute evidence that learning has taken place since, for example, mere repetition of the target language version does not guarantee deeper levels of processing.

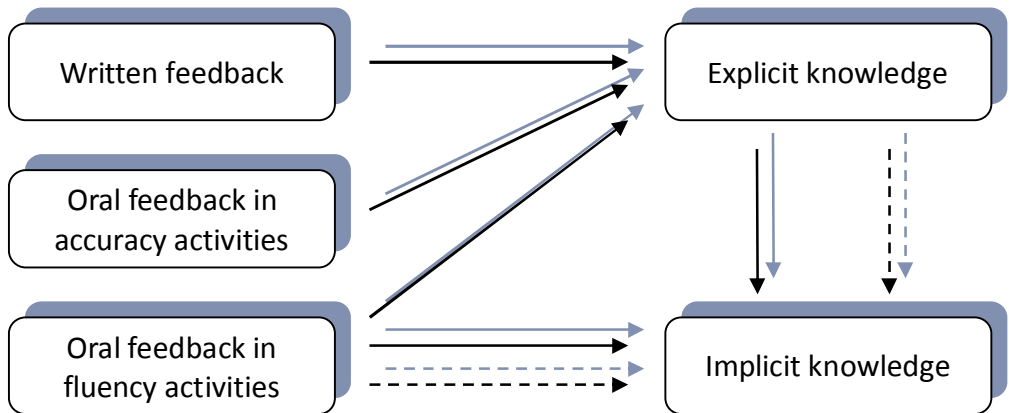


Figure 2: Potential contributions of corrective feedback (Pawlak 2013).

A separate, albeit equally important issue are the learning outcomes that can be expected to accrue from the provision of corrective feedback, which are diagrammatically illustrated in Figure 2. For one thing, it has to be emphasized that the determination of the effects of CF has to involve the measurement of both explicit knowledge (i.e. such that is conscious, can only be accessed in controlled processing and can be verbalized) and implicit knowledge (i.e. such that is subconscious and automatized to such a degree that it can be accessed in spontaneous speech production) (cf. Ellis 2009b).⁵ Another key consideration is that, depending on its type and the context in which it is provided, corrective feedback may be hypothesized to exert a different influence on the two types of linguistic knowledge. To be more precise, in the case of written correction or such that happens during accuracy-oriented activities (e.g. sentence translation, paraphrasing, filling out gaps), the pedagogic intervention is likely to contribute mainly to the development of explicit knowledge, which may, under certain conditions and, presumably after a considerable period of time, be transformed into implicit knowledge.⁶ The importance of

⁵ Some scholars (e.g. DeKeyser 2010) believe that, in the case of foreign language learners, it is more appropriate to talk about highly automatized explicit knowledge, but such considerations are not germane to the focus of the present paper. It should also be noted that the two types of linguistic knowledge are tapped in quite disparate ways in different studies.

⁶ Whether and under what conditions explicit knowledge can be transformed into implicit knowledge depends on the adoption of a specific theoretical stance on the relationship between these two types of linguistic representation, that is the *non-interface position* (i.e. such a transfer is not possible under any circumstances), the *strong interface position* (i.e. such a transformation can take place as a result of practice) and the *weak interface position* (e.g. the change can only occur when the learner has reached the requisite level of interlanguage development) (see Ellis 2005; Pawlak 2006, for discussion).

oral error correction is enhanced when it occurs in the course of fluency-oriented activities (e.g. a communicative task of one type or another), as, in this case, it can affect not only the growth of explicit knowledge, but also directly contribute to the development of implicit knowledge, on condition that it takes the right form and occurs within the so-called *window of cognitive opportunity*. This is because it can trigger the microprocesses of selective attention, cognitive comparison and noticing the gap, which, in turn, may pave the way for the operation of the macroprocesses of internalization of input, mapping, analysis and restructuring (cf. Doughty 2001).⁷

3. Research into the effects of different techniques of providing oral corrective feedback

As mentioned in the introduction to the present paper, empirical investigations of the value of different techniques of providing oral feedback have primarily focused on the distinctions between explicit and implicit CF, and input-providing and output-inducing correction, with the caveat that some of them have also targeted exclusively recasts which, according to some researchers, are best suited to accomplishing what Long (1991) refers to as focus on form, or a situation in which learners' attention is directed at a problematic target language feature as they are engaged in meaning and message conveyance. Such research has taken the form of descriptive studies, descriptive studies with individualized posttests as well as experimental and quasi-experimental empirical investigations, the results of which are briefly discussed below.

3.1. Findings of descriptive studies

When it comes to descriptive research, it usually involves making audio- or video-recordings of lengthy stretches of naturally-occurring classroom interaction, identifying those segments that are communicative in nature (e.g. discussion, a relatively spontaneous exchange between the teacher and learners), transcribing and coding such segments according to predetermined criteria, and subjecting them to quantitative and qualitative analyses. In some cases, such analyses can be augmented by the use of observation schemes, such as Spada and Fröhlich's (1995) Communicative Orientation of Language Teaching (COLT), which are filled out during the classes and are intended to aid the interpretation of the recorded and transcribed fragments of interaction. The main unit of analysis is the so-called *error treatment sequence*, proposed by Lyster and Ranta (1997), in which a learner utterance, which could be erroneous in terms of pro-

⁷ A more detailed discussion of these issues can be found in Pawlak (2013).

nunciation, grammar or lexis, is either ignored or followed by some kind of corrective move on the part of the teacher, which can belong to one of the six categories described in the previous section (i.e. explicit correction, recast, elicitation, metalinguistic feedback, clarification request or repetition). Such reactive negative evidence may either fail to be noticed by the learner who simply continues his or her initial utterance, or an attempt to incorporate the accurate form, referred to as *uptake*, which can be *successful* (i.e. repair) or *unsuccessful* (i.e. needs repair). Subsequently, researchers tabulate the numbers and percentages of different errors types, the numbers and percentages of particular CF techniques together with their distribution across error categories, as well as various types of uptake with respect to both the category of error and the type of treatment, relying for this purpose on both descriptive and inferential statistics. A corollary of a design of this kind is that the focus here is on multiple target language features and thus the correction could be labeled as *unfocused* (i.e. there is no preselection of linguistic features to be targeted), *unplanned* (i.e. no provision is made in advance to react to particular types of errors) and *extensive* (i.e. a variety of target language forms will be targeted, some of them quite frequently and others perhaps just once or twice).

