Research in English & Applied Linguistics

English for Academic Purposes:
Practical and Theoretical Approaches

edited by
Christoph Haase
Josef Schmied

REAL Studies 7

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Contents

PREFACE

This volume represents the final outgrowth of the confluence of two methodological strands: the study of academic writing in a Central European context on the one hand and the dialogue that was enabled through the activities within the project framework of Saxon - Czech university cooperation on the other.

The volume has a tripartite, top-down structure that considers the problems and obvious shortcomings of the field, at first from a theoretical, then from an applied perspective. We thus begin with considerations more at home in the methodology of science and epistemology, move toward applications with empirical studies and finally observe trends in putting this into practice in teaching.

The major questions raised by the theory of academic writing have been around for a while: they have revolved around stylistic features and text-linguistic considerations, best-example practice and coherence-building manuals. Most authors in this volume, however, have also practised academic writing in their own related or occasionally unrelated research and their individual publication history and practice. The picture emerging from this is therefore necessarily a heterogeneous one but one that undergoes sequential refinement in the course of the volume. The first part sketches in broad strokes the status and position of academic writing, its epistemological impact and pathways to application.

The contribution by Haase explores the theoretical possibilities of language and the possible and probable mappings onto abstract argumentation structure by discussing the SPACE corpus and by tracking the major results of five years of study within SPACE.

The article by Schmied concerns paradigm shifts in the study of EAP and changing conventions in the practice of academic writing. It combines a discussion of modern key concepts with concrete guidelines for academic novices.

Bennett describes the expansion of English as a "lingua franca for the communication of knowledge" (Bennett, this volume) but branches out into the styles of the discourse of academics with LOTE, thus employing a critical methodological viewpoint.

In the empirical section, the work of linguists based mainly at Czech institutions provides a look at all levels of linguistic description. The level of syntax is addressed in Tuma and Lengal's look at student writing complexity, especially markers of coordination and subordination. The study further demonstrates how these markers can be found in a learner corpus.

Beyer investigates semantic functions of hedges in the writings of native and non-native speakers in a tight corpus study concerning epistemic adverbs like *probably* and *possibly*.

The text level is the focus of Vogel's study, mainly using a descriptive background that lends its categories from Quirk et al. (1985) and Biber et al. (1999). This study backs up Beyer's in that the use and overuse of similar items is explored.

Malá suggests a register and subregister classification of academic texts in a diachronic perspective and refines this by providing a clause substitution/contribution hierarchy. Her findings include a tendency towards more condensed non-finite verbal forms.

The discourse level is explored in Smirnova's study of argumentative patterns mainly by Russian scholars writing in English. Her qualitative approach is appended by preliminary data on the frequency distribution of different argument types and the empirical bias of the writers.

In the first contribution in part 3, Dontcheva-Navratilová, Jančařicová and Povolná provide a bridge from the empirical section to the section on teaching. Their claim is that syllabus-based teaching raises student awareness towards specific (instead of just general) writing skills and argumentation.

Voigt investigates the relevance and extent of English for German childcare givers, called English for child-rearing purposes (ECRP). This article provides an excellent overview of the various requirements of a course specifically designed for the stated purpose.

Hinner's paper on the replacement of classical Business English in favour of communicative approaches highlights in a case study of the TU Freiberg the changing face of the English curricula in business programmes at German universities.

A similar target group is described in Orlova's look at the use of a portfolio to guide the self-reflecting abilities of pre-service teachers in her chapter on the EPOSTL, the European Portfolio for Student Teachers of Languages.

As with previous volumes, we see also this volume as an example of culture-specific writing itself; therefore, we have refrained from "harmonizing" the whole by changing the personal style of individual authors. Unfortunately, the volume is too small for a comparative study of European writing but maybe it still shows some interesting differences in structure, argumentation and, of course, idiomaticity that go beyond individual writers. We hope to continue this challenging discourse in this series.

Overall, the contributions once again show the integrative force of academic endeavour and their effects on the distribution and patterning of linguistic features and growing awareness for methodological standards.

For help with the editorial work we would like to thank Cornelia Neubert (Chemnitz) and for the STHI network coordination Ilona Scherm.

The editors, November 2013

THE SCIENCE OF SCIENCE IN SPACE

Christoph Haase
University of J.E. Purkyně, Ústí nad Labem

This overview article focuses on epistemological questions raised in the context of academic reflection upon the outcome of research and its representation in actual texts. It tries to develop a dichotomy between formal and functional approaches and illustrates this by reviewing the results of several years of research on the SPACE corpus. This new typer of parallel corpus will be described and a few results published elsewhere reviewed under the vantage point of developing a "Science of science". Further, it will be demonstrated that the scientific method and the application of rational thought itself depend on linguistic structures. Its study can be supported by large academic corpora and their processing.

Introduction

The question of representing academic content has always been a question of the representation of complexity. When research started on a corpus known under the acronym SPACE we had the intention to look at academic domains which have a built-in complexity. The intention included an initial doubt that had been raised elsewhere concerning a hypothesis which is known as the complexity hypothesis. The complexity hypothesis (cf. Haase 2010b among others) explains that the language used to discuss an object of study should proportionally reflect the complexity of its object of study. This would mean that the most complex research topic that humankind knows of should merit the use of the most complex language. Those most complex ideas today are found almost exclusively neither in the field of linguistics, nor in the field of language studies or social sciences, but they involve an extremely high level of abstraction and fields of math that had to be invented in order to describe the phenomena at hand. The thought structures necessary involve an incredible depth of bringing transparency to abstraction in fields like quantum theory and cosmology.

The linguistic underpinnings for the decision to compile a corpus with the acronym SPACE (Specialized and Popular Academic Corpus of English) were laid out in Haase, 2007 (published in REAL Studies 2). The corpus contains a number of texts that initially take us back to a few ideas about general discussion of the theory of science and what could be considered a "science of science".

If the linguistic features in the language of the most advanced practitioners in the natural sciences are compared and the question is raised whether they also have beautiful, complex, and creative language to match their research topics, the answer to that is, in all probability no.

This contribution intends to point out a few reasons why this might be the case. This takes us to the concept of "aboutness" in science.

What we can expect from academic texts in general is that the research culture demands them to be objective because any error that is necessarily part of the research process is ideally small: errors introduced by the experimenter, by miswritten judgments or wrong interpretation. The objective information to be imparted is empirically found to be reified in nominalizations, a very conflated and dense style, an overuse of passive and a high degree of semantic packing. This is a common denominator as demonstrated below:

> 0082PN GFP expression observed in the gustatory neurons of the labial palps and leg tarsal segments (Fig. 1 C and D) was suppressed by targeted GAL80 expression (data not shown), as expected from the previous observation that the 3.3-kb Cha regulatory DNA directs gene expression in most if not all chemosensory neurons in the peripheral nervous system (23, 41). Concomitant with the further restriction of the GAL4 activity in C309 by the Cha3.3kb-GAL80 construct, the temperature-induced courtship chain formation and head-to-head interactions were suppressed completely

The example text from SPACE (#0082PN) has no agents in the subject positions of its propositional structures, it does not express agency (who does what) - it expresses factuality (what happened). This is the common stylistic denominator of academic writing. For a linguistic analysis, this is the secondary part, because linguists are not the expert target group (which in this case is genetics). The other common denominator is that in the natural sciences, there is little space for subjectivity.

The common ground can be summarized as follows:

- relatively few markers of subjectivity in natural sciences
- thus: objective account of the author's involvement/participation
- author commitment: often stereotypically lexicalized (in modal adverbs etc.)

The third point returns to objectivity through the backdoor: The author's commitment or involvement should be objective in a conventionalized sense. It can be scaled by hedging and very often this happens stereotypically. This means not that authors really scale their judgment down or up to a level they are really convinced of but to a level that is expected by the requirements of the genre and the text type, in one word: convention. For instance, by using the expected modal adverbs the linguistic scaling represents a compromise between the intended and the expected. Since there is not an infinite amount of modal adverbs the stereotypical lexicalization is repeated in most texts.

A number of other markers can be found in the following example:

> AX0039 indicate a presence well within … current observation bounds could cause early star formation at a level sufficient to explain the high reionization redshift

Here, the reader draws conclusions from involvement and commitment cues. They are studied in closer detail as modal adverbials (for example in Haase, 2012) or as hedge expressions, cf. Beyer (this volume).

Science and "aboutness"

An epistemological battleground

In what way does this relate to linguistic analysis? Two major (and a few minor) reasons will be suggested in this contribution which, to my knowledge, has never been brought in context with academic writing. The initial point of this is concerned with what academic language does for us as practicioners on the one hand. On the other hand, we need to see what we can do with it and exactly how we do it. Is the language we use therefore really *about* the science that we practice or is it more a reflection of ourselves? This generates the two major approaches.

The formal approach

The first approach, which is probably the less creative, says that language is simply one part of many other cognitive skills; one other cognitive skill is for example rational thought.This however, may also be equivalently expressed in other modules of cognition. That means that mathematics for instance is a short hand for a conceptualization of something that really, phenomenologically *happens* in nature.

In sum:

- language is only one module among other cognitive skills
- rational thought and scientific modeling may rely on other modules
- math is a shorthand for a conceptualized thought process directly related to nature
- numbers are "out there"
- extraterrestrial civilizations will have the same math
- scientific revolutions resemble "glimpsed" shortcuts

Thus: the role of language is at best secondary.

The falsifiability of this approach is probably low even though the main protagonists –Feynman or Penrose in the natural sciences, Johnson-Laird and others in the social sciences (psychology) are on the more abstract end of the continuum. The falsifiability is low because this approach is not free of its own mysticism as in its conception of free will as a quantum phenomenon and intelligence not as an objectivist, plannable resource but as the ability to find shortcuts in the description of the fabric of reality.

Our number system – as anthropomorphic as it might appear – reflects reality directly, not conceptually. Prime numbers or π are *out there* in nature, we have not created them, they are not a construal of our sociopsychological personæ. Should we find extraterrestrial civilizations, their math would rely on the same fundamentals. Anything that we find in a process of scientific discovery is a shortcut within these configurations.

This means for language that it is at best secondary and again this approach is very hard to falsify because no means of comparison can be given. This is in no way a fringe assumption as luminaries like Richard Feynman prove.

To come back to academic writing then, does this mean that the scientific mind is somehow lost in space? Does it try to wrap itself around phenomena that are not really part of language but that are glimpsed hints of reality? If there is some truth in this approach then the study of academic English or academic language may as well come to a halt.

The functional approach

There is an alternative approach to the previous paragraph. According to this approach, language is "about" the world, thus science follows from rational configuration (and re-configuration) of linguistic objects in the minds of the practitioners of science.

This approach can be summed up as follows:

- math is a language

- numbers are discrete representations of human body plans

- extraterrestrial civilizations will have fundamentally different math/science

- scientific revolutions can be planned

- thus: the role of language is primary

- falsifiability of this approach:high

- protagonists: Fodor, Dennett, Vienna Circle, Cognitivists, basically all people who study academic language

If language is actually about the world and science relates to the constant reconfiguration of linguistic objects that take place in the mind, then science is also *in* the language.We can see this if we agree with the assumption that math is a language, that numbers represent something that emerges out of the human body plan. We have a decimal number system that relates to the ten fingers for instance. If humans had eight fingers, we would in all probability have a octal number system. In this way, our numbers are a representation of the human body plan. Should we discover extraterrestrial civilizations, their math would be completely different from ours. This also means that via language we can plan our scientific revolutions. Language takes the primary role, it can be falsified because we have the test, we can see if we are

successful with them, why not, and notable academics stand for this approach: the Vienna circle with Wittgenstein, basically all people in cognitive linguistics and also all protagonists who study academic language.

Obviously, science is successful in both approaches given that Richard Feynman counts among the superior minds of second half of the 20th century. Therefore the matter is not really decided. For us, the job is to make corpora and run tests on texts that actually occur in academia.

Questions (among others) a corpus can help answering

Among the questions that a corpus such asSPACE can help answering, the following subset is related to the epistemological discussion.

> a) Which forms are "about" which study objects/processes?
>
> b) Which forms are "about" which truth values assigned to a)?
>
> c) Are the linguistic structures isomorphous with the scientific phenomena?
>
> d) If yes, can the linguistic structure somehow be optimized?
>
> e) Thus, "better" language leads to better science?
>
> f) If yes, is linguistics "the science of science"?

To break down the first question to corpus level considerations we need to look at the lexical items involved that describe the objects (nominal expressions) and processes (verbal expressions). A glance at the academic wordlist and any other frequency list generated out of SPACE shows that the specificity of the objects is mirrored by highly infrequent lexical material from expert knowledge. The study of this is covered in Haase 2009c on lexical-semantic criteria.

The truth values that are assigned to the processes by way of quantification open a very systematic escape clause for the researcher: Independently of the question whether the truth value is a quantificational process in the mind of the beholder or whether there is binary truth (0 and 1, false and true), modality and hedging are systematic and conventionalized ways (see Haase 2011c, 2011b and 2008f.)

a) and b) together enable us then to ask the following:

Are linguistic structures isomorphous with the scientific phenomena? What re-appears here is again the complexity question through the backdoor. If the phenomena are complex, which they undoubtedly are, then the linguistic structures used should also be complex. If the answer to c) then is yes, by consequent and evolutive conventionalization, can the use of the linguistic structures be optimized? The answer to this question opens up a wide field that involves not only epistemological but also ideological aspects. In his seminal paper on English as an academic language Swales terms it to be either a "Tyrannosaurus rex" or the "triumphalist" mode of expression for the global academic gatekeepers (Swales 1997: 376). He may overlook however

that a Babylonian tapestry of academic publications in the native languages of their practitioners is actually a hindrance for science. In that sense, the English language does represent an effective and highly optimized code for academic interchange on its own and independently. The genre approach in which the genre is actually owned by the research community that practices it goes a long way in conventionalizing its mechanisms and thus facilitate understanding.

Finally, the grammaticalization and conceptualization of space (Haase & Schmied 2011a) and causation is deeply ingrained in the language (Haase 2010a). By obtaining a direct or indirect mapping between phenomenological causes and effects to linguistic structures, the linguistic structures actually represent the causality they describe (Haase 2009b, 2009a).

In the end, if the answer to all questions is positive and a better language is in service of better science then linguistics may be considered the science of science.

SPACE – A brief overview

In the latest corpus built (v.02 from 2011) we have added an amount of around 800,000 new words, building up from sciences: From the physical field and from the bio sciences field, thus it shows a relatively strict separation into a hard and a "soft" branch. These new additions are original publications, which are partly free from copyright:

from arXiv, a pre-print server fro rapid, non-peer-reviewed access. (fig. 1)

Fig. 1: The *arXiv* website

and from the public Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences (PNAS), science which is supported by the National Science Foundation of the United States. The research results that originate from publicly funded research are therefore public domain and the (peer-reviewed) articles are free of copyrights (fig. 2.)

Fig. 2: The *PNAS* website

To parallel the science texts with a means of comparison and also to make it slightly more palatable to students who are neither biologists nor physicists, a parallel structure has been built into the corpus: the so-called popular component. The popular component is exclusively from the *New Scientist*, the leading popular academic journal world-wide today (fig. 3).

Fig. 3: The *NEW SCIENTIST* website

When the different text types with similar content are compared, even at first glance significant differences can be observed in quantity and presentation. Shown below are the layouts of two articles on click languages, the original article and its popularized counterpart. It is obvious that in the second version this text has been condensed down to a very short summary with a picture-to-text ratio of about 60:40. The picture is a stock photo and unrelated to the original research.

Even though the titles are very different, at least both deal explicitly with click languages but the second title is definitely more palatable to a non-expert in this field.

The different paragraphs in the original article indicate a general tendency of integrating the different text types in academic writing. It starts with a section called *summary* (where in most publications an *abstract* would be expected), continues with one column/half a page of introduction and adds a relatively complex diagram on page two of this 2-column layouted text.

Fig. 4: Original and popularized variant (*Current Biology* 13 and *New Scientist*)

A brief breakdown of the fields and domains in the latest incarnation of SPACE can be found in Tab. 1.

Subcorpus	Descriptors	word count
arXiv	physics, astrophysics, quantum mechanics	809,320
New Scientist – physics	physics, astrophysics, computer science, quantum mechanics	203,470
Proceedings of the National Academy of Science (PNAS)	biochemistry, genetics, genetic engineering, microbiology	267,105
New Scientist - biosciences	biochemistry, genetics, genetic engineering, microbiology	30,499
Public Library of Science – Medicine (PLoS),	medicine, virology, clinical psychology, public health	217,254
New Scientist – medicine	medicine, virology, clinical psychology, public health	17,050
Total		**1,544,149**

Tab. 1: SPACE domains and word counts

The description of the sub-corpora is a coarse-grained method to conveniently summarize the specializations of the respective fields. Again, a direct comparison shows how much information is lost when we look at the real domains. This is also related to the broader epistemological question of how much knowledge is generated by means of the ontology itself. This raises the following questions:

Do better ontologies facilitate better science?

Does better mean more complex/fine-grained/sophisticated?

Is there an ontological optimum?

Knowledge generation and knowledge transfer

Ontology benefits

The arrangement of subcorpora indicates a superficial understanding of the classification of research into their respective (albeit shallow) branches. This however represents only an outtake of the ontology suggested and used by the publishers, an ontology in the sense of the fields and subfields that we find in those publications falling under biological sciences in the proceedings of the National Academy.

Ontologies are considered as one of the pillars of the Semantic Web initiative (cf. for example semanticweb.org) in which "complex forms of knowledge organization systems are represented in a machine-readable, formal language" which are needed "to provide the semantic layer for the Web" (Weller 2010: 3). In the SPACE ontology this takes the form of "general *concepts* in this domain" (ibid, italics in the original). This is a function of convenience as it provides easy access to these disciplines. At the same time, this convenience comes at a cost. The generation of knowledge that is achieved by creating a meta discourse of the sciences by linking different parts of research, approaches and also individual researchers is lost in this way.

Knowledge generated by ontologies

The PNAS ontology (Biosciences) is an alphabetical, 1-tier list.

Biological Sciences	Medical Sciences
Agricultural Sciences	Microbiology
Biochemistry	Neuroscience
Cell Biology	Pharmacology
Developmental Biology	Plant Biology
Ecology	Population Biology
Evolution	Psychological and Cognitive Science
Genetics	Sustainability Science
Immunology	Systems Biology

The SPACE ontology (Biosciences) has exactly three items in it:

Microbiology   Genetics (aka Molecular biology)   Biochemistry

Thus, in direct comparison the PNAS ontology seems much more helpful. The SPACE ontology however has an integrative benefit. It leaves out branches not covered at all by SPACE (like the Medical Sciences) and on the other hand does not suffer from the pitfall of double assignment as many papers would. (E.g. a genetics engineering paper that supports sustainability of agricultural techniques would be difficult to classify). The logic of SPACE is a different one, it takes the granularity of the research objects and transfers it to a granularity of its ontological import: microbiology concerns bacteria and viruses, genetics the building blocks of life (DNA, RNA, thus basically huge and very complex molecules) and biochemistry takes one more step into the world of even smaller components (organic chemicals, partly very simple substances etc.).

More interesting differences emerge when we consider the *arXiv* ontology (physical sciences, "hard" science). Below, only a subset is represented:

Physics
    * Astrophysics (astro-ph new, recent, find)
includes: Cosmology and Extragalactic Astrophysics; Earth and Planetary Astrophysics; Galaxy Astrophysics; High Energy Astrophysical Phenomena; Instrumentation and Methods for Astrophysics; Solar and Stellar Astrophysics
    * Condensed Matter (cond-mat new, recent, find)
includes: Disordered Systems and Neural Networks; Materials Science; Mesoscale and Nanoscale Physics; Other Condensed Matter; Quantum Gases; Soft Condensed Matter; Statistical Mechanics; Strongly Correlated Electrons; Superconductivity
    * General Relativity and Quantum Cosmology (gr-qc new, recent, find)
    * High Energy Physics - Experiment (hep-ex new, recent, find)
    * High Energy Physics - Lattice (hep-lat new, recent, find)
    * High Energy Physics - Phenomenology (hep-ph new, recent, find)
    * High Energy Physics - Theory (hep-th new, recent, find)
    * Mathematical Physics (math-ph new, recent, find)
    * Nuclear Experiment (nucl-ex new, recent, find)
    * Nuclear Theory (nucl-th new, recent, find)
    * Physics (physics new, recent, find)
includes: Accelerator Physics; Atmospheric and Oceanic Physics; Atomic Physics; Atomic and Molecular Clusters; Biological Physics; Chemical Physics; Classical Physics; Computational Physics; Data Analysis, Statistics and Probability; Fluid Dynamics; General Physics; Geophysics; History and Philosophy of Physics; Instrumentation and Detectors; Medical Physics; Optics; Physics Education; Physics and Society; Plasma Physics; Popular Physics; Space Physics
    * Quantum Physics (quant-ph new, recent, find)

Mathematics
   * Mathematics (math new, recent, find)
includes (see detailed description): Algebraic Geometry; Algebraic Topology; Analysis of PDEs; Category Theory; Classical Analysis and ODEs; Combinatorics; Commutative Algebra; Complex Variables; Differential Geometry; Dynamical Systems; Functional Analysis; General Mathematics; General Topology; Geometric Topology; Group Theory; History and Overview; Information Theory; K-Theory and Homology; Logic; Mathematical Physics; Metric Geometry; Number Theory; Numerical Analysis; Operator Algebras; Optimization and Control; Probability; Quantum Algebra; Representation Theory; Rings and Algebras; Spectral Theory; Statistics Theory; Symplectic Geometry

Nonlinear Sciences
   * Nonlinear Sciences (nlin new, recent, find)
includes (see detailed description): Adaptation and Self-Organizing Systems; Cellular Automata and Lattice Gases; Chaotic Dynamics; Exactly Solvable and Integrable Systems; Pattern Formation and Solitons

Computer Science
   * Computing Research Repository (CoRR new, recent, find)
includes (see detailed description): Artificial Intelligence; Computation and Language; Computational Complexity; Computational Engineering, Finance, and Science; Computational Geometry; Computer Science and Game Theory; Computer Vision and Pattern Recognition; Computers and Society; Cryptography and Security; Data Structures and Algorithms; Databases; Digital Libraries; Discrete Mathematics; Distributed, Parallel, and Cluster Computing; Emerging Technologies; Formal Languages and Automata Theory; General Literature; Graphics; Hardware Architecture; Human-Computer Interaction; Information Retrieval; Information Theory; Learning; Logic in Computer Science; Mathematical Software; Multiagent Systems; Multimedia; Networking and Internet Architecture; Neural and Evolutionary Computing; Numerical Analysis; Operating Systems; Other Computer Science; Performance; Programming Languages; Robotics; Social and Information Networks; Software Engineering; Sound; Symbolic Computation; Systems and Control

Quantitative Biology
   * Quantitative Biology (q-bio new, recent, find)
includes (see detailed description): Biomolecules; Cell Behavior; Genomics; Molecular Networks; Neurons and Cognition; Other Quantitative Biology; Populations and Evolution; Quantitative Methods; Subcellular Processes; Tissues and Organs

The SPACE ontology (physical sciences) looks like this:
   Cosmology   Particle physics   Quantum physics
Again, the rationale starts out with the macrophysical of large dimensions and ends with the most subtle phenomena known to science at the quantum level of description. Here, the overlap is more frequent (micro- and macrocosmos can be linked in intricate ways) but the insightfulness of the short ontology (and this is not so obvious at first glance) is of course that it reflects the fundamental forces in nature: Cosmology, being the science of gravitation, particle physics where no process involves gravity directly

but instead most processes involve the strong nuclear force and quantum physics where the electromagnetic and the also the weak force have a role.

Thus, the structure applied and mapped onto the knowledge represented becomes part of the knowledge itself. A technical variant of this are ontologies within the semantic web initiative: e.g. Dublin Core, a set of standardized semantic metadata:

Fig. 5: Dublin Core resource model (from dublincore.org)

The central element is a linguistic one related to predicate calculus: the property-value pair. By assigning values to properties, the property can be scaled in the same way as an utterance can be scaled by modality. It further picks out a resource out of the pool of available resources and transforms it into a described resource. It can then be networked to other resources (top box). These technical realizations of ontologies help to generate knowledge out of the meta-data. Further, they can even be parsed automatically, thus creating networks of components of knowledge.

A case study in ontological research

Measuring word recognition of lexical items with differing degrees of semantic difficulty is relatively easy and leads to repeatable results within the standard model by Marslen-Wilson and others (Marslen-Wilson et al. 1994).

A linguistic ontology basis for text profiling

The high specialization of the lexical items in the original texts and its transformation to a much smaller array of general-academic terms in the popularized texts is interesting from a semantic point of view. It seems obvious that the thrust of the scientific argumentation lies in the use of words. Only highly specialized words enable science. This is intuitively obvious when we consider the difference between base-level categories and prototypes as suggested by Rosch. If we compare the vertical taxonomy by Rosch (see Evans & Green 2006: 256) we find the basic-level categories

with the highest degree of inclusiveness near their prototypes (the horizontal taxonomy), i.e. the categories acquired earliest, used most frequently and recognized and recalled most rapidly. These are words at a level like *dog* and *chair*. They provide surface access and establish a common ground in discourse. They also prevent any kind of scientific thinking. Therefore, if linguistics can at all inform the sciences to facilitate the argumentation the study needs to focus on the ontologically "deep" lexical items with a near-zero degree of inclusiveness. In fact, it is the exclusiveness of these categories that lends them their academic/scientific status.

The following table displays the difference indicated above: The lexical items were extracted from the same base material, a text on "Experimental hints of Gravity in Large Extra Dimensions?" (0007AX). The central column shows the academic items which have little use outside this highly specialized field. The popular text even tries a hand on boosting the message with imprecise but impressive metaphors like *dead stars* and *rogue comets*.

	academic text 0007AX	popular academic text 0007NS
markers of specialization	*conjectures, compactification, coalescence, planetesimals, angular, mesoscopic, gauge field, accretion, radial drag*	*dead stars, cloud of gas, hot star, proto-planetary disc, rogue comets*
markers of vagueness	*suggest X may have, should detect Rc, deviations are weak, may be turbulent*	*it may be hard, can be slow, they probably rebound, could charge up*

Tab. 2: Semantic complexity and ontological depth

If we therefore assume that the ontological depth can be seen as a marker of the argumentative prowess in an academic text then we can use this to systematize this as a lexico-semantic function and use it in automatic text profiling. We can do this for two reasons. First, it can help compare texts and measure their difficulty and second, to obtain data from recognition tests to match and correlate them with the words that are impressionistically felt to be hard. In an additional step the text could then be re-phrased by the author.

In order to make this feasible, a very solid and extensive data basis was needed. Within the SPACE project we settled on WordNet (www.wordnet.princeton.edu) because it can be implemented freely and with relative ease.

An entry from WordNet is displayed below:

Fig. 6: A WordNet entry

Complexity Analyzer (Complexana)

Using the WordNet implementation as a basis we developed a tool that enables a quantitative comparison with different texts. The tool was written in Perl, using a license-free Linux implementation of WordNet in a compiled form. This implementation is a working environment that can be packaged up and bundled with the tool in a self-contained executable file.

The application requires the input of a raw text (txt format) as a user interaction. The first step uses a part-of-speech tagger (the free TreeTagger was fully implemented) to tag the entire text. TreeTagger provides overall robust accuracy and is even superior when nouns are concerned. At the same time types and tokens in the texts are counted. The tagging is the first process because ComplexAna uses exclusively the nominal items to profile the semantic complexity of the text. The tagged file is saved.

In the second step ComplexAna extracts all nominal items that were identified in the tagged text. These items are written in a separate file. We also added extended functionality for stoplists and better control for excluding items that generate false scores (discussed in section 4).

In the third step all nominal items from the text are queried in the implemented version of WordNet. From the query results the position of the item in the ontology, its so-called semantic depth is calculated. This score is coupled with a series of terms that

are also calculated in dependence on the result of the WordNet query. These can be seen in Fig. 7:

Fig. 7: ComplexAna v.1.2

The parameters are used for correction terms that influence the main parameter, the degree of semantic specialization of the nouns.

Finally, a single score is calculated that summarises the semantic complexity of the text. This is a dimensionless number. It works only in comparison with the numbers obtained from other texts.

Fig. 8: Nominal parameters for automatic semantic profiling in ComplexAna

By comparing the scores of any given texts beginners to academic writing can profile their own texts, adjust and finetune the semantic level according to the target readership.

Conclusion

The upshot that is according to my personal beliefs of major importance in this discussion is to see that academic writing is not a science in itself. It should attain the role that it is attributed by most practitioners who take it seriously and which has to be learned by students. This is the role of a method. It can be learned, it is not an art, it is a craft. On closer inspection, if we look at the conceptualization behind the texts we can use the parallelity of academic and popular texts to understand how the transformation process between "hard" and impenetrable and "soft" but perhaps (in the worst case) useless texts can be achieved.

Acknowledgement

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ENGLISH FOR ACADEMIC PURPOSES:

CONTRASTIVE PERSPECTIVES IN THE CURRICULUM[1]

Josef Schmied
Chemnitz University of Technology

This contribution introduces a survey of the current discussion about teaching English for Academic Purposes at English Departments in Europe. It focuses on the key concepts but it also illustrates possible examples from my own teaching experience at BA and MA level for advanced German users of English. It further focuses on the controversies of choices in teaching English for Academic Purposes that may illustrate the development of the subject in the 21st century. Most of the theoretical debates and practical examples are from academic writing. I would like to demonstrate that academic writing must be based in a safe context of academic reading and that an applied linguistic approach is a suitable basis even for non-linguists.

Introduction to key principles

Paradigm shift: from art to craft?

Traditionally, language skills at (German) universities were taught by native speakers, who would lead their students' learning by rules and their *Sprachgefühl* (intuitions): students had to memorize and apply the former and develop the latter, probably through exposure and immersion. For many students, the general advice "more reading" was not very helpful and their only opportunity to develop advanced skills was their year or semester abroad. Unfortunately, few structured teaching materials were available for advanced learners (level C in the "European Reference Frame for Languages") and the text-based individual instruction used terms like more "clear", "concise", "elegant" or "natural", which were not really accessible for students, let alone verifiable or falsifiable in objective terms. The problem with "clarity" is that it may refer to lexical choice, to complex syntax, or to overall argumentation structure. The problem with "concision" is that it can be achieved by eliminating irrelevancies and compressing information in fewer words, but this may be prevented by lack of specialised vocabulary, love of verbose style or certain expressions, and lack of syntagmatic flexibility (to avoid interfering mother-tongue style, for instance). "Elegance" is a particularly elusive concept and many critics argue it is impossible to achieve for non-native writers – thus overlapping with "naturalness". All these

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[1] This contribution is based on the joint research with various Czech partners, especially in Brno and Usti. I also wish to thank our comparative partners in Italy, Spain and Turkey and my constant discussion partners at Chemnitz University.

"explanations" might lead students to think that academic writing is essentially an art that requires talent and few might be sufficiently gifted; unfortunately, all of them still need to write academic English. This line of thinking, however, is only one of many misconceptions: since there are no native speakers, let alone native writers, of academic English, it has to be learnt by everyone and many best practice examples show that it is learnable, so it must also be teachable.

If we try to grasp the fuzzy concepts used above to describe good academic English and express them in hard linguistic terms, this may imply collocations and metaphors, which are difficult to express but possibly approachable in usage analyses of model texts and model text-collections of the discourse community. Of course, it may be hard work to change an art into a craft, but it may be more teachable.

Since few of the afore-mentioned native speakers had undergone explicit training in academic writing at proficiency level and had published few research articles or academic research texts themselves, students at near-native speaker level (proficiency, C1) even felt that teachers abused their position of power to impose inconsistent and idiosyncratic requirements (Lea/Street 2000).

Since the beginning of the century, however, a paradigm shift (e.g. Swales/Feak[3] 2012 or Schmied 2011) has changed the perception radically: from experts to discourse community, from text-based to readership-oriented and from art to craft. As part of the adaptation of European universities to the Bologna model, "Teaching Academic Writing in European Higher Education" (the title of a book edited by Björg/Bräuer/Leinecker/Jörgensen in 2003) has moved from the periphery into the basic modules of the new BA and MA programmes, even for native speakers. This is not only because more students (with less writing talent?) attend European universities today, but also because conventions become "harder" in disciplines and less "creative style" is tolerated.

From a positive perspective, this provided many new teaching and research options for applied linguists in mother-tongue and foreign-language traditions. In Germany, for instance, a *Schreibzentrum* or *Schreibwerkstatt* was set up at many universities; this is not only an import of US traditions, but also shows the diversification of genres and intensification of advanced skills. The analysis of academic genres in comparison of languages (such as German and English) and status (such as native vs. non-native) was a necessary basis for the new teaching modules. A DAAD-Lektorenarbeitsgruppe (2009) summarised all aspects of science communication for the teaching of German at Italian universities. This clearly demonstrates that the expansion of academic text production is not restricted to English, but contributes to multilingualism in Europe. Today there is even a European Association for the Teaching of Academic Writing (EATAW), which presents itself on its webpage (http://www.eataw.eu/ on 12/05/12) as:

EATAW is a scholarly forum which seeks to bring together those involved or interested in the teaching, tutoring, research, administration and development of academic writing in higher education in Europe. Its aims include:

- Connecting teachers and scholars of academic writing through conferences, publications, newsletters, forums and other means

- Raising awareness, both among university administrators and lecturers in other disciplines, as well as among the general public, of the importance of teaching academic writing

- Developing European scholarship in the field of academic writing by initiating research and bringing researchers together for joint projects

- Initiating projects to exchange experience and know-how on the teaching of writing, on writing programs and writing centres

- Organising continuing education for writing teachers

- Defining and securing quality standards in teaching, tutoring and researching writing and persuading institutions and administrators of the value of these standards

- Connecting the teaching of academic writing with adjacent fields such as foreign languages, argumentation and rhetoric, professional writing, science communication, pedagogy, university teaching and other fields.

- While the language of communication of the organisation is English, EATAW strives to promote and support good scholarship and practice for the teaching of academic writing in any European language.

Again, the focus here is on the lingua franca English, but other languages can be included. There is enough work for all the specialists interested in improving academic language and discourse. This work is facilitated today by new "Guides for Advanced Learners" (subtitle) such as the following, which emphasises a new spirit and writer-reader relationship:

> The assumption throughout is that a reader who has insight into language, and more specifically into the interplay between function and form, will be able to make the right choices at any particular juncture in a text. …
> We base all our observations on authentic student and native-speaker texts from various sources, some of them electronic, and we draw on a wide range of research literature, some of which deals with cross-linguistic and cross-cultural difference. We are confident that this corpus-driven approach has allowed us to describe deviation and error in student's interlanguage with greater precision than is the case in textbooks which are aimed at a more general audience. In this sense, the present book will be helpful not only to non-native writers, but also to native editors struggling to correct fully formulated texts submitted by German-speaking authors. (Siepmann et al. 2011: 3)

> Rather than just expecting you to take this information on trust, however, we have provided instances of good writing that exemplify our precepts and have always tried to explain their underlying rationale. We have also asked you to accept that writing is a creative business and that it is impossible to give hard and fast rules for every imaginable writing situation. Our hope is that by helping you to understand why

certain drawbacks, we have prepared you to make your own independent intelligent decisions as a writer. (ibid: 458)

These explanations indicate a new style of teaching academic writing, in which the learner is accepted as a learning partner by the writing expert. The expert does not instruct in the traditional sense, but seeks to convince by principles and examples and finally leaves the learners the choice which conventions they want to follow.

Focus on the reader

The focus of the new approach to English for Academic Purposes, in particular for academic writing is the reader: writers should always bear their readers in mind, try to attract their attention and keep them interested throughout their text. An important initial point to attract the attention of the reader is the title for a BA thesis, for instance.

Catchy titles to attract the reader?

Titles perform two functions: they evoke the context within which a term paper has been written; and they announce the specific topic that will be dealt with. It is therefore a good idea to ensure that your title contains two elements, one corresponding to each of these functions. We will call the former the Frame (the general area to be dealt with) and the latter the Theme (the sub-area you will be focusing on). The reader's interest is awakened by the Frame; it is stimulated by the Theme.

An effective way of structuring titles is to begin with the Frame, followed by the Theme as a subtitle, with these two elements separated by a colon (:). Here are two examples (the full texts are available on the internet, but not relevant here):

Provocative and Unforgettable: Peter Carey's Short Fiction
Hedges: A Study in Meaning and the Logic of Fuzzy Concepts

Reader-focused editing to minimise the risk of misunderstanding?

Focusing on the reader is particularly important in the final editing process. The purpose of editing is to revise a pre-final draft, to make work easy for the reader and to minimise the chances of misunderstanding. Many inexperienced writers, even those who accept the necessity of editing in principle, find it very difficult to go critically through their own work from a reader perspective. Siepmann et al. (2011: 76) even write: "You may well feel that hacking away at the text you have produced in the sweat of your brow is almost like cutting into your own flesh."

Writing has to be seen as including several logical stages.Not surprisingly, it always takes a long time: initially, writers may need a more or less planned creative, almost brainstorming phase; next they have the opportunity to work out complex thoughts in considerable detail; then they have to check whether the potentially unnecessary

complexity makes the reading work too difficult and complexity has to be reduced on word, sentence and text level; and finally, all surface problems have to be solved in formal proof-reading. At word level, redundancies or even tautologies have to be removed. At sentence level, idiomaticity has to be ensured and parallel constructions scrutinised as to whether they add unnecessary complexity or allow faster processing. At the text level, all information packaging devices have to be considered, (exceptional) fronting in contrastive contexts, the (prototypical) principle of end-focus (Quirk et al. 1985: 1357), fore- and back-grounding in a paragraph to direct reader interpretations in information processing, even the sequence of tenses and the logical connections between clauses, etc. All these formal and functional options have to be evaluated with the readers and their guidance in mind.

Careful punctuation to help the reader interpret?

For many students punctuation, in particular colons and semicolons, are largely ornamental, which means they have no function or cannot make any meaningful distinctions. This opinion, however, is often falsified in humorous text examples on the internet today, which show that commas, for instance, are extremely important. This most famous examples, like "woman, without her man, is nothing" (emphasising the importance of men) and "woman: without her, man is nothing" (emphasising the importance of women), are used in Wikipedia (s.v. Punctuation on 12/05/12) to convince everyone that punctuation can lead to greatly different meanings. And "eats, shoots and leaves" (to mean "eats firstly, fires a weapon secondly, and leaves the scene thirdly") as against "eats shoots and leaves" (to mean "consumes plant growths") has even made it onto the title page of a popular book (by Lynne Truss 2003).

A functional approach to punctuation is, for instance, propagated in Greenbaum's *Oxford English Grammar* (1996: 505; similarly in Quirk et al. 1985). The grammarian explains in his initial summary why punctuation is included in his Grammar:

> There are numerous graphic displays that are unique to human communication. The conventions of punctuation reflect only crudely — if at all — the pauses and intonational patterns that occur in speech.