As to the main findings of studies representing this line of inquiry, it has been shown that, of all the CF moves described above, it is recasts that are the most frequent in classroom discourse, but, at the same time, they are usually the least likely to result in uptake and repair, much less so that the feedback strategies falling into the category of negotiation of form, or prompts (e.g. Lyster and Ranta 1997; Lyster 1998a, 1998b; Panova and Lyster 2002; Tseng 2004). As already pointed out above, this finding may be due to the fact that recasts are largely implicit, with the effect that they may not be salient enough, they may be misinterpreted as positive evidence, and they do not oblige the learner to attempt self-correction, all of which may be responsible for less involvement in comparison to more explicit, output-inducing CF moves. To quote Lyster (1998b: 71), "(...) recasts have more in common with non-corrective repetition and topic-continuation moves than with other forms of corrective feedback". On the other hand, such sweeping generalizations may not be entirely warranted because empirical evidence also exists that the effects of recasts may be a function of the characteristics of the targeted linguistic feature, its status in learners' interlanguage and more specific properties of this CF technique. Lyster (1998b) found, for example, that such reformulations may be more efficacious in response to pronunciation errors than errors involving grammar and lexis, an outcome that he attributes to the fact that, since these CF moves were mainly used during reading activities, they were perceptually salient and their corrective force was unequivocal. There is also some evidence that recasts tend to be more useful for

learning new forms while prompts contribute to greater control over features that have been partly acquired, with the consequence that “(...) continued recasting of what students already know is unlikely to be the most effective strategy to ensure continued development of target language accuracy and may even have a leveling-off effect on their L2 development. Similarly, continued prompting of learners to draw on what they have not yet acquired will be equally ineffective” (Panova and Lyster 2002: 592). Nassaji (2007), in turn, showed that, rather than looking at the general categories of recasts and elicitations, a finer-grained analysis may be needed since such CF moves can be implemented in a variety of ways, differing in their level of implicitness or explicitness.⁸ As he comments, “(...) overall implicit forms of recasts or elicitations led to a smaller amount of learner repair in comparison to their more explicit forms”, adding that “(...) the usefulness of interactional feedback depends to a large degree on its explicitness and the extent to which it is able to draw the learner’s attention to form” (2007: 538-539). What should also be mentioned at this point, however, is that some studies have produced evidence for quite high efficacy of recasts (e.g. Ellis, Basturkmen and Loewen 2001; Ohta 2001), which may be related to the specificity of an instructional setting and in particular the presence of prior form-focused instruction that may have sensitized learners to the targeted features.

One of the most important limitations of descriptive research is that uptake consisting of repair cannot constitute evidence for acquisition (Mackey and Philp 1998; Nabei and Swain 2002; Ellis and Sheen 2006) because such a behavioral response may but by no means has to trigger deeper levels of processing necessary for interlanguage restructuring. Thus, attempts have been made to design outcome measures allowing the investigation of the link between uptake and acquisition in the form of *individualized or tailor-made post-tests*, where learners are evaluated in terms of their use of the linguistic feature on which they have been corrected. The format of such tests may differ widely from one study to the next and they might involve, for instance, getting students to perform *grammaticality judgments* (Nabei and Swain 2002), asking the participants *to correct oral utterances* (Loewen 2005), or instructing them *to make adjustments to written descriptions* (Nassaji 2009). The results of such studies mirror by and large the findings of the empirical investigations discussed earlier in this section and, perhaps much more importantly, demonstrate that the occurrence of immediate uptake and repair bode well for subsequent acquisition of the linguistic items targeted by corrective feedback. In

⁸ It should be noted that Nassaji (2007) did not analyze naturally-occurring classroom discourse, but data that came from dyadic interactions between learners and native-speaker teachers.

one of them, Williams (2001) found that the presence of uptake following incidental focus on form translated into a dramatic improvement in performance on periodic individualized tests, a vital caveat being that such improvement depended on proficiency (i.e. it was more pronounced in the case of more advanced learners) but not on the roles that the participants played in focus on form episodes (i.e. whether attention was directed at a specific feature and the correct form was supplied by the speaker, the teacher or another learner).⁹ In another study, Nabei and Swain (2002) found compelling evidence for the effectiveness of recasting as measured on immediate and delayed post-tests involving judgments of grammaticality, the main weaknesses of this research project being that it involved a single adult learner and that this learner may have been alerted to the targeted features by commenting on corrective episodes in stimulated recall sessions conducted in between the two tests. Finally, somewhat similarly to his study mentioned above, Nassaji (2009) found that more explicit variants of recasts and elicitations resulted in higher rates of successful correction, both immediately and over time and, just like Panova and Lyster (2002), showed that recasts may be more effective in the case of learning new forms while elicitations work better when declarative knowledge is in place. One study that failed to find a link between immediate uptake and subsequent acquisition was carried out by Smith (2005), as in this case the presence of uptake in negotiated focus on form episodes during text-based computer-mediated communication did not result in improvement in the use of the targeted lexical items on immediate and delayed posttests.