> The present punctuation system for English was essentially in place during the second half of the seventeenth century. It is linked more to grammatical structure than to the rhythms of speech.

In our reader-oriented approach, we emphasise that the main aim of punctuation is to make the text easier to read, or to help the reader uncover the rhythm of the sentence. Thus punctuation choices are as important as the grammatical and lexical choices for effective writer – reader communication in English.

Thus if we see a comma in a particular place in a sentence and we know that its main function is to separate parts of the sentence from each other, we are asked to pay separate attention to each segment. If we punctuate a text carefully we help the reader

understand what we focus on and find important. Seen in this light, better punctuation may mean better message encoding and better communication.

However, the comma, colon and semicolon placement rules for English are markedly different from those for German, for instance in relative constructions. Whereas the importance of commas in non-restrictive relative clauses is emphasised in every English schoolbook, the use of colons and semicolons is neglected; no wonder, then, that they are underused in students' writing, despite their potential usefulness in signalling meaningful differences and facilitating interpretation by the reader.

The information to the right of a colon does not need to consist of an independent clause. In cases where it does, it may happen that the writer has capitalised the first letter of the first word of the clause following the colon, as follows:

> The experiment was flawed: Design mistakes were made and cooperation between the participating companies was not as close as had been promised.

Note that this is American English rather than British English practice.

There are three basic functions for the English semicolon:

- to show that the two clauses are somehow related, as in:
  The writer always has to be aware of reader expectations; the reader has to know about the production context of the text.
- to separate members of a list if the elements are themselves long or complex, or if they contain commas doing other jobs, as in:
  Avoid passive and mediopassive constructions, clichés and stereotypes, long and complex sentences; and synonyms in any case.
- to function as a heavy form of the comma, with a position in between the comma and the full stop, the comma would be confusing because of other commas and the full-stop would break the unity of the thought:
  If students can do it independently, they can try; and if the teachers have to support them, they will do it.

The hierarchical relation between comma, semicolon and full stop is very clear in English, and there are many guidelines and examples on numerous web pages and usage guides. Most "rules" are based on functional criteria; few can be learnt on a formal basis. For the semicolon, for instance, it is important to bear in mind that the structure to the left of the colon is a grammatically complete independent clause; using a colon would split the verb from the object and violate the Principle of Semantic Unity.

Even the European Commission (2011: 16) has instructions in its English style guide:

> 2.9 Use a semicolon rather than a comma to combine two sentences into one without a linking conjunction:

> The committee dealing with the question of commas agreed on a final text; however, the issue of semicolons was not considered.

> You may also use semicolons instead of commas to separate items in a series, especially phrases that themselves contain commas (see also chapter 7 for the use of semicolons in lists).

Overall, writers should bear in mind that punctuation rules are different in English than in other languages and functional perspectives like reader orientation are only part of the picture (cf. p. 30 below); culture-specific conventions may be much more complex, but they have to be discussed now in the current academic lingua franca debate.

An analytical perspective

New approaches to academic writing aim at persuading readers to adopt an analytical attitude to the task of writing; although it initially may seem to slow things down, it actually soon comes to pay dividends. The understanding that writers develop from a more conscious approach to writing gives them the confidence and control that makes them aware and proud of being proficient and effective in their communication.

Even before beginning to write, it is useful for young academic writers to conceive planning as consisting of six steps, each of which takes them a little nearer the point when they can begin to produce text in a proposed conceptualization of scientific discourse, as listed, for instance, by Pérez-Llantada (2012: 68):

1. generating the content
2. grouping and selecting points
3. establishing a perspective
4. determining an intention
5. dividing the material into sections
6. entitling sections and paragraphs

Practicing writing in such small steps may seem uncreative, but it can be practiced in class or in group work and it avoids individual writing blocks, which can easily occur when writing appears a dauntingly large task to individual authors.

Setting the context for English for Academic Purposes in the Curriculum

Teaching skills explicitly in the new curricula

If one compares teaching programmes in English departments in European universities after the so-called Bologna Reform, one notices that academic skills that used to be understood were simply expanded from what students had learned at school; or what was taught implicitly has to be taught explicitly in so-called skills modules today. They may have been taken over from Anglo-American models, but they may also be

necessary because teachers notice that certain presentation and writing skills (irrespective of related technologies) could not be taken for granted anymore. It is, of course, an oversimplification to complain that students still have to learn how to read and write, but if we take into consideration that the technological basis has expanded and has to be taught anyway, it may be justified to include explicitly today an IT component in the Bachelor's programme. This does not only include a short introduction on how to use the library catalogue and electronic journals (possibly by the librarian) but also presentation skills on the internet with a basic component of html (or php); an advanced introduction into the standard presentation techniques (including the departmental conventions in referencing (APA vs. MLA); the corporate design of PowerPoint presentations, and text processing – including the conventions of the master and style sheets described. Unfortunately, real publishing skills – for instance, how to avoid widows and orphans and the choice of appropriate fonts and layouts – are not included in most curricula even at Master's level, although this would be a very useful skill in many occupations that students of English can turn to after they have finished their university degrees.

Of course, we cannot prepare students in all disciplines, because we do not know "what tasks do professors actually require", as Cooper/Bikowski (2007) ask. Their analysis revealed that most departments assigned library research papers and project reports, social sciences/humanities departments also article/book reviews and plans/proposals, which science or engineering departments did not want very often (ibid: 216). This leads us to the conclusion already drawn by Johns/Swales (2002: 26):

> We cannot prepare students for all eventualities in academic classrooms or other situations (such as proposal defences), nor can we understand other disciplines or other pedagogical practices well enough to give our students templates for success. What we can do, across the board, is raise students' awareness, give them a variety of experiences and exposures, encourage their analyses and critique of texts and contexts, and motivate them to see the university, like all institutions, as human and constructed, rigid, fluid, hegemonous and negotiable – all at the same time.

If writing skills are (re-)integrated into the general European university teaching programme at all levels, this only brings back the components grammar, logic and rhetoric that used to be part of the universities' trivium over centuries. Of course, the new rhetoric is functional and not formal or even ornamental, it focuses on the reading process and not on the product, and it takes the reader more seriously than the writer.

Reading skills in the EAP curriculum

Although this contribution focuses on writing in EAP, the reading component cannot be neglected, because it is the focus of the writing process (as explained above) and because practising reading skills before writing skills gives young academic writers a chance to experience for themselves how texts can be read more or less easily. This

emphasises the greater metalinguistic and metacognitive awareness of non-native readers – a great advantage for their writing awareness. Of course, there have always been very different reading skills (such as skimming and scanning) and many different approaches to reading (from more cognitive to more socio-cultural emphases), but the detailed attention to differing amounts of lexical, grammatical and discourse knowledge (cf. Grabe/Stoller[2] 2011) is relatively new. The special development of the non-native reader, even lingua franca users at advanced levels (cf. Mauranen 2012), in different socio-cultural contexts can be enhanced by exposure to the discipline-specific texts of various genres (cf. Swales 2004). More conscious exposure helps to build up greater experience with genre-specific expectations and this can lead to faster processing and evaluation of discipline-specific academic texts. On this basis, as trained readers, academic learners can develop their writing skills and make the right choices in the appropriate contexts.

Contrasts and choices in EAP approaches

Native speaker vs. empirical usage

The debate on whether native speakers should teach EAP has been going on for a very long time (e.g. Hyland 2006). Of course, this also depends on the level. It goes without saying that students have to learn English well enough to discuss writing and they have to be good enough at writing in general to proceed to the most specific types of academic writing. If we look at MA level, however, the question of writing experience in academic genres becomes more crucial. Unfortunately, few European universities can offer salaries that are attractive enough to native speaker specialists and it may seem strange if the genre presentations is taught by native speakers who have never made a conference presentation themselves or when the genre research articles is taught by native speakers who have never done any empirical research either. This question is of course closely related to the question of norms: whether the native speaker is needed to set a norm by example more or less intuitively, or whether empirical usage can be taken as an objective basis if the relevant databases or corpora are detailed and accessible enough for the purpose.

Skills vs. community approaches

Traditionally EAP has been seen as an advanced level of study skills which were taught by native speakers in language departments. Today, a constructivist approach is often followed which sees academic literacy as advanced levels as a compromise between creative individuality and collective conventions in the specific academic community (cf. Schmied fc).

Form vs. function approaches

Sadly, even advanced learners of English often want fixed guidelines or "rules", since they conceptualise proficiency as an intricate set and subset of 100% rules. And many of the traditional style guides in book form, and even on the internet and in current text processing programmes, provide such rules. Thus, most text processing programmes do not "like it" when defining relative clauses are introduced by *which*, although the distinction between non-defining and defining relatives is by no means clear-cut and the choice of relative pronouns even less so (i.e. *that* is certainly not used 100% with defining relative constructions). Often many more style variables are involved, such as complexity and functional requirements; in particular, reader orientation makes it necessary for the teacher to emphasise that rules can be very flexible and even broken if this is well justified.

Language contrastive approaches vs. general approaches

Today when English for academic purposes is often seen from a non-native perspective as a lingua franca at advanced levels, the contrastive emphasis on mother tongue and the native English conventions may be overemphasised. Obviously, academic language tends towards nominalisation but whether this nominalisation is more or less pronounced in English depends on the respective mother tongue. A debatable example is presented in a relatively new handbook (Siepmann et al. 2012: 2):

> One reason is that nominalisation is a standard feature of academic language; this is just as true for English as for any other European language. As a result, budding academic writers who are anxious to join the academic community have no alternative but to use nominalizations in conformity with academic norms. Another reason is that the choice between a nominal and a verbal construction often depends on context. In the following sentence, for example, the noun *supersession* is clearly preferable to its verbal equivalent *supersede*, whose use would make the sentence far longer and more complex. This is because the verbs *advocate* and *expect* take different complements (e.g. *advocate that* + subjunctive, *expect that* + *will*-future):

> Most of those who advocate or expect the supersession of capitalism by socialism have a strong sympathy with the idea of socialism and, indeed, call themselves socialists. (Robinson 1980: 141)

Here a straightforward, simple alternative could be:

> Most of those who advocate or expect socialism to supersede capitalism have a strong sympathy with the idea of socialism and, indeed, call themselves socialists.

Repetition vs. creativity

Understandably, many students argue that they should not be straitjacketed, and conventions vary even within the English Department: this is exemplified when in the

literature section MLA styles are used, while in the linguistics and social studies sections APA styles are preferred. The issue of creativity has to be seen under the general perspective of reader expectancy and accessibility, i.e. anything that allows the reader to process the text easily is supported except, of course, in cases where the reader is consciously stopped in order to make him or her think. It also depends on the level: probably at BA level students should adhere to standard conventions more than at MA level, when they are probably sufficiently advanced to offer some more individual achievement to the reader. It also depends on the linguistic unit: lexemes are often predetermined by the specialised terminology of the subject area and have to be discussed, defined or adapted; idiomaticity, however, is often assumed by native and non-native speakers alike, so that deviations are, maybe misleadingly, seen as meaningful and thus distract the reader from the standard message. Often higher levels of linguistic composition, such as clause and paragraph constructions, are not taught at all although the conventions cannot be taken for granted either. On the textual level, it is extremely important that increasingly the IMRAD model, which has been traditionally used in natural sciences, is expanding into the social sciences including linguistics. The sequence of "introduction", "methodology", "research" and "discussion" may have to be modified according to discipline and genre. In any case, academic writers should always ask themselves why what they write about is interesting or an "issue"; which "methodology" and "key concepts" fit their purposes; how their "analyses" can best be visualized in examples, tables and figures; what is still unsatisfactory at the end of their work; and how their (small) contribution can in "conclusion" be recontextualised in the current academic discourses.

Approaches to teaching EAP

A rules approach to guide learners through their writing practice

In the following, I would like to go through twelve guidelines and explain the functionality behind them, so that they can be used either way: students who wish to memorise rules can use them as labels for checking whether their writing adheres to the principles; students who have internalised the functionality may use them to explain their personal usage in their text.

This can also be used as guidelines by students who wish to edit their first draft.The lack of hard and self-critical editing has been identified as one of the main problems students face in advanced stages of academic writing. The following ten or twelve "golden rules" have been discussed with students from different countries extensively at various levels from BA to PhD. The simplistic wording of the rules below, each starting with a clear imperative *use* or *avoid*, may sound threatening, but they have been welcomed as a checklist in critical situations when final editing had to be done in

a structured and concentrated last-minute action. These rules complement the guidelines for writing a first draft in the previous section.

The most central golden rule that applies basically to all the following more specific rules is that "friendliness to the readers is rewarded" by the time and attention that the readers have to develop to appreciate the attempt of the writer to capture them.

Use a clear hierarchical structure

After the first, more intuitive approach to academic writing many students have to learn that "the powerful overflow of ideas" is only a starting point and this bottom-up approach has to be "tamed" by a top-down approach to make the message even more accessible and clearer to the reader than the writer has ever assumed. Parallel constructions in headlines and sections are as important as on the lower levels of hierarchy (as sentence and vocabulary discussed below). Modern text processing style sheets can help writers to gain a feeling for hierarchical structures on these highest levels. This somewhat mechanical approach to writing patterns at all levels links very well with the efforts to train structured reading discussed above.

Use clear metalanguage

A major difference between general writing, for instance in traditional essays or modern blogs, is that students have to see and use the metalanguage that is central to all academic writing. In many cases the explicit use of conjuncts and adverbials to link sentences, paragraphs, and sections is the main topic in the first academic writing classes. This leads to a well-known overuse of cohesive devises in students' first attempts at academic writing. Even more important is the decision that students must take in which sections of their critical approach to their own writings must be reflected in more or less tentative language. The variation of hedging depends, of course, very much on the results of the empirical analysis and the decision whether to stick their necksout or whether to be careful depends partly on personality but also on training. The advantage is that it can make students proud of their own work when they realise which parts of their results they can be convinced of and propagate more or less forcefully as their own achievement.

Use clear paragraph structures

Traditionally this is achieved by a uniform theme – rheme sequence, i.e. the new topic is introduced at the end of the first sentence of the paragraph and the following references are clearly oriented towards that noun phrase. This dichotomy from the Prague School refigures as topic – comment in modern functional linguistics. The topic is not always the grammatical subject, since it refers to the pragmatic structure of the sentence or the management of information.

Avoid unnecessary complexity at all levels of language

In noun phrases, complex nominalisation like compounds or nouns with heavy premodifications are typical of German (and German academic style, in contrast to English styles, cf. Siepmann et al. 2011), so that some language-specific considerations may have to supplement these general rules: at the sentence and paragraph levels, it may be advisable to use parallel constructions to make it easier for the reader to follow the overall structure of argumentation. The sections and chapters of an academic text have explicit and transparent titles that provide readers a first indication about the sequence of argumentation if they only look at the headlines, which is easily done in modern text processing systems. Here again, similar structural sequences make it easier for the reader. Whether an IMRAD-similar sequence of structuring should be adhered to in chapters or in early writings like BA theses is a matter of debate.

Avoid passives

Passives are a useful grammatical structure if it is not clear who the agent of an action is. They can, of course, also be used consciously if agents have to be "mystified" (when a small boy who is alone in the house says "The vase got broken" when his mother asks him who did it). Another related feature is that passivisation may also lead to dehumanisation, so that negative actions can be made more acceptable. Students should be particularly aware of such opportunities for reader management and even manipulation.

Avoid synonyms

Although students may have been taught to avoid repetition in order to make their texts more interesting and to show their vocabulary skills by using synonyms in their early writing classes, "variation for variety's sake" is not a virtue in "real" academic writing, since the reader will not want to admire the lexical beauty of the text but digest the message as effectively as possible. Thus the choice of words and phrases with similar or identical meaning may distract readers unnecessarily, when they ask themselves whether semantic nuances are intentional or not.

Avoid clichés

Clear cases of the mystification and (meaningless) construction of academic language have been ridiculed in both the German and American press for a long time (e.g. in the famous Sokal affair). Apart from formal jargon (e.g. overuse of latinate expressions from *ab uovo* to *tempora mutantur*), the borderline of stale clichés (those often quoted "to avoid" are, for instance, *When all is said and done* or *at the end of the day*) and

creative clichés is always thin. So it is not easy to create and then go against the expectations to raise the attention of the reader. If reader expectations can be played with, this is always a good way to "deconstruct" and "raise awareness". As in all such cases, extremely (stereo-)typical language usage may bore the reader, as long as it is not used consciously to make a specific point later by breaking the monotony of a text.

Use the right word critically

The choice of expressive words may differ in different types of writing: probably it is most important in creative writing, less important in journalistic writing and least important in academic writing. In academic writing, the choice of words is determined by the subject area where specialists have usually argued over terms and concepts, which does not leave the novice writer too much choice but to go with the authorities they wish to side with. Less subject-specific words can be taken from the academic wordlist (Coxhead 2000). Creative guidelines are appropriate in particular for popular academic writing, when specific technical concepts have to be "translated" for the general academic reader. Here academic jargon definitely has to be avoided in order not to alienate the reader. Metaphors may help to imagine theoretical concepts. Colourful explicit adjectives may help to distinguish between nouns, as long as they do not distract from the core message. Good writers are aware of all these pitfalls and are very critical about their own word choices.

Use main clauses for main messages

Subordinate clauses can be very appropriate in noun phrase position as the subject clause "What I wanted to say is:" und main clauses can be very appropriate for expressing the circumstances of a proposition in adverbial clauses. Subordinate clauses can be used to reduce noun phrase complexity and facilitate the reading of the text. The reading is not made easier, however, when the subordinate clauses are longer than the main clauses of a sentence. Even if the author is proud to be able to master such grammatical complexities, s/he may run the risk of losing their readers, who spend more time with parsing and processing than following the sense and argumentation.

Use English punctuation options to the full

Punctuation seems to be a necessary evil to students, particularly since English punctuation rules are very complex and do not have one function only. But they are very powerful tools in guiding the reader and their functional value is often underestimated:

This has been pointed out explicitly by Greenbaum (1996: 503):

- There are numerous graphic displays that are unique to human communication. The conventions of punctuation reflect only crudely — if at all — the pauses and intonational patterns that occur in speech.

- The present punctuation system for English was essentially in place during the second half of the seventeenth century. It is linked more to grammatical structure than to the rhythms of speech.

- Punctuation marks do not necessarily coincide with pauses in speech. They occasionally indicate intonational features.

- The two major functions of punctuation marks are to separate and to enclose.

- There is a hierarchy of separation marks and a hierarchy of enclosing marks.

- The most frequently used marks are the comma and the period.

- The separation marks are periods, question marks, exclamation marks, colons, semicolons, commas, and dashes.

- The enclosing marks come in pairs, though one of the pair may be absorbed by a more major mark. The enclosing marks are parentheses, dashes, commas, and quotation marks.

- Two punctuation marks apply to words. They are apostrophes and hyphens.

Finally, I would like to add two special imperatives that I call supra-rules, since they are on a higher level of abstraction:

Break the rules

It should be clear that all these rules are only tendencies that are based on certain functional criteria. Very few English grammar rules are genuine 100% rules that can never be broken and this again gives the writer a tool to attract attention: twisting or breaking the rules of grammar and idiomaticity forces the reader to stop and think about not only form, but also content. This is a very powerful device in writer-reader interaction – when we want the reader to stop and think ...

Don't say too much

In a few cases we may not say enough: sometimes it may be necessary to be more explicit for a certain readership, especially if the target group does not belong to the same academic discourse community. However, there may be more cases when we say too much on three levels: first, for the advanced reader, there may be too many hedges and too many (explicit) linkers (although this is commonly taught in academic writing classes at beginners levels); second, the forceful juxtaposed position of two contrastive lexemes may make the point of the writer much clearer; third,the most embarrassing feeling the writer may create in the reader is when s/he carries on speaking or writing without having anything new to say. The writer, therefore, has to decide very self-critically whether to include ideas that deviate slightly from the main cause of argumentation and even more, the author has to decide whether to put it in or out,

avoiding recipes which have served in the past too often as a device to show that the writer knows how to impress the reader. In the end, it is always good to stop when one has finished the main point. Two hundred years ago, the German writer Jean Paul wrote: "Sprachkürze bringt Denkweite" ("Concise language inspires breadth of thought"?): to this there is little to add.

Despite these ten or twelve "rules" so far, it should be clear that the functional perspective of individual texts and text producers must have priority over slavishly ticked off "recipes". However, individual flexibility to express writer identity and text individuality must be based on an awareness of departmental conventions that form the backdrop of all markedness and foregrounding, which makes the work of experienced writers lively and interesting for their academic community. And all conventions can only maintain their validity if they are functional, i.e. based on psycholinguistically sound principles of the writing and reading processes that do not violate but instead support efficient communication.

A scaffolding approach to support independent learners

Of course, academic writing must be based on a certain proficiency of language. In a foreign language like English at university level, we can assume an intermediate level (equivalent to B2 in the Common European Framework of Reference) as a starting point for the next steps to writing and academic writing. From this level onward, it is possible to develop writing skills, for which numerous "recipes" are on the market: Basically the same "dos and don'ts" have been given for centuries in many languages. Bickham (1992 and many more editions), for instance, offers useful advice in "memorable" headings for crisp chapters like:

> Don't consider yourself too smart … when you can bring your writing down to earth where your readers are. (4-5)
>
> Don't show off when you write … when you can give your ideas power by putting complex ideas into simple language. (6-7)
>
> Don't expect miracles … when you can achieve your writing goals through hard work, patience and perseverance. (8-9)

Although these "mistakes (and how to avoid them)" are intended for fiction writing, they also apply to academic writing. Generally the skills must become increasingly specialised: writing skills must be based on language skills and academic writing skills must be based on writing skills. Thus academic writing classes do usually not start in the first semester: they are preceded by general writing classes and start simultaneously with the first seminars, where writing a seminar paper is usually required for successful completion of the course. But even here it makes a big difference whether students are allowed to write "an essay" or "scholarly article", since students are used to argumentative essays from school and find academic genres

much more difficult. When the creative flow of ideas has to be controlled much more critically, even good writers need help, especially at the beginning and at the end of their writing project. The project idea implies that a certain effort has to be made to achieve a defined goal at the end of a fixed period of time. To master this task successfully, instructional scaffolding seems appropriate. This approach is based on Vygotsky's 80 year old concept of an expert assisting a novice (cf. Vygotsky 1978 or Van der Veer/Valsiner Eds. 1994); in our case, students require assistance in order to achieve their learning goals. Today the approach is often combined with problem-based learning (PBL) or task-based learning (TBL). Whereas telling learners how to achieve a learning goal may help the learner immediately, they profit more in the long run if the instructor encourages them in their individual paths in constructing new knowledge. This applies to academic reading (see p.26 above) as well as to academic writing. For a novice writer in the field, writing a paper or thesis is a complex and time-consuming task; it is a special challenge to organize a number of unordered, overlapping ideas into a long (linear) text in a convincing way.

More specifically, such a top-down approach includes an understanding of a number of small logical steps towards successful academic text composition in English:

- jotting down words to sketch ideas in a brain-storming session,

- organizing the ideas or key words in a hierarchical multidimensional mind-map so as to provide a focus in the centre and overlapping concepts and related issues, around it (of course, this mapping can be done on pa-per as well as on computer using appropriate software);

- fitting the text into the structural genre conventions (like IMRAD for an empirical research paper);

- segmenting these sections further into paragraphs in a logical sequence (with the help of explicit cohesive devises in the students' repertoire);

- forming concrete sentences that fit the argumentation flow and highlight the important information (like theme-rheme sequences);

- choosing appropriate academic words (from Coxhead's academic word list) and lexico-grammatical combinations to ensure idiomatic phrasing;

- checking whether all formulations are in line with what is understood as academic style in the (sub-)discipline.

After the first or the second stage in this "road map", the student has to decide on a preliminary title and carry out a general feasibility test to ascertain whether (some of) these ideas can be put into empirical action.

A similar top-down approach may help at the end of the paper, especially when the students have internalised the major distinction between re-editing and proof-reading:

- reading through the complete text produced,

- scrutinizing it on three levels in this order:

- the macro-level (although it may be painful to throw away a section that may have been produced so laboriously),

- the meso-level (also to make sure that there are enough examples to illustrate the phenomenon and enough tables and figures to support the argumentation) and

- the micro-level (to make sure phrases and sentences are still idiomatic despite all the changes during the writing and rewriting process);

• checking word usages with the help of a monolingual dictionary, a collocations dictionary (including the Longman Language Activator in traditional book form or on DVD), a (machine-readable) text collection of similar style, discipline and genre, or Google in a web-as/like-corpus (advanced) search;

• making sure that the metalanguage, especially hedging (whether to risk author commitment by using I am convinced or avoiding it by writing The data suggest) and cohesive devises appear appropriate for the readership;

• scrutinizing the formal conventions of the (sub-)discipline from citations to references;

• looking over the complete text to ensure that it appears tidy and attractive, without being too ornate, individual without being too different from the genre conventions to distract the reader (and examiner); and finally

• inspecting the printed copy from title page to appendix (or accompanying DVD), just to make sure a last time whether the copy submitted is identical to the "masterpiece" in the mind.

Of course, this sequence of tasks is meant as a checklist, but serves as an illustration of the complexity of the writing project, indicating that every student has to master developing their own strategies.

Guided instruction from principles to concrete tasks

Our discussion of writing instruction has to focus on a modern "European" educational setting, i.e. "continental" in the British sense of excluding mother-tongue speakers on the British Isles and concentrating on lingua franca users of the highest levels, academic writers who work to develop their skills from the B range in the CEFR framework up to the C range, which encompasses the levels of proficiency and mastery. On this level, continental or even national traditions of academic writing have developed over centuries and even the general principles may be different - to say nothing of the concrete classroom instruction. Here, Rienecker/Jörgensen (2003: 111) suggest an interesting compromise:

> Therefore, we find that writing in the continental tradition – if necessary or desirable at all – should not take place at least until the later stages of study, when some sort of apprenticeship relation between teacher and student is a realistic possibility.

> Consequently we would propose to planners of education in continental surroundings a progression in the teaching of writing from the more manageable Anglo-American approaches, with emphasis on focused problem investigation towards a more

comprehensive, hermeneutical treatment of the subjects in their entirety – a continental approach.

A good example of the analytical approach that breaks down the writing project into small manageable tasks is the focus on sections of larger genres. In linguistic and all social science writing, a central section of a thesis is the research question, which is much more important today than only a few years ago. Rienecker (1999: 105) has illustrated features of a good research question in detail:

A Good Research Question
- is interesting to its writer
- and is relevant to the subject
- is based on:
    - »something not right«,»it is said . . . but in reality«
    - »the relation between X and Y«
    - »the observation that sticks out«
    - »a sense of wondering«
- makes it possible to debate and argue a point
- and makes it possible to conclude something
- is in question- or statement (claim)-form
- has one clear main question (+ subquestions)
- is posed in precise words
- is clearly marked in the introduction
- is wherever possible, short, preferably less than 10 lines long!

For some students this may be too explicit again, but for beginners it may be a useful checklist that indicates the great art and thinking that has to go into a key concept like "research question" today. Similar lists and exercises can concentrate on other key aspects such as what is accepted as "evidence" in different disciplines (cases, frequencies, correlations, significance, etc.). With the help of case studies or best-practice models students can work out themselves what the conventions in their departments are and what is expected of them to be considered successful writers in their community.

A portfolio approach to maintain progress in learning

One of the latest developments in academic writing at the European level is the focus on portfolios in pedagogy and assessment (Little 2013 and Orlova 2013). The digital European Language Portfolio (ELP) aims at a wide range of achievements. It can strengthen learner autonomy if learners become aware that it cannot only help them to measure their own writing progress but also to increase their employability afterwards.

The possible pros and cons of writing portfolios have been discussed extensively by Hyland (2002: 138-144): From a learner perspective, portfolios can be motivating, since learners take up the challenge to increase their skills in a wide range of genres; they can evaluate their own progress and portfolios can be a meaningful record of their work. From a teacher perspective, portfolios are useful, since teachers can adopt

flexible selection criteria and adapt them to their needs: they can make grading more rewarding if the focus is on the learners' progress towards the end of their studies; they also help to integrate curriculum requirements, developmental evaluation, and reflection on the writing progress over time, genres and contexts. These advantages are more important than the disadvantages especially for teachers, who have to rely on their students, their fairness in text production (despite the possibility of plagiarism) and compilation. In general, such a holistic approach to writing can be much more rewarding for the learning partners on a small scale in specific institutions and on a large scale on a (comparative) national level (almost like PISA).

Conclusion

This contribution has attempted to show new perspectives of English for academic purposes, in particular for academic writing. The new paradigm sees writing as a craft that can be "constructed" through different modern approaches. The contribution has covered a wide area from principles to "rules", from implicit to explicit teaching, from the native to the non-native, and from formal to functional perspectives. In this mosaic, the focus on the readers is central, for academic discourse develops in the academic community and every contributor has to make a choice between disciplinary conventions and individual creativity.

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DISCOURSES OF KNOWLEDGE: CULTURAL DISJUNCTIONS AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS FOR THE LANGUAGE INDUSTRIES

Karen Bennett

University of Lisbon

Today, English Academic Discourse (EAD) is the hegemonic vehicle of knowledge in the modern world, and researchers from all language backgrounds are under a great deal of pressure to publish in it. However, there exist other academic discourses in Europe that are based upon quite different epistemological paradigms and which are being increasingly eclipsed with the expansion of English. This paper examines some of the cultural disjunctions that manifest themselves when the Anglo-Saxon academic model comes into contact with different knowledge traditions, and looks at the various language industries that have sprung up to help bridge the gap. The paper ends with a brief discussion of the ideological implications of the expansion of English as a lingua franca for the communication of knowledge.

Introduction

In one of the few Portuguese academic style manuals that exist on the market, there is a cautionary tale about French doctors whose articles were systematically rejected for publication in the prestigious medical journal *The Lancet*. Serrano (2004: 55-56) tells how a French medical journal commissioned the writing specialist, J.A. Farfor, to diagnose why medical articles produced in France did not get published internationally. The conclusion reached was that their written style was wrong. For instead of being fully explicit and using short sentences with one idea per period, the French style was elliptical, imprecise and full of redundancies. Hence, these professionals were being systematically excluded from the global *community of practice* (Wenger, 1998) due to their inadequate mastery of the *discourse* required.

Serrano offers this tale to his Portuguese readers presumably to warn them against making the same errors. His point appears to be that, as France strongly influenced Portuguese culture until the middle of the 20th century, the Portuguese are liable to make the same mistakes. Despite being slightly derisive about the sparseness of English factual prose (he even offers an ironic rendition into English of a few lines from Camões' epic poem, commenting 'The whole of the *Lusiads* could be effectively dispatched in a dozen pages'), he nevertheless

recognises that Portuguese scientists need to learn simplicity, clarity, precision and brevity if they wish to see their work published on the international stage.

This story illustrates just one of the many cultural disjunctions that exist as the result of the growing hegemony of English Academic Discourse (EAD) as the vehicle of knowledge in the modern world. Serrano's irony also implicitly raises the question of whether a global *lingua franca* in this domain is in fact a desirable development. Farfor (1976a/b) clearly believed that it was, though others have suggested that the supposed universalism and neutrality of EAD might actually mask 'a drift towards Anglo-Saxon norms' (House, 2006: 354) i.e. a form of cultural imperialism that may ultimately result in the suppression of other ways of construing knowledge.

In this paper, then, I shall examine some of the cultural disjunctions that manifest themselves when the Anglo-Saxon academic model comes into contact with different knowledge traditions, and look at the various language industries that have sprung up to help bridge the gap. Let us begin with the key term, 'discourses of knowledge'.

Discourses of knowledge

Ever since Michel Foucault (1969) first articulated the notion of 'discourse' as a form of social practice that effectively constructs the object it purports to describe, the term has been inextricably bound up with notions of both community and ideology. That is to say, a discourse is understood to encode the worldview of the social group that engendered it; hence, the syntax and lexis of the simplest sentence can be shown to contain implicit value judgements that relate it synchronically and diachronically to other texts in the system. When institutionalised, this complex web of interconnections forms a coherent 'discursive formation' with its own ideology, history and agenda.

Today, EAD represents a particularly imposing example of a 'discursive formation'. It has its roots in a prose that was forged back in the 17th century to be the vehicle for the 'new science' of Bacon, Newton and Boyle, gradually spreading to the social sciences and humanities until it eventually became what Halliday and Martin (1993:84) call 'the discourse of modernity', used whenever factuality is asserted and authority claimed. Today, its basic precepts are encoded in writing manuals and style guides, transmitted via the numerous English for Academic Purposes (EAP) courses held in universities throughout the world, and

enforced by the gatekeepers that condition access to the most prestigious journals and conferences.

The prescriptive tradition is remarkable consistent about what those basic precepts are (Bennett, 2009). They include clarity, economy and precision; plain concrete diction; straightforward syntax, and an aversion to 'dubious persuasive techniques' such as the use of 'emotive language' (Fairbairn and Winch, 1996:180)[1] – all of which set it apart from some of the scholarly discourses produced in Continental Europe and mark it out as the descendant of the Plain Style of Classical Rhetoric, espoused by English Protestants after the Reformation (Croll, 1969/1929; Conley, 1990).

Unlike the text-based knowledge of the Medieval Scholastics and Renaissance Humanists, this discourse was (and still is) very much oriented towards the world outside the linguistic sign. This *positivist* stance is manifested grammatically by features such as the nominalisation (Halliday and Martin 1993) and the use of impersonal verb structures like the passive (Ding, 1998), which shift the focus away from the observer to the object of study. A continuing tendency towards *empiricism* can also be observed in the constant injunctions that all claims be based upon concrete evidence, even in subjects such as literary studies and history (Pirie, 1985:109; Fabb and Durant, 2005: 77-89; Storey, 2004:45-58). Finally, the discourse is predicated upon a philosophy of *linguistic realism*, defined by Michael Dummett (1978:146) as 'the belief that statements…possess an objective truth-value independent of our means of knowing it'.[2] Indeed, it is this conviction that language, when clear and unadorned, offers a transparent view onto the outside world that has led to English factual discourse being termed 'windowpane prose', and which makes it such an attractive tool for the pursuit of science.

Despite its hegemony on the world stage, EAD is not, however, the only discourse of knowledge in use today. In much of Continental Europe, where positivism, empiricism and linguistic realism are viewed as philosophically passé (Rorty, 1991:12; Foucault, 1966:229), the precepts that are so taken for granted

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[1] Other characteristics typically listed in the style manuals are: restraint in making claims; rational argument supported by evidence; the incorporation of accepted theory through referencing and citation; a hierarchical text structure, with the general preceding the particular; a consensus as regards length and structuring of paragraphs and sentences; and the use of technical terminology (Bennett, 2009).

[2] This contrasts with the idealist/constructivist views that are more common in Continental Philosophy, according to which all knowledge of reality is mediated, or even constructed by, language.

by English scholars simply do not apply. Hence it is frequent to find academic writing that is based upon very different principles. The 'elliptical, imprecise, redundant' style of Serrano's French doctors is just one example. A recent corpus study of a large body of Portuguese academic texts[3] (Bennett, 2010a, 2011: 27-74) confirmed the existence of a humanities writing style that is characterised by copiousness, indirectness, figurative language and a preference for a high-flown erudite or poetic diction. Moreover, there is reason to believe that such a style is not restricted to Portugal. The Spanish write in a very similar way, as could be expected given their linguistic and cultural affinities, and comparable examples might be found as far away as Germany and Greece.

The English-speaking world, however, does not acknowledge these differences. With the exception of the approach called Contrastive Rhetoric (Connor, 1996) that has developed within the English Language Teaching (ELT) industry to help foreign students overcome minor problems caused by mother tongue interference, the institutional attitude towards knowledge production and dissemination seems to be that there is only one valid way of encoding the fruits of academic research. That is to say, it is today English Academic Discourse (EAD) that determines what is considered knowledge and how it should be presented. As Tardy (2004:250) points out, the vast majority of publications in the *Science Citation Index* are in English, while the gate-keeping roles (in the form of editorial boards and referees) are most often occupied by Anglophone scholars. This means that texts that do not comply with its norms are liable to be turned away and denied a voice on the international stage.

Cultural disjunctions

Let us look in more detail at some of the cultural disjunctions that reveal themselves when attempts are made to transmit knowledge across language barriers. Farfor (1976a:634) sheds more light on the case of the French doctors described in the introduction. Medical writing in France, he claims, is regarded as a form of 'belles lettres', and the desire for stylistic elegance often overrides the drive for clarity.[4] For example, authors believe that they should not repeat the

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[3] The corpus consisted of 408 academic texts (1,333,890 words) of different genres and disciplines, which were analysed for the presence of particular discourse features not usually found in EAD.

[4] Maisonneuve (2009:87), former editor of *La Presse Médicale*, claims that 'thirty years later the situation has not changed', and that it continues to be common practice for French medical writers 'to use the style of Victor Hugo or Marcel Proust'.

same word in two consecutive sentences and thus search about for synonyms, a practice that undermines the precision of the text, given the need for rigorous and consistent use of terminology in scientific writing. Arwidson and Lavielle (1998:173), twenty-two years later, identify a similar lack of clarity in texts produced in the area of health education:

> One of the principles is that the action described often completely disappears within a text that expounds the convictions, arguments and ethical choices of the author. Thus, by the end, the reader rarely knows much about the precise procedure employed or the results obtained. We do not know who has done what, when, how and the impact that this achieved.[5]

Clearly, then, this is not a matter of linguistic accuracy. As Farfor (1976b:224) points out, many foreign authors do not appreciate that 'the structure of a paper is one thing, the language in which it is dressed up another, and that a paper may be written in faultless English yet be badly written, camouflaging the message'. That is to say, mastery of a discourse involves much more than a command of grammar and spelling; it requires the internalisation of the world view encoded in the very structure of the text.

For example, the English insistence that the main referential information be presented directly and unadorned in first position at all ranks reflects its positivist orientation and (ostensible) rejection of rhetorical 'manipulation'. This is one of the most significant differences with regards to languages like Portuguese, Spanish and French, which tend to prefer a more indirect approach.[6] Hence, the process of cultural adaptation may sometimes require the systematic reordering of information not only at the level of the sentence, but also of the paragraph or even entire text.

For example, in the following Portuguese abstract from the field of Archaeology, the subject of the paper only appears some 50 words into the opening sentence. This means that the entire sentence needs to be inverted to bring it into line with English expectations.

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[5] Translated from the French by me.

[6] There are historical reasons for this disjunction. The positivistic orientation of the knowledge paradigm that prevailed after the Scientific Revolution meant that, in English factual writing, the referential dimension of language (*logos*) gradually acquired precedence over the interpersonal/emotive (*pathos*) and ethical (*ethos)* dimensions, which had had equal value in Classical Rhetoric. In countries where the Scholastic and Humanistic traditions were perpetuated for longer (often due to educational policies put in place in Catholic countries following the Counter Reformation), this did not occur. Consequently, the academic discourse produced in those countries still shows the influence of Classical Rhetoric (Conley, 1990; Timmermans, 2002).