3.2. Findings of research into recasts

Although recasts have necessarily figured prominently in studies comparing the effectiveness of different corrective feedback techniques, they have also become the focus of investigation in their own right, as evidenced by the fact that several state-of-the-art papers have been devoted solely or mainly to the discussion of the types, functions and value of this CF move (cf. Nicholas, Lightbown and Spada 2001; Ellis and Sheen 2006; Long 2007; Russell 2009). There are three main reasons why so much store has been set by this correction technique: (1) the high frequency with which recasts appear in classroom interaction, (2) the fact that they simultaneously provide positive and negative

⁹ It has to be pointed out that incidental focus on form cannot be fully equated with corrective feedback because it is broader in nature and can be not only *reactive*, in which case error correction takes place, but also *preemptive*, where an error is anticipated and steps are taken beforehand to avoid it (see, for example, Williams 2005).

evidence, obviously on condition that they are noticed by learners, and (3) they are perfect candidates for attaining focus on form because, among other things, they convey the requisite linguistic information in context, they ensure a joint attentional focus for interlocutors, they capitalize on the learner's prior comprehension of at least part of the message, and, since the learner should be expected to have no difficulty in understanding a reformulation of his or her original utterance, some attentional resources become available for processing language forms and noticing form-meaning mappings (cf. Long 2007). This being said, it should be acknowledged that this line of enquiry is confronted with serious challenges because there is no consensus on the definition of a recast, with the consequence that it has been operationalized in disparate ways in different studies, and it can be realized in a multitude of ways, which may vary widely in terms of explicitness as well as the requirement for self-correction (cf. Nicholas, Lightbown and Spada 2001; Ellis and Sheen 2006; Long 2007; Russell 2009). It should also be noted that research into the role of recasts has taken the form of both descriptive studies, some of which were mentioned in the previous section (e.g. Lyster and Ranta 1997), and experimental research projects, in which case their effectiveness is established in terms of changes in production accuracy from the pretest to one or more posttests, or movement through developmental sequences.

In the first place, attempts have been made to identify different types and subtypes of recasts, a good example being the study undertaken by Sheen (2006), who came up with a coding scheme for the description of this option in providing oral corrective feedback. It was demonstrated that recasts can consist of *multiple moves*, in which case they can be *corrective* (i.e. preceded by other-repetition), *repeated* (i.e. partially or in full), or occur *in conjunction with other types of feedback* (e.g. metalinguistic comments), or *single moves*, which can vary with respect to their *mode* (i.e. declarative vs. interrogative), *scope* (isolated vs. incorporated), *reduction* (i.e. reduced vs. non-reduced), *length* (i.e. single word, a longer phrase or a clause), *number of changes* (i.e. one change vs. multiple changes), *type of change* (i.e. addition, deletion, substitution or combination), and *linguistic focus* (i.e. grammar, vocabulary, pronunciation or pragmatics). She applied this scheme to reanalyze the data collected in previous studies (e.g. Ellis, Basturkmen and Loewen 2001; Sheen 2004) and concluded that "(...) the majority of recasts arising in the classrooms investigated are short, more likely to be declarative in mode, reduced, repeated, with a single error focus, and involve substitutions rather than deletions and additions" (2006: 386), with such characteristics correlating positively with the presence of uptake and repair, perhaps as they ensure a sufficient level of explicitness. The properties which may account for the impact of recasts on

second language development have also been investigated by Han (2002), Leeman (2003), and Loewen and Philp (2006). Since a detailed discussion of these empirical investigations cannot be undertaken due to space limitations, it will suffice to say that Han (2002) points to the importance of such features as individual attention, consistent focus, developmental readiness, and the intensity and extended nature of instruction, making it clear that such conditions may be exceedingly difficult to ensure in the classroom. Leeman (2003), in turn, argues that the utility of recasts stems from the fact that they provide enhanced positive evidence rather than negative evidence, an assumption that is contested by Ellis and Sheen (2006: 586), who make the point that “[i]t is possible that if the recasts had been more explicitly corrective, they would have constituted negative evidence and resulted in greater acquisition than the enhanced input”. Finally, Loewen and Philp (2006) conclude on the basis of their findings that successful uptake is most likely to occur following recasts that receive prosodic stress, are produced with declarative intonation, are embedded in longer focus on form episodes and involve a single modification of the original utterance, whereas improved performance on tests is connected with shorter recasts, the use of rising intonation and the presence of only one change of the erroneous contribution.

Research on the effectiveness of recasts has also focused on the evaluation of the relative contribution of these feedback moves and models (i.e. sentences, questions or instructions that only provide positive evidence by exemplifying the use of a specific feature), comparisons of interaction with and without recasts, as well as comparisons of form-focused instruction that is aided by recasts with such that is not, with most of the relevant studies being conducted under laboratory conditions. On the whole, it was demonstrated that recasts are more effective than models (Long and Ortega 1997; Long, Inagaki and Ortega 1998; Iwashita 2003) for the acquisition of some structures in Japanese and Spanish, even in situations when they are less frequent in the input, although the impact of proficiency level or the complexity of the target structure is also visible in some cases. It was also found that interaction where recasts are used to respond to erroneous utterances is more effective than interaction without such pedagogic intervention in the case of the English past tense and past conditional (Doughty and Varela 1998), question formation in English (e.g. Mackey and Philp 1998; McDonough and Mackey 2006), or aspectual forms in Japanese (Ishida 2004), although, also in this case, these positive effects were mediated by learners’ developmental readiness. Finally, Saito (2013) showed that while form-focused instruction alone may lead to improvement in the perception, controlled and spontaneous production of English /ɹ/, it mainly promotes item learning, and the presence of recasts may additionally contribute to system

learning. These beneficial effects of recasting notwithstanding, it must be underscored that such findings cannot be taken to mean that other CF moves would not prove superior under similar circumstances.

3.3. Findings of experimental and quasi-experimental studies

Experimental and quasi-experimental studies are characterized by a high degree of rigor with respect to methodology, the only difference lying in the fact that while the former are carried out under laboratory conditions and fulfill the requirement of random assignment of subjects to particular groups, the latter take place in real classrooms and thus involve intact groups of learners. Studies of this kind share a number of common features, such as the inclusion of a *control group* and *one or more experimental groups*, *pre-* and *posttesting* (usually immediate and delayed), *rigid control of extraneous variables* and *reliance on inferential statistics* in the analysis of the data (cf. Ellis 2001a). On the other hand, as visible in the research syntheses and meta-analyses undertaken by Mackey and Goo (2007), Lyster and Saito (2010), or Li (2010), they can also differ along a number of dimensions, such as, for example, the context in which the study takes place (e.g. second vs. foreign vs. immersion), the instructional setting (i.e. the classroom or laboratory), the participants (e.g. age, proficiency level), the mode of delivery (i.e. face-to-face or through the computer), the type of task (e.g. communicative vs. accuracy-based), the targeted linguistic feature (e.g. simple or complex, different language subsystems), CF type (e.g. explicit vs. implicit, input-providing vs. output-prompting, or combinations of these), the length of the treatment (e.g. short, medium or long, with different criteria being applied), the outcome measures used (e.g. tapping explicit knowledge, implicit knowledge, or both), and the timing of testing procedures (i.e. only immediate or also one or more delayed posttests). The situation is compounded even further by the fact that many recent empirical investigations include several research foci, frequently going beyond clear-cut comparisons of CF types and examining as well the contribution of mediating variables. As a consequence of their design, these research projects can only examine the contribution of *focused correction*, or such that is *confined to one or a limited set of linguistic features*, is *intensive* (i.e. a given feature is repeatedly the focus of CF) and can thus be *planned* in advance.

As elucidated in section 2 above, such research has mostly focused on the comparison of the efficacy of *implicit* and *explicit* corrective feedback (i.e. a difference in the level of the learner's cognizance that he or she is being corrected), on the one hand, *input-providing* and *output-prompting* CF (i.e. a difference with respect to the expectation of self-correction), on the other. When it comes to the former distinction, in virtually all studies implicit correction has been equated with

the use of recasts, while explicit CF has been variously operationalized as the *provision of the correct form* (i.e. direct correction), *metalinguistic information* or *overt elicitation*. In general, the available empirical evidence testifies to the greater efficacy of more explicit CF types, with the important caveat that the magnitude of such an advantage hinges upon whether a particular study was conducted in the classroom or in the laboratory as well as on how the two CF types are operationalized. Ellis (2008: 885) comments, for example, that “[o]verall, the results point to an advantage for explicit feedback”, and Sheen and Ellis (2011: 607) write that “(...) explicit feedback in conjunction with metalinguistic clues is more likely to result in learning than recasts”. Somewhat less conclusive are the outcomes of research syntheses and meta-analyses as some of them found no difference between the two conditions (Russell and Spada 2006), others showed that explicit CF works better in the short term and implicit CF in the long run (Li 2010), others yet indicated that explicit CF is more effective (Lyster and Saito 2010), and most of them provided evidence that implicit feedback works better under laboratory conditions (Li 2010; Lyster and Saito 2010; Nicholas, Lightbown and Spada 2001; Spada and Lightbown 2009). It should be pointed out though that those analyses pursued different goals, sought to compare different CF types (i.e. not only oral but sometimes also written, various constellations of techniques), in some cases went beyond error correction to include all types of interactional modifications, and sometimes focused on different settings (i.e. the classroom, laboratory, or both). Support for the superiority of more explicit corrective feedback types becomes more transparent when we examine the findings of specific studies, such as those conducted by Carroll and Swain (1993), Nagata (1993), Carroll (2001), Rosa and Leow (2004), Ellis, Loewen and Erlam (2006), Ellis (2007), Sheen (2007), Varnosfadrani and Basturkmen (2009), or Pawlak (2011). Although there are also empirical investigations that have failed to provide evidence for the greater effectiveness of explicit feedback, such results can be attributed to issues involved in research methodology, that is a longitudinal design and impact of extraneous variables (e.g. DeKeyser 1993), a small number of participants subjected to a variety of instructional treatments (e.g. Kim and Mathes 2003), an absence of prior form-focused instruction or the fact that the intervention was comprehension-based (e.g. Sanz 2003), or the inclusion of an additional category of output-inducing CF (e.g. Loewen and Nabei 2007). What should be emphasized as well is that although no significant differences between implicit and explicit CF types were observed in these studies, in none of them did the former prove to be superior to the latter, which may suggest that, under propitious circumstances, the effects of overt correction are at best comparable to those of overt error treatment (cf. Pawlak 2013).

As regards research into the effectiveness of input-providing and output-inducing CF, the former has been operationalized as *recasts*, which, as shown

above, are also for the most part implicit, and the latter as prompts, or CF moves that trigger off negotiation of form (i.e. clarification requests, elicitation, metalinguistic clues and repetitions). On the whole, there is compelling evidence that getting learners to attempt self-correction is more beneficial than simply reformulating their erroneous utterances, which is recognized by Sheen (2010a: 173), who points out that “(...) output-prompting feedback is more effective than input-providing feedback, at least in the case of learners who have begun to acquire the target feature”, as well as Sheen and Ellis (2011: 607), who comment that “[i]n general, the types of CF that have the greatest impact on L2 development in a classroom context are those that are explicit and output-prompting rather than implicit and input-providing”. Also in this case, however, some divergences can be detected in the outcomes of research syntheses and meta-analyses since, while Mackey and Goo (2007) showed that interactional CF feedback without opportunities for output modifications is superior in the short and long term to correction which includes a requirement for self-correction, Lyster and Saito (2010) provided unequivocal evidence for greater effectiveness of output-pushing feedback options. As was the case above, such diverse findings may be the corollary of the selection of studies to be included in the analyses (e.g. only those that took place in the classroom or the laboratory) as well as the ways in which specific CF moves were categorized (i.e. whether recasts and prompts were specifically isolated for the purpose of the investigation).¹⁰ Yet again, much more clear-cut are the results of specific empirical investigations, as most of them testify to the greater advantage conferred by output-prompting feedback in comparison with input-providing correction, which is evident in the studies undertaken by Lyster (2004), Ammar and Spada (2006), Ammar (2008), Dilans (2010), Yang and Lyster (2010), and Pawlak and Tomczyk (2013). As for the empirical evidence to the contrary, it has been contributed by research projects conducted by McDonough (2007), Loewen and Erlam (2006), Lyster and Izquierdo (2009), and Sauro (2009), but, similarly to research into explicit and implicit correction discussed earlier in this section, none of them showed the superiority of recasts, and such results can also be an outcome of the laboratory setting as well as the inclusion of CF moves other than recasts (i.e. clarification requests).