Original and literal translation

Partindo de um levantamento arqueológico e antropológico sobre os barcos
Starting off from an archaeological and anthropological survey into boats

e a navegação desde a pré-história até aos meados do séc. XX,
and shipping from pre-history until the mid 20th century,

nas tradições associadas à construção naval existentes no litoral
the traditions associated with shipbuilding along the coast

do NW de Portugal, no tipo de turismo existente nesta região
of Northwest Portugal, the type of tourism existing in the region

(associado a actividades costeiras e marinhas) e no público-alvo,
(associated to coastal and marine activities) and the target public,

as autoras apresentam um projecto de desenvolvimento do produto
the authors present a development project for the product

O Museu do Barco e da Construção Naval.
The Shipbuilding and Boat Museum.[7]

Final translation

This paper presents a project for a cultural product entitled *The Shipbuilding and Boat Museum,* drawing upon archaeological and anthropological studies into boats and shipping from pre-history until the mid 20th century, the traditions associated to shipbuilding in northwest Portugal, the type of tourism that exists in the region (associated to coastal and maritime activities) and research into target markets.

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[7] From the abstract of 'Ancient shipping, traditional boats and sustainable tourism in Northwest Portugal: the development of a product entitled The Boat and Naval Construction Museum' by A. Bettencourt (2006). Reproduced with the kind permission of the author.

Textual organisation is by no means the only feature that distinguishes English Academic Discourse from many of its European counterparts. The corpus of Portuguese academic texts from which the above extract was taken also revealed a prevalence of long and syntactically complex sentences, which have to be radically pruned and split up into shorter units before they become acceptable in English; a tendency to embed claims in larger units that foreground the interpersonal dimension, rather than present them directly; the abundant use of abstractions and poetic vocabulary, and much redundancy. Although these features are particularly common in the humanities and social sciences, they can nevertheless be found in subjects that might be expected to have a more clearly-defined 'scientific' status, such as medicine, economics and engineering.

Indeed, some of the most significant, and insurmountable, cultural disjunctions encountered during the transmission of knowledge concern disciplinary identity. In the Anglophone world, the scientific paradigm is so overwhelmingly dominant that even theologians, philosophers, historians and literary critics 'have to worry about whether they are being "scientific", whether they are entitled to think of their conclusions, no matter how carefully argued, as worthy of the term "true"' (Rorty, 1991: 35). However, in parts of Continental Europe, the humanities paradigm occupies a much more central role, influencing all aspects of knowledge production. This may involve not only a rejection of Anglo-Saxon 'windowpane prose', but also, in some cases, a merry disregard for disciplinary norms and boundaries. Hence, it is not uncommon to find supposedly 'scientific' texts that engage in poetic effusions or include literary quotations (sometimes unreferenced) from canonical writers.

The following Portuguese psychology text about anorexia[8] is a case in point. Assuming from the outset a phenomenological stance in the tradition of Husserl, Sartre and Merleau-Ponty, the author rejects the impersonality of the scientific paradigm but instead uses a passionate poetic style to get his point across. The text is divided into 26 short numbered paragraphs, some no more than a sentence long, each of which presents the voice of a different subjectivity, and is illustrated in places with excerpts of poetry by famous writers from the Portuguese canon.

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[8] From J. L. Pio Abreu. 'A Fenomenologia de Sexualidade: do Desejo ao Amor', Chapter 7 of *O Tempo Aprisionado: Ensaios não-Espiritualistas sobre o Espírito Humano*. Coimbra: Quarteto Editora, 2000:139-149. This extract was first analysed in Bennett (2007a).

16.

Pelo amor me ofereço em holocausto pela vida do outro. Devoto-me, não já ao seu corpo, mas ao seu desejo, à sua subjectividade, ao seu espírito.

(lines of poetry from Camões)

17.

Já não vejo, e sobretudo não me vejo, pelos meus olhos, mas pelos olhos do outro. E à sua visão me moldo como objecto. Se o outro me quer alegre, eu rio, mas choro se ele me quiser triste. Sou activo ou passivo, inteligente ou embotado, consoante os seus desejos.

Se o outro me quer sem corpo, o meu corpo deixa de existir para mim. Deixo os prazeres e a comida, e ele vai desaparecendo.Mas sempre sobra corpo, e por isso me acho gordo. Podia bem ser esse o desejo do escrupuloso pai amado pela filha anoréctica.

16.

In love, I offer myself to be burnt up by the life of the other. I devote myself, no longer to her body, but to her desire, her subjectivity, her spirit.

(lines of poetry by Camões)

17.

I no longer see. In particular, I no longer see myself through my own eyes, but through the eyes of the other. If the other wants me happy, I laugh, but I cry if he wants me sad. I am active or passive, intelligent or feeble, in accordance with his wishes.

If the other wants me to be incorporeal, my body stops existing for me. I give up pleasures and food, and my body withdraws. But there is still too much body, and so, I think I am fat. This could well be the desire of the anorectic daughter towards her beloved but scrupulous father.

Despite the relatively simple texture of the prose, this work is deliberately pursuing a very different aim to that inherent to EAD, and as such is not publishable in English as scientific discourse. As this author has discovered with other works he has written, unconventional or non-categorisable texts will only ever be considered by English publishers when there is incontrovertible evidence of their commercial and academic success in a number of other countries; otherwise, they are rejected out of hand.

The language industries

In the last decades of the 20th century, it seemed as if the Anglo-Saxon world was teetering on the brink of major epistemological paradigm shift, due largely to the influence of the poststructuralist currents emanating from the Continent. The scientific paradigm was under attack from all sides and a number of alternative academic discourses had sprung up in an attempt to redress some of the perceived ideological, ethical and epistemological imbalances of EAD.[9]

Today, however, those challenges seem largely to have subsided. In the UK, priority for funding is now inevitably given to the so-called STEM courses (Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics), thereby reinforcing its commitment to the scientific paradigm; and a similar bias can now be seen in other countries and at central European level, where the humanities and social sciences are being progressively squeezed and downgraded to make way for subjects more directly linked to technology, industry and business. As a result, EAD has once more consolidated its position as the hegemonic discourse of knowledge, generating increased demand for those industries whose mission is to overcome the cultural disjunctions that impede access to the world academic forum.

One of the language industries that has grown exponentially in recent years is the teaching business, particularly *English for Academic Purposes (EAP)*, which is now present in universities around the world. Unlike conventional foreign language classes, these courses are less concerned with straightforward linguistic issues than with supplying learners with the rhetorical skills necessary to achieve success in the academic world. Hence, they focus on issues such as the structure and organisation of academic texts, argumentation techniques, how to present and hedge claims, and the preparation and delivery of oral presentations. In many non-Anglophone countries, discipline-specific EAP classes are now integrated into undergraduate and/or postgraduate courses as a compulsory part of the curriculum, while in UK and US universities, foreign students are often obliged to attend an EAP course before embarking on their chosen programme of study.

The growth in this demand has also resulted in the development of lucrative subsidiary activities, such as *EAP teacher-training,* the creation and implementation of internationally-recognised *examinations* (IELTS, TOEFL etc)

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[9] These included the various discourses of qualitative research that developed within the social sciences (see Woods, 2006, for an overview); the French-inspired *écriture* of feminists and other subaltern groups; and the dense opaque prose of Critical Theory

and the production of *academic style manuals and guides*, all of which employ thousands of people worldwide. Academic publishingalso addresses the question of cultural disjunctions with the provision of *revision, editing and proof-reading services*; indeed, a whole range of 'literacy brokers' (such as journal editors, reviewers, academic peers, etc) systematically intervene in texts of foreign authorship before their final published form is achieved, as research into the academic writing of multilingual scholars (Curry and Lillis, 2004; Lillis and Curry, 2006a, 2006b, 2010) has confirmed.

The *translation* industry has also benefitted hugely from the hegemony of English in the academic sphere. Academics with little or no command of English can only access the most prestigious international journals by having their work professionally translated, and foreign research units and journals are now increasingly publishing in English in order to reach a wider public. Meanwhile, there is also a flourishing market for translation in the opposite direction, as English academic books and papers are rendered into other languages for use in non-Anglophone institutions.

Finally, the need for technical precision in intercultural transfer situations has led to the development of *multilingual terminological databases* and *computer tools*, designed to establish 'official' equivalents of technical terms in different languages and specialist areas, and present them in a user-friendly format. Given the sheer scale of this undertaking, it is already a multi-million-euro industry employing vast numbers of researchers, technicians, linguists and area specialists. In future, as knowledge becomes increasingly more specialised and user communities diversify, it looks set to expand (as many of the papers in this volume show).

The existence of an international *lingua franca* has no doubt facilitated the global transmission of information and brought great practical benefits to mankind. However, it has not been an unqualified good, and there are now a growing number of detractors complaining about the effect that it has had upon other languages and upon epistemological diversity in general. This will be the subject of my next and final section.

The consequences

One of the most interesting characteristics of discursive formations is that they are not, intrinsically, language-specific. That is to say, they can usually be exported from one culture to another through a process of 'calquing', by means

of which a mirror image of the discourse is imprinted upon the recipient language, leading to the creation and eventual internalisation of new mental categories. This often occurs as a spontaneous by-product of translation activity (Cronin, 2010:251; House, 2006). But calques may also be deliberately provoked, usually in the belief that the target culture will be enriched by new discourse habits.

This was effectively what Farfor was trying to do in his *Cours élémentaire de rédaction médicale*. Believing that it was time to 'deanglo-saxonise' medical writing and 'make it known and available to other language groups' (1976b:225), he argued in Chapter 1 of the *Cours* that it was as 'universal' as medicine itself:

…whatever the language, the article should be concise, structured and presented in accordance with the norms of medical writing, which are universally applicable[10]. (Farfor, 1976a:634)

Twenty-two years later, Arwidson and Lavielle (1998:173) were continuing the crusade, declaring the need to extend such practices to the domain of health education. Like Farfor, they took a critical stance towards traditional writing practices in France, and advocated the implementation of the IMRAD[11] model of textual organisation.

In Portugal, there is evidence that a similar process is under way. Despite the relatively late appearance of Portuguese-language style manuals based on the English model (such as Serrano, 2004, mentioned above), the corpus study (2010a, 2011:27-74) reveals that a discourse calqued on EAD is now prevalent in the hard sciences and may even be threatening to take over the more traditional discourse of the humanities and social sciences.

This brings us to my final point, namely the long-term consequences of this process on the host culture. Critical discourse analysts have long realised that discourses are totalitarian in mission and imperialistic in reach, constantly aiming to explain and control as much territory as possible (Kress, 1985:7). Moreover, as they encode ideologies, the calquing process ultimately represents the colonisation of one culture by another – in this case, the 'imposition of new "mental structures" through English' (Phillipson, 1992:166).

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[10] Translated from the French by me.

[11] i.e. Introduction, Method, Results and Discussion (IMRED in French).

However, this kind of imperialism requires collusion on the part of the host culture to succeed. When the invading discourse is already hegemonic,[12] the traditional discourses used by that culture in the given domain may begin to be rejected by potential users as old-fashioned and inadequate. This is the mechanism at work in Portugal, as was demonstrated by some of the responses given in a survey of Portuguese researchers conducted in 2002 and 2008 (Bennett, 2010b, 2011: 75-116). In France, on the other hand, the fact that the process began much earlier (in the medical domain at least) and has still not yet been fully achieved (Maisonneuve, 2009) is perhaps a measure of that country's cultural self-confidence and its traditional antagonism towards Anglo-Saxon impositions.[13]

A number of authors have now begun to manifest concern at the broader implications of this process. Cronin (2010:251) points out that calquing not only impoverishes the individual languages by turning them into 'mirror images of the dominant languages' but that it also reduces linguistic and epistemological diversity in the world system as a whole (2003:72-75). Swales (1997:374) makes the same point, memorably likening EAD to a Tyrannosaurus Rex 'gobbling up the other denizens of the academic linguistic grazing grounds'. The Portuguese sociologist, Boaventura de Sousa Santos (2001:266) goes even further, coining the term 'epistemicide' to describe the way in which 'Western science' seems set on systematically eradicating other knowledges in its bid for total control of the field.

As far as the language industries are concerned, while these are clearly participating in the colonisation process by furthering the spread of EAD, the calquing effect that results may ultimately serve to make some of them redundant. That is to say, once 'mirror images' of the dominant discourse have been installed in the languages of its epistemological rivals, the cultural disjunctions will become less pronounced, reducing the demand for professional aid to bridge the gap.

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[12] See Phillipson (1992:72-76) for a detailed discussion of Gramsci's notion of 'hegemony' in the English language context.

[13] Farfor (1976b:224-225) gives an example of a spirited defence of the traditional French approach to medical writing. Referring to an article by Vargues published in *Nouvelle Presse Médicale* (1975. 4: 1131), he writes, rather dismissively: 'After criticising Anglo-Saxon papers for their simple language and detailed precision, he [Vargues]…recommended that French research should be reported in the form of "scholarly dissertations, with thesis, antithesis, and synthesis"… He concluded by appealing to French authors to defend their language by rejecting Anglo-American methods (*les norms*) of writing.'

In Portugal, many young researchers in the hard sciences, brought up in a bilingual technical culture where there is little to choose between a textbook written in Portuguese and another written in English, are already able to do away with language classes and translation services, and produce internationally-acceptable texts relatively effortlessly. In a country like France, on the other hand, which has a much more confident intellectual culture of its own, the takeover will probably be resisted for longer.

Indeed, it is to be hoped that the cultural disjunctions will remain in place for a long time yet, not only to ensure the continued employment of the thousands of professionals involved in the language industries, but also in the broader interests of epistemological diversity.

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II. Theoretical approaches: Empirical Perspectives

Syntactic Complexity in EFL Student Writing: A Learner Corpus Study

František Tůma & Tomáš Lengál
Technical University of Liberec

This paper investigates the development of syntactic complexity in students' (n=18) written discourse using a learner corpus in the context of a blended course of English whose target level was the CEFR A2 level. In this theory-driven descriptive case study, student texts written in specially devised online discussion tasks were used as a basis for compiling a small-scale learner corpus. By comparing three measures of syntactic complexity (coordination, subordination and clause length), the development of student interlanguage was described. At the end of the course, students used less coordination, more subordination and longer clauses, which indicates the development of syntactic complexity. The study confirms that social cognitive theories can be used in the teaching of writing, and offers a methodological framework for compiling and annotating learner corpora from computer-mediated discussions at lower proficiency levels.

Introduction

As students progress towards higher levels of proficiency, the complexity of their language develops. The ability to produce more elaborate language can be viewed as a prerequisite for success in academic writing at more advanced levels.

This paper investigates the development of syntactic complexity in students' interlanguage, i.e. their developing second-language system (cf. Selinker 1984), that was elicited through their interaction in asynchronous discussion forums on the Internet. Despite dealing with interpersonal communication in a course at the CEFR A2 level, this study offers methodological insights that can be implemented in researching more advanced writing, including academic writing. Furthermore, some pedagogical principles reported in this study can be applied in courses of academic writing as well.

Learning and teaching through computer mediated communication

Interaction through computer-mediated communication (CMC) presents a flexible environment for foreign or second language learning (Chapelle 2007; Warschauer 1997). CMC displays different features in different communication

modes, however, it is generally recognized that this form of communication combines features of both spoken and written discourse (Crystal 2011). In this study, students communicate using asynchronous discussion forums. This way of communicating encourages students to use appropriate language functions, rhetorical forms and conventions of written discourse and to edit their messages before sending them. These are strategies that correspond to those of writing (Brown 2003:221). Therefore student-generated texts are processed as written texts and the principal aim of the tasks that students carry out is to develop students' communicative competence in writing.

As far as the model of communicative competence is concerned, the Bachman model (1990) is used due to its clear organization. Syntactic competence, which is the main subject of this investigation, is situated under grammatical competence within organizational competence.

In terms of educational perspectives, social-cognitive theories (Bertrand 1998) can serve as a basis for learning, namely learning through cooperation (Johnson & Johnson 1994), which is based on social constructivism (Williams & Burden 1997).

In practice, communicative competence can be developed through discussion tasks, reflecting the principles linked to the above-mentioned paradigms (Tůma 2010).

Syntactic complexity

Three qualities of verbal performance can be distinguished: *accuracy*, *fluency* and *complexity* (Skehan 1998). This triad can be used not only to describe learners' oral or written performance, but also as an indicator of learners' proficiency underlying their performance (Housen & Kuiken 2009:461). Despite the fact that the three traits are closely interconnected, this article will focus solely on syntactic complexity, as it itself presents a complex quality that deserves closer attention.

A number of studies have addressed syntactic complexity in writing, ranging from native speakers' academic prose analyzed diachronically (Malá 2011) to non-native interpersonal online communication with a synchronic perspective (Sotillo 2000). What these studies (as well as other studies dealing with syntactic complexity) have in common is the subjects' relatively high proficiency (the texts that are analyzed are written by either advanced learners or native speakers of English). Despite dealing with a similar linguistic feature, however, in most

studies the operationalizations of syntactic complexity vary. Different operationalizations of syntactic complexity are addressed by Szmrecsányi (2004). He illustrates that length, counting nodes and "index of syntactic complexity" can all aptly express syntactic complexity of spoken and written texts produced by native speakers and recommends using word counts due to the convenience of this method.

Nevertheless, Norris and Ortega (2009) point out that different measures operationalize syntactic complexity differently. Moreover, given that syntactic complexity is a multi-dimensional construct, different operationalizations may lead to different results when used for determining complexity in SLA research. They distinguish five different measures, out of which three can be used generally: coordination, subordination and clause length. Next, they theoretically and empirically support the claim that these three measures reflect different stages of syntactic development: at initial levels, learners tend to use coordination, at intermediate levels subordination emerges, and at advanced levels, nominalization as well as pre- and post-modification within phrases occur, which can be measured by clause length. Last but not least, due to the multidimensionality of syntactic complexity, Norris and Ortega (2009) suggest that all of these three measures should be applied simultaneously in SLA research.

Research methodology

This descriptive quantitative study reports partial results of a larger one semester research project whose main research question is how online discussion tasks (characterized below) contribute to developing communicative competence. The overall research design and partial results have been discussed elsewhere (Tůma in press, 2010). The aim of this study is to describe changes in the syntactic component of learner's communicative competence in writing, which is approached through analyzing the complexity of student performances elicited at the beginning and at the end of the semester in online discussion tasks.

As far as research design is concerned, a single case study with embedded units of analysis was used (Yin 2009). The online course presents the context for this study. Within this course, a selected group of students comprises the case, and individual students can be studied in more detail (units of analysis).

For the selection of students for the case study, reading and writing tasks from Key English Tests (KET) were used, as this test is a standardized test

corresponding with the CEFR A2 level. Students whose scores at the beginning of the semester were between 50 and 85 per cent were purposively selected for the case study. This relatively low proficiency level makes this corpus distinct from others, as "the dominant proficiency level covered in current learner corpora falls in the intermediate-advanced range" (Granger 2008:264).

Data collection, apart from testing, embraced texts produced by students in discussion tasks 1 and 3, from which a learner corpus was compiled. The following diagram (Fig. 1) illustrates how the methods of data collection were combined.

Fig. 1: The process of data collection and corpus compilation

Learner corpora serve as a useful tool for describing learner (inter)language (Pravec 2002). The corpus in this study can be classified as a small academic longitudinal learner corpus of written English with delayed pedagogical use (Granger 2008). According to Beißwenger and Storrer (2008), the corpus is a project-related annotated corpus of CMC with pre-processing (the latter is discussed in more detail in section 4.3 below). As far as learner corpus design is concerned, Granger (2008) distinguishes learner variables and task variables. These will be briefly characterized below.

Participants and learning context

The corpus was compiled from texts written by 18 undergraduate students (15 females, 3 males) whose L1 was Czech and who registered for a two-semester pre-intermediate course of English as a foreign language at the Technical University of Liberec. The level of English can be characterized as lower A2, as the students' test scores ranged between 50 and 85 per cent.

The students learnt English in a blended course, in which both in the winter and summer semester there were 14 in-class sessions (focused on presentation and practice of grammar and lexis, and on listening and speaking) accompanied by an online component which aimed not only at controlled practice of grammar, lexis and reading, but also at developing writing skills through the three discussion tasks.

Discussion tasks

The corpus comprises texts written by the students in the initial (first) and final (third) discussion task in the summer semester. Both discussion tasks lasted for 12 days and were similar in nature: students in groups of 5 were required to share some personal information and then reach an agreement together, which was the discussion outcome. The goal of the first task was to find things the students had in common. Similarly, the goal of the third (final) task was to make a list of plans for the summer in common to all group members. These discussion topics reflect the CEFR A2 level descriptors. Both of these discussions required a similar level of justification of discussion outcomes.

In each task, students were required to submit at least 3 postings per week, i.e. at least 6 postings per task. Student participation was a part of the course syllabus and was graded at the end of each task.

All students who were included in the case study had passed the winter-semester course, in which they could master the technical aspects of the online environment. This way, technical problems were prevented.

Learner corpus compilation

Student texts were extracted from the discussion threads and pre-processed, which involved removing emoticons and other non-verbal expressions (such as *hmm*) and assigning a student number, task number and posting number to each message.

The annotation of the corpus has to reflect the specifics of learner language used in pre-intermediate CMC, taking the following linguistic characteristics into consideration. First, learners at the CEFR A2 level rely a great deal on formulaic utterances (block language), such as *Thanks* or *And you?* (*CEFR*, 2001:110). Second, it is rather difficult to identify the beginning and the end of a sentence, as illustrated in the following example (a student is writing about her stay in the halls of residence):

I slept in additional bed 8 months... I was horrible... But I lasted out to the end.

Third, as can be observed from the example above, student language is not error-free and at times errors may obstruct subsequent linguistic analysis. With regard to these features of CMC, the nature of the learner language and the research aim, three basic units of analysis are established: phrases, clauses and linkers.

Phrases in this study represent formulaic utterances that students are likely to use and are defined by a list of exponents of the most frequent language functions based on van Ek and Trim (1991). The list can be found in the Appendix.

Clauses are defined as finite clauses whose content does not correspond with any of the phrases listed in under Phrases.

Linkers are defined as clause-linking devices. Van Ek and Trim's (1991:21) list of exponents for structuring discourse was used as a basis and this list was extended to include basic coordinators and other common exponents for enumerating according to Biber et al. (1999). The list of linkers can be found in Appendix 2. These linkers were coded separately when connecting clauses. When a combination of linkers was used (e.g. *and so, and then*), the group was analyzed as a single linker.

Any other material (e.g. verbless clauses, pictures, hyperlinks etc.) were excluded from the corpus. Conjunctions, adverbs or pronouns introducing clauses were annotated as a part of the clause unless listed under Linkers.

In order to enable a subsequent analysis of subordination, clauses and phrases were further coded according to their formal features (i.e. introductory pronoun, conjunction or adverb) and according to their syntactic function:

> Nominal clauses (Biber et al. 1999:193, 658–692)
>
> Adverbial clauses (Biber et al. 1999:194–5; 818–820)
>
> Relative clauses (Biber et al. 1999:195, 602–604, 608–613, 867)
>
> Comparative clauses (Biber et al. 1999:195–6, 526–529)

The texts were coded separately by two researchers in order to minimize subjectivity, especially when dealing with grammatically incorrect language. The intercoder agreement ratios for coding units of analysis and subordination were 99.53 % and 99.00 % respectively. In the few cases where there was disagreement, the item was discussed until 100 % agreement was reached. Two student contributions and the way they were coded can be found in the Appendix.

Syntactic complexity operationalized

As already stated, syntactic complexity can be viewed as a multidimensional construct, comprised of coordination, subordination and clause length. Based on Norris and Ortega (2009), the following measures are used:

> *Coordination* is defined as a mean number of coordinative linkers (*and, or, but*) per total number of clauses and phrases.
>
> *Subordination* is defined as a mean number of dependent clauses (nominal, adverbial, relative and comparative) per total number of clauses and phrases.
>
> *Clause length* is defined as a mean length of a clause in words.

Clause length is computed solely for clauses, since phrases (as defined in this study) refer to block language whose length is prescribed by the phrase itself.

Quantitative analyses

The aim of this study is to describe learners' interlanguage at the beginning and at the end of the semester in terms of syntactic complexity. This analysis corresponds with Type 2 research goal (describing differences among texts) and Type B study (each individual student's performances are analyzed) according to Biber and Jones (2008). In such studies, normalization and descriptive statistics are used to report the results. Inferential statistics can also be used in order to determine the significance of the differences. However, as purposive, not random, sampling was used, the role of t-test results is only auxiliary.

Results

According to the steps presented above, a learner corpus was compiled from the texts written by 18 students included in the case study (two example postings and the way they were tagged can be found in the Appendix). The corpus comprises two subcorpora: texts belonging to the first and third discussion task. In total, the annotated corpus counts 12,886 words. The following table describes the corpus.

	Discussion task 1	Discussion task 3
Postings	165	134
Words	6520	6366
Clauses	935	751
Phrases	307	397

Tab.1: Corpus description

Tab. 1 shows that the sizes of the two subcorpora are different. The mean posting length is 7.53 clauses or phrases in the first subcorpus and 8.56 in the second. In order to report more meaningful data, coordination and subordination measures are normalized to 10.

Box-and-whisker plots below visualize the distribution of the three variables (coordination, subordination and clause length). The box represents the central 50 % of the data (i.e. interquartile range, IQR) and the horizontal line in each box indicates the median relative to the IQR. The upper whisker then illustrates either the highest value, or 1.5 IQR. In the latter case, a cross indicates the maximum value (the maximum outlier). The lower whisker is constructed in an analogous way.

Fig. 2: Distribution of coordination and subordination in the subcorpora

Fig. 3: Distribution of clause length in the subcorpora

When applying inferential statistics, only the changes in clause length are of statistical significance in two-tailed t-test at p≤0.05. The changes in coordination and subordination are not statistically significant.

Discussion

Generally, the results show the following changes in student interlanguage: students tended to use less coordination and more subordination along with increasing clause length. Although the results for coordination and subordination are not statistically significant, the trends can be observed in Fig. 2. It should be borne in mind that the time difference between the end of the first discussion and the beginning of the third discussion was relatively short (36 days), and greater changes in students' interlanguage probably cannot be expected to occur during one semester. The only statistically significant difference is of clause length, whose means increased from 6.33 to 7.06 words per clause.

Nonetheless, it should be stressed that inferential statistics plays only an auxiliary role in deciding on the character of the changes. Furthermore, from the perspective of the case study research design, whose aim is analytical generalization (Duff 2007:176–178; Yin 2009:38–39), figures 2 and 3 clearly show that the changes in coordination, subordination and clause length correspond with the theory advocated by Norris and Ortega (2009).

Next, although not reported here for individual students, it can be seen that students used comparatively more formulaic language at the end (the ratio of

phrases to clauses is approximately one third in the first subcorpus whereas phrases comprise slightly more than one half of the second subcorpus – see Tab. 1). This may indicate that students at the end of the course progressed closer towards the A2 level, in which formulaic language is still substantial.

The changes in student interlanguage can be attributed to the discussion tasks that were implemented in the course. These tasks were the only part of the course aimed specifically at developing communicative competence in writing. Furthermore, each of the three tasks lasted for 12 days and students were required to contribute to the discussion continuously, which also might have contributed to their progress. Time flexibility, the possibility of individual pacing and employing individual learning styles as well as the communicative nature of the tasks were likely to have also contributed to their progression to the fully developed A2 level.

Interestingly, the course (in-class or online) did not explicitly focus on syntactic complexity as operationalized here. Despite the fact that students were virtually not forced to pay attention to their language beyond the clause level, the syntactic complexity of their interlanguage developed. One of the possible explanations for this can be that the student *acquired*, not *learnt* (Krashen 1981) more complex syntactic features.

Limitations of this study

It should be pointed out that this study has its limitations. Firstly, the conclusions made from case study results are necessarily different from those obtained from experimental studies under laboratory conditions (Duff 2007:48–54). On the other hand, this study reported on acquisition that occurred in natural communication. Thus, this weakness can be viewed as a design strength: should the aim of a study be to posit any pedagogical relevance to the findings, then the study must be made as naturalistic as possible.

Second, it should be remembered that the results report solely on syntactic complexity, but not on accuracy. Changes in complexity along with those in accuracy will offer a much more solid basis for making conclusions about the changes in the learners' communicative competences.

Conclusion

This study reported on the development of syntactic complexity in learner interlanguage over the period of one semester. Learners were engaged in three

online communication tasks (out of which texts produced in the initial and final one were investigated here) and their interlanguage changed: students used comparatively less coordination, more subordination and their clauses were significantly longer at the end of the semester. These measures correspond with the theory advocated by Norris and Ortega (2009). The proportion of formulaic language was higher at the end of the semester, which may indicate student progression towards the fully developed CEFR A2 level.

The contribution of this study is twofold. First, it empirically proved that syntactic complexity in the pre-intermediate students changed during their interaction with peers. This indicates that computer-based applications of social cognitive theories (Bertrand 1998) in foreign language learning and teaching can stimulate the development of communicative competence in students. Second, this study demonstrated how a learner corpus can be compiled and a way in which syntactic complexity can be analyzed in computer-mediated communication at a language level with a high proportion of formulaic language, which is not very common in current learner corpus linguistics (Granger 2008:264).

Similarly, in the field of academic writing, both empirical and methodological conclusion can be drawn from this study. First, this and other studies (e.g. Sotillo 2000; Warschauer 1997) support that asynchronous computer-mediated communication can be viewed as a flexible learning tool in which student proficiency can develop. Indirect learning (acquisition) of certain syntactic features, which was reported in this study, may well occur in more advanced courses as well. Students in academic writing courses may, for example, use an online forum for exchanging ideas, writing short paragraphs or brainstorming and discussing their research questions. Second, the methodology used in this study may be relevant to other academic writing researchers who decide to analyze student texts from discussions on the Internet or compile a learner corpus with a high proportion of formulaic language.

Acknowledgement

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Appendix

Phrases (based on van Ek and Trim 1991)

(Good)Bye	I (don't) know	Please
(That's) fine!	I agree (with you).	Please
And you?	I don't agree (with you).	See you (on …)
Certainly.	I don't think so.	Sorry
Do(n't) you agree?	I hope so.	Thank you (very much).
Do(n't) you know + NP?	I think	Thanks.
Do(n't) you think so?	I'm (very/really) sorry.	That's (not) right.
Good	I'm so sorry.	That's a (very) good idea!
morning/afternoon/evening	I'm sure	That's right.
Good!	No (+tag)	That's very nice/kind of
Have a nice/good time/day.	Of course not.	you.
Hello/Hi + name	Of course.	This/That/It is (very)
How are you?	Perhaps	good/nice.
I (do) hope		When? Where? How? How
		much/many/long? Why?
		Yes (+tag)

Linkers

    And, or, but

    First(ly), second(ly), third(ly), next, then, last

    so, therefore, thus

Examples of analysis

Text	Unit of analysis	Subordination
Hi colleagues,	Phrase	
my name is Marie	Clause	
and	Linker	
I live in Liberec in a small flat with my fiance.	Clause	
I studying Pedagogy of Leisure time at the Technical University.	Clause	
In last time I haven't got to much free time for myself	Clause	
because I cooperate with "DDM Větrník"	Clause	Adverbial cl.
and	Linker	
sometimes it's very difficult.	Clause	Adverbial cl.
I like spending time with my family, fiance or my friends.	Clause	
I like singing and playig on the guitar.	Clause	
So	Linker	
you can ask me	Clause	
if you want to know more	Clause	Adverbial cl.
Bye	Phrase	

Text	Unit of analysis	Subordination
Hi Marie,	Phrase	
I think	Phrase	
your plans for the holidays are diverse	Clause	Nominal cl.
there are people	Clause	
who haven't any plans.	Clause	Relative cl.
It is often said	Clause	
that the plan are often better.	Clause	Nominal cl.
which created at the last moment	Clause	Relative cl.
Bye	Phrase	

CROSS-CULTURAL HEDGES? A COMPARISON OF ACADEMIC WRITING BY NON-NATIVE AND NATIVE SPEAKERS OF ENGLISH

Dana Beyer
Chemnitz University of Technology

In recent years, it has become more and more important to find an appropriate tone to express one's stance towards a subject, especially in soft sciences. Hedges, as a means to express subjectivity ranging from uncertainty to certainty, are helpful devices to either support or reject claims. In order to avoid misunderstandings or too direct formulations of propositions, the writer needs to be able to apply hedges properly. In addition, it is vital to differentiate between various forms of hedges, for instance modal verbs, epistemic/modal adjectives, adverbs, nouns and lexical epistemic verbs. Studies by Hyland & Milton (1997) showed that variations of the usage of hedges across different countries exist. To contrast hedging differences, which might be influenced by a writer's nationality, the compiled corpus consisted of five texts written by non-native English speakers with Asian backgrounds and five texts by native English speakers. The analysis of the texts solely concentrated on modal adverbs, such as *presumably*, *probably*, *perhaps*, *possibly, maybe, slightly, seemingly, apparently, rather* and *relatively*. The results indicated that the overall number of epistemic adverbs applied by non-natives and natives did not differ to any significant extent.

Introduction

In 1973, George Lakoff used the name *hedge* for the first time in his paper "Hedges: A Study in Meaning Criteria and the Logic of Fuzzy Concepts" to refer to a linguistic phenomenon that helps to blur the author's standpoint towards a claim or to also clarify the opinion of the author. Owing to the concept of "fuzziness", hedges cannot be properly defined. Many linguists have established their own definitions, which will be discussed in detail in the subsequent sections of the paper. The "fuzzy" characteristic of a hedge illustrates that the definitions and the identification of hedges in a text are subjective and mainly depend on the person who reads or analyzes texts. Therefore, it was necessary to create a definition based on my understanding of hedges, which can be found in section 2. Furthermore, in section 2 theoretical aspects of hedges, such as types and functions will be discussed further.

The aim of this paper is to find out whether differences in hedging exist between non-native (NNS) and native speakers (NS) of English and whether the degrees of certainty of these hedges differ between NNS and NS. The papers were analyzed with the help of the concordance program AntConc which parsed the texts according to the frequency of the following modal adverbs: *presumably*, *probably*, *perhaps*, *possibly, maybe, slightly, seemingly, apparently, rather* and *relatively*. The occurrences of these adverbs were compared to elicit any possible differences or similarities between the texts of NNS and NS.

Defining Hedges, Hedging and Functions

Due to the relatively high popularity of English for Academic Purposes (EAP) during the last years, hedges, being a part of EAP, have become the main subject of research among linguists all over the world. Although, many scholars have studied and discussed hedges in academic writing, it still seems to be difficult to find a consistent definition for this phenomenon.

The heading distinguishes between hedges and hedging, which simply means that hedges are the linguistic devices and hedging is the act of using these devices in spoken and written discourse. Lakoff (1973) was the first scholar to introduce the concept of hedges. He defines hedges as "words whose job it is to make things fuzzy or less fuzzy" (Lakoff, 1973, p. 471) which implies that words are used to 'weaken' or to clarify a proposition. Nevertheless, this definition does not only refer to the fuzziness of hedges, it also illustrates that there are no clear-cut linguistic concepts of hedges. This becomes obvious when taking the numerous distinct definitions of hedges into account. Hyland (1998) sees hedges as a necessary tool for writers of academic texts (Hyland, 1998, p. 1). Furthermore, Hyland (1994) confirms that hedges increase and strengthen the credibility of the propositions made by the writer (Hyland, 1994, p. 241). More precisely, Hyland (1996) refers to hedges as:

> any linguistic means used to indicate either a) a lack of complete commitment to the truth of an accompanying proposition or b) a desire not to express that commitment categorically. Hedges are therefore the means by which a writer can present a proposition as an opinion rather than a fact. (Hyland, 1996, p. 478)

The definition by Hyland is split up into two parts: the first part deals with the writer's diminished obligation towards their statements in which hedges work as "face-saving devices" (Hinkel, 2002, p. 149) for the author, especially if the knowledge about the subject, discussed in the text, is rather vague. If the findings

of the writer are proved to be wrong, the author will not lose the acceptance of their peers because hedges tone down the writer's commitment. In the second part of the definition Hyland refers to the subjective character of hedges that rather express opinions instead of facts.

As these two definitions already showed, hedges are not determinable. Clemen (1998) states that hedges fully depend on the context and cannot be easily classified, which means that there are still no set criteria for the identification of hedges (Clemen, 1998, p. 237). Crompton expands this thought even further by saying that it is useless to teach the usage of hedges in English for Specific Purposes (ESP) until an absolute definition exists (Crompton, 1997, p. 271). However, this view seems to be exaggerated because unknown or new scientific phenomena are first investigated and then obtain a suitable definition (Salager-Meyer, 2000, p. 178). Although it is difficult to clearly determine hedges in a text, some scholars differentiate hedges according to their word class and degree of tentativeness (e.g. Hyland, 1998). Due to the fact that this paper is in need of a definition of hedges to analyze the selected texts, I suggest my own definition:

> Hedges are any linguistic devices that a) express a writer's uncertainty of/tentativeness towards a proposition/claim, in which this proposition/claim is transformed into an opinion rather than a fact, and/or b) increase the politeness and the social acceptability of propositions/claims to avoid conflicts between the writer and the reader.

Although it might be viable to ignore the interpersonal relationship between the writer and the reader in the hard sciences (mathematics or physics), it is not in the social sciences where definitions, claims and propositions rely more on subjectivity than objectivity. Moreover, academic writing is considered to be a process that requires constant collective agreement and support which illustrates that hedges are important rhetorical devices to convince readers of the validity of statements (Hyland, 1998, p. 7). Additionally, hedges show "the writer's anticipation of the negatability of his/her propositions" (Hyland, 1998, p. 7). The suggested definition merely refers to the writer's uncertainty about a claim/proposition which means that I excluded markers of certainty, e.g. *definitely*, *obviously*, etc., on purpose because I think that they do not have a mitigating function, but rather an emphasizing one. These certainty markers could be compared to "boosters" or "intensifiers", which actually enhance or emphasize the writer's high degree of commitment to the truth value of a proposition (Salager-Meyer, 1994, p. 154).

Hedges are polypragmatic which implies that their meaning can be interpreted in many different ways (Hyland, 1998, p. 157) and this also means that hedges

have various functions. Hedges in written discourse contribute to the writer-reader-relationship by informing the reader of the writer's standpoint towards their statements and the readers themselves (Hyland, 1998, p. 1). Skelton (1997) calls this "an approximation of the truth" of the claim, which indicates that the proposition is true to a certain extent (Skelton, 1997, p. 43). This shows that authors of scientific texts are able to "project themselves into their work" (Hyland, 1998, p. 7) and that they clarify their opinion towards the subject. In addition, "the expression of doubt and tentativeness in science" (Hyland, 1998, p. 7) can help to convince the readers of the writer's argumentation, as mentioned above. Here, hedges tone down the language used to make claims, which establishes again an interpersonal relationship between the writer and the reader. Furthermore, it increases the reader's acceptance of the propositions because the cautious language signals deference and politeness towards the reader, which can also be found in spoken discourse (Hyland, 1996, p. 479). The feature of toning down not only the language, but also the findings of a study might also be used to distinguish more important research results from less important ones. This would indicate that significant findings are less hedged than minor important results. One could say that hedges help the writer to "anticipate possible negative consequences" (Hyland, 1996, p. 479). Presumably the writer's hypothesis is proved to be wrong by other scholars, but the writer applied hedges to 'weaken' their claim, then hedges have a face-saving function. This phenomenon is also called "shields" which represent the author's degree of commitment to the truth value of the proposition (Prince et al., 1982, p. 85). If claims are expressed in a direct manner, this would lead to the loss of the writer's and the addressee's face (Varttala, 1999, p. 181).

Epistemic Adverbs

Hedges can be found in almost every word class, e.g. epistemic adjectives, lexical epistemic verbs, modal verbs, epistemic nouns, epistemic adverbs, etc. This section deals solely with modal adverbs. They do not have a fixed position in a sentence which means that they "are not syntactically integrated" (Hyland, 1998, p. 134) and that they can occur at the beginning of a sentence or they are inserted in between the clauses. Although epistemic adverbs have alternating positions in a sentence, they do not influence the meaning relation between the clause and the adverb (Hyland, 1998, p.134). This also implies that these modal adverbs "tend to occur where something other than the modality (e.g. negativity,

aspect, quantification, […]) is salient in the discourse" (Butler, 2003, p. 475). Epistemic adverbs are divided into adjuncts and disjuncts. Adjuncts used as hedges are also called "downtoners" that "have a lowering effect on the force of the verb" (Quirk et al., 1972, p. 452). Downtoners are again distinguished into four groups: compromisers, diminishers, minimizers and approximators (Quirk et al., 1972, p. 452):

(1)   The findings illustrated a *rather* small frequency of…

(2)   The results *slightly* deviated from the expected values.

(3)   There were *barely* any indicators for…

(4)   *Virtually*, no scholar has confirmed this…

(5)   *Strictly speaking*, this is…

(6)   Statistics *definitely* proof the described phenomenon.

(7)   *Presumably*, the results will give an insight into...

(8)   *Evidently*, the acceptance among peers is…

(9)   This field has not received much attention yet, *apparently* because...

(10) *Actually*, no researcher confirmed what was said.

(11) Although others disapprove of that, the procedure is *theoretically* possible.

(12) *Basically*, the assertion, made by other scholars before, is right.

Compromisers only slightly lower the force of the verb which is clarified by *rather* in B (1). The diminisher and minimizer in B (2) and (3), in contrast, scale the force of the verb significantly downwards. The approximators in B (4) "express[es] an approximation to the force of the verb, while indicating its non-application" (Quirk et al., 1972, p. 452). This implies that approximators not only negate the truth of the verb, but the entire meaning of the predicate (Hyland, 1998, p. 136) and thus have the greatest downgrading impact on the strength of verbs. Quirk et al. (1972) divide disjuncts into two main classes: style disjuncts, which comment on the form of the said/written and also define the speaker's/writer's conditions under which they are speaking/writing, and attitudinal/content disjuncts that comment on the truth value of what is said/written (Quirk et al, 1972, p. 509). In B (5) the style disjunct *strictly speaking* demonstrates the strength of the commitment and how the author comments on the content of the utterance. Apart from that, attitudinal or content disjuncts have several functions. *Definitely* in B (6) shows the writer's certainty to the proposition, but *presumably* in B (7) expresses a certain degree of doubt. That is why the first group of disjuncts can be summarized under the category

certainty and doubt. The second class is concerned with the author's mental perception of the truth (ibid.). This is exemplified in B (8) where the writer is convinced of their claim. In B (9) similarly to B (7), *apparently* reveals some doubt. The last category presents the author's sense of judgment of the truth of their claims (Quirk et al, 1972, p. 511). In B (10) *actually* refers to the reality of what was written, whereas *theoretically* inB (11) shows a contrast with reality. *Basically* in B (12) indicates that the proposition is true in principle, but not in practice (Quirk et al, 1972, p. 511).

Methodology

Sample

The corpus consisted of ten papers, five written by native speakers of English and five written by non-native speakers of English with an Asian background. All texts were written by experts who had at least an M.A. degree in English studies. Furthermore, the papers discussed the same topic, namely student writing in the ESL classroom. All articles were published in different English linguistic journals between 1994 and 2009.

Data Collection

The corpus had a total size of 81,814 words each text having a mean size of 8181.4 words. An equal number of papers (5 for each group) were selected for the two groups of native and non-native speakers. Both sub-corpora have roughly the same size to avoid biased results, i.e. the sub-corpus of native speaker writing has a size of 41,200 words and the sub-corpus of non-native writing consists of 40,614 words.

Data Analysis

The papers were analyzed with the 2007 version of the concordance program AntConc 3.2.1w. The texts were uploaded to the program and parsed for epistemic adverbs to determine differences in the usage of these expressions between native and non-native speakers. The program scanned all texts according to the chosen epistemic markers, named below, and ascertained the frequencies of the selected items. In order to avoid biased results, the selected papers consisted of full running text, but excluded tables of contents, direct quotations, notes, tables, figures, references and appendices. The following hedges were

examined according to their frequency in the texts by native and non-native writers: *presumably*, *probably*, *perhaps*, *possibly, maybe, slightly, seemingly, apparently, rather* and *relatively*.

Results

The overall results showed that non-native speakers used a slightly higher number of epistemic adverbs than native speakers. The total occurrences per 10,000 words are displayed in Fig. 1. Nevertheless, most of the adverbs did not occur at all or merely once or twice in all texts, e.g. *seemingly*, *presumably*, *slightly*, *possibly*, *maybe* and *apparently*. Due to their low frequencies, these adverbs cannot be regarded as significant and were ignored in the further analysis.

Fig. 1: Total occurrences of epistemic adverbs in English native and non-native texts per 10,000 words

Modal adverbs with the highest frequencies were *rather*, *relatively*, *probably* and *perhaps*. *Relatively*, *perhaps* and *probably* illustrated the most important differences between native and non-native speakers. *Relatively* and *probably* were applied almost twice as much by non-native speakers than by native speakers, whereas *perhaps* was used twice as much by native speakers. Although the modal adverb *rather* had the highest number of occurrences, it was used

thirteen times by non-native speakers and ten times by native speakers, which indicates only a slight difference between the writers.

Discussion

As the results have shown, non-native speakers of English applied a slightly higher number of hedges than native speakers in their texts. Although the finding did not demonstrate a prominent difference at first sight with regard to the occurrences, the non-native speakers showed a tendency to employ slightly more modal adverbs with a more tentative character, such as *perhaps* and *relatively*. First of all, these outcomes imply that non-native speakers could have a more indirect writing style than native speakers of English. However, to fully prove this claim more texts would have to be researched to obtain more reliable results for discussion. This finding would also state that native speakers have a more direct writing style due to the fact that the total number of hedges in their texts was smaller and they used less tentative modal adverbs more often than non-native speakers. Furthermore, boosters, which are the opposing phenomenon to hedges that rather emphasize and strengthen a claim, would also have to be included in an additional analysis. Hypothetically speaking, if non-native speakers use boosters, like *definitely* or *certainly*, more often than native speakers, it would disprove the proposition that non-natives have a more indirect writing style. According to Hyland (1996), non-native speakers usually tend to apply less hedges than native speakers because non-natives are less certain how and to which degree they can use hedges in their texts (Hyland, 1996, p. 481). That would contradict the findings of the analysis above. One reason for the distinct outcomes is that most scholars who research native and non-native speakers according to their usage of hedges, take only student writing into consideration for their analysis. Naturally, laypersons being non-natives and writing in English usually have difficulties in expressing their opinions adequately. Therefore, the results between native and non-native non-experts are more significant than between professional native and non-native writers. It can be deduced that an important factor for the application of hedges is the level of proficiency of the writer. One could say that the higher the level of proficiency, the less considerable is the difference between native and non-native writers of their usage of hedges.

The first research question, which asked whether there are any differences in usage of epistemic adverbs between NS and NNS of English, can be answered

the following: the analysis showed that there exists a slight difference between native and non-native speakers with respect to hedges. The second research question stated whether there are any differences in the degrees of certainty of the adverbs between NNS and NS. It can be said that NNS had a tendency to apply more indirect hedges more often than NS. To receive more representative findings, more data has to be taken into account to confirm or disconfirm these outcomes.

Conclusion

Hedging, as a part of academic writing, is an essential skill for students and professionals of English and other disciplines. Since the 1970s, studies about hedges and their forms and functions in texts have been widely researched by linguists. Several studies showed that hedges can have several functions, such as toning down or mitigating claims made by a writer, distinguish between important and less important information in a text, to save the author's face in case their claims are proved to be wrong, etc. Some linguists, such as Hyland, have specialized in the field of non-native academic writing and research of how and to what extent hedges are applied by non-native speakers of English. Due to the fact that most of the research on hedges has been done on non-professional writing, the aim of the present paper was to investigate professional non-native and native writing with regard to hedges.

Ten academic texts written by native and non-native speakers of English, published in distinct linguistic magazines, were analyzed with regard to hedging differences between NS and NNS. The epistemic adverbs *presumably*, *probably*, *perhaps*, *possibly, maybe, slightly, seemingly, apparently, rather* and *relatively* were included in the corpus analysis. Although the analysis illustrated that NNS used more modal adverbs and more tentative adverbs than NS, the differences were not as prominent as expected. A reason for that is that the level of proficiency of the investigated NNS's texts is much higher than the level of student (non-expert) writing. In addition, the higher number of modal adverbs used by NNS could also be an indicator for a more tentative writing style. That could be a starting point for further research, i.e. examining more texts by NNS and NS to receive more reliable results for the comparison of writer commitment in academic texts written by native and non-native speakers of English. Another interesting research project could be the comparison of hedges in semi-

professional and professional native and non-native writing to analyze possible similarities and differences.

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Sentence adverbials in academic texts: Preferences of native vs. non-native writers

Radek Vogel
Masaryk University, Brno

One of the most effective tools for achieving cohesion in writing for academic purposes is the use of sentence adverbials, i.e. syntactically and/or prosodically detached conjunctive and disjunctive adverbials, functioning as explicit discourse markers. The increasing globalization of science and dominance of English as its lingua franca have resulted in a certain linguistic and formal uniformity of texts published throughout various disciplines; however, regular differences can be identified within individual disciplines between native and non-native users of English, as well as between expert and novice academic writers. This paper looks into the choices and distribution of sentence adverbials in academic papers and essays in a narrow segment of science, namely linguistics and (language) teaching methodology, particularly focusing on the distribution of sequential adverbials. The analysis has been carried out on several corpora of native and non-native, expert and novice academic texts. The findings indicate that some distributional preferences for certain adverbials are attributable to certain categories of writers. The paper tries to explain such systemic choices and suggests implications for the variety of English for Academic Purposes.

Introduction: Specifics of English for Academic Purposes

English for Academic Purposes (EAP) is an occupational variety of the English language used in the fields of science and education. Schmied (2011: 2) points out that EAP overlaps to varying degrees with such concepts as ELF (English as a Lingua Franca), EIL (English as an International Language), ESP (English for Specific Purposes), etc., and its educational application is dealt with within the framework of traditional concepts ELT, TESOL and TEFL. EAP displays specific lexical, grammatical and structural features whose combination is very generally referred to as the formal style. However, the scope of application of the formal style reaches far beyond the limits of science, research and education to the fields of administration, law, business, media, etc.

The structure of texts within EAP is dictated by considerations of their purpose – the preferred properties are clarity, logical arrangement of ideas,

predictability, surveyability, cohesiveness and coherence for their intended readers (cf. Urbanová 2008). Academic texts thus employ devices which help to achieve these goals. Such devices operate at different levels of language, their functions sometimes overlapping, but it would contradict the general principle of language economy if the role of a linguistic phenomenon was not well-defined and identifiable or if it was frequently realised by several devices at the same time. Therefore, it can be reasonably assumed that structure of a text and the roles its parts play (since this is an essential quality of an academic text) are signalled by some explicit markers. Alternatively, this may also be signalled implicitly, by some conventional arrangement of arguments and text parts, but it seems that some explicit structural markers or signals are normally present. The focus of this paper is on the so-called sentence adverbials (cf. Huddleston & Pullum 2002) as one type of explicit markers of text structure.

Connectives and sequence markers in EAP

As has been noted, sentence linkers are one of the tools for achieving cohesion in formal texts. They help recipients "to recognize a text as ´academic´, one important aspect … [of which is] the use of clear and fairly predictable structure" (Hamp-Lyons & Heasley 2006, 30). The linking and text-organizing devices are particularly useful in the spoken mode where they function as a kind of scaffolding. The written mode allows more time for preparation and production of the text and linkers and text-organizers are often replaced by other lexical and grammatical cohesive devices (cf. Halliday & Hasan 1976). This paper examines several corpora of academic texts to see how frequently and in what patterns adverbial linkers are distributed and what relative importance for text organization they have for native and non-native writers.

The author´s previous research in this area was described in the paper "Sentence linkers in essays and papers by native and non-native writers" (Vogel 2008). Its focus was the use of adverbial linking devices functioning at the suprasentential level. The adverbials were studied in a corpus consisting of 20 essays in the field of teaching methodology written by advanced non-native writers and 5 papers by native writers (which were 2-3 times the length of the essays) from the same field. The aim of the analysis was to examine thedistribution of linking devices (particularly sequential adverbials) within paragraphs and the whole text, their variety and native vs. non-native differences. The findings of the research are that non-native writers (NNW) placed sequential

adverbials in 30% of paragraphs immediately following the introductory one (paragraph i+1), in 30% of paragraphs i+2, and in 45% of final paragraphs. On the contrary, native writers (NW) used no sequential adverbials in their papers, and these texts generally revealed a poor range of linkers.

The premises and hypotheses which may be derived from this research about typical behaviour of NWs vs. NNWs in EAP are as follows:

1. Non-native and native writers use tools of grammatical cohesion differently, which is evidenced by specific differences in distribution of sentence adverbials.

2. NNWs tend to overuse sequential adverbials, whereas NWs hardly ever use them.

3. NNWs use conjunctive and disjunctive adverbials more often and in a wider range than NWs. (A logical question arises in the context of language training: Is this the effect of exposure to teaching academic writing?)

4. NWs employ a wider scale of style and particularly content disjuncts than NNWs.

Analysed corpora and methodology used

This research has used a similar methodology to that applied in 2008, namely:

Sentence adverbials or linkers have been identified at the intersentential level, but also at the interclausal level if they are syntactically detached.

Function has been used as a classificatory principle, focusing on conjunctive (particularly listing, summative, resultive and contrastive) and disjunctive adverbials (adhering to the classification proposed by Greenbaum & Quirk 1990, 181-187).

Sentence adverbials are tagged by:

- their type (grammatico-semantic);
- their position within a sentence and paragraph (initial, medial, final) and in the whole text (referring to the serial number of a paragraph);
- their sequence (which is relevant for sequential adverbials);
- the authorship (used by native vs. non-native writers, novice/inexperienced vs. expert writers).

Not monitored remain differences between various disciplines, between non-native writers by their different mother tongues, frequency of sentence adverbials (i.e. the number of occurrences per total wordcount), ratio of sentence adverbials to other connectives, namely conjunctions, etc. All of these criteria would be

important descriptors, but the previously listed criteria have taken precedence. As the texts in individual corpora are of varying lengths, only the initial (Pi) and the following five and the final (Pe) and the preceding five paragraphs were scrutinized.

The corpus of EAP texts written by native users (NWs) has the following composition:

- Corpus 1 (C1): 5 papers (conference proceedings, field: teaching methodology)
- Corpus 2 (C2): 5 papers (anthology of "selected readings", field: linguistics – syntax)

The corpus of EAP texts written by non-native users (NNWs) consists of these subcorpora:

- Corpus 3 (C3): 10 essays (written by Czech Master programme students of English, field: teaching methodology)
- Corpus 4a (C4a): 5 papers (by Czech and German authors, published in a journal, field: linguistics)
- Corpus 4b (C4b): 5 papers (by Czech and Slovak authors, published in conference proceedings, fields: linguistics, methodology of language teaching).

Different classifications of adverbials

Classifications of adverbials, explored in this research as the principal explicit linking devices, apply several criteria and result in different segmentations:

grammatical functions – adjuncts, subjuncts, conjuncts, disjuncts (Greenbaum 1969, Greenbaum & Quirk 1990)

Here, the prosodically and syntactically detached adverbials include:

conjuncts – listing (enumerative & additive), appositive, summative, contrastive (concessive, antithetic) (cf. Hůlková 2005), resultative, conclusive, transitional;

disjuncts – style, content (certainty-related & evaluation-related)

orientation within a sentence – "VP-oriented and clause-oriented AdvP adjuncts" (Huddleston & Pullum 2002)

clause oriented adjuncts – domain, modality, evaluation, speech act-related, connective

semantic roles, 4. **formal realisation,** 5. **Position**(initial - I, medial - M, end/final - E).

The sequential adverbials, classed by their semantico-grammatical role as conjuncts, can be divided by their function into (Greenbaum & Quirk 1990, 185):

listing

- enumerative (e.g. *to start with*, *firstly*, *secondly*, *next*, *then*, *finally, …*)
- additive (e.g. *moreover*, *furthermore*, *in addition*, *above all*, *similarly*, *also*, …)
- summative (e.g. *therefore*, *all in all*, *to sum up*, *in sum*, …)

According to Biber et al. (1999: 875-879), linking adverbials are divided into six basic semantic categories, namely:

- enumeration and addition (e.g. first(ly), lastly, next; in addition, moreover, similarly, further(more), …)
- summation (e.g. to conclude, in sum, in conclusion, …)
- apposition (e.g. in other words, that is, for example, namely, …)
- result/inference (e.g. consequently, therefore, thus, hence, so, as a result, …)
- contrast/concession (e.g. on the other hand, on the contrary, in contrast; however, nevertheless, yet, besides, after all, …)
- transition (e.g. now, meanwhile, by the way, …)

Biber et al. (1999: 874) also observe some overlap between linking adverbials and stance adverbials which, being usually placed initially (sometimes medially), link clauses and sentences and express attitude or perspective. Such stance adverbials include e.g. *in fact*, *in brief*, *in short*, and attitude adverbials such as *predictably*, *(not) surprisingly*, *ironically*, etc. (ibid.). They note that, "These adverbials serve to introduce a condensation or reinforcement of previous statements; the adverbial marks not just the nature of the clause, but also its connection to the previous discourse." (Biber et al. 1999: 874) In this research, such stance adverbials as conceived by Biber et al. are regarded as linkers (reinforced also by their detachment and initial position).

Distribution of sentence adverbials in academic papers written by English native writers

Examples of distribution (native writers)

The following two examples (Tab. 1) illustrate the distribution of sentence adverbials as they are used by native writers.

Paragraph	Corpus 1, paper P3 Source type: conference proceedings Field: teaching methodology		Corpus 2, paper P6 Source type: anthology Field: linguistics	
	Sentence adverbials	Position within a sentence / within a paragraph	Sentence adverbials	Position within a sentence / within a paragraph
Pi	0	-	0	-
Pi+1	Indeed However In addition	SI / PI SI / PM SI / PM	for example Thus thus	SM / PM SI / PM SM / PE
Pi+2	However	SI / PE	on the other hand But Thus	SM / PM SI / PM SI / PE
Pi+3	0	-	Thus	SI / PE
Pi+4	0	-	for instance	SM / PM
Pi+5	Thus	SI / PM	for example however	SI / PM SM / PE
Pe-5	0	-	Thus But	SI / PE SI / PM
Pe-4	Thus Thus	SI / PM SI / PE	but	SM / PM
Pe-3	Thus	SI / PE	And Thus	SI / PM SI / PM
Pe-2	0	-	Thus therefore	SI / PI SM / PE
Pe-1	Generally	SI / PM	however	SM / PE
Pe	However	SI / PM	0	-

Tab. 1: Distribution of sentence adverbials in academic papers produced by native English writers

Adverbials used by native writers of EAP texts - findings

The analysis carried out on texts included in the two corpora C1 and C2 reveals the following properties of distribution of sentence adverbials in EAP texts produced by native users of English:

- 52% of paragraphs in papers in C1 (proceedings) and 60% in C2 (anthology) contain sentence adverbials.

- As far as the proportion of sequential (enumerative, additive & summative) to other adverbials (contrastive, resultive, adverbial disjuncts, etc.) is concerned, the lowest share of sequential adverbials in all sentence adverbials has been identified in corpus C1 (5%), compared with 17% in C2 (sequential adverbials in this analysis also include summatives in other than final paragraphs, used sequentially and contributing thus to explicit signalling of the micro-structure of a

given paragraph, not only as markers of the macro-structure of the whole paper).

- 20% of initial paragraphs include sentence adverbials in C1 (i.e. a single paper), but 60% in C2; the figures are just reversed for final paragraphs).

- Most frequent sentence adverbials are *however* (37% of all sentence adverbials in C1, 9% in C2), *but* used in the sentence-initial (SI) position (17% in C2, 8% in C1), *thus* (17% in C2, 8% in C1). Sequential adverbials are not numerous, except for *therefore* (3% in C2); however, it is used in the resultive rather than in the potentially summative function here.

- The analysed texts were not particularly rich in adverbial disjuncts (but one exceptional article in C1 contains disjuncts *interestingly, specifically, additionally* (though the last adverb was not used as a disjunct here).

Distribution of sentence adverbials in academic papers/essays written by non-native writers

Examples of distribution (non-native writers)

Paragraph	Corpus 3, essay 1 Source type: seminar essay Field: (language) teaching methodology		Corpus 3, essay 2 Source type: seminar essay Field: (language) teaching methodology	
	Sentence adverbials	Position within a sentence / within a paragraph	Sentence adverbials	Position within a sentence / within a paragraph
Pi	To be honest	SI / PM	But	SI / PM
Pi+1	Moreover For example	SI / PM SI / PM	However	SI / PM
Pi+2	Secondly therefore	SI / PI SM / PM	However	SI / PM
Pi+3	in other words	SM / PM	0	-
Pi+4	N/A	N/A	First	SI / PM
Pi+5	N/A	N/A	Fortunately	SI / PE
Pe-5	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Pe-4	N/A	N/A	therefore	SM / PM
Pe-3	N/A	N/A	Of course Moreover	SI / PM SI / PE
Pe-2	0	-	Due to this	SI / PM
Pe-1	so	SM / PM	0	-
Pe	Finally Overall	SI / PI SI / PE	In conclusion	SI / PI

Tab. 2: Distribution of sentence adverbials in academic essays produced by non-native (inexperienced Czech) writers

	Corpus 4a, paper 1 Source type: journal Field: linguistics		Corpus 4a, paper 2 Source type: journal Field: linguistics		Corpus 4b, paper 1 Source type: conference proceedings Field: linguistics and (language) teaching methodology	
Para-graph	**Sentence adverbials**	**Position within a sentence / within a paragraph**	**Sentence adverbials**	**Position within a sentence / within a paragraph**	**Sentence adverbials**	**Position within a sentence / within a paragraph**
Pi	0	-	however However In fact	SM / PM SI / PM SI / PE	0	-
Pi+1	Thus Thus	SI / PI SI / PE	0	-	0	-
Pi+2	0	-	As a consequence thus	SI / PM SM / PE	0	-
Pi+3	0	-	0	-	0	-
Pi+4	Thus	SI / PE	0	-	0	-
Pi+5	0	-	0	-	0	-
Pe-5	thus Similarly thus	SM / PM SI / PM SM / PM	0	-	In contrast hence	SI / PE SM / PE
Pe-4	However	SI / PE	0	-	0	-
Pe-3	thus Thus	SM / PM SI / PE	0	-	0	-
Pe-2	Moreover	SI / PM	Interestingly Overall	SI / PM SI / PM	However	SI / PE
Pe-1	Finally In other words	SI / PM SI / PE	0	-	0	0
Pe	0	-	Thus	SI / PI	Contrary Analogically (sic!) However	SI / PM SI / PM SI / PE

Tab. 3: Distribution of sentence adverbials in academic papers produced by non-native (expert Czech and German) writers

Preferences of non-native writers of EAP texts - findings

- 81% of paragraphs in non-native corpus C3 (essays), 50% in C4a and 43% in C4b (papers) contain sentence adverbials. The very high figure in Czech students´ essays indicates tendency to overusing this device in the academic writing of inexperienced NNWs, contrasted by lower than native occurrence in texts written by expert non-native authors.

- Sequential (enumerative, additive & summative) adverbials account for 49% in corpus C3, whereas in C4a (papers in a journal) their share is 12% and in C4b (proceedings) they make 25% (including summatives in other than final paragraphs). As the corpus C3 is composed of texts produced by novice

NNWs, whereas corpora C4a+b were written by expert academic writers, these findings again seem to reveal a strong tendency to overusing sequential adverbials by less experienced writers (probably because they prefer marking the structure of their texts in a more explicit way, creating a sort of outline or scaffolding mentioned earlier; because they have been taught about the usefulness of explicit discourse markers and readily apply this knowledge, etc.). On the other hand, a very low use of sequential adverbials by expert NNWs (even lower in comparison with texts written by NWs, viz. C4a vs. C2) may be interpreted as an intentional avoidance of this device as too explicit and formulaic, and their elimination or replacement by more implicit and diverse markers may be seen as as a proof of the writers´ expertise in EAP.

- 70% of initial paragraphs include sentence adverbials in C3 and still others are usually shifted further, to paragraphs Pi+1 or Pi+2 (especially sequential adverbials), so their final occurrence is considerably higher. Also, in corpus C3 as many as 70% of final paragraphs contain a sentence adverbial (60% of these are sequential adverbials), compared with usually lower figures for both variables in corpora C4a and C4b.

- Most frequent sentence adverbials in the non-native corpora are *however* (12% in C3, 16% in C4a and 18% in C4b) and *thus* (25% in C4a, 18% in C4b, but only 2% in the essay corpus C3). The most frequent sequential adverbial is *firstly/first of all* (7% in C3), followed by *further(more)* (4% in C3, 11% in C4b), *moreover* (4% in C4a) and *finally* and *to sum up* (3% each in C3). Also *therefore* is quite often represented in C3 (7%), but its sequential role, being a summative adverbial (as mentioned in Quirk and Greenbaum 1990, 185) is dubious.

	Sentence adverbials per paragraph (average)	Paragraphs with sentence adverbial(s)	Sentence adverbial(s) in the initial paragraph	Sentence adverbial(s) in the final paragraph	Share of sequential adverbials (enumerat., additive, summative)	Most frequent adverbials (in % of the total sentence adverbials in the corpus)
Papers by native writers (NWs)						
Corpus 1 (conference proceedings)	0.63	52%	20%	60%	5%	however (37%) thus, but, for example (8% each) consequently, as a result (5% each)
Corpus 2 (anthology)	1.1	60%	60%	20%	17%	but (SI) (17%) thus (17%) however (9%) for example (8%)
Papers by non-native writers (NNWs)						
Corpus 3 (essays)	1.3	81%	70%	70%	49%	however (12%) therefore (7%) firstly / first of all (7%) further(more) (4%) to sum up, finally (3% each)

Corpus 4a (journal)	0.85	50%	40%	80%	12%	thus (25%) however (16%) therefore, moreover, as a result, as a consequence / consequently (4% each)
Corpus 4b (conference proceedings)	0.73	43%	60%	40%	25%	however (18%) thus (18%) furthermore (11%)

Tab. 4: Summary - distribution of sentence adverbials in academic papers produced by native vs. non-native writers.

Conclusions

The analysis of the texts in in all four corpora has revealed a clear tendency to overusing sequential adverbials in "novice" non-native writers´ texts (totalling a half of all sentence adverbials), as well as almost complete avoidance of sequential adverbials in texts by expert native writers (C1 – proceedings) and experienced non-native writers (C2 – journal). A surprisingly high occurrence of sentence adverbials in general has been identified in NWs´ texts, namely in papers in an anthology, although sequential adverbials explicitly marking the location within the whole text are used quite rarely here (particularly adverbials referring to the initial and final position of respective paragraphs). In this respect, non-native-written texts by experts resemble those written by expert native users of English.

There has also been identified a low to zero occurrence of sequential adverbials in native writer´s texts, specifically none were found in the initial paragraphs in the text-organizing function (one paper in corpus C2 included *first* and *second* for listing of arguments within a sentence, though) and just one exception (*finally* in the corpus C2 again) in the final paragraphs.

Papers in the anthology of texts by expert authors and essays written by non-native teacher trainees also reveal a markedly higher occurrence of sentence adverbials, both per paragraph (always exceeding 1) and in terms of their equal distribution throughout the texts (in majority of paragraphs). This might be interpreted as a result of a more essayistic and didactic approach employed in these two text types.

It is obvious that the presented findings (and especially the percentages of occurrences which were calculated) cannot be interpreted as an ultimate picture describing the use of sentence adverbials in English academic texts. The lists of sentence adverbials, their frequencies and mutual proportions within and between

individual corpora are likely to change with every addition of new materials into the corpora. The results would certainly differ with inclusion of texts from other disciplines of science or with expanding the corpora by other academic genres. Nevertheless, it seems that the established results illustrate quite aptly the main tendencies in the application of sentence adverbials in academic papers and essays in humanities, or in linguistics and language teaching methodology in particular. As the differences revealed between NWs and NNWs and between novice and expert writers are quite significant and logically explainable, it may be well assumed that they have more general validity and that they apply even beyond the limits of the disciplines in question.

How important is then the difference between the usage of otherwise appropriate linguistic devices preferred by English native vs. non-native writers in a discourse situation where English is no longer the domain of its native speakers? It seems that in the present-day world where English is used as the lingua franca in many different areas (including the academic discourse) there is a marked tendency to create discipline-specific vocabularies and even distributional patterns of lexical and grammatical devices. For this reason, deviations from the native English norm, as long as they are within a norm of grammatical and lexical correctness (or appropriacy), are fully acceptable. The newly emerging regular usages thus contribute to forming a style of a fully functional non-native EAP.

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ACADEMIC ENGLISH FROM A DIACHRONIC PERSPECTIVE

Marcela Malá

Technical University of Liberec

This paper examines changes in sentence complexity and syntactic functions of clauses that have occurred in academic texts over a hundred-year time span. Every finite and non-finite clause can carry out one of four syntactic functions in sentences:1) It can substitute for clause elements commonly expressed by noun phrases; 2) It can be used instead of adverbials; 3) It can further develop noun phrases; 4) It can be used as a comment clause. The findings indicate that sentences in current academic prose in contrast to sentences in academic prose written a hundred years ago are shorter in terms of the number of words and number of clauses. They show a tendency towards a non-finite mode of expression resulting in stronger syntactic condensation. Moreover, they display growing intellectual complexity and more apparent straightforwardness with reference to hypotaxis – parataxis relationships and sentence structure.

Introduction

This article looks at academic prose from a diachronic perspective. In literature academic English as a register is often divided into subregisters, e.g. textbooks, academic research books, research articles. These may be further subdivided into additional subregisters according to different scientific disciplines they represent (Biber & Conrad 2009:32). There are even studies in academic prose that focus on differences among subdisciplines within one discipline (Lee 1978). Diachronic studies of academic English, whether they are large-scale or small-scale, computerized or analysed by hand, vary in their focus. They analyse texts with reference to diachronic differences e.g. in article organization (Bazerman 1984, Atkinson 1996), in the use of a particular linguistic feature (Seoane 2004) or more linguistic features often based on the multidimensional analysis developed by Biber 1988 (Atkinson 1996, Seoane 2006). Texts are then examined with reference to the occurrence of selective categories prepared before the analysis. This paper puts together the results of three small-scale descriptive exploratory studies that analyse parts of research articles and book extracts. The aim is to detect changes in the syntactic functions of finite and non-finite clauses which have occurred over a hundred-year time span that would be common to both these subregisters of academic English. The paper examines stretches of continuous running texts and categorises every explicitly expressed finite and non-finite predication which occurs in them. The analysis was carried out by hand. It was believed that through such research possible qualitative changes in the use of finite and non-finite clauses may emerge more clearly than through computerised research that would have to focus on selected syntactic issues the programme would be pre-set for.

Methodology

Theoretically, the research is based on *A comprehensive grammar of the English language*, (Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech & Svartvik 1985), *Longman grammar of spoken and written English*, (Biber, Johansson, Leech, Conrad & Finegan 1999) and *Mluvnice současné angličtiny na pozadí češtiny* (Dušková 1988). The study contrasts the analyses of 100 consecutive sentences of six academic texts which were chosen as units of analysis. The sentence starts with a capital letter and ends with a full stop, question mark or exclamation mark. A colon or semicolon separate clauses belonging to one sentence, not two sentences. As regards the selection of texts, an effort was made to analyse texts written by native speakers. Two of them are always taken from the same field and focus on the same or similar topic. There are two research articles from the field of clinical psychology describing research on hypnosis, published in 1907 and 2005[1], two research articles from the field of economics on fiscal policy, published in 1904 and 1997[2] and two book extracts from the area of sociology on how to carry out sociological research, published in 1888 and 1996. The whole corpus of 600 sentences contains 2,090 clauses and 17,864 words (See Tab. 1). Parts of texts intended for analysis were chosen at random. The only condition was that it must be a continuous running text. As mentioned above, within the stretches of the continuous running texts, the analysis categorises every explicitly expressed finite and non-finite predication occurring in them.

	No. of sentences	No. of clauses	No. of words
Psychology – old	100	436	3,582
Psychology–modern	100	286	2,057
Economics – old	100	438	4,233
Economics – modern	100	307	2,629
Sociology – old	100	358	3,230
Sociology – modern	100	265	2,133
total	**600**	**2, 090**	**17,864**

Tab. 1: The number of clauses and words in 100 sentences of the 6 texts

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[1] For an analysis of the two psychology texts see Malá 2009.

[2] For a comparison of the analyses of the psychology and economics texts see Malá 2010, 2011.

Categories of explicitly expressed finite and non-finite predication

Explicitly expressed finite and non-finite predications are categorized as main clauses and finite and non-finite subordinate clauses. Subordinate clauses are further divided into four categories according to the syntactic function they perform in a sentence. They can substitute for clause elements commonly expressed by noun phrases or adverbials; they can contribute to the complexity of noun phrases or, as comment clauses, be independent of the rest of the sentence. In the examples below, parts of sentences illustrating the issues discussed are italicized. The information in brackets indicates which text a particular example is taken from.

Clauses substituting for noun phrases

Clause elements commonly expressed by noun phrases are mainly *subject, object, complement.* Example (1) shows a nominal *that* clause functioning as direct object; in example (2) there is a *to-* clause performing the function of subject complement.

> (1) The results of his investigation indicate *that the pressure* to conform in groupsituations*can have a powerful impact on social behaviour.* (sociology/modern)
>
> (2) And the first step must be *to ascertain a method of enquiry* which will lead toa verified statement of fact,...(sociology/old)

Clauses substituting for adverbials

In examples (3) and (4) the structures typed in italics illustrate finite and non-finite clauses used as adverbials.

> (3) On the other hand, in order that his observation may rank as a social fact,
>
> he must show that these qualities or conditions are characteristic of a sufficient
>
> body of men... (sociology/old)
>
> (4) In preparing to conduct a survey, sociologists must exercise great care in
>
> the wording of questions. (sociology/modern)

Clauses contributing to the complexity of noun phrases in the form of pre- and postmodification

To be consistent with the criterion of explicitly expressed predication, *-ing* and
   -ed participles used as premodification of noun phrases which are derived from a verb base by means of the suffixes *-ing* or *-ed* were counted as non-finite clauses. The present and past participles are effective tools of economy of expression because they usually imply an adjectival relative clause which they can be easily converted into. Thus *a verified statement* in (5) can be changed into *a statement which/that is verified.*

(5) And the first step must be to ascertain a method of enquiry which will lead to *a verified* statement of fact,...(sociology/modern)

Examples (6) and (7) illustrate postmodification by means of a finite and non-finite clause respectively. In (6) there is a defining relative clause; in (7) an -*ing* participle.

(6) There have been a number of studies *that examined specific problems....*

(psychology/modern)

(7) There is abundant evidence that acts *originating subliminally* are

remembered... (psychology/old)

Comment clauses

Comment clauses are independent of the rest of the sentence (Quirk et al. 1985: 1112). They express a speaker's comment on the content or style of what is said in a clause they are attached to. As for their forms in the texts analysed, they have the forms of main clauses (8), adverbial clauses (9) or *to-* infinitive clauses (10).

(8) Here visual representation is the rule; and it will, *I think*, be found that skill

in mental arithmetic is almost always accompanied … (psychology/old)

(9) ...we need some better assurance than mere assumptions that, *as far as the*

question as issues is concerned, these men and women are equal units.

(sociology/old)

(10) But she similarly failed, *to begin with*, in the hypnotic state.

(psychology/old)

Within the above-mentioned syntactic categories 13 types of finite clauses (different semantic relationships of adverbial clauses are counted as one type) and 21 types of non-finite clauses occurred in at least two out of the six texts. They are listed in the Appendix.

Results and discussion

Main and finite, non-finite clauses in all the six texts

The basic difference between the older and modern texts is that a hundred sentences in the modern texts are shorter in terms of the numbers of words and contain fewer clauses. The number of clauses is shown in Tab. 2.

	Main clauses		Finite sub. clauses		Non-finite clauses	
	Abs.*	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%
Psychology – old	138		182		116	
Psychology – modern	115	↓ 17	94	↓ 48	77	↓ 34
Economics – old	126		181		131	
Economics – modern	119	↓ 6	91	↓ 50	97	↓ 26
Sociology – old	124		110		124	
Sociology – modern	113	↓ 9	66	↓ 40	86	↓ 31

Tab. 2: Main, finite, non-finite clauses in the six texts (Abs.* - absolute numbers of clauses)

There are absolute numbers of main, finite subordinate and non-finite clauses in the old and modern texts and also percentages by which these clauses decreased in the modern texts. We can thus see that the main clauses decreased by 17% in the modern psychology text, by 6% in the modern economics text and by 9% in the modern sociology text. A comparison of the decrease in finite and non-finite clauses reveals that finite clauses were reduced much more (by 48%, 50% and 40%) than non-finite clauses (by 34%, 26% and 31%). This could indicate that the developmental trend in academic prose shows a tendency towards a non-finite mode of expression. The tendency may not even be a phenomenon occurring in the last hundred years alone but over a much longer period. It may also not apply only to academic English.

> Nonfinite verbal forms – infinitives, gerunds and participles – are another grammatical category which has become more functionally prominent, and correspondingly more frequent in discourse, since the Middle English period. In spite of the relative lack of attention that these forms have received in literature on current change in English, there is no indication that the diachronic dynamic that characterised these forms in Early Modern English has abated in the recent past. (Leech & Mair 2006: 329)

Changes in individual syntactic categories

Tables 3 and 4 display the percentages of the four syntactic categories of finite and non-finite clauses in the six texts. Since premodification and postmodification of noun phrases are treated separately, the discussion below deals, in fact, with five categories.