4. Conclusions and directions for future research

The picture that emerges from the current overview is exceedingly complex and it does not lend itself to straightforward interpretations, with the conse-

¹⁰ In addition, as Mackey and Goo (2007) recognize themselves, the occurrence of output modifications was intentionally blocked in some of the studies included in the analysis.

quence that great circumspection should be exercised about using the empirical evidence as a basis for foolproof pedagogical proposals. Although it is rather unequivocal that corrective feedback provided in the course of communicative activities is the most likely to contribute to the growth of not only explicit but also implicit knowledge, a much more contentious issue pertains to the form that this type of pedagogic intervention should take. On the one hand, it would seem that, in order to be the most beneficial for language development, CF should be focused, explicit, output-prompting, and consistently provided over an extended period of time. On the other hand, it is clear that more implicit, input-providing CF techniques, such as recasts, also contribute to language development, even if their effects are somewhat more modest. What should also be borne in mind is that, as illustrated in Figure 1, irrespective of the specific technique used, the effects of error correction are mediated by individual, linguistic and contextual variables that in some cases may even override the choice of one feedback move or another, a phenomenon that has been observed in some of the studies discussed above. On top of this, for corrective feedback to be effective, an adequate level of engagement with the corrective information should be manifested, not only in terms of behavioral response (i.e. uptake and repair), but also cognitive response (i.e. sufficient levels of processing) and affective response (e.g. a favorable attitude towards the correction). All of this goes to show that different CF techniques and constellations thereof are likely to work to different degrees in different contexts and teachers should therefore try to adjust their corrective reactions to specific circumstances (cf. Pawlak 2013).

When it comes to future research into oral error correction, for one thing, studies should be designed that would investigate the effects of feedback moves of various characteristics, the interfaces between explicitness/implicitness and opportunities for uptake and repair, as well as perhaps the contributions of various constellations of corrective techniques, not least because practitioners are bound to combine various CF options when reacting to inaccurate utterances produced by learners. While such research will be primarily quasi-experimental in nature and thus explore the value of focused correction (i.e. targeting a preselected feature or a set of such features), it is also indispensable to gain further insights into the contributions of unplanned, unfocused error correction, not least because it is very common in the classroom, where teachers often have to respond to a wide array of errors. Clearly, there is also a need to explore the impact of mediating variables, that is those related to individual, linguistic and contextual factors, looking as well at the combined impact of different variables, perhaps even over time, as postulated by the proponents of dynamic systems theories (Larsen-Freeman and Camer-

on 2008). Careful attention should also be paid to methodological issues, such as more rigorous design of experimental studies, precise operationalization of variables, the use of appropriate measures of performance (i.e. such that can tap into not only explicit but also implicit knowledge), the inclusion of delayed posttests that would explore long-term effects of the intervention, attempts to combine descriptive and experimental paradigms or employment of mixed-methods research, as well as greater reliance on longitudinal studies. It is also the belief of the present author that research into oral CF should be conducted as often as possible in real classrooms rather than in the laboratory, as this ensures greater ecological validity, and that the findings of studies carried out in different settings should be viewed as complimentary rather than contradictory (cf. Lyster and Ranta 2013). More generally, studies of different techniques of providing oral CF should rest on different theoretical foundations, with the effect that the largely analytic framework depicted in Figure 1 should be augmented with ethnographic or case studies which embrace an emic perspective, thus being more in line with the tenets of sociocultural or sociocognitive theories. This is because, as Ellis (2010: 346) rightly points out, “[t]here is no need (...) for paradigms wars. There is also obvious merit in more holistic, qualitative approaches that document the situated nature of CF and the complex discursive events where learning takes place”.

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Using academic presentations to develop speaking skills in teaching medical English

Petra Zrníková

Jessenius Faculty of Medicine in Martine,
Comenius University in Bratislava, Slovakia
zrnikova@jfmed.uniba.sk

Abstract

The paper deals with the issue of giving academic presentations as a kind of communicative task in ESP teaching. In the first part of the paper, an attempt is made to clarify the didactic value of Grice's (1975) principle of co-operation, representing a milestone in the development from the classical model of communication towards the inferential model. Another chosen concept, the Theory of Relevance by Sperber and Wilson (2002), supplements the previous theory with new perspectives, especially in terms of the relation maxim. Next, we deal with the characteristic features of a presentation as a genre widely used in an academic context. In the second part of the paper, we share our experiences with using presentations as a didactic tool. Based on a qualitative analysis of students' performance, we point to the most frequent mistakes and highlight the benefits of the experiment. The case study based on observation in the classroom and PowerPoint presentation analysis revealed that pre-teaching the basics of presentation skills is very effective. The majority of the presentations were rather informative than persuasive, and up-to-date sources of various kinds found in the Internet were used. The students also displayed a good knowledge of a wide range of language means, and thus they were able to give arguments, comparisons, explanations, descriptions, etc. Another positive effect of using presentations for teaching is involving every student in the teaching/learning process by means of follow-up tasks, such as quizzes, cross-words or discussions. The shortcoming of the experiment is the lack of non-verbal skills of student-speakers and neglecting the importance of presenting an outline and summary to the audience.

1. Introduction

People have been interested in rhetoric for ages. Nowadays, many specialists are trying to offer useful guidelines on how to get and keep attention of the audience. However, the question of presentation skills is not only about the tips and guidelines but there are various linguistic and pedagogical theories behind it. We believe that being able to give a presentation about current research, health problems and their treatment, and lifestyle matters is a fundamental skill in the communicative competence of medical students. The aim of the present paper is to describe theoretical approaches and to share our own experience with using presentations as a tool for developing speaking skills in English for Specific/Medical purposes (ESP/EMP) instruction as a branch of English as a foreign language (EFL) teaching. The topic of the article serves as a basis for further research focused on content and implementation of innovations in EMP teaching for L2 learners in tertiary education. In this paper, the terms *presentation* and *lecture* are used synonymously, meaning both oral performance and a written/visual slide-show (PowerPoint), providing the audience with basic knowledge about the topic and presenting current trends in research and issues in the media in order to encourage discussion.

2. Contribution of communication theories to ESP teaching

According to Grice (1975), the word *cooperation* carries slightly different meaning as we use it in everyday communication. Cooperation in language means reaching the maximum level of explicitness in the utterance. Grice (1975) explains communication as a negotiation of meanings from both verbal and non-verbal signals resulting in comprehension of explicit and implicit meanings of speech acts. For this reason, he proposed a set of four maxims which make communication and understanding easier. The *maxim of quantity* requires presentation to be as informative as possible and necessary, and the *maxim of quality* suggests giving true information, such which is based on evidence and reliable sources only. The *maxim of relation* means that the content should be relevant for the listener. There is also the *maxim of manner* emphasizing the use of clear, comprehensible utterances instead of ambiguous ones.

Following Grice's (1975) theory, scholars cannot come to an agreement as to whether the maxims can be called rules (guidelines) or principles (Zrníková 2011). Sperber and Wilson (2002) consider maxims to be rules and the co-operative principle is explained as a process of making presuppositions based on the shared knowledge about the subject matter of the talk. On the other hand, Nunn (2006) and Holtgraves (2002) claim that creating a set of

rules followed intransigently was not the original intention of Grice. In their opinion, the goal was to find out how it is possible to encode in the message more than can be uttered. In other words, the question is how to express indirect meanings in order to be sure that the message will be decoded in a way that meets the sender's intention.

Sperber and Wilson (2002: 250) elaborated the maxim of relation with reference to relevance. Relevance Theory states that the same stimulus may be more or less relevant to an individual at some time. They argue that "[t]he central claim of relevance theory is that the expectations of relevance raised by an utterance are precise enough, and predictable enough, to guide the hearer towards the speaker's meaning. The aim is to explain in cognitively realistic terms what these expectations of relevance amount to, and how they might contribute to an empirically plausible account of comprehension" (2002: 250). In order to achieve relevance, a positive cognitive response to the stimulus is needed. It happens if the stimulus is intensive enough and expected by the listener.

McCarthy (1991) also finds Grice's concept interesting, however, highly theoretical, and thus difficult to be applied in the teaching process. On the other hand, Nunn (2006:1) strongly believes that "[t]eaching and learning are always mediated through language, so theories of communication, precisely expressed by those trained philosophers who have turned their attention to the practical use of language, could arguably be of intrinsic interest to all teachers". Based on his long-time teaching experience in various cultures and conditions, he does not doubt the effectiveness of Grice's (1975) co-operation principle in language teaching. Teachers and students are real human beings, not programmed machines and thus it is common that conversation maxims will be violated or ignored from time to time. We agree that even though there is a tendency to flout the principle, it is useful to know that there is support of this kind in linguistics and communication theories. Instead of searching for an answer to the question whether such theories can be applied in practice, scholars and teachers should address the question *how such theories can be applied in practice as effectively as possible*.

There is interesting work on the application of maxims in students' essays dealing with economics. White (2001) chose two different cultural environments with different mother tongues in order to demonstrate that not everything that is accepted in one culture can be automatically accepted in another. Seven businessmen in the UK were supposed to evaluate comprehensibility and politeness in a reclamation letter written by a Polish student. They were requested to comment upon: a) the aim of the writer (achieved purpose/not achieved purpose/unsure), b) the writer's success in achieving this – the reader's reaction (pleased/not pleased/indifferent/annoyed/other), and c) what they thought about the amount of the

written language (insufficient/sufficient/too much). The number of people choosing the same option within a particular question (a-c) was counted. The results showed that despite the fact that English has incorporated a lot new vocabulary and manners from other cultures and languages in the past decades, the experiment showed that Business English is still based on traditions and stereotypes, and thus it tries to avoid expectations raised from cultural differences. The conclusion for ESP teaching is that clearness, brevity, appositeness, and politeness (in Grice's words, quality, quantity, relation and manner) are important features of written texts.

Another possibility of applying the maxims is in reading comprehension development (Zrníková 2011). The maxim of quantity requires appropriate length and information depth of a text in order to enable the application of critical thinking and higher cognitive processes in learning and teaching (the maxim of quality). Comprehension develops when there is a positive effect of the text on the reader or, in other words, when the reader considers text content relevant and important (the maxim of relation). When it comes to the issue of how to develop reading comprehension in students (the maxim of manner), one solution is to follow the pedagogical constructivist approach. The maxim of manner also indicates the importance of comprehensibility and readability – the use of shorter and syntactically easier sentences instead of complex ones, text structured into paragraphs and low frequency of foreign words and unknown specific terms may serve as facilitators in reading comprehension.

There is also room to apply the maxims when using presentations in EFL teaching. In this respect, maxims are not seen as the rules but as facilitating principles or clues. Several sets of guidelines on effective presentation skills start with a piece of advice: think about what you are going to talk about, to whom and how long as well as what knowledge the audience has about the topic (the maxim of quantity). The next step which is recommended to the speaker is studying the topic in detail and searching for arguments in the literature to support specific hypotheses and one's own research results (the maxim of quality). The audience has to know why they are supposed to pay attention. If it is an academic presentation for study purposes, the listener is expected to activate his or her prior knowledge and combine this experience with the new information. This can serve as a very useful background (framework) for the speaker's beginning, and at the same time it makes the listener's comprehension easier because it guides him or her to find relevance, make elaborations and inferences (the maxim of relation). Of course, effective negotiation of meaning and meeting speaker-listener expectations is influenced by the way in which the content is communicated. For example, language competence, the whole range of subcompetences of communicative competence, and non-verbal communication all play a significant role in successful communication (the maxim of manner).

3. Lecture as a genre of public performance

From the point of view of genre classification, an academic lecture (or presentation) belongs in the group of public performances. The text of a lecture has two realizations: the written one (e. g. contribution to conference proceedings or to an academic journal, a PowerPoint slide show, etc.) and the oral one (e. g. a lecture in an auditorium, a lecture in a conference meeting room, defense of academic qualification work, etc.). An oral lecture (a talk) is a combination of both, verbal and non-verbal means. A lecture is a kind of monologue in its nature, and thus it has more common features with written text. In the center of the speaker's performance is the content as well as the impression the presentation is intended to make on the audience. Because such a presentation usually takes place on formal occasions, using appropriate and accurate language means employing polite and conventionalized phrases, presenting a text that is structured into meaningful paragraphs, and contact with the audience is also required (Mistrík 1997). Another two functions of communication are closely related to the public performance function: communication as an interaction and communication as a transaction. Communication as an interaction is aimed at building up relationships, and thus the listener mainly pays attention to the impression he or she gets rather than the message itself. From the point of view of EFL teaching, the student should be able to start, interrupt and finish a talk, choose an appropriate topic and select language means according to the communicative situation. By contrast, communication as a transaction stresses orientation to understanding the message. As long as the meaning is communicated and negotiated efficiently, language accuracy does not play a key role in terms of successful communication. To be able to communicate efficiently means to be able to ask questions, to give explanations, descriptions, comparisons or proposals, as well as to express agreement, disagreement, one's own opinions and beliefs. These skills can be developed, for instance, in classroom discussions, problem-solving tasks, group work projects, etc. (Brown and Yule 1983, cited in Richards 2008).