	Finite clauses - psychology		Finite clauses - economics		Finite clauses – sociology	
	old	modern	old	modern	old	modern
Postmodification	36	38	57	29	40	35
Adverbial element	33	13	25.5	37	26	38
Noun phrase slot	26	47	15.5	34	25	24
Comment clauses	5	-	2	-	9	3
Premodification	-	2	-	-	-	-
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**

Tab. 3: Percentages of finite clauses according to functions

	Non-finite cl. - psychology		Non-finite cl. - economics		Non-finite cl. – sociology	
	old	modern	old	modern	old	modern
Postmodification	45	32	46.5	30	38	31
Adverbial element	14	25	14	31	12	22
Noun phrase slot	26	26	24.5	27	23	30
Comment clauses	2	-	-	-	2	-
Premodification	13	17	15	12	25	17
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**

Tab. 4: Percentages of non-finite clauses according to functions

Postmodification

Postmodification by means of finite and non-finite clauses is by far the most frequently used category in the older texts. With the exception of the finite clauses in the modern psychology text there is generally a considerable decline in the percentage of finite and non-finite clauses expressing postmodification in the modern texts.

There are four kinds of finite clauses used as postmodification of noun phrases that occurred in two out of the six texts. (See the Appendix). The most frequent clause type is a defining relative clause. The findings indicate some differences in the use of relative pronouns in these clauses. Although there was a variety of lexical items used as relative pronouns, possible changes in the choice of *who/which/that* in the subject/object position suggest some developmental trends. In the subject position, the

findings show convincingly that the *who/which* alternative, which was dominant in defining relative clauses in the old texts, has started giving way to the *who/which/that* alternative in the modern texts. When the relative pronoun functions as an object, in most cases the old texts preserve it. In the modern texts of the three disciplines that were analysed such clauses were almost entirely absent in psychology and economics. It was only in the sociology text that some examples could be found. The most common was an alternative with *that*, which was preserved. This is shown in example (11).

> (11) His goal was to gain greater insight into the community *that these men hadestablished.*(sociology/modern)

On the whole, the findings clearly demonstrate a decline in the usage of this clause type in general, and in the usage of defining relative clauses with relative pronouns in the object position in particular. This is in accordance with the results of some other research studies that adopted a diachronic perspective (Bazerman 1984:175, Atkinson 1996:369, Seoane 2006:195) and found a decrease in the usage of relative clauses. Synchronic research supports the findings of this study too. Biber et al. present *which* as the most frequent relativizer in academic prose (Biber et al. 1999: 611), the ratio of *which* to *that* in restrictive clauses being 70% : 30%. Huddleston's findings showed that as regards the relative clauses in which the relative pronoun plays the role of a subject, the occurrences with *which* prevail over those with *that*. The frequency of occurrence of relative clauses in which the relative pronoun functions as an object is significantly lower than the frequency of occurrence of relative clauses in which the relative pronoun functions as a subject, with the numbers being 296 : 16 for *that* and 320 : 20 for *which* (Huddleston 2009: 231).

As regards non-finite postmodification, in all the six texts there are three kinds of non-finite clauses used as postmodification: *-ed* postmodification (12), *-ing* postmodification (13) and *to-* infinitive postmodification (14).

> (12) These calculations take no account of any build-up pension liabilities
> *associated with an ageing population.* (economics/modern)
> (13) The government´s latest budgetary projections show the current balance
> *moving into surplus in 1999/2000.* (economics/modern)
> (14) Lay people have the opportunity *to acquire beliefs and opinions about*
> *hypnosis and hypnotherapy.* (psychology/modern)

In accordance with a decrease in the percentage of postmodification in the modern texts, their frequency of occurrence is lower. However, the order of different kinds of non-finite postmodification in both the older and modern texts is-*ed*, *- ing*, *to*-infinitive postmodification. The findings of this study roughly correspond to Biber et al. (1999: 606), in that the order of different kinds of postmodifications according to

the frequency of occurrence is relative clauses, *-ed* clauses, *-ing* clauses and *to-*infinitive clauses.

Adverbial elements

The percentages of finite and non-finite clauses expressing adverbial, with the exception of finite clauses in the modern psychology text, display a rise in the modern texts. As for finite clauses, there are different types of semantic relationships, the most common being adverbial clauses of time (15), condition (16) and concession (17) in the older as well as modern texts.

> (15) When he has completed this work of personal observation, he can begin
> statistical enquiry. (sociology/old)
>
> (16) If the research is to be successful, the observer cannot allow the close
> association or even friendships that inevitably develop to influence the
> conclusions of the study. (sociology/modern)
>
> (17) While such interviews can be highly entertaining, they are not
> necessarily an accurate indication of public opinion. (sociology/modern)

Biber et al. present clauses of concession and condition as the most common clause types in academic prose because they are 'important contributors to the development of argument, which is a significant goal of academic writing' (Biber et al. 1999: 825). The findings of this study roughly correspond to Biber et al.'s claim.

There are six kinds of non-finite clauses used as a substitute for an adverbial element slot. Of the two kinds of clauses which use the infinitive - the infinitive of purpose illustrated in example (18) and the infinitive of sufficiency/excess illustrated in example (19) - the infinitive of purpose is much more common in all six texts and its representation in the modern texts is even more prominent than in the older texts.

> (18) To accomplish the work of enumeration he must find men capable of
> distinguishing and registering the qualities ... (sociology /old)
>
> (19) Thus the feedback from net worth onto expenditure is powerful enough to
> stabilise the government's net worth at a target value. (economics/modern)

The other four kinds of non-finite clauses used as a substitute for an adverbial element slot are *-ing* and *-ed*clauses with an overt subordinator demonstrated in (20) and (21) or without an overt subordinator shown in (22) and (23).

> (20) For a highly elaborated and skilled process of making notes, besides its
> obvious use *in recording observations* which would otherwise be forgotten, is
> actually an instrument of discovery. (sociology/old)
>
> (21) Similarly, *when faced with growing competition in the photocopying*

industry, Xerox Corporation employed a research team ... (sociology/modern)

(22) Thus, such samples can be biased in favor of commuters, middle-class shoppers, or factory workers, *depending on which street area the newspeople select.* (sociology/modern)

(23) *Looked at in the same way*, many of the other suggestions are rendered very simple. (psychology/old)

The semantic relationship of participleclauses without overt subordinators is not clear cut because they 'have an implicit and somewhat ill-defined relationship with the main clause' (Biber et al. 1999: 783). In accordance with Biber et al. in the present study such clauses were analysed as adverbials. Nevertheless, when non-finite *-ing* clauses without overt subordinators follow the clauses they are related to, in some cases they could be alternatively expressed by finite clauses linked paratactically to the clauses that precede (Alexander 1988: 31). The finite clause would be of the same kind as the clause that precedes. This is shown in examples (24) and (25).

(24) Thus, such samples can be biased in favor of commuters, middle-class shoppers, or factory workers, *depending on which street area the newspeople select.* (sociology/modern)

(25) Britain's primary deficit is such that ... the stock of debt will rise without limit, *eventually reaching a point* at which the taxes needed to service the debt become politically impossible. (economics/modern)

In (24) *depending on which street area the newspeople select* could be another main. In (25)*eventually reaching a point*follows a subordinate clause that ... the stock of debt will rise without limitand could thus be changed into the same kind of subordinate clause joined paratactically by "and" and will eventually reach a point.Even though there are only a few examples of this kind in the modern economics and sociology texts, this phenomenon could further reinforce the claim about a tendency towards a non-finite mode of expression in modern academic prose. Even though it was possible to use a finite clause, a non-finite clause was used instead.

Noun phrase slot

As for finite and non-finite clauses used as substitutes for clause elements normally expressed by a noun phrase, the modern psychology and economics texts show a rise in the percentage of finite clauses, while the modern economics and sociology texts indicate a rise in the percentage of non-finite clauses. There is a variety of different types of finite clauses used as substitutes for noun phrases. Seven of them occurring in two of the six texts are listed in the Appendix. The most common clause type of a finite clause is a nominal *that*-clause used as direct object in which *that* is preserved

(See example [1]). According to Biber et al. the 'retention of *that* is the norm in academic prose' (1999: 680). It is a fairly essential clause type of academic prose because it enables researchers to express their stance or report results of their research. As for non-finite clauses used as a substitute for clause elements normally expressed by noun phrases, the variety of different clause types is even richer than in finite clauses. There are nine kinds of non-finite clauses occurring in two of the six texts (See the Appendix), the most frequent being *to-* infinitive clauses used as O_d (26), extraposed *to-* infinitive clauses (27) and *to-* infinitive clauses involved in the subject to subject raising construction (28).

> (26) This suggests that governments have in the past pursued a policy of trying
>
> *to stabilise public sector net worth*. (economics/modern)
>
> (27) It is difficult *to persuade the accomplished graduate of Oxford or*
>
> *Cambridge* that .... (sociology/old)
>
> (28) In 1990, the Eagleton Institute ... confirmed that women were more likely *totake strong "prochoice" positions* ...(sociology/modern)

Premodification

Premodification by means of finite clauses is a rather insignificant category because in the modern psychology text there were only two examples of quotations of direct speech used as premodification (e.g. There was also a *don´t know* option.). Of the two kinds of non-finite participle premodification (*-ed*premodification and *-ing* premodification) *-ed*premodification is generally more frequent. This corresponds with Biber et al. who state that *-ed* participial premodifiers are more common in academic prose than in other registers. The percentages of premodification in the modern texts are slightly higher or lower than in the older texts and the results are thus not unequivocal. The cases of *-ed*and *-ing* participles premodifying noun phrases were included as a syntactic category of non-finite premodification because a 'premodifier can usually be rephrased as postmodifier. ...this rephrasing is straightforward, involving the use of a copular relative clause...' (Biber et al.1999: 588). When a premodifier is used, it is an excellent means of clause economy because just one word is required instead of a whole clause and the sentence is thus more condensed. Since the modern psychology text displays a rise in this respect and it was the first discipline analysed, it seemed that the potential of this syntactic device would be considerable. This is the reason why in Malá (2009) I claimed that this phenomenon may also explain why the modern text is shorter. However, after comparing the other two sets of texts, the percentages of premodification derived from a verb base indicate that the role of premodification by means of *-ed* and *-ing* participles does not show any kind of significant rise or fall over a hundred year time span.

Comment clauses

On the whole, comment clauses occur only in very small quantities. Out of the three academic disciplines analysed – psychology, economics, sociology – only the modern sociology text contains some examples.

Changing features of current academic English

The methodology of the research was the same in all the three sets of texts. Since the research covers three disciplines (psychology, economics and sociology), the conclusions arrived at could thus be less tentative than in Malá (2009, 2010, 2011). However, since the three descriptive exploratory studies are small-scale, the claims must still be taken only as provisional and further research is needed for confirmation. The findings common to all the three analyses could be summarised as follows. A hundred sentences of current academic English are shorter in terms of the numbers of words and contain fewer clauses than a hundred sentences of academic English written a hundred years ago. The current push for greater brevity in academic writing may be imposed by editorial boards. Unlike the writer of 100 years ago, the modern writer is given instructions on the maximum acceptable length. However, this would only explain why the modern psychology and economics texts are shorter than the old texts. The sociology texts are book extracts, not research articles. Moreover, within the same number of sentences (100) the comparison of the old and modern texts revealed that, in the modern texts, finite clauses were reduced much more than non-finite clauses. As discussed above, non-finite clauses are used instead of hypotactically and paratactically linked finite clauses. Such clauses are commonly introduced by a conjunction and contain a subject, which means elements that from the point of view of communicative dynamism are rather weak and thus not necessary because they are apparent from the surrounding context (Hladký 1961:114). Without these unnecessary elements, sentences in current academic English compared to sentences in academic English written a hundred years ago are syntactically more condensed. A stronger tendency towards a non-finite mode of expression in current academic English results in stronger syntactic sentence condensation. Such a tendency, even though it may be to a certain extent imposed by editorial boards, seems perfectly logical. Non-finite clauses suggest subordination. If finite clauses were used, the reader would have to think about the relationships of subordination and superordination because written language does not use intonation or paralinguistic devices that help clarify these relationships in spoken language. Nonetheless, written language has its tools in this respect, too and using non-finite clauses instead of finite clauses or the retention of *that* in nominal *that-* clauses when the conjunction could be omitted are only two of

them. The text then speaks better to the eyes of the reader and certainly makes reading comprehension easier.

As far as the functions of finite and non-finite clauses are concerned, the research showed that in the modern texts there is an increase in the percentages of clauses used instead of elements normally expressed by noun phrases and those expressing adverbial and a substantial decrease in the percentages of finite and non-finite clauses expressing postmodification. Comment clauses are generally used rather sparingly or not at all in the modern texts. These findings have a profound impact on the features of modern academic texts. Quirk et al.distinguish 'five functional categories of clause constituents' (Quirk et al.1985:720). Those are subject, verb, object, complement, adverbial; postmodification is not among them. It functions within the complex noun phrase (1985:719). Different kinds of postmodification are not mentioned in the chapter dealing with 'Syntactic and semantic functions of subordinate clauses' (1985:1045) but in the chapter concerning 'The noun phrase' (1985:1235). Bazerman assesses the significance of different clause types. In his opinion relative clauses develop noun phrases 'adding information or precision but not adding to intellectual complexity' (Bazerman 1984: 175), while 'noun clauses can keep two thoughts in the air at the same time' and adverbial clauses put 'two ideas or events in relation to one another' (Bazerman 1984: 176). In other words, nominal clauses express essential clause elements, adverbial clauses add different kinds of circumstances which are important for understanding the situation, while clauses expressing postmodification give some more information about any clause elements expressed by noun phrases. They do the same work as adjectives and, in a way, interrupt the flow of the text making it less straightforward. This, of course, puts more stress on the concentration of the reader as can be seen in (29) taken from the old economics text. The sentence contains two main clauses (typed in italics) and four postmodifications.

> (29) *But a section*, steadily growing in size and prominence, *is now given in systematic treatises on economic principles to the probable action and effects of monopoly, and the increasing attention* bestowed by theorists on this topic, which was barely noticed by the older economists, *accords with the larger*, *more conspicuous place* taken to-day by monopoly in industrial and commercial practice.

The subject of the first main clause *section* is postmodified by a non-finite *–ing* clause *steadily growing in size and prominence*. The subject of the second main clause *attention* is postmodified by a non-finite *-ed* clause *bestowed by theorists on this topic*. Within the *-ed* postmodification there is another noun phrase *topic* postmodified by a relative clause *which was barely noticed by the older economists*and only after that the main clause continues. There is one more postmodification *taken to-day by monopoly*

in industrial and commercial practice. A dramatic reduction in the percentages of finite and non-finite postmodifications in the modern texts certainly contributes to the simplification of sentence structure and overall straightforwardness of the text.

Conclusion

To conclude, the findings indicate that current academic English contrasted with academic English of a hundred years ago displays a tendency towards a non-finite mode of expression resulting in stronger syntactic condensation. Moreover, it shows growing intellectual complexity, economy of expression and straightforwardness of parataxis – hypotaxis relationships and sentence structure. Comment clauses occur in very small quantities and only in some disciplines, with sociology seemingly among them.

The research was based on the analysis of three disciplines. Obviously, the three small-case descriptive exploratory studies cannot be representative of all academic English. However, the analysis provides some interesting findings about academic English as a register which would deserve to be pursued further in larger studies in the future.

Acknowledgement

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Appendix

Finite clauses substituting for noun phrases

1. That- clauses after verbs

In 1990, the Eagleton Institute of Politics at Rutgers University confirmed that women were more likely to take strong "prochoice" positions when questioned by a woman about the issue of abortion. (sociology – modern)

2. Extraposed that- clauses

For it is self-evident that in all the more complicated statistics of human life, "unit observation"should be a preliminary step to statistical enquiry. (sociology – old)

3. That- clauses after a copular verb

Another reason against the notebook is that notes recorded in a book must necessarily be entered in the orderin which they are obtained; ... (sociology – old)

4. That- clauses as adjectival complementation

She said she was sure she could not do this. (psychology – old)

5. Nominal Wh- interrogative clauses

An important aspect of sociological research is deciding how data should be collected. (sociology – modern)

6. Nominal yes/no interrogative clauses

Thus a respectable citizen, who had diligently read East London newspaper on the evil of low-class foreign immigration, writes to his Member of Parliament to enquire whether it be not true that every third man in England is a foreigner. (sociology – old)

7. Nominal relative clauses

Sociologists must be able to fully understand what they are observing. (sociology – modern)

Finite clauses occupying an adverbial element slot

8. Adverbial clauses (different semantic relationships; the most frequent being time, condition and concession)

I rather directed my attention to the investigation of the subconscious calculations which are made after hypnosis has terminated. (psychology – old)

Thus, if a group sees the researcher as an outsider and an observer – rather than as a member of the group – its members may feel uneasy and hide many thoughts and emotions. (sociology – modern)

While such interviews can be highly entertaining, they are not necessarily an accurate indication of public opinion. (sociology – modern)

Finite clauses contributing to the complexity of noun phrases in the form of postmodification

9. Defining relative clauses

Higher borrowing leads to a larger debt service burden which may offset the initial advantage. (economics – modern)

10. Non-defining relative clause

Had a parallel series of problems been given to Miss D. in the waking state from the beginning, or even from the 8th of January, when she was first asked to make calculations during hypnosis, … (psychology – old)

11. Appositive clauses

The mistaken belief that hypnosis per se confers analgesia is quite untrue. (psychology – old)

12. *Wh*- nominal relative clauses

Nor has the separate treatment been at any time so marked, in connection with what may be called the theory of international value,... (economics – old)

Finite comment clauses

13. Finite comment clauses

Here visual representation is the rule; and it will, I think, be found that skill in mental arithmetic is almost always accompanied…. (psychology – old)

Non-finite clauses substituting for noun phrases
1. *To-* clauses after verbs
When sociologists want to study a possible cause-and-effect relationship, they may conduct experiments. (sociology – modern)
2. Extraposed *to-* clauses
Moreover, it is not easy to maintain this type of masquerade for weeks or months while attempting to get to know strangers. (sociology – modern)
3. *To-* clauses after a copular verb
His goal was to gain greater insight into the community that these men had established.
(sociology – modern)
4. *To-* clauses as adjectival complementation
Second, television interviews tend to attract outgoing people who are willing to appear on the air, while they frighten away others who may feel intimidated by a camera.
(sociology – modern)
5. *To-* clauses involved in the subject to subject raising construction
In 1990, the Eagleton Institute of Politics at Rutgers University confirmed that women were more likely to take strong "prochoice" positions when questioned by a woman about the issue of abortion. (sociology – modern)
6. *To-* infinitive clauses after object direct
…this would, in effect, force today´s earners to save up for their own public pensions and public health care. (economics – modern)
7. *- ing* clauses after verbs
F. D. said that she sometimes remembered thinking in her sleep. (psychology – old)
8. *- ing* clauses as adjectival complementation
I presume that by this phrase Dr. Bramwell means that the subject herself was not conscious of making any calculation. (psychology – old)
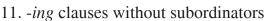9. *-ing/-ed* clauses after object direct
...in their abandonment of the Mercantile System, which they found existing in their day, (economics – old)

Non-finite clauses occupying an adverbial element slot
10. *-ing* clauses with overt subordinators
In preparing to conduct a survey, sociologists must exercise great care in the wording of questions. (sociology – modern)

11. *-ing* clauses without subordinators

Thus, such samples can be biased in favor of commuters, middle- class shoppers, or factory workers, depending on which street or area the newspeople select. (sociology – modern)

12. *-ed* clauses with subordinators

Similarly, when faced with growing competition in the photocopying industry, Xerox Corporation employed a research team to propose cost-cutting measures to managers and union leaders. (sociology – modern)

13. - *ed* clauses without subordinators

Looked at in the same way, many of the other suggestions are rendered very simple. (psychology – old)

14. Infinitive of purpose

Sociologists regularly use surveys observation, experiments, and existing sources to generate data for their research. (sociology – modern)

15. Infinitive of sufficiency and excess

An effective survey question must be simple and clear enough for people to understand it. (sociology – modern)

Non-finite clauses contributing to the complexity of noun phrases in the form of postmodification

16. *-ed* postmodification

At any rate, the trust reposed in individual liberty has weakened, while the occasions for the interference of the State have grown more frequent and abundant. (economics – old)

17. *-ing* postmodification

But a section, steadily growing in size and prominence, is now given in systematic treatises on economic principles to the probable action and effects of monopoly, ... (economics – old)

18. Infinitival postmodification

This has some economic logic, unless there are reasons to believe that it is desirable for the government either to be increasing or reducing the overall stock of national wealth.

(economics – modern)

Non-finite clauses contributing to the complexity of noun phrases in the form of premodification

19. *-ed* premodification

An experiment is an artificially created situation which allows the research to manipulate variables and introduce control variables. (sociology – modern)

20. *-ing* premodification

It requires a great deal of patience and an accepting, nonthreatening type of person. (sociology – modern)

Non-finite comment clauses

21. Non-finite comment clauses

To put it paradoxically, by exercising your reason on the separate facts displayed, in an appropriate way, on hundreds, perhaps thousands, of separate pieces of paper, you may discover which of a series of hypotheses best explains ... (sociology – old)

ARGUMENTATIVE PATTERNS OF SPECIALIZED ACADEMIC DISCOURSE PRODUCED IN ENGLISH BY RUSSIAN SCHOLARS

Alla Smirnova

Independent Researcher, Russia

Since English is the international Lingua Franca in research institutions all over the world today, linguistic analysis of academic discourse produced by representatives of different cultures and language groups in English gains special importance to make scientific communication possible and successful. Though theoretically direct translation of an academic text written in any language into English can make it fully understandable to the international audience, in practice we see that different traditions of academic writing call for different linguistic representation of the same material, which can become an obstacle for understanding of the content.

Introduction

One of the critical features of academic discourse is its argumentative structure. Argumentative analysis shows that any academic discourse is a sequence of argumentatively-oriented elements that enable the reader to follow the writer's reasoning, assess its validity and consequently accept or reject his/her ideas. The overall persuasive effect of academic discourse depends on how acceptable the writer's argumentation is for the addressee. Moreover, this discourse element has a definite cultural load. If many other linguistic elements of academic discourse depend on the language competence of the writer or the translator, and still others may be changed by the editor of the journal and thus in the final version of the article present a kind of cultural mix, the argumentative structure of discourse is something inherent to the article as it represents the logical relations between the ideas presented. The present research is devoted to the analysis of argumentative patterns used in the academic discourse of research articles produced by Russian scholars in English for the international audience.

The study

We opted for the traditional big disciplines physics and biology as the stronghold of Russian science. The contributions of Russian scholars in these disciplines are of interest and in demand at the international level, which explains the relatively large amount of research articles in specialized journals written in English by Russian scholars available for analysis. However, Russian-style presentation of information can make the contributions of Russian writers of specialized academic discourses

difficult for understanding and prevent the international audience from complete understanding of their ideas.

The corpus consisted of 40 texts of research articles written in English by Russian scholars: 20 articles in physics and 20 articles in biology. The articles were taken from international scientific journals (Journal of Experimental and Theoretical Physics, Molecular biology, Annals of Human Genetics) and edited volumes published by international publishers.

The theoretical framework of the argumentative analysis of the articles in our corpus was the pragma-dialectical approach of the Amsterdam school of argumentation (Eemeren, van, and Grootendorst 1983, 1992). We also use the notation system commonly used in the works of this school. The classification of arguments is based on the typology elaborated by Russian argumentation scholars (Alekseev 1991; Ivin 1997, Khasagerov, Shirina 1999) and the general logical definitions of arguments. The types of arguments used in the corpus were further distributed into larger groups according to classification suggested by A. Ivin (Ivin 1997):

> Empirical argumentation
>
> Contextual argumentation
>
> Epistemological argumentation
>
> Theoretical argumentation

The results of classification of the arguments of our corpora of research articles in biology and in physics will be discussed in the next paragraph.

Empirical argumentation

According to Russian standards of academic writing, in order to sound convincing a theory or a conclusion shall be preferably based on the collected data. That is why in the analyzed research articles the dominating form of reasoning was empirical proof (50.8% in biology and 34.4% in physics). This type of argumentation is dependent on evidence produced by observation or experiment observable by the senses. Arguments of this group are mostly modifications of inductive reasoning that involves moving from a set of specific facts to a general conclusion. In the articles written in English by Russian scholars, in both disciplines analyzed, the dominating pattern in this group of arguments was direct empirical proof, a variety of inductive reasoning whereby the thesis is confirmed by direct observation of the phenomena. For example:

(1) C: (Association of certain alleles and genotypes of the TNR/1 lq#l repeat with both acute and chronic lymphocytic leukemia suggests) the presence of a cancer related gene, involved in a wide spectrum of neoplasia, in the vicinity of this repeat.

A: Association of certain alleles and genotypes of the TNR/1 lq#l repeat with both acute and chronic lymphocytic leukemia suggests…

A1: Comparison of certain alleles and genotype distributions in the control ALL and CLL groups showed significant decrease in the presence of the GCC6 allele in the ALL and CLL groups compared to controls.

A2: We found that CLL risk genotypes were those with both alleles containing

Arguments A1 and A2 are examples of direct empirical proof. The foundation of the theory suggested in the article is association of different types of leukemia with a definite repeat in human genotype. The existence of this association is proved by direct observation of differences in this repeat between the statistically significant groups of leukemia patients and healthy controls. Linguistically, these arguments contain direct reference to the observed phenomena: "Comparison showed...", "We found that...".

Other argument types in this group (direct empirical proof, indirect empirical proof, induction, analogy, examples and statistics) are much less favored by Russian writers and have only minor frequency in the analyzed corpus.

The analyzed articles present the results of experimental investigation and propose a theoretical model directly based on the experimentally observed phenomena, and empirical argumentation is the dominating group in the analyzed corpus.

Contextual argumentation

The second in frequency group of arguments in the analyzed corpus is contextual argumentation (20.3% in biology and 21.9% in physics). The arguments in this group are based on existing conventions (rather than observable data as in the empirical argumentation, or universal rules of logic as in the theoretical one). That is why acceptability of such arguments depends on the context and on the audience.

In the analyzed articles in both disciplines, the first in frequency type of proof in this group is the argument to authority. In specialized academic articles, it is presented as references to previous research and opinions of other scientists, and is actually a compulsory element of any research article. On the contrary, argument to fear is not recognized by the standards of scientific writing. However, our analysis showed that Russian scholars do use this argument, though rarely. The following argumentative unit is an example of both types of contextual arguments used by Russian physicists in their academic discourse in English:

(2) C: Each object containing MNC [materials of nuclear cycle] should be secured by the complex system of protection, control, and account of MNC.

A1: Currently, more than 2000 ton of uranium and plutonium available for weapon application are stored all over the world, and their control is often not adequate to their significance.

A2: A number of non-nuclear countries can be well informed on the matter of nuclear weapon manufacturing, and their nuclear weapon programs arc restricted only by the absence of required materials of nuclear cycle (MNC) (fissile materials (FM) and special non-nuclear materials (SNMM) (heavy water, tritium, litium-6) which can be used for nuclear bomb manufacturing.

A2.1. Experts believe that

In this example the claim is a normative utterance stating the necessity and desirability of certain actions. To prove the urgency of the proposed actions the writer uses in A1 and A2 indirect empirical proof combined with appeal to fear, predicting very undesirable consequences of the delay of action (manufacture of a nuclear bomb by non-nuclear countries). As officially this type of argumentation is not a recognized form of reasoning in academic discourse, the writer presents this argument not as his own one, but as one belonging to the unnamed "experts". Argument A2.1 is appeal to the authority of competent sources; however, it is worth noting that against the standards of academic writing, no exact references to these sources are provided.

Contextual argumentation based on conventions agreed upon by the target audience owns its significant frequency rate to the argument to authority, a compulsory element of any research article. Of all other arguments of this group the only one used in our corpus was argument to fear that proved possible in academic discourse in biology and physics, the disciplines dealing with life and death of humankind.

Epistemological argumentation

Epistemological argumentation also proves important for the academic discourse produced in English by Russian scholars (16.2% in biology and 24.6% in physics) in spite of the fact that it deals with normative and evaluative utterances, normally ignored by formal logic. Proof of value, importance and feasibility of the conducted investigation was a compulsory component of each analyzed research article, and so were the arguments proving the necessity of the actions taken to study the chosen subject.

The dominating position in this group is occupied by the teleological proof where the end justifies the means. Thus, in physics it is frequently used to justify the importance and timeliness of the conducted research, as in the following example:

(3) C: *A new device for detection of nuclear cycle materials should be developed.

A1: The threat of possible nuclear and radioactive terror causes the necessity of stringent control of trafficking of nuclear materials.

A2: The detecting abilities of currently used "passive" detection systems (radiation monitors) had practically reached their limits, especially in case of masked or shielded radioactive and fissile materials.

In this example, value and significance of the conducted research is proved in A1 by its positive consequences. Some premises of this argument remain implicit, it is expected that the audience shares the writer's understanding of what is positive or desirable. The importance of these consequences is expected to be undisputable and universally shared as it includes various important aspects of international security and well-being.

In physics, the epistemological group also includes facts used as proof of evaluations and actions. These arguments are prohibited by the laws of formal logic that strictly divide the sphere of facts on the one hand and evaluations and prescription of actions on the other. However, informally, in everyday reasoning this type of proof is used very frequently as people know from experience which facts lead to certain evaluations, and which facts can make certain actions desirable. That is why these arguments were also included by Russian writers into their specialized academic discourse.

Along with the statements of facts, academic discourse also includes evaluations and normative utterances that require epistemological argumentation. This group of arguments dominated by teleological proof is most close to the patterns of informal reasoning in everyday life.

Theoretical argumentation

Theoretical argumentation is the core of classical formal logic. Correct use of such arguments guarantees a valid conclusion independent of sense experience. However, Russian writers of academic discourse in English consider them too abstract or too complex, and this group has a low frequency of use in the analyzed corpus (12.7% in biology and 19.1% in physics). One of the main aims of the writers of specialized academic texts is to persuade the readers of the validity of the results obtained. . That is why an obligatory component of this type of discourse includes information on the methodology used, which is at the same time a methodological proof of the main thesis. Thereby, the claim is proved by a reference to the absolutely reliable method by which it has been obtained. Let us consider how it was done in one of the analyzed articles in biology:

(4) C*: The results of the research are feasible.

| A1: Tumor specimens were obtained from 105 BC patients, who were subjected to surgery in the Blokhin Cancer Research Center. Methylation of RB1, p16/CDKN2A, p15/CDKN2C, p14/ARF, CDH1, MGMT, H1C1, and N33 was assessed in BC, five specimens (section material) of the normal mammary gland tissue, and peripheral blood lymphocytes of 30 healthy subjects. | A2: All tumors were sorted according to the TNM classification as recommended by International Anti-cancer Union (UICC, 1989) | A3: Genomic DNA was isolated by phenol-chloroform extraction [19]. |

A4: Multiplex PCR was carried out with three primer pairs, one directed to the gene of interest and two others serving as positive and negative controls.

A4.1: To avoid false-positive or false-negative results,…

The quoted part of the article includes four arguments of methodological type supporting the implicit claim of credibility of the presented results. Two of these arguments (A2 and A3) combine methodological proof with appeal to the authority of the scientists who first used or described this method: the description of the method used is combined with the references to the sources where the reliability of the method is proved. It is worth noting that in A2 the authors refer to the authority of an internationally recognized organization (International Anti-cancer Union). The compliance of the methodology with the recommendations of this organization is supposed to be an important argument for the international audience.

This group also includes such rigid forms of reasoning as deduction and systemic proof; both were used in our corpus in an insignificant number of cases.

Absolute and abstract forms of theoretical argumentation have the lowest overall frequency in the analyzed corpus, being mainly confined to methodological section of research articles.

When writing in English, Russian writers of academic discourse mostly use empirical arguments to persuade their readers. They also use various forms of contextual and epistemological argumentation, even though some of them may violate the laws of formal logic, since these include the forms of informal reasoning people naturally use in their everyday life. The patterns of formal logic (theoretical argumentation) are used by Russian writers in their academic discourse in English rarely and mostly intuitively.

Conclusion

The paper explores argumentative patterns used in research articles in physics and biology written in English by Russian scholars.

Research revealed that though the frequency distribution of the types of arguments slightly varies for the articles in physics and in biology, the overall frequency distribution of the argument types was similar for both parts of the corpus. This proves that types of argumentative reasoning in research articles produced by Russian scholars were not discipline-specific, but rather prescribed by the general normative cultural traditions of academic writing.

Analysis of the compiled corpus revealed a significant empirical bias of the writers. The largest group of the arguments used was based on the direct observation of phenomena (empirical argumentation). Contextual argumentation and epistemological argumentation normally considered inferior by classical logic are also frequently used in our corpus. On the contrary, formal theoretical argumentation had the lowest frequency rate and limited sphere of use.

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III. Practical Approaches: Applications in Teaching

DESIGNING COURSES ON ACADEMIC WRITING SKILLS AT UNIVERSITY LEVEL

Olga Dontcheva-Navratilova, Renata Jančaříková & Renata Povolná

Masaryk University, Brno

With the increasing role of English as the lingua franca of the Academy, the ability to produce academic texts is a skill that is absolutely essential for university students. Due to its complex nature this skill requires systematic and expert tuition tailored to the needs of particular students. In the process of designing academic writing courses factors such as students' previous experience and knowledge, their current skills, needs and prospective goals have to be taken into account. The present paper outlines the results of a survey the purpose of which was to obtain information on the above-mentioned factors in order to establish a basis for future academic writing courses for students of English at the Faculty of Education, Masaryk University, Brno, Czech Republic. The survey was based on questionnaires completed by 113 students pursuing both Bachelor's and Master's study programmes. It has shown that novice writers need to receive well-planned and methodical instructions on discipline-, genre- and culture-specific academic conventions, since their previous tuition has focused mainly on general writing skills. The teaching of academic writing skills at university should not be limited exclusively to writing courses but should be incorporated into various other courses so that the exposure to expert academic texts together with tuition result in the development and improvement of the students' own academic writing.

Introduction

Modern language teaching is strongly centred on communication and the ability of students to express their ideas comprehensibly and effectively. In our globalized world this means acquiring the competence to communicate cross-culturally in a variety of genres using the spoken and also, perhaps even more importantly, the written medium. With the ever-increasing amount of information available and the necessity to present it to large audiences the written mode has become a substantial and indispensable medium of communication in various contexts on both a personal and professional level. Thus the ability to work with written texts (i.e. to read texts as well as produce them) ranks among the essential skills of an educated modern person, whether in his/her native or a foreign language. It is therefore not surprising that, owing to the paramount importance of the written mode in academic communication, the teaching and learning of academic writing have recently become central issues of interest for numerous linguistically and pedagogically oriented studies dealing with the assessing of native and non-native writers' performance in terms of genre, disciplinary and cross-cultural variation and the designing of courses aimed at developing students'

communicative competence in an academic setting (e.g. Duszak 1997, Hyland 2002a, Hewings 2006, Paltridge and Starfield 2007).

As a highly complex productive skill writing poses a challenge to both learners and teachers. It should be noted that the ability to write effectively is not an inborn capacity but rather a skill that needs to be learned and gradually developed even in one's native/first language (L1), or as Mauranen et al. point out when referring specifically to the academic context, "there are no native speakers of *academic* English" (Mauranen et al. 2010: 184). However, even if mastered in L1, this ability does not automatically transfer into a second/foreign language (L2). L2 writers face many more and different challenges than L1 writers, stemming from their linguistic competence and differences in culture and convention (e.g. the rhetorical structure of text) between L1 and L2 (Hinkel 2004, Hedgcock 2005). Thus when planning and designing writing courses, teachers need to bear in mind on the one hand that students at different levels and in different learning contexts will need to (learn to) produce various types of texts for different purposes and audiences, and on the other that owing to their previous schooling and writing experience students might have developed certain writing habits, which are often culturally determined.

Writing in a second/foreign language has previously received less attention than speaking in language classrooms but it has gradually gained a stronger position in language learning and teaching in the last few decades. The growing need to teach writing as a distinctive skill has resulted in the development of several methodological approaches which orient L2 writing teaching towards a particular focus, i.e. on *language structures*, *text functions*, *creative expression*, *the writing process,content* and *genre* (Hyland 1996). But as Hyland emphasizes, it would be wrong to see them as opposing each other or replacing one another; they should be seen "as complementary and overlapping perspectives, representing potentially compatible means of understanding the complex reality of writing" (ibid.: 2). Each of the perspectives can therefore be the point of departure for writing instruction but it should be complemented by the other approaches; effective writing instruction should rather be a synthesis of methods and approaches that meet particular students' neEds.

This investigation into the academic writing skills of Czech university students involved in Bachelor's and Master's degree study programmes of teacher training in the English language undertakes to diagnose the special needs and the current writing skills of the students as well as to explore the progress they make from general writing to specific academic writing skills over the five years of their studies. The aim of the investigation is to assess to what extent the current academic writing courses offered by the Department of English Language and Literature at the Faculty of Education, Masaryk University in Brno correspond to the specific needs and expectations of the students and to provide the necessary data for a potential redesigning of these courses

so as to equip the students with the academic writing skills required for their professional career in the globalized academic discourse community.

Designing academic writing courses

Since by the beginning of the 21st century English had established as the indisputable *lingua franca* of the global academic world, the acquiring of academic English has become an indispensable condition for anyone contemplating university studies and/or a professional career in science, research, academia or administration. It should be noted that since the majority of users of academic English nowadays are non-native speakers, recent descriptive and pedagogical studies of academic English have problematized the educated native speaker as the model of good and fluent language performance and questioned the Anglo-American tradition of academic writing as the prevailing discourse convention (e.g. Flowerdew 2008, Mauranen et al. 2010). This has resulted in a more flexible approach to academic writing in English which takes into consideration existing variation in meaning and organization of academic texts across fields, languages and cultures. In addition, there has been a fundamental change in the understanding of academic writing "from a formal text-based perspective to a functional perspective that concentrates on the writer and the writing process and, even more, on the reader and the cognitive construction of discourse in a community" (Schmied 2011:1; see also Hyland 2010). This brings to the fore the need to focus on the interactive strategies favoured by specific academic discourse communities, since the negotiation of preferred levels of interactivity as well as the overall discourse organization of form and content in academic written texts across different fields, languages and cultures has become indispensable in the ongoing process of increasing internationalization of all scholarship (cf. Duszak 1997).

Perhaps the best opportunity for integration of novice non-native speakers of English into the academic discourse community and their accommodation to its epistemological and literacy conventions is provided by universities, where students' socialization is facilitated by instruction and involvement in the activities of the target discourse community (Flowerdew 2000). According to Hinkel (2004), the choice of appropriate strategies and approaches to teaching L2 academic writing should take into consideration the level of language proficiency attained by the learners and the differences between the L1 and L2 academic literacies, while adopting a genre-aware approach including consistent instruction in academic vocabulary, grammatical structures and discourse organization. Thus when designing academic writing courses in a university setting, writing in EFL is best approached as a highly complex skill which requires more than just a good knowledge of grammar and lexis; it also requires genre and context specificities as well as cultural and disciplinary ones. Since a good

command of grammar and lexis remains the cornerstone of good writing, it should be the focus of academic writing courses included in the first years of Bachelor's study programmes. This focus on general academic writing skills should also comprise instruction on the process of writing and its various stages, such as drafting, composing, reviewing and evaluating. This approach may aid novice writers considerably; nevertheless, it does not automatically make all students proficient writers in their respective disciplines, as it would be wrong to assume that writing is a linear process consisting of individual steps the mastery of which results in successful, effective writing. In Hyland's (1996: 27) words, "writing cannot be distilled down to a set of cognitive or technical abilities or a system of rules, and … learning to write in a second language is not simply a matter of opportunities to compose and revise". Writing courses therefore should be designed with the aim of providing students with knowledge from several focal areas, such as *content*, *system* (syntax, lexis, etc.), *process* (stages of a writing task), *genre* (its communicative purposes) and *context* (readers, culture, related texts) (ibid.).

Since language fluency should be seen mainly as a means of achieving the writer's purpose, i.e. to convey meanings, information and views effectively in discipline-specific contexts and to particular audiences, students should be equipped "with the communicative skills to participate in particular academic and professional cultural contexts" (Hyland 2002b: 393). This is why academic writing courses designed for the final year of Bachelor's study programmes and for Master's degree programmes should reflect the specific subject-matter needs of the students. A focus on discipline-specific discourse organization and argumentation strategies is intended to enable novice writers to structure their texts, to engage in supporting or refuting arguments, putting forward claims, commenting on and comparing other writers' ideas and proposing and developing their own. Such an approach to teaching academic English in a university context is dependent on research oriented towards data collection, text analysis and the identification of discipline-specific practices and target behaviour.

Since English for academic purposes begins with the learner and the situation (Hamp-Lyons 2001: 126), work on an academic writing course syllabus should start with the students' *needs analysis*, which encompasses a number of aspects. By *needs* in this sense we understand not only the students' expectations, goals and motives for writing, but also their current competencies including their learning backgrounds and previous writing experience (cf. Jordan 1997). Most researchers generally agree that collecting and assessing information on learners' needs is a key aspect of teaching and research related to English for academic purposes, since this data serves as the starting point for the selection of materials, tasks and the sequence of course stages (Jordan 1997, Flowerdew and Peacock 2001, Huang 2010). In other words, mapping the current situation (i.e. students' needs, abilities, expectations and previous experience)

together with the specificities of the learning context aids the teacher in defining the objectives of the writing course, its content and the range of tasks to be covered in accordance with the students' needs as well as the curriculum and its goals.

In order to collect such data course designers may employ a large number of methods, which include, for example, *questionnaires*, *interviews*, *tests*, *observations* and *text analyses*, to name the principal ones (for more, see Brown 1995). The choice of methods used for needs analysis is determined by a particular learning environment, time and the type of data to be acquired. Among the methods available, *questionnaires* appear to be one of the most widely used methods of collecting data on students' current situation, including their previous experience and tuition, their goals and attitudes. Accordingly, this investigation uses questionnaires intended to collect information on students' previous (academic) writing experience, previous schooling in academic English, preferences and expectations, as well as on their writing 'habits' and current knowledge of general and specific academic writing conventions. It should be acknowledged, however, that this method of data collection has its limitations, which concern mainly the type of information that can be gathered using a questionnaire and its reliability (Hyland 1996, 2006). It is therefore useful to complement the analysis of data collected on the basis of questionnaires by observation, corpus-based analysis of students' writing and interviews with selected authors in order to identify the students' skills and writing habits and to understand the reasons for their choices and the strategies they use when writing academic texts in English. Although an analysis of students' writing is outside the scope of this paper, it is relevant to mention that both the selection of the areas of interest targeted by the questionnaires and the discussion of the results of the present investigation draw on previous research exploring the writing habits of students on the teacher training programmes of the Department of English Language and Literature of the Faculty of Education, Masaryk University in Brno (see Dontcheva-Navratilova 2008, 2009 and 2012 on the use of reporting verbs, epistemic stance devices and lexical bundles, and Povolná 2010a, 2010b and 2012 on the use of discourse markers).

Methodology and data

The present research is part of a larger long-term project the aim of which is to design effective academic writing courses for university students on Bachelor's and Master's degree study programmes (teacher training in English). It presents the results of the first stage of the project, i.e. needs analysis carried out in three study groups of the Bachelor's and Master's degree programmes at the Department of English Language and Literature, Faculty of Education, Masaryk University, Brno, Czech Republic. The research is based on questionnaires – a method of data collection which is particularly

suitable for *present situation analysis* (cf. Jordan 1997). Present situation analysis "concerns starting where the students are and refers to information about learners' current proficiencies and ambitions" (Hyland 2006: 74, cf. also Dudley-Evans and St John 1998), which is a good starting point for needs analysis. Apart from this data, the questionnaires also include questions aimed at the students' knowledge of basic academic style issues, such as working with sources or plagiarism, which broadens the scope of information gathered normally by means of questionnaires.
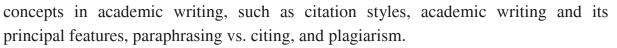
The questionnaires were administered to Czech students on the single-subject and double-subject Bachelor's and Master's degree programmes of teacher training in English. A total of 113 students voluntarily completed the questionnaire; this comprises 35 students in the first year of the Bachelor's degree programme, 46 students in the second year of the Bachelor's degree programme, and 32 involved in the second year of the Master's degree programme. The students were asked to answer the questionnaires anonymously. Since more than 90 per cent of all respondents were female, it was decided that it was not relevant to consider gender differences in the academic writing skills of the students.

The first and second year Bachelor's degree students were given the same questionnaire so that the students' needs at different stages of their studies as well as those between single and double-subject Bachelor's students could be compared; a separate, more detailed questionnaire was designed for the Master's degree students, who have already received some formal tuition in academic writing during their university studies.

The questionnaire for the first and second year Bachelor's degree students is divided into two sections titled *Writing in General* and *Academic Writing* (see Appendix 1). The questionnaire comprises 15 items, which are divided in two sections: 1) questions in Section One concern writing in general, 2) questions in Section Two concern instructions received on and knowledge of some basic academic style issues, as mentioned above. Most items in both parts of the questionnaire are multiple-choice questions, while only a few are *yes/no* questions, sometimes supplemented by open-ended questions, which ask respondents to specify reasons for their affirmative answers.

Section One was designed to collect the kind of data that enables the mapping of students' previous experience and writing strategies, for example what kinds of writing tasks they have done previously, what instructions on the process of writing they have received during their studies and what resources they normally use when collecting data on a topic. Section Two focuses on the students' goals and expectations concerning their future academic writing tuition in connection with their Bachelor's thesis. This part also includes questions which reveal the students' awareness of basic

concepts in academic writing, such as citation styles, academic writing and its principal features, paraphrasing vs. citing, and plagiarism.

The questionnaire for Master's degree students (see Appendix 2) targets more specific needs and apart from data about students' writing experience and previous schooling it tries to map their current academic skills related to such discipline- and culture-specific aspects of academic writing as discourse organization, citation practices and authorial presence. The choice of these aspects is motivated by the fact that they are related to the expression of interpersonal meanings the role of which is particularly important at a more advanced level of academic writing as they help writers to persuade readers of the credibility of their claims and the validity of their research (cf. e.g. Duzsak 1997, Hyland 2002a, Swales 2004, Flowerdew and Peacock 2010). The questionnaire comprises 17 items, which are divided into three sections: 1) questions concerning previous experience, 2) questions concerning instruction received on general and discipline-specific academic writing, and 3) text-based tasks intended to assess the academic writing skills of the students. Most of the entries in the first two sections are *yes/no* questions, complemented by an open-ended question asking respondents to specify/exemplify or provide reasons for their answers. In the text-based tasks in the last part of the questionnaire students are asked to identify target structures, assess their appropriateness and comment on their functions.

Before proceeding to a discussion of the results of this investigation, it is necessary to stress that the statistic data yielded by this survey are regarded as a starting point for an essentially qualitative analysis of the needs and writing skills of the students involved in the Bachelor's and Master's degree teacher training programmes in English.

Bachelor's degree students' academic writing questionnaires: Results and discussion

The Bachelor's degree students who participated in the first stage of the project were either students who studied English only (35 students in the first year) or those who studied English and another subject, such as Czech, German, French, Russian, history, mathematics, civics, special pedagogy (46 students in the second year). These respondents were involved in what is usually labelled a single- or double-subject Bachelor's study programme. At the time when our needs analysis was carried out, some students from the former group already had some teaching experience, while those from the latter mostly did not have any teaching experience since they had started their university education immediately after completing their secondary education.

The results from Section One of the questionnaire titled *Writing in General* show that when considered in percentages of occurrence the respondents in both groups under investigation had approximately the same and a sufficient amount of experience from writing argumentative (54-59%) and literary analysis (80-83%) essays. This finding is very important, since "the presentation of information and [above all] argumentation is usually something that language users are not very much aware of, but which is extremely important in academic writing" (Schmied 2011: 42). On the other hand, both groups had little or no experience of producing research papers (22-34%), which is hardly surprising when we realize that all respondents were students at the beginning of their university studies. Some marked differences have been found in the frequency rates concerning comparison/contrast and advantages/disadvantages essays: the first year single-subject students had more experience of writing comparison/contrast essays (80% vs. 61%) while those from the second year had had the chance to write advantages/disadvantages essays in slightly more cases (78% vs. 69%) during their studies. As regards the type/token ratio, it can be stated that most respondents from both types of Bachelor's degree programme produced different types of academic genres only in a few cases (mostly 1-5), the only exception being comparison/contrast essays, which some students from the first year had produced on six or more occasions.

In agreement with what is usually recommended in academic style manuals (Bennett 2009), most respondents included in the analysis had received instruction on the overall organization of the text (80-85%) and its language and style (67-77%) before writing an essay. However, many more students from the first year (about 63%) than those studying in the second year (26% only) had been instructed on the process of argumentation, i.e. they had received instruction on how to form their reasoning, justify their beliefs, and draw conclusions; this difference may be caused in particular by the fact that the respondents from the first group, who are single-subject Bachelor's students and thus study English only, had already had a chance to attend a course in general writing in which they were given instruction on how to formulate arguments. Three students in each group admitted they had not been given any instruction at all and only a few in each group (9-14%) had been advised also on grammar and citing, which is rather unexpected since both grammatical issues and referencing are traditionally mentioned among features included in manuals on academic writing (cf. Bennett 2009).

As regards courses in academic writing, seven students from the first year reported they had attended a course in academic writing, while in the second year only four had had a chance to attend such a course, although it should be noted that 16 students from the latter group were attending a course in writing fluency at the time of the needs analysis. The students who had received advice and/or encouragement from their

teachers/instructors mostly remembered they had been advised/encouraged to avoid plagiarism (86-93%), to understand and consider the format of the text they were supposed to produce (about 57% of respondents in both groups) and to do brainstorming before writing an academic text (47-50%). Slightly more than 20 students in each group, which means proportionally more in the first (60%) than in the second year (48%), had been encouraged to revise and edit their writing and cite sources carefully. Surprisingly, fewer students in the second year than in the first year wrote drafts of their texts (17 vs. 23 students) and/or did some research before writing an essay (9 vs. 18), which seems to be caused by the fact that students in the second year, who study two different subjects, such as English and Czech (see above), tend to be distracted by assignments from subjects other than English.

With regard to designing a new syllabus for an efficient academic writing course which could help students acquire academic literacy necessary for the success of their studies and future teaching career, the questionnaires also included items asking about research students had done prior to writing. Our results testify that all students who claimed they did some research prior to writing an essay used the internet as their main source of information. This comprises 74 per cent of all students in the first and 63 per cent in the second year of the Bachelor's degree programmes. The second source of reference to which many respondents frequently resorted were books (62-72%). The first year single-subject students also used magazines/newspaper articles (46%) and professional journals (35%) relatively frequently in contrast to the second year double-subject students, who resorted to newspaper articles only in six cases (21%) and used professional journals as well as personal interviews rather scarcely (10% of all cases in which such a source was used).
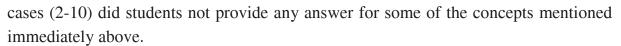
Section Two of the questionnaire, labelled *Academic Writing*, comprises questions concerning students' experience in academic writing and above all their knowledge of some relevant academic style issues, such as the citing of sources, paraphrasing, and plagiarism.In order to be able to apply the results drawn from the present needs analysis in the process of designing and/or redesigning an efficient academic writing course we considered it important to relate these findings to the field of interest on which the students intended to concentrate in their future Bachelor's theses, since we believe that, apart from instruction on and practice in features typical of academic writing style in general, students need information concerning the format of the Bachelor's thesis, its content and possible ways of presenting arguments, as well as instruction on field-specific academic writing conventions. Similarly to diploma theses at the end of Master's degree programmes (cf. Swales 2004: 99), Bachelor's theses represent the most sophisticated and complex piece of writing students are expected to produce at the end of the Bachelor's stage of their university studies; therefore Bachelor's theses are expected to be of good quality and worthy of researchers'

attention. It should also be noted that for their Bachelor's theses single-subject students can choose topics from English language teaching (ELT) methodology, linguistics, or literature and culture, whereas double-subject students have a narrower choice owing to the fact that they can choose topics related to ELT methodology only in the Master's degree programme. Most students in the first year responded they wanted to write a thesis oriented towards ELT methodology (11 of 35 students) or one related to cultural studies and literature (10 students). The respondents from the second year, who had a slightly narrower choice, showed a clear preference for cultural studies and literature (19 of 46 students), common core subjects, such as psychology and pedagogy (11 students), or linguistics (8 students). Only a few respondents did not provide an answer when the questionnaire was administered.

As far as the writing of future Bachelor's theses is concerned, the results drawn from the questionnaires show that students were highly motivated to use sources, above all in order to master an appropriate style of academic writing (23 respondents in each group), while only a few of them (6-7 students) wanted to achieve a better overall quality of work (cf. Čmejrková et al. 1999). Among the sources these respondents were planning to use when writing their Bachelor's thesis, books and/or textbooks (11-18 students) and internet (9-15) were mentioned most. Four students in the second year also mentioned knowledge they expected to acquire in an academic writing course.

In order to find out what students had already learnt about academic writing style while studying on their Bachelor's programmes, they were asked questions about their knowledge of important academic writing issues before they started their university studies (all respondents in the first and second year) and at the moment when our present needs analysis was carried out (second year respondents only). The highest number of students in both groups claimed they had known what plagiarism was (31 in the first and 41 in the second year) and a slightly lower number believed the same about paraphrasing (20 in the first and 23 in the second year). Proportionally more respondents from the first year single-subject programme (18 of 35 students) than from the second year double-subject programme (16 of 46 students) knew what academic writing style was. Our findings have proved that it is crucial for students to become "aware of the conventions involved … in a BA thesis in their specialization" (Schmied 2011: 5) and consequently it is of great importance to introduce courses in academic writing skills as early as possible (for typical writing skills, cf. Čmejrková et al. 1999), preferably in the first year of the Bachelor's degree programme, as is the case of the first year single-subject students included in our investigation. The lowest number of students in both groups (8-11) knew about possible citation and referencing styles, such as APA, MLA and Chicago style. It remains to be noted that only in exceptional

cases (2-10) did students not provide any answer for some of the concepts mentioned immediately above.

Since with the second year respondents it was possible to compare their knowledge before they started their university studies with that of the time when the questionnaire was administered, it can now be postulated that during their university studies second year Bachelor's students had learnt about academic writing style (27 students), possible citation and referencing styles (25), and paraphrasing (21); these results prove that the students included in our investigation had received tuition in some of the most important academic style issues (Bennett 2009) in the first half of their Bachelor's studies.

When our respondents were asked whether they knew what academic writing style was, thirteen from the first and nine from the second year felt they did and also that they knew what its typical features were. Some of them provided an adequate (7-8 students) or partly correct (5-7) definition, such as the following:

- a way of writing at a high formal level, with regard to the form and relevant content and specific rules of argumentation

- a formal way of writing on some topic with quotations (use of several sources)

- it's a style used for academic purposes and has certain rules that have to be followed

- a formal style for academic purposes, its aim is to inform, to express ideas clearly without repetition, formal words are used, plain expressions are avoided, passive voice is preferable

- academic writing usually has topics that are of interest to the academic community. It has its rules and is supposed to inform or argue about something

- a very formal writing style

- standard written form of the language – it is formal, objective, responsible – correct use of language and style

- style which is used for writing academic works – essays, Bachelor's thesis … and has some rules we must follow

- a specific style of formal impersonal writing using special vocabulary

As can be seen from the above definitions selected from the students' responses, many Bachelor's students knew the most important characteristics of academic writing style, such as complexity, formality, precision, objectivity, explicitness, accuracy, hedging and responsibility (e.g. Hamp-Lyons and Heasley 2006, Bennett 2009). Seventeen respondents in the first and 33 in the second year admitted they had heard the term 'academic writing style' but were not totally familiar with its typical features, and four or five in each group were not familiar with the concept of academic writing style at all.

The respondents who intended to attend a course on academic writing in the future expected to receive instruction in particular in vocabulary and collocation and how to cite sources and avoid plagiarism. They also admitted they expected advice from experienced people and feedback on mistakes after writing an essay. Here are some of the responses provided by students during our needs analysis:

- it would be good to write essays and then talk about mistakes which students usually make

- yes, I expect to know how to write in a very formal and polite way

- I expect to learn the typical way of writing an academic text

- the most important thing is to understand how to cite sources, how to quote, just all the things necessary to avoid plagiarism

- actually I take part in an academic writing course and I especially appreciate vocabulary and collocation

- what is acceptable and what is not; what is important to know before writing; I would like to hear some advice from experienced people

As regards the citing of sources used in academic texts, many respondents (19-22 students) stated that they had been given instruction by their teachers and (4-10 students)/or (9-11 students) that they had tried to find out for themselves. Not a single respondent in either of the two groups under investigation considered it possible but not necessary to cite sources. In addition, three respondents in each group admitted they did not know how to cite sources at all.

When asked to provide a definition of paraphrasing, 22 students in the first but only ten in the second year provided an adequate definition, while 24 students in the second year, in contrast to six in the first, provided a partly correct, inaccurate definition. Here are some of the definitions of paraphrasing found in the questionnaires:

- using different/my own words for saying what someone else said and it is necessary to mention his name (an example of a right definition)

- I use the idea of what somebody else said and use my own words to explain it to someone else, for example (an example of a partly right definition)

- I say what someone else has said in my own words (an example of a wrong definition)

As regards plagiarism, the respondents were offered four possible definitions. The highest number of students from both groups recognized copying material/someone else's ideas without acknowledging the source (94% in the first and 87% in the second year) as plagiarism. Next comes the use of material from the internet without mentioning the source (77 % in the first and 74% in the second year) and the paraphrasing of someone else's ideas without mentioning the source (74% in the first and 70% in the second year). The greatest difficulty the respondents in both groups had was to recognize as plagiarism the use of material where the author has been

identified but quotation marks to mark his/her original words are not used; only 46 to 48 per cent of all respondents in both groups identified this correctly as plagiarism.

Summing up our results from the first and second year Bachelor's degree students, it can be postulated that second year double-subject Bachelor's students had slightly more practice in writing argumentative, literary and advantages/disadvantages essays (when counted in percentages of occurrence), which seems to result from their sufficient exposure to a relatively wide variety of writing tasks. These respondents also seem to have been given instruction in the overall organization of an essay in more cases than those in the first year. However, they were encouraged to do research and write drafts before writing an essay in fewer cases. As for the field of interest on which the students intended to concentrate in their future Bachelor's theses, it seems that most Bachelor's students prefer to write on a topic related to ELT methodology, provided they are allowed to do so, or they want to choose a topic related to either literature or cultural studies. The needs analysis has proved that, similarly to first year single-subject students, second year double-subject students can recognize definitions of paraphrasing and plagiarism and need more instruction in and/or practice in referencing.

Master's degree students' academic writing questionnaire: results and discussion

The Master's degree students involved in the survey were single-subject full-time and distance students, who are expected to write their diploma thesis in English literature, linguistics or English language teaching methodology, and double-subject full-time students who can decide whether to write their thesis with the Department of English Language and Literature or on a topic related to their second subject, which similarly to the Bachelor's degree programme is typically Czech, German, French, Russian, civics, history, mathematics or special pedagogy. The questionnaire was administered to students in the last year of their Master's degree programme who were writing or had just completed writing on their diploma thesis, i.e. they had experience of writing longer academic texts (Bachelor's and Master's degree theses).

As the results of the first section of the questionnaire focusing on previous academic writing experience show, all Master's degree students had already attended a general academic writing course and half of them were involved in an academic writing course focusing on the writing of a diploma thesis. When looking for resources on general academic writing style, students mostly refer to online sources (typically OWL Purdue and MLA) as well as printed style guides and articles on academic writing. Since academic style manuals commonly advise an adherence to the so-called scientific paradigm, which is related to "clarity, economy, rational argument supported by evidence, caution and restraint" (Bennett 2009: 52) and the avoidance of explicit

reference to human agency (Hyland 2001b), the students may be expected to follow this established academic writing convention. Prior to writing their diploma theses, students have also consulted online or printed course materials and received advice from their teachers and supervisors (reported by 64% of respondents) or been advised by their colleagues (18% of respondents). Eighteen per cent of the students did not respond to the questions concerning advice and instruction received prior to writing their thesis.

In order to consider the general academic writing skills of the students, the questionnaire includes an entry asking respondents to list the aspects of academic writing which they consider to be most important. Similarly to the results of the Bachelor's degree questionnaire the features that the majority of the students have indicated are citation and referencing styles (MLA, APA, etc.), text organization, paragraphing and layout, formality (mainly related to lexical choices), and the use of complex structures (including passive voice, nominalization, non-finite clauses and extraposition). However, the range of features mentioned by the Master's degree students is considerably broader and includes several devices for the expression of interpersonal meaning, such as hedging, impersonality vs. personality choices, cohesion and argumentation strategies. Only one of the respondents reports to have received instruction in abstract writing; this seems to suggests that generic structure is not taught explicitly, which may result in a relatively low degree of genre awareness on the part of the students. It is interesting to note that none of the respondents mentioned the issue of plagiarism, which is targeted in one of the questions included in the survey.

Since the aim of the investigation is to explore whether the students have acquired − apart from the 'generic' skills transferable across different disciplines − literacy skills specific to the purposes and understanding of particular academic communities (Hyland 2002: 385), the respondents were asked to indicate the main field of their previous academic writing experience. In most cases the respondents stated that they had written texts in several fields and referred to the field of their Bachelor's thesis. As the results of the survey indicate, the majority of the students had written a thesis on a literary (32.6%) or cultural studies (24.4%) topic; theses on linguistics (18.6%) and ELT English language teaching methodology (15.1%) were less frequent, while 9.3 per cent of the respondents had academic writing experience in other fields. It should be noted, however, that the majority of the teacher trainees write their Master's degree thesis in English language teaching methodology. Assuming that students are provided with instruction in discipline- and field-specific academic writing conventions, it is possible to expect variation in the respondents' answers concerning, for instance, authorial presence choices and citation practices.

The second section of the questionnaire focuses on advice on general and discipline-specific academic writing provided by academic writing courses and diploma thesis supervisors. The first issue under consideration is the construal of authorial presence – an aspect of academic writing which varies across different cultural traditions and disciplinary conventions (e.g. Mauranen 1993, Čmejrková and Daneš 1997, Duszak 1997, Chamonikolasová 2005), and on which the advice provided by different academic style manuals varies (Bennett 2009). The choice between personal and impersonal forms is of prime importance in soft sciences, and especially in applied linguistics, which according to Hyland (2002a) is one of the disciplines characterized by most prominent occurrence of personal structures. The majority of the respondents (25 students, i.e. 78.1%) state that they were advised to use impersonal structures, such as passive voice and formal subjects to achieve formality and objectivity. However, half of the students (16) also mention that they received instruction in the possible use of first person author-reference pronouns for indicating authorial presence. The main functions of author reference singular pronouns (*I/me/my*) listed by the respondents are stating goals and purposes in the introduction, summarizing results in the conclusion, expressing personal views, elaborating an argument and describing procedure. This indicates awareness on the part of the students not only of the interpersonal potential of author-reference pronouns (e.g. Tang and John 1999, Hyland 2002a) but also of their occurrence in specific components of the generic structure of the diploma thesis (cf. Paltridge and Starfield 2007). Instruction in the use of the plural author-reference pronouns (*we/us/our*) is mentioned by ten of the respondents (31%). Apart from instruction in the use of the forms of the inclusive *we* for reader involvement and describing disciplinary knowledge and practices, students have received advice to use the exclusive *we* for author-reference in co-authored texts and as a more appropriate choice than *I* in single authored texts. This may be interpreted as interference from the Czech academic literacy (Chamonikolasová 2005) as transmitted by teachers to students.

Another aspect of academic writing skills targeted by the questionnaire is discourse organization and the related issues of cohesion and coherence, which are typically amply discussed in academic writing style manuals (Bennett 2009). The respondents were asked to comment on instruction received concerning the use of structuring signals which organize larger stretches of discourse (e.g. *This sections deals with*, *In this part of the thesis I will address*) and cross-referencing markers which direct the reader elsewhere in the text (e.g. *Drawing in the classification suggested in section 3.2*, *As shown in Fig. 5*). While twelve of the students (37.5%) report that they have not been instructed in the use of such discourse-organizing devices, 20 respondents indicate that they have been advised to use such devices at boundaries of larger sections of discourse, to improve readability, connect ideas, and/or make explicit the

logical organization of the text. As to the micro level of discourse organization, the results of the survey show that majority of the students (30) have been instructed to use formal discourse markers to enhance the coherence and cohesion of their texts. The following functions of discourse markers were mentioned with decreasing frequency: listing, contrast, addition, exemplification, cause-effect, summation/conclusion, focus and topic change, reformulation. This list reflects almost all types of logical markers; however, it is relevant to note the absence of temporal markers and the relatively rare occurrence of topic change markers.

In order to diagnose the skills of students, the questionnaire included a text-based task (reproduced below) asking respondents to identify the discourse markers used and, if necessary, to replace the suggested markers by more suitable ones.

> Why is it so difficult to solve the unemployment problems of the developing world? There are three main reasons. One, there is the constant pressure of a rapidly rising population. However, this problem is made worse in cities by the drift of people from country areas to escape the poverty of rural life. Then there are problems of bad manpower planning. Therefore, a feature of unemployment in the developing world is the educated unemployment – the lawyers or arts graduates who have been trained at great expense for jobs which do not exist. The point here is that the manpower plan has not been matched to the production plan. But the major reason for many countries failing to solve the unemployment problem has been their government preference for large-scale capital-intensive projects which use up scarce resources and have little impact on unemployment. In fact, by destroying local craft-based industry, some projects may even create further unemployment.

The majority of the respondents managed to identify all the discourse markers in the text and chose an adequate replacement for *one* (typically *firstly* or *first*). They considered *then* and *but* rather informal and suggested a replacement by appropriate formal listing/addition (e.g. *secondly*, *inaddition*, *furthermore*) and contrast (e.g. *however*, *nevertheless*) markers. While nearly all sentences comprised in the text contain a discourse marker, none of the students suggested dropping any of them. This seems to confirm the findings of previous research (Vogel 2008, Povolná 2010a and 2010b) carried out on a corpus of essays in English by Czech students at Masaryk University's Department of English Language and Literature, which showed that the rate of sentence linkers in texts by Czech novice writers often exceeds the standard rate in native-speaker discourse. This may result from exposure to overt teaching of the target structures and from the comfort stemming from the use of explicit discourse markers.

Several questions included in the survey explore the students' knowledge of citation practices and referencing conventions in academic writing. Citation practices are a key interpersonal dimension of academic writing as they allow writers to incorporate accepted theory and previous research findings into their argumentation (Hewings et al. 2010). To explore how students approach the incorporation of previous research

into their work, the respondents were asked to comment on different aspects of plagiarism. Compared to the results of the questionnaire for the Bachelor's degree students, the Master's degree students showed an increased awareness (90% of respondents) of the fact that copying material from printed or internet sources and paraphrasing or using someone else's ideas without acknowledging the source is plagiarism. Similarly to the Bachelor's degree students who took part in the survey, however, more than half of the advanced students (57%) did not recognize that using material when the author has been identified but not using quotation marks to mark his/her original words is also regarded as plagiarism.

When asked to differentiate between some of the existing referencing styles, most respondents (78%) showed that they were familiar with the MLA and the APA styles of referencing, which they identified as the author-titles and the author-date referencing styles respectively. Ten per cent of the students did not answer the question on referencing styles and twelve students provided wrong answers, which suggests that despite the numerous resources available on referencing styles and their inclusion in all academic writing courses, not all students have realized the importance of referencing in academic discourse. The majority of the students reported that they had used the MLA style, which reflects the focus of most academic writing courses on this style, as well as the fact that most respondents wrote their Bachelor's degree theses in the fields of literature and cultural studies. However, the results of the questionnaire fail to show unambiguously that the respondents are aware of the existing disciplinary variation in citation practices.

In order to assess the students' knowledge of citation practices in greater detail, the questionnaire included an item asking respondents to correct the inconsistencies in referencing in the following extract taken from Hyland (2008), originally using the APA referencing style:

> The study of formulaic patterns has a long and distinguished history in applied linguistics, dating back to Jespersen 1924 and to Firth, who popularised the term 'collocation' along with the famous slogan that 'you shall judge a word by the company it keeps'. More recently, Nattinger and DeCarrico (1992 - 32) have emphasised the importance of frequent multi-word combinations as a way of assisting communication by making language more predictable to the hearer. Wray and Perkins, 2000, for instance, argue that such sequences function as processing short-cuts by being stored and retrieved whole from memory at the time of use rather than generated anew on each occasion.

Most students noticed the inconsistencies in the references to the date of publication and suggested a consistent use of the year in brackets; however, not all students were systematic in their corrections of punctuation. It is also worth noting that the respondents often suggested the inclusion of page numbers, which in the text under consideration is actually not necessary. This may be explained by the preference of

novice writers for the use of direct quotations, with which the indication of page numbers is required.

In conclusion, it can be stated that the results of the survey have shown that the respondents have successfully acquired general academic writing skills. Nevertheless, their awareness of the discipline and cultural specificity of academic writing cannot be considered as sufficient and needs further development. While the university academic writing courses have clearly helped students raise their awareness of some of the interpersonal dimensions of academic writing such as citation practices and authorial presence, the novice writers' experience of using these in academic discourse seems still insufficient. These findings suggest that when redesigning Master'sdegree academic writing courses, instructors and course designers should focus on argumentation strategies, patterns of textual organization and lexicogrammatical choices associated with particular academic genres and disciplines (Paltridge 2002: 127). They should also offer students an opportunity to study and edit their own academic texts**,** thus adopting an approach akin to the 'on-line' genre analysis procedure advocated by Flowerdew (1993) for highlighting discipline-, genre- and culture-specific academic conventions.

Conclusions

The results have confirmed that Czech students of English entering university have previously worked on and received tuition mainly in general writing skills and for many of them academic writing and its specific features are first encountered at university.

Academic writing as a highly complex skill requires systematic tuition, although this does not mean that it should be dealt with separately or in isolation from other courses; on the contrary, it should be naturally incorporated into various university courses, whether linguistic, literature or cultural, where students can gain valuable experience of expert sources and their language and style. It is important to raise students' awareness of the specificities of academic writing and gradually create opportunities for them to acquire these specificities in order to become competent writers (and readers) in a foreign language.

The investigation has also shown that even though students are aware of the serious problems of plagiarism, not many of them are able to identify its various kinds, which further supports the view that all theoretical tuition has to be accompanied by meaningful activities and tasks. Such assignments should also be included in the needs analysis in order to provide data both about the students' theoretical knowledge and their real skills.

A syllabus for an efficient academic writing course should reflect the move from teaching general academic writing skills in the first year of the Bachelor's degree programme to discipline and genre-specific skills required in the Master's degree programme and include the analysis of authentic academic texts as well as the analysis and editing of students' works (cf. an approach akin to the 'on-line' genre analysis procedure).

Based on the above discussion and the results drawn from the questionnaires, we can now postulate our aims for future research, which, in our opinion, should include further comparisons of students' assessment of their needs and views on courses and teachers of academic writing and supervisors of Bachelor's/diploma theses, as well as views on students' needs, interviews with students and teachers to clarify their views, and, last but not least, corpus-based analyses of students' works exploring the use of argumentation strategies, patterns of textual organization and lexicogrammatical choices.

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Appendix 1

QUESTIONNAIRE ON ACADEMIC WRITING for 1st/2nd year students

Name and surname (optional) _____

I. Writing in general

1. Specify your previous writing experience. If you have performed some of the writing assignments from the following list, specify how many:

a) **an argumentative essay** (i.e. stating arguments and counter-arguments)

yes   how many approximately _____   no

b) **a literary analysis essay**

yes   how many approximately _____   no

c) **an advantages and disadvantages essay**

yes   how many approximately _____   no

d) **a comparison and contrast essay**

yes   how many approximately _____   no

e) **a research paper**

yes   how many approximately _____   no

f) **other types of essay**

 (Please specify.) _____

2. Before writing an essay (of any sort) did you get instruction/advice from your teacher/instructor concerning the essay's

a) organization

b) argumentation

c) language and style

d)other (Please specify.)

e) none at all; in this case, did you try to find some information for yourself, and if so where? _____

3. Did you previously do any research before writing an essay?

yes   no   If so, did you use   a) the internet

b) books

c) magazine/newspaper articles

d) professional journals

e) personal interviews

f)other (Please specify.)

4. Did your teacher/instructor advise you/encourage you to

a) do brainstorming before writing an essay

b) do some research before writing an essay

c) understand/consider the format of the assignment

d) write a draft/drafts

e) revise and edit the essay

f) cite sources carefully

g) avoid plagiarism

5. Did your teacher/instructor use model essays to demonstrate various techniques and styles?   yes   no

6. Have you ever taken a course in writing? If so, where? _____

II. Academic writing

1. Expected/planned subject area of the Bachelor's thesis
Methodology _____ Linguistics _____ Literature _____ Cultural Studies _____

2. When writing your Bachelor's thesis, do you think it will be useful for you to study a textbook, articles, www pages or courses dealing with the academic style of writing?If yes,   specify why _____

specify the source _____

3. Mark items on the following list of concepts that you knew before you started this programme and those you know now (use x for your answers)
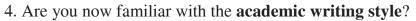   **before   now**
   a) academic writing style
   b) plagiarism
   c) paraphrasing
   d) APA style / MLA style / Chicago style (any of these)

4. Are you now familiar with the **academic writing style**?

a) Yes, I know the style and its typical features.

b) I have heard the term 'academic style' but I am not familiar with its typical features.

c) No, I am not familiar with the style and its typical features.

d) other

5. If you are familiar with the academic writing style, how would you define it?

6. Do you intend to take part in an academic writing course? If yes, could you mention some instructions you expect to get concerning academic writing style?

7. **Quoting sources**

a) I do not know how to quote sources.

b) I have been given instruction by my teacher/instructor concerning the quoting of sources .

c) I have tried to find out for myself how to quote sources.

d) Quoting sources is possible but not necessary.

8. What is **paraphrasing**? What do you do when you **paraphrase** what someone else has said?

9. What is **plagiarism**? (More than one answer may be correct.)

a) copying material/someone else's ideas without acknowledging the source

b) paraphrasing someone else's ideas without mentioning the source

c) using material when the author has been identified but not using quotation marks to mark his/her original words

d) using material from the internet without mentioning the source

Thank you very much for your time and effort!

Appendix 2
QUESTIONNAIRE ON ACADEMIC WRITING for MA students

I. Previous academic writing experience

Name and surname (optional) _____

Have you written any academic essays, presentations or other texts (specify)? Were they dealing with

Literature   _____

Linguistics   _____

Methodology   _____

Cultural Studies _____

Other   _____

Have you consulted or have you been advised to consult any textbooks/articles/www pages/courses dealing with the academic style of writing?

If yes, specify by whom: academic writing teacher   _____

                               colleague   _____

                               other   _____

specify the source _____

II. Instructionsreceived on general and discipline-specific academic writing

Have you taken part in an academic writing course? If yes, could you mention some instructions concerning academic writing style that you have used in your writing?

Did your teachers advise you on academic writing style before you started working on your academic text? If yes, what instructions did you get?

Did your teacher advise you on academic writing style after reading (part of) your text? If yes, what did he/she comment on?

Were you advised to refer to yourself as 'I' in your writing? If yes, in what cases/to express what?

Were you advised to refer to yourself as 'we' in your writing? If yes, in what cases/to express what?
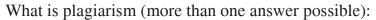
Were you advised to use an impersonal style of writing? If yes, how were you advised to refer to your views (e.g. *the author considers/takes into account, it seems that, the research shows, the results indicate*)?

Were you advised to combine the use of *I, we* and impersonal constructions in your writing? If yes, why and how?

Were you advised to discuss the way you proceed in your work (e.g. *In this section, I will deal with/This sections deals with*) or to use cross-reerence between sections in your work (e.g. *Drawing on the classification of learning styles suggested in Section 2.1 above…*). If yes, where and how?

When organizing your text, were you advised to use some discourse markers? If yes, then specify the reasons for their use (e.g. when presenting a list of different things, when changing the topic, when contrasting some ideas, etc.) and then list some discourse markers you prefer to use (at least three).

What is plagiarism (more than one answer possible):

a) copying material/someone else's ideas without acknowledging the source

b) paraphrasing someone else's ideas without mentioning the source

c) using material when the author has been identified but not using quotation marks to mark his/her original words

d) using material from the internet without mentioning the source

The MLA referencing style is known as

the author-date style

the author-title style

the author-location style

The Harvard referencing style is known as

the author-date style

the author-title style

the author-location style

III. Text-based tasks

Read the sentences below and underline the discourse markers. If necessary, replace them by more suitable ones and explain the reason for the change you have introduced.

> Why is it so difficult to solve the unemployment problems of the developing world? There are three main reasons. One, there is the constant pressure of a rapidly rising population. However, this problem is made worse in cities by the drift of people from country areas to escape the poverty of rural life. Then there are problems of bad manpower planning. Therefore, a feature of unemployment in the developing world is the educated unemployment – the lawyers or arts graduates who have been trained at great expense for jobs which do not exist. The point here is that the manpower plan has not been matched to the production plan. But the major reason for many countries failing to solve the unemployment problem has been their government preference for large-scale capital-intensive projects which use up scarce resources and have little impact on unemployment. In fact, by destroying local craft-based industry, some projects may even create further unemployment.

Correct the inconsistencies in referencing in the text below:

> The study of formulaic patterns has a long and distinguished history in applied linguistics, dating back to Jespersen 1924 and to Firth, who popularised the term 'collocation' along with the famous slogan that 'you shall judge a word by the company it keeps'. More recently, Nattinger and DeCarrico (1992 - 32) have emphasised the importance of frequent multi-word combinations as a way of assisting communication by making language more predictable to the hearer. Wray and Perkins, 2000, for instance, argue that such sequences function as processing short-cuts by being stored and retrieved whole from memory at the time of use rather than generated anew on each occasion
>
> .