In general, we can talk about three main parts of a presentation: the introduction, the body of the presentation and the conclusion. A good presentation starts with a greeting followed by a friendly smile, then the speaker, the topic and an explicitly identified goal of the presentation are introduced together with an outline, which is followed by a brief theoretical background necessary for understanding the key terms and concepts. One may begin with the hot news, an interactive task or a funny real-life story to get the audience motivated to listen. The goal of an informative presentation is to inform the audience about facts or research results, whereas a persuasive presentation should

strengthen or change the listener's opinion providing him or her with appropriate arguments. Based on the speaker's goal, the body of the presentation might be built up according to several models. Starting with a brief outline of the problem, the theoretical background and the definitions of key terms, one can move on to discuss the pros and cons as well as their consequences, supporting the claims by statistical data, examples and results from research or case studies. A good conclusion is as important as a good beginning. Just as the speaker should not forget to introduce himself or herself and the topic, he or she should definitely not forget to mention a brief summary of what has been said. After finishing the presentation and thanking the audience for their attention, there is time for sharing ideas and discussing opinions (Ellis and O'Driscoll 1992).

Thus far we have characterized a presentation from a stylistic point of view and communication from the point of view of Gricean maxims and Relevance Theory. Following White's (2001) application of Gricean maxims in writing performance and our previous work on reading comprehension, we decided to try to demonstrate their link with oral performance. A PowerPoint presentation is very popular among teachers in tertiary education in Slovakia since they consider students' oral performance to be important. However, there does not exist a lot of research or any consensus on the guidelines for its preparation and assessment. Thus, the next part of the present paper is going to report our own teaching experience – guidelines will be introduced, presentations will be analyzed and conclusions will be offered.

4. The case study – presentations in EMP teaching and learning

Last year the British newspapers repeatedly brought up issue connected with insufficient language proficiency of the medical staff working in the UK, coming from other EU countries as well as from out of it. The main problems are the lack of general and medical vocabulary, inadequate knowledge of grammar, and also poor fluency and comprehension skills in communication. The difficulty of EFL teaching and learning in a non-English speaking environment is caused by a significant distance and divergence between L1 and L2. It gives rise to several problems which an EFL/ESP teacher has to confront. These problems concern, for example, the lack of self-confidence in using general English, a fear of making mistakes, reluctance to speak in the classroom, and, last but not least, constant underestimation of the standard proficiency (B2 – C1 level) and unwillingness to accept ESP/EMP as an essential part of one's qualifications (not just as a 'by-product' of medical education) among the young generation.

From a didactic point of view, a PowerPoint presentation is a powerful technique when it comes to the development of the student's communicative

competence because it requires integration of all four skills (reading and writing in the preparation phase, reading and speaking in the oral performance phase, listening and speaking in the discussion phase) in the context of a particular communicative situation which serves as a model situation based on real-life. In the summer semester, students have to create and deliver a presentation which is one of the requirements for passing the course. For many of them, it can be the first time when they have to stand in front of a group of people. Stress is also increased by the fact that they should give a talk about a specific topic in English.

The main aim of the case study was to monitor the level of students' presentation skills and to point out the shortcomings of their performance. Another goal was based on the principles of student-centered teaching and peer-to-peer learning. In order to motivate the speakers to do their best when giving presentations and the audience to pay attention to it, the students had been told that the content of their presentations would be included in the list of topics for oral examination. In other words, they were expected to learn what was said to them.

4.1. Participants, material and procedures

48 students, 14 men and 34 women, enrolled in the first year of General Medicine took part in the study. The students were divided into three study groups and they worked in pairs within each of those groups. They were graduates of grammar schools from all over Slovakia, where a final exam in a foreign language at the B1 or B2 level is obligatory. However, the students do not have to pass an entrance test in English or take any other placement test to prove their language proficiency.

Their task was to make a PowerPoint presentation and provide their classmates with a handout as reference material for the final examination. Based on the syllabus, the list of topics was suggested by the teacher. There was also time for discussing opinions and sharing information yielded by current research. The topics included the latest developments in the food industry in Slovakia and the EU, contraception and abortion pills, drugs and the latest cases of doping in sports, plastic and cosmetic surgeries, new flu viruses and epidemics, animal-assisted therapies, HIV/AIDS, a healthy diet, brain research methods, genetic engineering, aging, etc. The choice of the manner of presentation, the content and sources was left to the students. The time limit for the presentation was 15-30 minutes, including a follow-up activity, and the students were instructed to limit the number of slides to 15.

Based on previous experience, the author assumed that the students may not have sufficient linguistic awareness about the basics of rhetoric, the psycholinguistic aspects of communication, and the macro- and micro-

principles of discourse. Thus, in the first lesson of the summer semester they were requested to discuss in small groups the criteria and requirements for a good presentation, the guidelines for making a presentation, the preparation for oral performance, as well as the content structure. At the end of the lesson, the students were given a handout adapted from Ellis and O'Driscoll (1992), which provided them with the necessary guidelines.

4.2. Data analysis

Data analysis involved an evaluation of the PowerPoint presentations and the students' oral performance. Assessment was conducted in three main categories, each consisting of a number of subcategories: 1) structure and purpose – introduction, body of the presentation, summary, goal and purpose identification, 2) language and content – using signposts, grammar, quality of sources, and 3) communication and impression – text-pictures balance, colors and legibility, involving the audience, non-verbal communication, fluency and accuracy.