Insights into English for Child-Rearing Purposes (ECRP): English for German Childcare Givers

Sylvia Voigt

Chemnitz University of Technology

This paper is aimed at giving insights into raising children in two languages by child-care givers who are non-native speakers (NNS) of the target language. The present study, therefore, introduces English for Child-Rearing Purposes (ECRP) as a branch of English for Specific Purposes (ESP). Although ECRP includes professional and non-professional child-care givers (CCG), it will primarily focus on German kindergarten teachers as language mediators. Since most CCG working in German nursery schools are not proficient enough in the target language, ECRP courses should be offered. Although this paper cannot provide a comprehensive account of implementing a new language in German childcare facilities by NNS teachers, it gives suggestions for designing ECRP courses based on a needs analysis including learner's needs, course contents, material and methodology.

Introduction

Due to the current amalgamation of European countries and growing globalization, it is desirable to speak more than one language. European heads of states and governments even demand a command of three languages (i.e. an L1 and two L2[1])[2]. In order to realize such an endeavor, Wode (2004: 6) argues that children should have contact with the first L2 in their early childhood. He therefore suggests introducing the first L2 in the kindergarten[3] and the second L2 in the primary school. While the *Aktionsrat Bildung* (cited in vbw 2008: 44) also demands to implement L2 competencies in early childhood, they propose having either native-speaking language assistants and parents or non-native speakers (NNS) of the target language introduce the new language to nursery school children. They claim that in the long run using

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[1] Although there are differences between a second and a foreign language, in this paper the abbreviation L2 is used to refer to both types.

[2] Spezial-EUROBAROMETER (2006:7), Europäischer Rat (2002:19)

[3] In the German literature, a variety of words emerge in connection with day care centers for children under the age of six: *Kinderkrippe*, *Kindergarten, Kindertagesstätte*, and *Kindertageseinrichtung* as well as *Vorschule, vorschulischer Bereich* and *Elementarbereich*. For simplifying and stylistic purposes I am going to use *childcare facility, day care center, nursery school, preschool* and *kindergarten* synonymously to talk about the playschool meant for children aged three to six. To refer to the German concept of *Grundschule* the terms *primary school* and *elementary school* are used interchangeably in this paper.

NNS (if trained accordingly) might generate fewer expenses than hiring native speakers (NS). [4]

The research to date has tended to focus on NS rather than on NNS using immersion to raise children bilingually. Since most of the studies concentrate on early childhood language education in elementary school, insufficient data is available for implementing an L2 effectively in nursery school. While several studies have been produced on the introduction of the L2 by NS in the kindergarten, too little attention has been paid to NNS childcare givers in raising children in two languages.

As a result, this paper gives insights into English for Child-Rearing Purposes (ECRP) and posits that ECRP is a subcategory of English for Specific Purposes (ESP). Although ECRP is aimed at people who intend to raise their children in an L2 but are NNS of the target language (e.g. parents, nannies, nursery school teachers, primary school teachers), this essay will mainly focus on kindergarten teachers as L2 mediators.

This paper is divided into five chapters. The first part discusses early childcare facilities as educational institutions. It will then go on to teaching approaches commonly used to implement an L2 in early childhood before providing a definition for ECRP. In the next part of the paper, a needs analysis for ECRP is conducted mainly analyzing the target and the present situation. In the final section, a course design is suggested including contents, materials and methods.

Early childcare facilities as educational centers

According to the Social Act (Eight §22), German day care centers are institutions designed for stimulating children in their early childhood to develop an independent and socially skilled personality. The main tasks of the kindergarten, therefore, involve care taking, education and child-rearing. Furthermore, all German children who have completed their third year of age have the legal right to attend a nursery school; attendance, however, it not compulsory (§24). [5]

From a socio-political perspective, the German kindergarten is regarded as a place of early childhood education. However, according to a survey conducted by the University of Koblenz-Landau, most parents see childcare and child-rearing as the main requirements a kindergarten needs to fulfill. Only 31 percent of those surveyed demanded education and learning to be part of the kindergarten agenda. [6]

Due to the alarming PISA results, however, politicians have prioritized turning childcare facilities into educational institutions with the main focus on school instruction. As a result, state specific curriculums have been introduced to all

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[4] A considerable amount of literature has been published on NNS as language mediators. For advantages and disadvantages of having NS or NNS implement an L2 see Thomas (1999), Medgyes (2003), Braine (2010), Mullock (2010), Benke and Medgyes (2006).

[5] SGB VIII §22, §24

[6] Hemmerling (2007: 13)

kindergartens in Germany. Education experts, on the other hand, believe that the quality of education in nursery schools can only be enhanced if kindergarten teachers receive further and more intensive training.

With regards to the socio-political reputation of childcare workers, Hemmerling (2007:14ff.) argues that before any changes can be instituted, childcare workers must first receive more credit and acknowledgement by politicians and society in general. In order to finally upgrade a kindergarten to an educational institution, Hemmerling claims that it is essential to offer a better job training to nursery school teachers. Since the requested school-like instructions require a didactically and methodologically sound learning environment, kindergarten teachers need to be trained like primary school teachers.

The question now remains as to how the system of education can cope with the problematic issues mentioned. If educational experts demand an upgrade of early childhood caretakers, they not only press for a better image of nursery school teachers, but also for a better quality of education in general. To achieve this end, university education seems to be the required course of action.Nursery school teachers are then not only (1) expected to have an *Abitur*[7]as an entrance requirement to higher education but also (2) to hold a Bachelor's or even a Master's degree after successfully graduating from college or university.

Turning a playschool into a purely educational setting does not only require highly qualified staff but also a statutory basis of compulsory kindergarten attendance. At present, the attendance of early childcare facilities is optional and involves costs borne by parents.[8]

If a nursery school is regarded as an educational enterprise and if NNS nursery school teachers are demanded to teach an L2 to children in a childcare facility, they should be familiar with the teaching approaches commonly employed to implement an L2 in early childcare facilities.

Teaching approaches to implement an L2 in early childhood

English serves as a common medium for communication all over the world and enjoys a high reputation today. There seems to be no job where English is not listed as a prerequisite to meet job-related requirements. Almost every business branch seems to address a specific need for English on the job (e.g. business English, medical English, technical English, legal English).

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[7] Secondary school leaving examination

[8] Due to the shocking PISA results in 2001, much research has been conducted on updating and/or upgrading the training of kindergarten teachers [cf. Diller & Rauschenbach (2006); Oberhuemer (2006); Hemmerling (2007); Balluseck (2008a, 2008b)].

Since an eminent mastery of English is therefore highly recommendable, English language classes have been made compulsory at school level in most European countries for over thirty years. While studying an L2 used to be part of secondary education (e.g. in Germany), it is now covered in the syllabus of primary education. In the last ten years, however, there has been a growing demand of implementing early language teaching in nursery education.

The most successful method to raise children in two languages is the 'one person – one language' principle.[9] This approach is based on the assumption that children usually acquire language through their child-care givers (CCG). In early childhood, parents, siblings, relatives and/or nannies are usually the CCG, providing the linguistic input necessary to acquire a language. If CCG consistently keep the languages used with the children apart, they will most likely succeed in raising their children bilingually.[10]

In day care centers, at least one language professional is required to implement the L2. At present, two different concepts to establish an L2 can be found in childcare facilities: *immersion* and *impartation. Immersion* is an educational method with its origin in Canada. Baker and Jones (1998) classified immersion according to two variables: age and time. When considering the variable of age, immersion is subdivided into early immersion (from birth to primary school), delayed or middle immersion (around the age of nine) and late immersion (referring to secondary school). With regard to time, Baker and Jones identified total and partial immersion. While total immersion means that the target language is used 100 percent of the time, only 50 percent is covered with the partial immersion method. Sticking to the 'one person – one language' principle, the nursery school teacher with native-like control of the target language will provide simplified grammar and a limited vocabulary during the first years of immersion. The nursery school teacher's speech is therefore often called *caretaker speech* and can be compared with *motherese* or *foreigner talk* and is regarded as a useful tool or at least an effective classroom language for implementing an L2 in early childhood.[11]

Although immersion is deemed to be highly successful, when considering this approach for German nursery schools, one major drawback needs to be mentioned: the L2 level of childcare workers in Germany. Most German nursery school teachers graduate from school at the age of 16 to take-up an apprenticeship, which usually lasts three years. Since their contact with the L2 is mostly limited (CEF: A2-B1)[12], it is very

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[9] Döpke (1992)

[10] Ronjat (1913); Leopold (1939); Saunder (1982, 1988); Kielhöfer and Jonekeit (1982)

[11] Zydatiß (cited in Pfitzer 2006: 98). See Ferguson (1964), Hayes & Ahrens (1988), Bortfeld (2004) and Falk (2004) for further information on child-directed speech (CDS).

[12] Cf.Common European Framework of Languages; see Trim et al. (2001)

unlikely that their command of the L2 is sufficient enough to use immersion as a tool to implement an L2. As a result, native speakers (NS) of the target language must be brought into the classroom, or kindergarten teachers must be better qualified.

Another weakness of immersion is that there might not be enough kindergarten teachers with native or native-like control of the L2 per childcare facility to introduce total or partial immersion programs. For total immersion, all playschool teachers should be proficient in the L2. For partial immersion, about half of the educational staff should be able to use the L2 on a native-like level. The latter refers to the *Zweisprachenmodell*[13], i.e. one teacher uses the L1 only, the other the L2. Since most childcare facilities cannot afford additional language staff, an alternative for implementing the L2 was introduced: the *Raummodell*[14]. For this method, at least one kindergarten teacher is required who is proficient in the L2. Nursery school children are either allowed to move about freely to visit a room where only the target language is spoken, or once a day all groups of children have the opportunity to go to the L2-only room.

Impartation[15], on the other hand, is similar to some extent. It only differs from immersion in quantity and quality of the input. While immersion requires a good command of the target language to cover a time frame of 50 to 100 percent, impartation can be realized by nursery school teachers at the beginning or intermediate level of the L2. Since this method aims at providing the first contact with the target language (e.g. by learning songs, reciting rhymes, playing games and so on), the quantity of input will be limited to 30-60 minutes per week only.

Critics of impartation have argued that this amount of time spent on L2 instruction will lead to ineffective bilingualism.[16] Furthermore, it is questionable if a language can be acquired by singing songs, reciting rhymes and playing games. Another question that needs to be asked here is whether this method will not cause more harm than good. Opponents of impartation argue that kindergarten teachers who have a poor command of the L2 cannot practice listening comprehension or pronunciation with their children.[17] Of even more concern is the risk that poorly trained caregivers might teach nursery school children an incorrect L2. Based on the high demand and the limited supply, however, and regardless of any criticism attached to this method, impartation is widely spread in Germany.

As an alternative to NNS nursery school teachers imparting an L2, a so-called external staff could be hired. These might be professional language instructors,

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[13] Huppertz (2002: 23)

[14] Huppertz (2002:24)

[15] Compare Aktivitäts-/Vermittlungs-/Angebotsansatz

[16] Wode (2001: 3); Lommel cited in Kusidlo (2004)
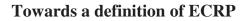
[17] Edelenos & Kubanek (2009:14)

primary school teachers, parents or students with a native or native-like control of the target language. Although hiring native speakers may seem to be the solution to the problem, there are some major drawbacks to take into consideration. While professional language instructors and primary school teachers have didactic and methodological expertise as well as experience in passing on an L2 at their disposal, parents and student – although native speakers of the L2 – may not have the didactic training to properly impart the L2 to the children. While external personnel proficient in an L2 are less likely to teach an erroneous L2, their time to expose the language to children is usually limited to 30-60 minutes per week. Additionally, this method suffers from two other drawbacks as well: (1) insufficient time to implement an L2 successfully and (2) costliness, i.e. only children whose parents paid for the optional service can attend the L2 classes offered.

As far as I have observed, some language mediators, who visit a childcare facility once a week, have attended a further training course on how to teach an L2 to kindergarten children beforehand. During that advanced training, they were given material and clear instructions on how to teach a song to children, for example. Although they are believed to have a good command of the target language, this might not always be. If their level of the L2 is rather low, they are usually advised to use only the material and instructions provided in the training program. Hence, these language instructors are unable to use language creatively and spontaneously, i.e. modify it according to the needs of the children and the situations. If they do, they are likely to make mistakes.

If there are not enough NS to pass on the L2 to children aged three to six and if the L2 level of NNS nursery school teachers is not proficient enough, L2 language training courses seem to be an option. The key problem, however, is deciding what kinds of language course to offer: courses on general English or special purposed English. Reviewing the existing book market, one finds that there is a considerable amount of teaching material for English for General Purposes (EGP) mainly aimed at school children; however, there are only few teaching materials aimed at teaching ESP to school children.

Since most language courses do not take the learner's needs into consideration, sending NNS kindergarten teachers to pure general English classes might not lead to the expected and desired outcome. In order to train the child-care givers sufficiently enough, subject-specific language courses are recommended.

To deal with the above-mentioned need for English instruction in nursery schools, it is suggested to introduce a new subcategory called English for Child-Rearing Purposes (ECRP) into the already established branch of English for Occupational Purposes (EOP) as a part of English for Specific Purposes (ESP) (see Fig. 1). In the following chapter, the term ECRP is defined further.

Towards a definition of ECRP

Although several attempts have been made in order to find a common census on what ESP is in contrast to English for General Purposes (EGP)[18], no clear distinctive line could be drawn. While scholars on Language for Specific Purposes (LSP)[19] may argue that a subject-related language must be learnt by NS and NNS alike, general language can easily be mastered by NS and needs only be taught to NNS in EGP courses (as offered at school level, for instance).
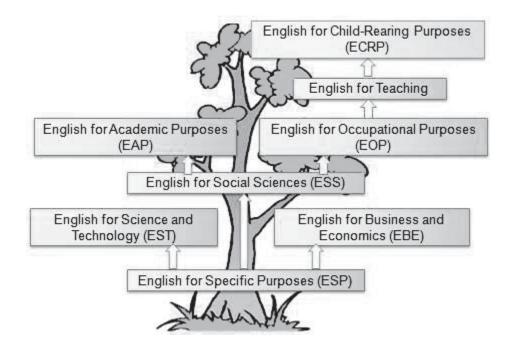

Fig. 1: Classification of ECRP (based on Hutchinson & Waters (2009: 17)

In their groundbreaking work, Hutchinson and Waters (2009: 53) claim that the only difference to distinguish EGP from ESP is the awareness of a need that forms the baseline of every ESP course. This awareness is directly connected to the learner's needs in the target situation and can be defined as being able to communicate in the target language, i.e. English. The needs that were identified in the needs analysis will then have an impact on the course contents and on selecting appropriate resources. In most EGP courses, on the other hand, there is rarely an attempt to find out about the learner's neEds. In other words, the needs of the learners in EGP courses are not specified, and course contents are not negotiable.

While Hutchinson and Waters (2009: 16ff.) abstain from including a particular ESP language and a dissimilar teaching methodology of EGP and ESP to include as major features when defining ESP, Dudley-Evans and St John (2010: 4) emphasize that an

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[18] Strevens (1977), Hutchinson & Waters (2009), Dudley-Evans & St John (2010)

[19] Hoffmann (1976), Berschin (1989), Brand (1999), Swales (2000)

accurate definition of ESP should include a subject-specific methodology and a specialized ESP language as fundamental elements. They argue that the teaching approach diverges from the teacher-learner-interaction of EGP classes especially in ESP classes where the teacher assumes the language consultant's role. As soon as the teacher takes over the role of the language facilitator, he sees the student as an equal partner: the student being the expert in the subject matter, the teacher being the language expert. Furthermore, Dudley-Evans and St John (2010: 4-5) stress the fact that the ESP methodology should be suitable to the subject-field of the ESP course. Based on their research findings, they compiled a list of common characteristics that they subdivide into absolute and variable characteristics:

1. Absolute characteristics:

- ESP is designed to meet the specific needs of the learner.
- ESP makes use of the underlying methodology and activities of the discipline it serves.
- ESP is centered on the language (grammar, lexis, register), skills, discourse and genres appropriate to these activities.

2. Variable characteristics:

- ESP may be related to or designed for specific disciplines.
- ESP may use, in specific teaching situations, a different methodology from that of general English.
- ESP is likely to be designed for adult learners, either at tertiary-level institutions or in a professional work situation. It could, however, be used for learners at secondary level.
- ESP is generally designed for intermediate or advanced students. Most ESP courses assume basic knowledge for the language system, but it can be used with beginners (Dudley-Evans/St John 2010: 4-5)

As mentioned above, there is a public interest in early language learning. Due to the demand to be proficient in three languages, it is recommendable to raise children in two languages preferably starting the first L2 in nursery school. As learnt so far, immersion is an effective and successful method to implement an L2 in early childhood. The application of this approach, however, requires a very good command of the target language by the caregiver. Native speakers and native-like speakers are supposed to handle this method with ease. Children, however, will only benefit from immersion programs if at least 50 percent of the daily communication is carried out in the target language. In order to apply this method effectively, the CCG must have a good command of the target language, for this is the only language to address the child's linguistic neEds. To date, however, not enough staff is available to cope with the subject matter appropriately.

ECRP courses are aimed at adult learners who intend to raise their children in another language but are NNS of the target language, i.e. professional CCG (e.g. trained nannies, teachers at daycare institutions, primary school teachers) and non-professional ones (e.g. parents, relatives, untrained nannies). This paper, however, focuses mainly on professional German CCG[20] who

(1) take care of children aged two to seven at early childcare facilities,

(2) are non-native speakers of the target language,

(3) intend to raise children in English.

These language courses must be subject-specific aiming at child-rearing purposes and focus on the needs of the CCG. The language instructor is supposed to make use of the subject relevant methodology and activities necessary to implement the target language in early childhood. The target language itself must be adapted to the discourse, grammar and lexis typically used with children at nursery school level.

The next section of the paper will analyze the needs of the learners and examine course content, suitable material and methods to train CCG in implementing an L2 effectively in childcare facilities.

ECRP: Needs analysis

All language courses – no matter if EGP or ESP courses – are designed to fulfill a purpose. When designing a new ESP course, it is indispensable to conduct a needs analysis first. To define needs in more detail, the concept introduced by Dudley-Evans and St John (1998: 125) has been applied in this paper.

Professional information (target situation analysis)

Due to the demand of implementing an L2 in early childcare facilities, the language performance of CCG needs to be enhanced in the target language. To date, most nursery school teachers do not use English (as the target language) during their everyday work. In order to linguistically cope with every day nursery school situations spontaneously when facing children, CCG need to have excellent speaking, listening and reading skills in English. At present, the exclusive oral use of the target language (as required when applying immersion) with the children might pose quite a challenge.

The L2 sessions will take place in natural informal meetings with the children and in settings typical for children of this age (such as the nursery school classroom, the playground, etc.). After successfully completing the course, they will be asked to use the target language at least 50 percent of their working day.

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[20] Since mostly woman apply for a position as a CCG in nursery school, the ECRP course participant will be female.

To avoid passing on an erroneous language, CCG are expected to have a first-rate pronunciation, an extensive lexicon and a good understanding of English grammar. In addition, it is desirable for all CCG to have functional English at their command (e.g. to express praise and admonishment, to call for attention, to give instructions and explanations, and to start, conduct and end activities).

Next to the role of a psychological parent, CCG will be regarded as teachers since they are meant to implement the L2 in the kindergarten. As a result, child-care givers share a parent-child and teacher-student relationship with the nursery school children, i.e. a special form of teacher-student relationship will develop.

English language information (present situation analysis)

Teachers at childcare institutions have different language and working backgrounds. Their language proficiency depends largely on their educational history. Due to the German school system, CCG are neither required to hold an *Abitur* for doing an apprenticeship nor do they have to earn a university degree.

The most common entrance requirement for the position of a nursery school teacher is a *Realschulabschluss*[21]. At present, prospective CCG who finish school at the age of 16 have been studying English as their L2 since fifth grade, which amounts to about six years of language instruction.[22] Older CCG in the field may have only studied English for two or four years (if at all) dating back 15 to 40 years. Thus, their language levels may vary between A1 and B2.[23] It is, therefore, rather unlikely that their command of the L2 is yet sufficient enough to use immersion as a tool to implement the target language. With reference to the CEFR, CCG should have at least a good C1 level before attempting to raise children in the target language.

Some learners might possess pre-knowledge of the subject because they have either worked in a German nursery school for some years or they have worked as an au pair in an English-speaking country. While the latter were learners themselves, they gained first experience in using the target language as a means of communication with (young) children (who were themselves, however, NS of the language used).

Other ECRP participants might have had first insights into implementing an L2 in the kindergarten after attending training courses (e.g. *Early Bird*). Since such courses usually do not require proficiency in the L2, these learners might only stick to singing songs, playing games and ready-made dialogues. Spontaneous and accurate use of the target language might not be possible. While these participants may lack a good command of English, they have already gained experience in teaching an L2 to

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[21] Secondary school certificate that does not qualify to take up a course of studies at university

[22] or eight years if English instruction began in the third grade

[23] cf. Common European Framework of References for Languages (CEFR)

children aged two to seven. This experience may result in a high motivation for improving their language skills in an ECRP course.

Another factor in determining the needs analysis of the ECRP participants is future career implications. CCG who can speak more than one language themselves and who are competent in implementing an L2 in a nursery school might have better job opportunities and might enjoy a higher reputation. L2 training could therefore serve as an incentive to upgrade the expertise of kindergarten teachers.

Information on the learner's needs, wants and lacks

From a course designer's perspective, CCG's needs, wants and lacks will differ considerably due to different language and working backgrounds mentioned in the previous section. Compared to course designer, learners may have a different feeling of what they need, want and lack. Self-evaluation and placement test besides gathering information using questionnaires, interviews, observations, data collection and so on may reveal the learner's needs, want and lacks which need to be taken into account when drawing up a syllabus on ECRP.

Course design

Based on the previous section that dealt with present language knowledge and the desired outcome at the end of the ECRP course, this part of the paper focuses more on a suggested course design including potential course content, material and methods. To determine how the course is supposed to be set up, two different kinds of ECRP language learners need to be taken into account; future CCG who are being trained for the job of a CCG (in form of an apprenticeship or course of studies) and present CCG who are working as professional CCG already. Whereas the former group is supposed to be rather homogenous with regard to language and learning background, the latter one is more likely to form a heterogeneous group. As a result, different entrance requirements and course setups should be taken into account.

Future CCGshould be taught ECRP on a compulsory level. In order to achieve good L2 results, it is advisable to offer the ECRP course during the entire job training on a frequent basis. If the job training, for instance, lasts three years, CCG should receive L2 language lessons during all of the three years. ECRP courses should be based on the learner's L2 level and are supposed to improve a learner's language skills. Presumably, courses have to start at a B1 level and end in a C1 level.[24] After successfully completing the ECRP language program, students should be advised and

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[24] Cf. Common European Framework of Languages

encouraged to gain work experience in an English-speaking kindergarten in their home country or abroad.

If CCG are already employed by a kindergarten, they may only have the chance to take further training courses. While these training courses should be optional, they should cover the same requirements as the ECRP courses at vocational schools or at institutions of higher learning, i.e. a B1 level as an entrance requirement, subsequent courses that lead to a C1 level and work experience in a bilingual kindergarten.

Upon the successful completion of the ECRP course and the knowledge acquisition in an English-speaking childcare facility, the ECRP subject and language knowledge should be tested in a final oral and written examination.

Suggested course contents

Implementing English as an L2 in a German kindergarten aims at (1) sensitizing nursery school children for a new language and (2) introducing an L2 language competence for understanding and using the English language (mainly in oral speech). For CCG, it means to handle speaking, reading and listening activities for the children appropriately.

While children are not expected to speak a competent level of English at the end of their kindergarten era, CCG should not only be proficient (i.e. fluent and accurate) in the target language but also know about the procedure to implement an L2 effectively in a nursery school.

The CCG should (1) be competent in using different speaking and listening strategies, (2) know about the L2 lexicon, grammar and culture, (3) be able to communicate and interact with children effectively in the target language, and (4) have a didactical and methodological background. In the following, the different competencies that an ECRP course should include are discussed in more detail.

Competence in using various speaking and listening strategies

Since children between the age of two to seven can only perform receptive skills (here: listening) and productive skills (here: speaking), the CCG is required to know how to introduce speaking and listening strategies effectively to nursery school children.

Pfitzer (2006: 158) argues that there is no speaking without listening comprehension. She mentions scaffolding (e.g. mimics and gestures, pantomime) as one of the main elements to assist children in understanding a language better. This kind of scaffolding includes *motherese* in form of repeating words and phrases as well as speaking more slowly and clearly. With young children, rituals are also useful to prepare them for and to predict upcoming (language) actions.

In her book on child-directed foreign language learning (in primary schools), Pfitzer (2006: 158) lists a number of strategies that will help to practice listening and speaking

skills. According to Pfitzer, listening skills can be trained by storytelling (to practice listening for gist), acting out a story (to discriminate sounds and words), using visuals (e.g. pictures) as well as mimics and gestures (to introduce new words).

To prove whether children understand the L2 correctly, Pfitzer (2006: 159-167) suggests using various activities and methods: physical reactions[25] (e.g. *touch your nose*), show and tell (e.g. *show me the cat*), instructions (e.g. *color the frog green*), put picture into the correct order after listening to a story, asking closed questions (e.g. *Is the cat green?**), using verified and falsified statements (e.g. *The sun is blue.**) or completing rhymes and stories.

When acquiring a language, all children undergo a silent period, i.e. a time in which linguistic output is not (directly) performed. All children spend a different time in the silent period, i.e. some children will start talking earlier (= early talkers) than others (=late talkers). To trigger speaking, Pfitzer (2006: 167-176) mentions various activities such as *Chorsprechen* (i.e. all the children repeat a word, phrase or sentence simultaneously) or echoing, chants, mini dialogues (e.g. using a hand puppet), telling and/or inventing stories as well as performing plays.

Lexical competence in the target language

As mentioned above, CCG are required to cover an entire day of a kindergarten using the target language. It is therefore highly essential to have a very good lexicon covering all the subject-areas CCG will face during their working day with the children. This lexicon should, for instance, comprise good EGP lexis, thematic vocabulary (e.g. family, spare time activities, food and drinks, animals, clothing, toys and games, the four seasons, plants and trees), festivals and parties (e.g. Halloween, Christmas, Easter) and classroom language (e.g. to express praise and censure, to call for attention, to give instructions and explanations, and to start, conduct and end activities).[26]

Grammatical competence in the target language

While children are expected to acquire language (including grammar) naturally, most adults need to be taught the structure of a language. Grammar items should therefore also be part of the ECRP course. Pfitzer (2006: 189-191) reports that an L2 should be

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[25]Using the method of *total physical response* (TPR) will help teachers to check on their children's language knowledge. TRP is aimed at using a physical response to react to instructions, e.g. clap your hands, sit down, turn around. This method can be used with oral instructions, songs (e.g. *If you're happy and you know it,clap your hands*) and games (e.g. *Simon says*).

* Examples added by S.V.

[26] Leidner (2007: 135-141) and Pfitzer (2006: 236ff.) compiled a list of functional English phrases useful to handle activties of nursery school children.

implemented using a communicative approach to enable children to acquire language naturally. She (ibid.) states that young children will find interaction and communication more useful than studying grammar items. Although it is the CCG's task to work out authentic conversations, they have to help children filter the grammar and structure (as well as the lexicon) of an L2 by multi-repetitions of language items in various contexts.

Despite the fact that most common grammar items to be faced in talking to young children could be headed 'basic' or 'simple' grammar (e.g. word order, questions, affirmatives and negations as well as tenses, comparatives and superlatives), CCG are required to have a broad knowledge of the L2 grammar (including passive and active structures, conditionals, reported speech, etc.).

Communicative and interactive competence inthe target language

To communicate effectively requires a certain level of language competence and proficiency. It is therefore essential for CCG to adopt L2 language items and material according to the situation. It is not advisable, however, to use the same kind of dialogue patterns only. If children are exposed to narrative approaches, they will be able to use language more spontaneously.[27]

Klippel (2000)[28] argues that code-switching from the L1 to the L2 is an appropriate method to, for instance, respond to questions that would be too difficult to answer in the L2. However, this approach cannot that easily be adapted to the kindergarten if the CCG is requested to use the 'one person – one language principle' consequently.

Intercultural competence in the target culture

Implementing an L2 does not only require having outstanding language skills in the target language, but also having profound knowledge of the target culture. It is not only that customs and traditions differ; there is also a different approach in interpersonal communications. An individual must navigate the appropriate levels of directness and indirectness, politeness and correct body language.

To introduce a new language implies to introduce new language input and to outline cultural differences. Knowing about other languages and cultures will help children and CCG alike to be more tolerant, for instance, to children and parents with a migrant background.

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[27] Blondin et al. (1998) cited in Pfitzer (2006:193)
[28] Cited in Pfitzer (2006: 235ff.)

Didactical and methodological competence

CCG might find it helpful to start with language sessions in the form of lessons first. The scope of such lessons could be to learn a new song or game, to prepare food (e.g. to make a fruit salad), to read a book, etc.[29]

To make all these competencies interesting for the CCG to study and to learn, a combination of the different skills must be employed. Various material and different teaching methods might be a way to combine the competencies effectively. The kinds of material and methods will be described below.

Suggested material

This section will now deal with materials that are regarded as useful tools and resources when teaching ECRP to CCG. Among the resources listed are textbooks, storybooks, professional teaching materials and reference books.

Textbooks

A vast amount of professional teaching materials for introducing an L2 are available on the market. Among the most frequently used are *Kooky*, *Ginger* and *Playway to English*. Although aimed at implementing the English language as an L2 in the primary school, these kinds of books can be easily adapted to ECRP purposes. They offer a wide range of subject-related topics (e.g. fruits and vegetables, food and drinks, pets, toys, Christmas, Easter, shopping, clothes, and the body), cultural background information, useful printouts to color, and activities to use for playing games, singing songs and reciting (nursery) rhymes. Furthermore, teacher books (to help teachers design their lessons) alongside with audio material such as CDs, tapes and videos (to listen to the correct pronunciation of the target language) and hand puppets (to stick to the 'one person – one language principle' when using code-switching) are available.

Storybooks

For story time, a number of bilingual and age-related storybooks are available, for instance, from the publishing house *Hueber* (for two year olds: *Bear Flo Goes to the Hairdresser; All Around My House; My World is so Colourful;* for three year olds: *Carter Cat and Dotted Dog; The Most Important Thing*; for four year olds: *Journey to the Magic World;* for five year olds: *Arthur and Antony; Tim's Dream*).

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[29] See Leidner (2007: 149-171), Winter (2003: 91-108), Schliewert (2003: 125-146), Kühn (2002: 107-124) for how to design a lesson.

Monolingual storybooks can easily be ordered from the Internet to serve as authentic and cultural specific material. Among the most common ones are *Guess how much I love you* and *The Caterpillar.*

German children's books can also be used for story time. The challenge for a CCG is, however, to translate the book appropriately. With a good command of the target language, this should not be too much of a difficulty.

Professional teaching material

A considerable amount of books has been published on acquiring, learning and teaching a new language. While a lot of material is available for teaching young children asecond or foreign language, not many books aim at non-native CCG who are supposed to raise children bilingually.

Besides the teaching materials available that aim at CCG, teachers can also find good resources by Benson (1993), Flaß et al. (2005), Kählau et al. (2010), Moon (2010) and Schmid-Schönbein (2001). Benson's book called *Beginnings: Teaching and Learning in the Kindergarten* is based on the author's personal experience in teaching young children. It focuses on using play-based and child-directed approaches alongside observation, assessment and evaluation of their performance. Although it is not aimed at raising children in two languages, it is written in English and describes typical teaching situation in a Canadian kindergarten in diary form. Due to the songs, games and rhymes listed as well as the daily routine work illustrated, it is a good resource to gain cultural insights too.

Flaß et al.'s (2005) textbook *Join in – English for Child Care and Education* and Kählau et al.'s (2010) *Work with me: English for Early-Childhood Teachers and Young Workers* are aimed at students who attend a vocational school for child care, social assistants and social services and who have just finished secondary school. Flaß et al. compiled 15 units that include subject-related topics around typical kindergarten days supplemented by revision exercises and grammar items using these topics: in the nursery school; outside the nursery school; toys and games; food and drink for children; story time and rhyme time. Two major drawbacks of this book are: (1) it does not provide any knowledge on how languages are acquired, and (2) it does not give any advice on how to implement an L2 in a kindergarten.

Moon's (2010) work *Children Learning English* does fill that gap. Based on experience reports and ideas for self-reception, it provides CCG with useful tips for teaching kindergarten and primary school children.

Good Job! English in Education an audio book compiled by Dohrmann et al. (2009) focuses on CCG who intend to enhance their English language skills providing them with ten authentic conversations between CCG and school teachers who give insights into their everyday work with children.

The book *Didaktik: Grundschulenglisch Anglistik/Amerikanistik* written by Gisela Schmid-Schönbein (2001) is actually aimed at primary school teachers who will teach English as a foreign language to elementary school children. It is regarded as a useful ECRP resource because it gives an insight into the developmental and theoretical background of teaching English to young learners. It features issues such as young students' pre-requisites when learning a new language, contents and aims of early L2 learning and methodological advice.

Although the teaching material listed above is only a selection of books, it clearly reflects how limited the material available on the market is. In order to tackle the scarcity of teaching material aiming at non-native CCG, ECRP course designers are advised to gather and adapt (authentic) material needed for ECRP courses.

Reference books

To revise grammar items and to practice words, reference books such as grammar books and (picture) dictionaries might be useful tools. Basically, any medial material will be an effective tool for training CCG. The more diverse the choice of material, the more motivated the CCG will probably be. Diversity will assist and direct learning processes. Thus, CCG will benefit from authentic material in the form of audio material (CDs, audio books), audio-visual material (videos, movies) and visual material (books, pictures, posters, cards). In addition to offering a correct pronunciation, CCG can also use audio and audio-visual material to practice and train their listening skills and pronunciation.

The next chapter will now focus on how ECRP should be taught, i.e. what teaching methodology should be applied.

Suggested methodology

Interest, curiosity and motivation are key elements in learning and acquiring an L2 effectively and successfully. Consequently, language classes need a lively, interesting and enjoyable approach. Although this is a challenging task, good language instructors can usually fulfill this demand if they consider a learning-centered methodology. Hutchinson and Waters (2009: 128ff.) have compiled a list of eight basic principles of language learning and ten simple techniques to exploit them.

The basic principles imply that language learning is a developmental, active and decision-making process that is not only based on linguistic knowledge for language learners who can already operate an L1 communicatively and proficiently. If a language is learnt, it should be attached to positive emotions. To trigger language

learning, a course is supposed to focus on using the language and help learners build up an internal language system for the new language.[30]

When learners enter a course, they already have some language knowledge to base the new information on. This language knowledge can consist of L1 knowledge but also pre-knowledge of the target language. It is the ECRP teacher's task to make use of that knowledge by producing comprehensible input to trigger understanding – in keeping with the motto: moving from the entirely known to the entirely unknown. If the teacher does not exploit comprehensible input, learners are likely to lose interest and motivation. In other words, comprehensible input can be regarded as an incentive. Once learners understand a new language, they will not only be proud of themselves, but they will also be more ambitious and more motivated. If people are more motivated, they will probably be more successful in the learning process.

To create motivating lessons, it is important to involve learners actively into the learning process, for instance, by brainstorming ideas on a subject-related matter in the target language or by developing positive emotions to the items discussed in the respective lesson. According to Hutchinson and Waters (2009: 129), teachers could, for example, employ pair or group work, allow time to think, avoid pressure, and focus on receiving a reply to a question and not on its grammatical correctness.

The main problem with their pre-knowledge is not the presumed L2 knowledge but the divide between their L2 language competence and their subject-related knowledge. Since their L2 proficiency does not match with their subject specialism, they can usually not express themselves appropriately in the L2 when speaking about job-related matters. A good teacher needs to acknowledge this divergence.

After introducing three model lessons, Hutchinson and Waters (2009: 139-142) offer ten simple techniques that can easily be employed in any lesson: gaps, variety, prediction, enjoyment, integrated methodology, coherence, preparation, involvement, creativity, and atmosphere. Besides defining clear goals for each lesson and assigning homework or self-study exercises, teachers need to train and practice a range of skills in greatly varied activities that are wrapped in a methodologically mixed form. In other words, teachers should allow a variety of means concerning classroom organization, learner roles, topics, focus, skills, and exercises, activities or tasks to make lessons more interesting and enjoyable. Finally, the teacher is asked to create a nice classroom atmosphere by introducing a cooperative social climate among students and between students and him-/herself.

The basic principles and teaching techniques that Hutchinson and Waters (2009: 139-142) defined for ESP courses in general also apply for ECRP courses. Due to the fact that ECRP learners are expected to implement an L2 with young children, the

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[30] Hutchinson and Waters (2009: 128-130)

former are advised to undergo similar methods such as storytelling, arts and crafts activities, and cooking, singing and playing games.

Storytelling is not only an interesting, motivating and fun activity, it also involves learners personally because (1) learners need to understand the language exploited, and (2) stories link the fantasy world with the real world. Hence, storytelling provides the ECRP learners to dive into the world of fantasy – the children's world. Listening to stories will help ECRP learners to practice their own listening skills and to grasp a native-like pronunciation. Attached reading activities will assist ECRP learners to train their reading and speaking skills.

Stories such as *The Little Red Hen* provide learners with useful language items such as grammar items (e.g. simple past, asking questions) and new lexicon. Retelling or rewriting the story will help learners to produce linguistic output. In addition, a question and answer session[31], a follow-up discussion or a presentation on how to 'teach' the story to nursery school children will help learners to use their subject-knowledge and the target language simultaneously to present didactical and methodological 'teaching' ideas appropriate for early childhood learning.

Conclusion

This paper has tried to give an account of and reasons for raising children in two languages by non-native child-care givers of the target language. In order to successfully implement an L2 in German nursery schools, nursery school teachers who themselves are NNS of the target language were suggested to meet that need after receiving customized language training in form of ECRP courses.

The present study has discussed the terms English for General Purposes and English for Special Purposes to facilitate a new section of ESP: English for Child-Rearing Purposes (ECRP). In the section which treated the difficulties in defining ESP, needs analysis was mentioned as one of the most significant differences to English for General Purposes. The needs analysis conducted in this paper revealed that CCG have different language and working background. In order to obtain a C1 level that is

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[31] Kraft (2007: 229) states that questions play a crucial role in language teaching and learning. While language teaching is aimed at passing on knowledge, language learning is targeted at acquiring knowledge. Both learning and teaching are interrelated. Questions can be used if there is a deficiency in knowledge or if knowledge is to be proved. In other words, students ask teacher to check assumptions or built up subject knowledge. Teachers, on the other hand, ask questions to identify lacks, i.e. to check what students already know and what they do not know yet. In her study, Kraft (ibid.) investigated a nursery school teacher interacting with a group of nursery school children. She found that the teacher mainly used two types of reactive questions: admonishing and follow-up inquiries. While the former announces or might lead to some kind of punishment if the child does not rethink its action, the latter encourages the child to recall and memorize its knowledge in a positive sense.

required for CCG aimed at implementing an L2 in the German kindergarten, ECRP courses need to be targeted and designed at different language levels. While all ECRP courses need to focus on imparting specific language to cover the subject-areas that CCG will face during their working day with the children, objectives of the different ECRP courses may vary according to the language level of the CCG.