4.2.1. Structure and purpose

Besides general information (e.g. facts, definitions, classification, lists of symptoms, kinds of treatment therapies and prevention), the topics met the criteria of discussion, and thus argumentation and persuasion, exchange of ideas and opinions. There were 9 presentations combining informative and persuasive modes. The content of 15 of them was informative only, without any interactive follow-up tasks or discussion intended to involve and attract the audience. If there were questions, they were fact-oriented, supporting reproduction but not triggering a real discussion. Only 4 out of 24 presentations skipped the introduction and 10 out of 24 omitted the outline. A higher number appeared in the case of the conclusion, as 18 presentations left it out. The time limit for the presentation was 20-30 minutes, so we may conclude that the students did not feel the need to summarize the content of the presentation which to some extent functioned as a kind of summary of the literature. Another reason can be lack of time because some presentations lasted longer than others. Nonetheless, despite the time limit and other aspects, it is always useful to sum up at least the key points or mention the outline of the presentation once again. In 6 presentations, there was a follow-up activity, such as a crossword and quiz, which can be considered a very attractive conclusion.

4.2.2. Language and content

In the presentations, the students used appropriate language and signposts in order to make their performance easy to follow by the audience. Both encyclopedic facts and statistical data from Slovak as well as English sources were used. The students showed that they are able to judge sources of information critically, and to select the right pieces of information from the newspapers, the Internet or the literature. For instance, when speaking about plastic and cosmetic surgeries, the consequences were demonstrated using examples of famous people. In order to support the claims concerning drug abuse and doping cases as well as topics related to HIV/AIDS, statistical data and case studies were used. It needs to be said that a comparison of data reporting the situation in the US and Slovakia was made. This particular skill shows the ability to provide the audience with an overview and to match a global problem with the current situation in the home country.

4.2.3. Communication and impression

We have already mentioned that 6 presentations did not involve the audience in any way. On the other hand, some students applied more than one technique intended to get the audience interested. It is worth noting at this point that the data are presented according to the techniques used in the presentations, i.e. an overview of whole range of techniques is given.

In 4 cases there were questions appealing to prior knowledge about the topic in the form of a quiz or true/false statements. We highly appreciate the fact that in 5 cases the audience was given questions during the oral performance, and not only at the end of it. In 2 cases there was a crossword following the presentation. Finally, in 7 cases a discussion was included about the advantages and disadvantages or confrontation of medical and religious aspects.

Apart from verbal language means, a PowerPoint presentation is characterized by the use of graphics and images. This category was managed by the students the best. There were only 3 presentations with an unbalanced text and pictures ratio. More frequent (8 cases) were problems related to colors and legibility, e.g. low contrast between the background color and the text, small font size or blurred pictures. But all of these are quite common shortcomings which occasionally occur even in professional presentations. All the presentations were without excessive animation effects, and thus the visual aspects were not dominant over the oral performance. The speakers tried to attract the attention of the audience by means of content, using slides for

presentation, as well as highlighting the key words and essential ideas in order to support comprehension and memorization.

Non-verbal communication was the most serious shortcoming in most cases. Because of the stress, there was frequently a lack of eye contact or proper body posture, the inclusion of redundant gestures and mimics, haptics, and of course a nervous voice. These features influenced the overall fluency and accuracy of the oral performance in 9 cases, which resulted in diminished clarity of the content. Preparation for an oral presentation does not only involve filling the slides with text and reading it aloud, as it feels unnatural and impersonal. Therefore, the text should be spoken as naturally as possible, in a friendly atmosphere with a normal tone of our voice.

5. Conclusions

Theoretical approaches and the author's own experiences with using presentations in EMP teaching were described in the present paper. The theoretical part of the article was based on the cooperation principle and a set of maxims proposed by Grice (1975) and Relevance Theory put forward by Serber and Wilson (2002). Despite the fact that Grice's concept is seen by other scholars as highly theoretical and impossible to be applied in teaching practice, we consider it very useful in terms of giving presentations in ESP teaching at a medical faculty. Theory of Relevance is related to the choice of topics which the students worked on during the study reported in this paper. Next, a lecture as an essential genre of public performance in an academic context was discussed and it was shown that it depends on the situation whether a presentation is persuasive or informative. It was shown that a good presentation starts with an introduction of the topic and the speaker, continues with the body of the presentation organized in a meaningful order, involving the audience, and ends with a summary and discussion.

In the empirical part, we presented data obtained from observations of oral performance in class as well as the analysis of the PowerPoint presentations. Firstly, it was found that pre-teaching of the basics of presentation skills and providing students with guidelines and criteria for evaluation was very beneficial. The analysis also revealed that there was a prevalence of informative-oriented presentations based on data from scientific articles or newspapers, encyclopedias as well as data such as graphs, pictures, statistic figures, maps, schemas, etc. As could be predicted, the main source of information was the Internet. The use of particular language resources is related to the presentation of specific contents, such as giving arguments, making comparisons, providing descriptions, offering explanations, and so on. These functions

of communication were adequately fulfilled. It should be emphasized that the audience was involved in the presentations from the very beginning, in some cases even during the performance phase, and, of course, on its completion. The students showed their active participation and creativity when doing quizzes or crosswords, asking questions, discussing the advantages and disadvantages and expressing opinions. The main shortcomings which appeared were rather technical in nature. In the majority of cases, the outline and summary were omitted, and the students used the skills of non-verbal communication inappropriately, probably because of the stress caused by the unfamiliar situation, the position in the front of the classroom, the need to give a public talk in English, etc. A future solution to such problems is to emphasize the role of these aspects of communication and parts of the presentation in a workshop held at the beginning of the summer semester because the development of such subskills requires considerable practice.

When talking about ESP/EMP teaching in a foreign country, the role of language teaching at the tertiary level should be taken into consideration more seriously. We strongly believe that medical students should be able to discuss lifestyles, describe disease symptoms and prevention methods, or take a stand on euthanasia, marijuana legalization for medical purposes, abortion, vaccination, etc. Therefore, in our opinion, a presentation as a teaching technique plays an essential in the education of prospective doctors.

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