The present study has shown that there are a number of useful materials available to ECRP course designers. While the amount of textbooks, storybooks and general reference books is outstanding, there are only limited resources on professional teaching material aimed at non-native CCG. Because of this scarcity in resources, it is essential to design customized materials that are appropriate to teach non-native CCG to introduce an L2 in the German kindergarten.

Although it has been argued that ESP courses do not require a methodology different from EGP courses, ECRP teachers are advised to use a variety of methods (e.g. storytelling, playing games, acting out a play, giving presentations, etc.) to design interesting and motivating lessons appealing to ECRP learners.

Since this paper could only give first insights into ECRP as a subcategory of ESP, further studies on the current topic are highly recommended.

List of Abbreviations

CCG	Child Care Givers
ECRP	English for Child-Rearing Purposes
EGP	English for General Purposes
EOP	English for Occupational Purposes
ESP	English for Specific Purposes
L1	First Language / Mother Tongue
L2	Second / Foreign Language
LSP	Language for Specific Purposes
NNS	Non-native Speaker
NS	Native Speaker

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FROM ESP TO ICC: WHY BUSINESS AND INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION REPLACED BUSINESS ENGLISH AT THE TU BERGAKADEMIE FREIBERG'S FAKULTÄT FÜR WIRTSCHAFTSWISSENSCHAFTEN

Michael Hinner
TU Bergakademie Freiberg

Introduction

This article describes the curriculum changes which were made at the TU Bergakademie Freiberg's *Fakultät für Wirtschaftswissenschaften* (Faculty of Economics and Business Administration) in the wake of German Reunification. Initially, Business English was introduced within the scope of the TU Bergakademie Freiberg's general reorganization after the reunification. Ten years later, Business English was replaced by Business and Intercultural Communication. A number of reasons led to this change. While some of the reasons are due to specific local conditions, others have more universal applications and may encourage other universities to implement similar changes in their business curricula.

Background

In order to understand these changes, it is necessary to go back in time. After German Reunification, the TU Bergakademie Freiberg, like many other universities in the former German Democratic Republic, was reorganized into six *Fakultäten*, i.e. departments; namely, five natural sciences and engineering *Fakultäten* and one *Fakultät* of business administration and economics. The TU Bergakademie Freiberg was and is Saxony's smallest *Technische Universität* with currently more than 5,000 enrolled students. In the 1990s, that number was less than 3,000 students; hence, making the TU Bergakademie somewhat special not only in Saxony, but in Germany as a whole where the student population is typically much larger at a*Technische Universität*. Due to the ideological past, the *Fakultät für Wirtschaftswissenschaften* underwent considerable change. This also included the introduction of a Business English curriculum which made sense at that time when one considers the fact that English was not the first foreign language taught at East German schools. Consequently, the university had many business students who were not fluent in English. That was why there was a need for instructions in Business English in the early 1990s.

The Business English curriculum consisted of the following courses:
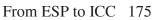
- Business terminology

- Reading comprehension of business texts
- UK and US studies
- Business English seminar.

While the curriculum included a seminar for which a paper had to be written in English, it did not, however, include a course on how to write papers, reports, etc. The curriculum essentially reflected English for Specific Purposes (ESP) as it was taught in its early stages. The curriculum sought to address the needs of the students enrolled in the early 1990s who had to improve their English skills and fluency, familiarize themselves with business terminology, and learn about the UK and the USA without the information being tainted by political ideology.

State universities in Germany are regulated to a great extend by the responsible state ministry which typically means that changes to the curriculum require the approval of that ministry. It is, therefore, difficult to change individual curricula. However, it is possible to change the contents of the courses. This is what was done in the late 1990s. The focus on vocabulary was shifted to applied language use in the form of discussions, role plays, and case studies. This included the use of audio-visual materials and the introduction of writing exercises. Students were taught how to write application documents, reports and papers, how to hold presentations, and compose business plans. In other words, business students were taught how to apply their business knowledge and expand their fluency in English. Authentic business documents from banks, companies, and the government along with ads, business reports, and a variety of forms students might encounter later at work were introduced so that they could familiarize themselves with such documents.

By 2000, though, the student profiles began to change because in the aftermath of German Reunification, secondary school curricula had also been reformed in East Germany. English had become the first foreign language students learned in school which meant that the number of years students took English at school increased as well. School classes were now also able to visit English-speaking countries and individual students could even spend a year at a school in an English speaking country. This meant that the students coming to the university had a much better knowledge of and greater fluency in English than had been the case right after Reunification.

Parallel to this development in student profiles, more and more business professors started teaching their courses in English. In fact, the *Fakultät* even launched an international MBA program in English in 2000 and others have followed since then. So the teaching of business topics in English was no longer a novelty. It also became quickly apparent that often Business English teachers have little expertise in business topics, especially when compared to their colleagues who had studied business administration and economics in depth earning even their doctoral degrees in those subjects. The students noted this as well. Consequently, teaching business topics in

Business English courses was not credible because it was perceived as being "amateurish." In fact, during the *Hauptstudium*, i.e. at the advanced level, the typical business student will have more expertise in business administration and economics than the typical Business English instructor. In such a situation, the Business English instructor has only a limited number of options: either to study business administration and economics in English or to ignore the development and hope for the best or to rethink the curriculum completely.This option became possible due to the curriculum changes that were to be introduced as a result of the Bologna process. The typical German business curriculum consists of a number of core subjects in business administration, e.g. marketing, human resource management, accounting, financing, and economics. In addition to these core business and economics courses, business curricula typically also include courses in computer science, law, and mathematics. When one takes a look at the world of business, one realizes fairly quickly, though, that communication forms the basis for all aspects of business and is critical to all business relationships (DeFleur, Kearney, & Plax, 1998; Lehman & DuFrene, 2002; Thill & Bovée, 2008; Tubbs & Moss, 2003). Yet, virtually no business studies in Germany include communication which is surprising since communication is so central to the world of business.[1]So when the Business English curriculum was to be revised at the TU Bergakademie Freiberg, it was decided to shift the focus to business communication and intercultural communication since it seemed most beneficial to augment business studies with such essential subjects.

Business and intercultural communication

A number of reasons led to the focus on communication. Communication is essential to all realms of business in that it helps establish, maintain, and improve relationships within organizations as well as between companies, customers, and public authorities (De Fleur, Kearney, & Plax, 1998; Lehman & Du Frene, 2002; Thill & Bovée, 2008; Tubbs & Moss, 2003). In fact, communication is the most important tool for getting things done. Communication is the basis for understanding, cooperation, and action. It also permits the transfer of information and helps people meet their needs (Adler & Rodman, 2003; De Vito, 2006; Gamble & Gamble, 2005). But communication can also distort messages, cause frustration, and render people and organizations ineffective because communication is manifested through symbols that differ in their meaning according to time, place, culture, or individual (Adler &Rodman, 2003; De Vito, 2006; Gamble & Gamble, 2005). Through interaction, people continuously

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[1] In 2002, a student assistant inspected the websites of all business programs at German *Technische Universitäten* and *Universitäten* and did not find any business communication courses. This informal survey was repeated last year and ended up with the same result.

update these symbols. Communication fulfills the following basic functions: Utilitarian, i.e. to get things done, aesthetic, i.e. to convey beauty and pleasure, and therapeutic, i.e. to provide assistance in overcoming ailments of a physical and/or psychological nature (Klopf, 1998). Generally speaking (Gamble & Gamble, 2005):

- No matter how hard one tries, one cannot avoid communicating
- Communication does not necessarily mean understanding
- Communication is irreversible
- Communication occurs in a context
- Communication is a dynamic process.

Because of its relevance, communication is essential to the world of business because no business is possible without communication as noted above (De Fleur, Kearney, & Plax, 1998; Lehman & Du Frene, 2002; Thill & Bovée, 2008; Tubbs & Moss, 2003). It is, thus, irresponsible to leave communication to mere chance. So it is surprising that the typical German business curriculum does not include communication. Since communication is so important to the world of business, it needs to be integrated into business curricula. This conclusion led to the idea of replacing Business English with Business Communication in order to make a valuable and necessary contribution to business studies.

After this decision had been reached, the next item to consider was whether to teach Business Communication in German or in English. Here again, a number of arguments spoke on behalf of English. First, international business is conducted in English. Second, most of the relevant communication literature is only available in English. Third, German translations of the English terminology is inconsistent. Fourth, a number of business administration and economics courses were actually already being taught in English. Fifth, the international business master's programs were taught entirely in English, and the Business Communication courses were to form an integral part of those curricula. Sixth, many other*Fakultäten*wanted to include more social science courses taught in English in their list of *nichttechnische Wahlfächer* (non-technical electives), a requirement the communication courses fulfilled. Seventh, it is often easier to discuss English grammar and stylistics in English than in German. Eighth, when Business English was discontinued, instruction in English was not reduced which is also an objective of the university.So it made sense to offer the communication courses in English.

Language instruction revolves around communication, and foreign language instruction has always included the relevant culture because otherwise many concepts of the foreign language remain an enigma to non-natives. That makes it much easier for language instructors to familiarize themselves with communication principles than business and/or economic topics. In fact, human communication textbooks typically

include communication theory and applied communication skills, e.g. Adler and Rodman's (2003) *Understanding human communication* (8th edition), De Vito's (2006) *Human communication: The basic course* (10th edition), or Gamble and Gamble's (2005) *Communication works* (8th edition) to name but a few. Communication theory focuses on the elements and principles of human communication, the impact of culture on communication, perception, listening, the self in human communication, verbal messages, nonverbal messages, interpersonal and small group communication as well as organizational and mass communication. The applied skills focus on listening comprehension; interviewing and debating; brainstorming; researching and documenting sources; document format and layout; grammar review; managing data and using graphics; preparing and holding presentations; organizing, composing, revising, and proofreading messages; informative and persuasive messages; writing letters, applications, reports, proposals, papers, etc.

While some language instructors might not be too familiar with all of the theoretical components of communication – although certain elements of communication are also included in language studies; after all, language is an important component of communication – they should be very familiar with the applied skills. Furthermore, most language instructors are familiar with culture and its impact on communication. As anyone knows who has studied another language, it is necessary to understand the culture if one truly wishes to understand the language. It also becomes quickly apparent that some expressions cannot be translated directly from one language into another. So language instructors will often have to explain why something is different in another language and culture. This is essentially the realm of intercultural communication.

While most colleagues from the field of business administration and economics tended to assign Business English minor relevance, this has changed with regard to Business Communication –in particular, when the focus was changed from attempting to present a relatively superficial and amateurish version of business administration and economics in English. As most standard Business English textbooks demonstrate, the primary focus continues to be on presenting the entire spectrum of business and economic topics within the scope of one book, e.g. Galster and Rupp's (2011) *Wirtschaftsenglisch für Studium und Beruf: Wirtschaftswissenkompakt in Deutsch und Englisch – German and English business know-how*. In contrast, business students will have to take many individual courses encompassing at least one semester on any one of these topics. This clearly demonstrates that Business English textbooks cannot begin to even give an approximation of the scope and scale of the topics they contain.What is more, if the Business English instructor is not too familiar with, for example, hedge funds, futures and derivatives, that instructor will quickly run into

problems if the business students begin to ask detailed questions on these and other business and economic topics. Indeed, one gets the impression that Business English means teaching business in English, so one ends up with the absurd situation in which a language instructor is expected to have expertise in all realms of business administration and economics, something even a business administration professor would not pretend to espouse. And with more business instructors teaching their field of expertise in English, the attempt by Business English instructors to do the same becomes redundant. By shifting the focus to communication, language instructors are more firmly entrenched in their field of expertise and, thus, have more knowledge of the relevant subject matter than business students and instructors of business administration and economics.

Business and Intercultural Communication courses

That is why it was decided to introduce Business and Intercultural Communication courses as a replacement of Business English in Freiberg. Currently, i.e. in 2012, the following courses are offered at the TU Bergakademie Freiberg's *Fakultät für Wirtschaftswissenschaften*:

- Professional Communication I and II
- Scholarly Rhetoric
- Film Project
- Business Communication
- Intercultural Communication
- Cultural Studies of the USA
- Organizational Communication
- Business and Intercultural Communication Seminar.

These courses will be described briefly below to provide an insight into the course objectives and the course contents.

The objective of ***Professional Communication*** is to convey general principles of human communication and their application in a professional context. This course consists of two parts. The first part includes a lecture that covers the following topics:

- General communication theory
- The communication process
- Intercultural communication
- Intrapersonal communication
- Interpersonal communication

- Group communication, networking
- Conflicts and conflict management
- Negotiations
- Communicating in organizations
- Mass communication, mass media.

The second part is officially classified as a tutorial and taught in a number of small groups so that it is possible to take the individual performance of the participants into consideration. The topics of the second part include:

- Socializing, introductions, etc.
- Personal branding
- Applications (cover letter, CV/resume)
- Presentations
- Academic and business writing (report, essay, referencing).

Scholarly Rhetoric has as its objective the writing of scientific papers and holding academic presentations in English in addition to learning how to conduct scientific research in communication science and the social sciences. The course consists of the following topics:

- General grammar review, stylistics
- Parts of a scientific paper
- Documenting sources
- Entering figures and tables
- Preparing presentation slides
- Verbal and nonverbal presentation skills
- Making scientific claims and offering evidence
- Formulating research questions and hypotheses
- Relating communication behavior to variables
- Quantitative and qualitative measurement scales
- Internal and external validity
- Sampling
- Replication
- Experimental research
- Empirical research
- Textual and content analysis
- Naturalistic observation.

The *Film Project* seeks to familiarize participants with the medium of filmand also provides them with a variety of so-called "soft skills" needed in many professional contexts including:

- Brainstorming
- Project and time management
- Organizational competence
- Team work and generating team spirit
- Diversity management
- Negotiation strategies
- Communicating with diverse media
- Verbal and nonverbal proficiency
- Presentation skills.

The participants have to work in small groups and produce a short movie. In order to adequately evaluate and honor the creative and artistic aspects of these student film productions, it was decided to initiate a film contest. Since the Film Academy in Hollywood awards the Oscar every year to movie productions, it was decided to initiate the Bergakademie's Otto Awards, named in honor of the founding father of the Silver City Freiberg, Margrave Otto the Rich. A group of local artists created a number of interpretations of Otto the Rich's statue standing at the town's Upper Market. The different designs were put on display in the university library, and the students cast their ballots to select the winning statue. The university's foundry institute created a mold of the winning statue and cast the silvery Otto statue. The film contest awards the Otto for Best Actor, Best Actress, Best English, Best Production, etc. The film project encompasses the following activities:

- Creating and developing an idea into a story
- Writing a storyline and a movie script
- Transforming the script into an audio-visual performance
- Camera work
- Editing
- Copyright
- Project planning and management.

It is actually a very popular course and includes students from virtually all university departments and gets considerable local press coverage.

   Business Communication seeks to transmit human communication theory with a specific focus on interpersonal, group, and organizational communication principles and practices to illustrate how communication influences the world of business in various settings and situations. The course covers the following topics:
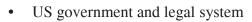
- General communication theory
- Communication models
- The communication process
- The perceptual process
- Verbal and nonverbal communication
- Intrapersonal communication
- Interpersonal communication
- Group communication
- Organizational communication.

Intercultural Communication focuses on the theory of intercultural communication and attempts to explain and illustrate how culture influences human behavior and communication. The topics of the course include:

- Culture, supraculture, macroculture, microculture
- Worldview, beliefs, values, norms of behavior
- Cultural dimensions
- Verbal and nonverbal communication
- Identity
- Ethnocentrism, in and out groups
- Stereotypes, prejudice, racism
- Relationships
- Cultural misunderstandings and conflict
- Culture shock and adaptation
- Intercultural competence.

Cultural Studies of the USA demonstrates how intercultural communication theory can be applied to a specific cultural context and how such theory can help analyze and better understand that culture. The focus is on the United States of America because it continues to be one of the most important economies in the world and many German companies have direct or indirect dealings with that country. In fact, the USA continues to be one of the major investors in Saxony. The course looks at the following topics:

- American culture and microcultures
- Worldview, values, norms, stereotypes
- Cultural dimensions
- Religion, beliefs, and values in the USA
- Native Americans
- Immigration, cultural diversity and adaptation

- US government and legal system
- US educational system
- US mass media
- US economy
- Social Security
- The Arts in America.

The objective of *Organizational Communication* is to transmit the theoretical foundation for organizational communication and apply it to a real world context to demonstrate how effective internal and external communication transmits competence, credibility, and ethics to all essential stakeholders inside and outside organizations. The course covers the following topics:

- Organizational communication theory
- Social components of communication
- Social networks
- Diversity and communication
- Corporate culture and communication
- Identity
- Attitudes
- Power and communication
- Conflict communication
- Negotiations
- Persuasion
- Formal and informal communication
- Internal and external communication
- Communicating Risks.

Finally, the *Business and Intercultural Communication Seminar* attempts to systematically analyze diverse business and intercultural communication issues that have relevance to the world of business. The participants have to write a scientific paper and hold a formal presentation in English. The seminar applies the knowledge and skills of Scholarly Rhetoric and provides a foundation for a possible master's thesis.

That, in a nutshell, is a brief description of the courses currently being offered under the heading of Business and Intercultural Communication at the TU Bergakademie. The fact that numerous *Studiengänge* (courses of studies) at virtually all facultiesinclude many of the courses in their *Studien- und Prüfungsordnungen* (study and examination regulations) speaks for itself. Considering the available options, it seems that shifting the focus from Business English to Business and Intercultural

Communication was the right decision. This change has made a valuable contribution to business studies, and it has allowed language instructors to combine their knowledge and skills with a related field, i.e. communication, so as to apply their knowledge and expertise in the most beneficial manner.

Culture and communication

For language instructors, it might be interesting to see how culture affects communication. Research has shown that certain patterns of values and communication behaviors can be used as cultural frames of reference and, thus, compared across cultures (Klopf, 1998; Kluckhohn & Strodtbeck, 1961; Lustig & Koester, 2006; Oetzel, 2009). Obviously, such cultural patterns do not describe or explain every aspect of culture, but they do permit comparison and contrast of specific contexts. For example, a culture may consider people to be generally good, bad, or as something in-between (Kluckhohn & Strodtbeck, 1961). One can then classify cultures in this regard. If, for example, a culture considers people to be generally evil, it would not be surprising if that culture has many rules and regulations to direct people's lives and their interaction with one another in order to prevent something bad from happening. Conversely, a culture that considers people to be generally good would not need to have many rules and regulations since it would be assumed that people normally do not anything evil that needs to be prohibited.

Naturally, these frameworks provide only a broad, general pattern with ample room for individual variation because each human being is unique due to his or her own personality, upbringing, and personal experiences. That is why one has to be careful when speaking, for example, about *the* German or *the* American behavior. Yet at the same time, it is more probable that a German would expect the government to help solve problems whereas an American would most likely be wary of too much governmental involvement as the discussions revolving around the introduction of a national health insurance in America so aptly demonstrates. Many Americans did not want to have a national health insurance which astonished many Germans.

Cultural dimensions

Over the years, a number of researchers have isolated various cultural patterns or so-called cultural dimensions. Edward T. Hall and Geert Hofstede are among the most often cited researchers in this regard (Klopf, 1998; Lustig & Koester, 2006; Martin & Nakayma, 1997; Oetzel, 2009).

Hall's dimensions

Hall focuses on various aspects of verbal and nonverbal communication and has identified four dimensions (Hall & Hall, 1990):

1. Context – how much or how little verbal expression is used for communication?
2. Time – do people tend to do one thing at a time or many?
3. Space – how close or how far do people stand to each other when communicating?
4. Information flow – how long does it take for information to reach people?

Context and time will be defined closer to illustrate how these dimensions work. Hall (1976) divides context into *low context* and *high context*. When people communicate with one another in a specific cultural context, they often have a general idea of how much or how little the listener is likely to know about the subject under discussion. In low context communication cultures, it is assumed that the listener knows very little and must be told practically everything. Sometimes this assumption is based on rhetorical and/or legal traditions. In high context communication cultures, in contrast, it is assumed that the listener is already "contexted" and does not need to be given much background information. People from low context cultures tend to use a direct verbal expression style while people from high context cultures tend to use an indirect style. Again, these dimensions refer to the most likely behavioral traits one can expect to encounter in most situations. Not everyone will exhibit these characteristics and not every situation will call for the same style of communication. That is why high context cultures may need to be lower in context, for example when communicating instructions on how to use a complex machine.

According to Hall (1976), low context communication has four features:

1. The situational context is not emphasized as much as in high context communication.
2. Important information is usually transmitted in explicit verbal messages.
3. Self-expression, verbal fluency, and eloquent speech are valued.
4. People tend to express opinions directly and wish to persuade others to accept their viewpoints.

These features are contrasted by the following features of high context communication (Hall, 1976):

1. Explicit verbal messages are not emphasized.
2. Important information is usually carried in contextual cues.
3. Harmony is highly valued with a tendency towards using ambiguous language and keeping silent in interactions.
4. People tend to talk around the point and avoid saying "no" directly to others.

A comparison of the features generally associated with low and high context communication shows essentially an inverse approach to communication. What one values, the other considers unimportant at best or unacceptable at worst; thus, leading to misunderstandings.

In addition to the above four features, low context cultures also tend to (Hall, 1976):

1. Value individualism
2. Develop transitory personal relationships
3. Emphasize linear logic
4. Value direct verbal interaction and are less able to read nonverbal cues
5. Apply logic to present ideas
6. Emphasize highly structured messages, give details, and place emphasis on words and technical signs.

In contrast, high context cultures tend to (Hall, 1976):

1. Value group sense
2. Take time to cultivate and establish permanent personal relationships
3. Emphasize a spiral logic
4. Value indirect verbal interaction and are more able to read nonverbal cues
5. Use feelings when expressing ideas
6. Give simple, ambiguous, noncontexting messages.

Examples of low context cultures include Germany, Scandinavia, and Ireland while Finland, France, and Italy represent high context cultures (Schneider & Barsoux, 2003). While both Germany and the USA are classified as low context cultures, Germany is considerably lower in context than the USA (Hall, 1976). This explains, in part, why German presentations contain more details than American presentations and why it seems that Germans do not get to the point.

When it comes to time, Hall (1959) divides it into *monochronic* and *polychronictime frames*. In monochronic time systems, people tend to do only one thing at a time; and time is typically seen as a linear progression from the past via the present to the future. Time is divided into segments allowing a person to focus on one task at a time. Consequently, time is scheduled and compartmentalized. According to Hall (1959), monochronic cultures:

- Do one thing at a time
- Concentrate on the job at hand
- Take time for commitments (deadlines, schedules) seriously
- Are low context and need information
- Adhere tightly to plans

- Are concerned about not disturbing conversations
- Emphasize promptness.

In polychronic time systems, people place more emphasis on completing human transactions than adhering to schedules. Time is seen as something less tangible and may be compared to a single point in time. Polychronic cultures (Hall, 1959):

- Do many things at once
- Are highly distractible and subject to interruptions
- Consider time commitments to be objectives to be achieved, if possible
- Are high context and have information already at hand
- Are committed to people and human relationships
- Change plans often and easily.

Germany, Switzerland, and Scandinavia have been identified as monochromic cultures while Bulgaria, Italy, and Slovenia are considered to be polychronic (Schneider & Barsoux, 2003). Germany is classified as being more monochronic than the USA. That is why German managers would only accept a delay of one minute before an excuse is expected whereas managers in New York would accept five minutes. In polychronic cultures like Mexico, up to forty-five minutes are acceptable without needing to offer any apologies. Research indicates that different microcultures exhibit different time preferences (Klopf, 1998).

Obviously, both context and time can and do play a considerable role in communication. Being unaware of whether a particular culture tends to be either high or low context or monochronic or polychronic can, thus, lead to potential irritation and/or misunderstandings if the interactors represent opposite ends of these dimensions. For example, the low context person will expect more details than the high context person tends to deliver whereas the high context person will be bored by too many details forwarded by the low context person. Likewise, a monochronic person will expect things to be scheduled precisely and plans adhered to closely whereas the polychronic person will consider tight schedules to be a hindrance to flexibility.

Hofstede's dimensions

In 1968 and 1972, Geert Hofstede analyzed more than 100,000 IBM employees in more than 40 countries and found four consistent dimensions which he measured along a comparative scale with assigned numerical values. The original four dimensions are (Hofstede, 1980):

1. Power distance – the extent to which less powerful members of society accept that power is distributed unequally

2. Uncertainty avoidance – the extent to which members of a society feel threatened by uncertainty or unknown situations and try to avoid these situations

3. Individualism vs. collectivism – the extent to which individual autonomy is regarded favorably or unfavorably

4. Masculinity vs. femininity – the extent to which a society stresses achievement or nurture.

Later, a fifth, a sixth, and a seventh dimension were added when the original study was applied in other cultural contexts because at the time of the original study certain countries were off limits to IBM due to the geopolitical situation at that time. With the political change in many communist/socialist countries, it was possible for Western researchers to also sample these cultures. Responses to the original questions revealed value clusters that had not been identified in the original study (Values Survey Module, 2008).

1. Long-term vs. short-term orientation – the extent to which a society fosters virtues oriented towards future rewards or the past and present

2. Indulgence vs. restraint – the extent to which a society is tolerant of individuals' desires to enjoy themselves or not

3. Monumentalism vs. self-effacement – the extent to which a society values individuals who are proud and firm or rewards humor and flexibility.

Power distance and uncertainty avoidance will be defined closer to serve as examples.*High power distance cultures* accept power, and everyone in society has their place therein (Hofstede, 2011). According to Hofstede (1991), in large power distance cultures:

- Inequalities among people are both expected and desired
- Privileges and status symbols for managers are both expected and popular
- Wide salary ranges exist between the top and bottom of an organization
- The powerful have privileges
- Respect for authority and authority is viewed as desirable and beneficial.

In contrast, *low power distance cultures* feel power should only be used when it is legitimate. In low power distance cultures (Hofstede, 1991):

- Inequities among people should be minimized
- Privileges and status symbols are frowned upon
- Narrow salary ranges exist between the top and bottom of an organization
- All should have equal rights and opportunities
- Certain distrust for power is shared.

According to Hofstede (2011), on a scale of (originally) 0 to 100, France (68), Belgium (65), and Portugal (63) are classified as high power distance cultures while

Austria (11), Denmark (18), and Ireland (28) are low power distance cultures. Germany has a score of 35 and, thus, tends to be more low power distance. It is quite clear that these characteristics can have considerable impact on how supervisors and subordinates interact and communicate with one another – do they, for example, see themselves as partners who mix and mingle freely or as members of different castes who keep to themselves.

Members of *high uncertainty avoidance cultures* have a greater need for formal rules and absolute truths and less tolerance for people with deviant ideas and a tendency to believe in experts. According to Hofstede (1991), high uncertainty avoidance cultures:

- Believe what is different is dangerous
- Have many and precise laws and rules
- Accept familiar risks, fear ambiguous situations and unfamiliar risks
- Exhibit high stress and subjective feelings of anxiety
- Have an emotional need for rules even if they will never work.

Instead of believing in experts, *low uncertainty avoidance cultures* believe in generalists and do not feel threatened by conflict and competition. Low uncertainty avoidance cultures (Hofstede, 1991):

- Believe what is different is curious
- Have few and general laws and rules
- Are comfortable in ambiguous situations and with unfamiliar risks
- Exhibit low stress and subjective feelings of well-being
- Have no more rules than absolutely necessary.

According to Hofstede (2011), Greece (112), Portugal (104), and France (86) are high uncertainty avoidance cultures while Denmark (23), Sweden (29), and Ireland (35) are low uncertainty avoidance cultures. Germany has a tendency towards high uncertainty avoidance with a score of 65. Here as well, it is quite obvious that differences in uncertainty avoidance can result in irritation and/or stress because one interactor will expect many rules and regulations while the other will attempt to reduce them as much as possible.

Intercultural competence

Intercultural competence refers to communicating in a culturally appropriate and effective manner (Ting-Toomey & Oetzel, 2001). In this context, appropriateness refers to the degree to which communication is considered proper and matches the expectations generated by the members of the respective cultures. In other words, saying the right thing in the right situation at the right time while also using the

expected non-verbal cues when, for example, greeting someone. Effectiveness refers to the degree to which the interactors achieve mutually shared meanings and integrative goal-related outcomes. Perceived appropriateness and effectiveness are, thus, inferred through the exchange of messages between the interactors and the outcome that is generated as a result of such an exchange. The competent exchange of messages means the interactors perceive that they and their messages are understood in the proper context and with the desired effect.

With the help of cultural dimensions, for example, it is possible to categorize these misunderstandings and explain why they arise. It is, thus, possible to anticipate potential pitfalls and prepare appropriate countermeasures. One can, for example, adjust written texts by adding more details if the other culture is lower in context than one's own culture as one might do when transcribing a text from American English into German. Or one can expect to encounter more rules and regulations in a culture that has a higher uncertainty avoidance.

Conclusion

Language instructors are typically aware of this difference in style, but they may not have been aware of Hall's or Hofstede's dimensions. So it is only a small step from knowledge associated with language instruction to, for example, intercultural communication. The same is true for aspects of general communication, i.e. language and meaning. Such a step is typically much easier to take than attempting to leap into an entirely new field like business administration or economics. It also assures more competence and expertise in one's instruction and research. That is why the switch was made from attempting to teach Business in English to Business and Intercultural Communication at the TU Bergakademie in Freiberg. It is hoped that this change will encourage others to emulate this move.

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THE EPOSTL AS A STIMULUS FOR REFLECTIVE TEACHING

Natalia Orlova

University of J.E. Purkyně, Ústí nad Labem

This contribution focuses on the use of and the experiences with the European Portfolio for Student Teachers of Languages (henceforth: EPOSTL). It introduces the EPOSTL and reviews individual reports on students who have used the EPOSTL in the past semesters at UJEP. The contribution further makes a plea for the stimulating impact a tool for self-reflection can have on teaching.

Introduction

As a student teacher who received her education in an EFL context more than three decades ago, I was rarely (if ever) encouraged to reflect on my teaching. Intuitively I was constantly thinking about classroom interaction in terms of my students' "liking or disliking the classes" as well as the reasons for that. Later, encountering literature on reflective teaching and realizing how important thinking about one's practice is, I became aware of the fact that there are no time limitations as to when to start reflective practice, though as a teacher educator I am convinced that the sooner my trainees engage in reflective teaching the better results they will have as professionals. This article explores the use of the *European Portfolio for Student Teachers of Languages* (EPOSTL) as a tool that can encourage pre-service teachers to step out on a reflective teaching path.
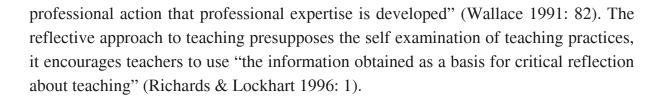
On reflection

Why is reflection crucial?

The notion of reflective teaching has been thoroughly examined both outside and inside language teaching. The pioneer in the field of reflective thought about educational practice is considered to be Dewey (Dewey 1933, as cited in Zeichner and Liston 1996) whose ideas were later developed by Schön (1983) as reflection-in-action.

Within the TEFL/TESL framework one of the earliest researchers to consider the phenomenon of reflection in teaching was Bartlett (1990). He advocated a broader form of reflection which involved not only matters of classroom technique but also the crucial effect social context can have.

Though present day literature regards reflective teaching from various perspectives and highlights the multitude of its constituents, there is a strong, commonly held belief that reflection is a key issue in teacher development, "…it is through reflection on

professional action that professional expertise is developed" (Wallace 1991: 82). The reflective approach to teaching presupposes the self examination of teaching practices, it encourages teachers to use "the information obtained as a basis for critical reflection about teaching" (Richards & Lockhart 1996: 1).

When should reflection start?

Reflective teaching, as a key to life-long professional development (Wallace 1998), should be encouraged at an early stage of teacher training. This fundamental idea found its further manifestation in the *European Profile for Language Teacher Education* where "training in the development of reflective practice and self evaluation" (Kelly, Grenfell, Allan, Kriza & McEvoy 2004: 65) is considered an important integral element of initial and in-service education of foreign language teachers in the twenty first century. It is also believed by the authors of the document that portfolios and teaching diaries are effective tools for reflective practice.

The question that naturally arises is: What period in the teacher developmental continuum should we consider as an appropriate starting point to encourage student teachers' self-reflection? Should it begin during their first classes in EFL teaching when they start being introduced to the teaching profession and, metaphorically speaking, the door to the profession gradually begins to open? Or should reflective teaching be encouraged on the very first day of the practicum when student teachers begin to take their first steps in the school environment?

Or is the optimal time for reflective teaching possibly after graduation when student teachers are not trainees any more and begin teaching on a regular basis, thus enjoying more freedom in their actions as they do not depend on the requirements of cooperating teachers and university supervisors?

From the perspective of this author, the EPOSTL can contribute to encouraging a reflective approach to teaching from the initial phase of foreign language teachers' education, provided it is used systematically. Such an early start can make self-reflection an integral part of the teaching behavior when graduates become autonomous teachers.

Why is the EPOSTL a helpful tool for reflection?

First, as is evident from the document, this didactic portfolio was initially designed as a tool for *reflection* and its central aims are the following:

> 1. to encourage students to reflect on the competences a teacher strives to attain and on the underlying knowledge which feeds these competences;
>
> to help prepare students for their future profession in a variety of teaching contexts;

to promote discussion between students and between students and their teacher educators and mentors;

to facilitate self-assessment of students' competence;

to help students develop awareness of their strengths and weaknesses related to teaching;

to provide an instrument which helps chart progress. (Newby et al. 2007: 83)

The EPOSTL is comprised of six sections – a personal statement, a self-assessment section, a dossier, a glossary, an index of terms, and a user's guide - each of them targeted at the fulfillment of certain goals.

Thus, a personal statement encourages student teachers at the beginning of the course to reflect on general questions related to teaching. It includes tasks that make users reflect on their previous education as well as speculate on the expectations of their teacher education course.

The self-assessment section, in my opinion, is the most valuable part of the document in question. It singles out seven core didactic competences which language teachers should strive to attain and group them into the following seven clusters:

- methodology
- assessment of learning
- independent learning
- context
- conducting a lesson
- resources
- lesson planning.

Second, the development of the didactic competences (and consequently reflection upon them) is regarded as a long-term process, instigated during student teachers' initial education and facilitated in the course of their ongoing professional experience.

Finally, the EPOSTL not only identifies a set of core competences which teachers strive to develop, but it formulates these competences in terms of 'can do' descriptors. These 193 'can-do' descriptors form the core of the EPOSTL and equip the user with focused areas for reflection and self-assessment. I believe that it is the 'can do' descriptors that make the EPOSTL a helpful and prominent tool for reflection.

How to integrate the EPOSTL?

The EPOSTL was introduced into the MA TEFL program of the English Department (Faculty of Education, University of J. E.Purkyně in Ústí nad Labem, Czech Republic) in October 2008 as a means of steering the student teachers toward the necessary professional expertise. Since then, the portfolio has been piloted in different phases of

the initial teacher training. The first two years of piloting the EPOSTL and the feedback on its use – obtained with the help of questionnaires and interviews – provided evidence that the EPOSTL can foster student teachers' reflective practice, thus, making them aware of what aspects of their professional competence they should work on further (Orlova 2011a).

Presently, the EPOSTL is being used systematically and continuously and it has become an integral part of the English language teacher education program. The pattern of integrating the EPOSTL into pre-service teacher education, drawn from survey results and the author's insights, includes the following five stages:

Stage 1.   Introducing the EPOSTL to student teachers. Setting the tasks in the Personal Statement.

Stage 2.   Selecting the sections for self-assessment.

Stage 3.   Integrating the 'can-do' descriptors into the course.

Stage 4.   Employing 'can-do' descriptors for microteaching tasks.

Stage 5.   Encouraging students to work with the EPOSTL during their school practicum.

Stage 6.   Surveying students' opinions of the EPOSTL.

Omitting a detailed description of how the EPOSTL was used at stages 1 through 4, as it was the subject of another publication (Orlova 2011b), I want to focus on one of the concluding stages of the aforementioned paradigm, i.e. the student teachers' reflection on their professional expertise with the help of the EPOSTL during the practicum or teaching practice at school.

Within the ELT education program adopted by the Faculty of Education at the University of J. E. Purkyně, there are two periods of teaching practicum which fall on the third and the fourth semester of the two-year MA program respectively. During the practicum, student teachers are placed at schools where they work directly with a cooperating teacher and give EFL lessons in the cooperating teacher's classes.

Though school placement of pre-service teachers is undoubtedly a very important component of any teacher education program, still "in many European countries the practicum, or teaching practice, is seen for various reasons as a problematic area" (Newby 2011: 14). This may be caused by a lack of contacts between university supervising teachers and school host teachers as well as by insufficient support and feedback during and after the practicum (ibid.) In the Czech Republic, for instance, the reason for the above mentioned problems may also be due to the persistent lack of qualified teachers with a major in TEFL. This factor makes it quite challenging to find an efficient and experienced cooperating teacher or mentor who could guide student teachers during the practicum and provide them with constructive feedback..

The incorporation of the EPOSTL into a student teachers' practicum assisted in overcoming some of the mentioned problems, and it also helped to encourage students to self-direct their professional learning.

Prior to a four-week period of teaching practice the student teachers were requested:

- to review competences related to language teaching in the EPOSTL self-assessment section;
- to select the didactic competences they would like to develop according to their personal teaching priorities;
- to set their personal targets, specifying them with the help of 'can-do' statements from the EPOSTL.

During the practicum the student teachers were supposed to critically reflect on the development of the selected competences. As evidence of their achievement, they were asked to build up a dossier, in which the entries (e.g. video-recorded lessons, lesson plans, examples of learner tasks, learners' work, classroom aids, mentor's comments, etc.) were solely the students' choice. They also had to summarize their thoughts in their 'Practicum Reflection' paper.

The students' after-practicum reflection papers, the submission of which is a fixed component of our teacher education program, continually show the value of the practicum. However, owing to the use of the EPOSTL, there was a noticeable shift in the students' accounts of the practicum. Whereas previously the papers were mainly of an 'impressionistic' character, where student teachers focused on their feelings, the difficulties they faced, and maintaining good rapport (or not) with the pupils, this time, the main focus in students' considerations, while not excluding the aforementioned topics, was on their own didactic competences in terms of the 'can-do' descriptors. There was also visible proof that student teachers identified skills they need to improve and became aware of the link between theoretical knowledge gained in class with its application to practice.

As evidence of this, I would like to share practicum reflections on the 'can-do' descriptors provided by four students after their first school placement in the end of the second semester of the MA program. These students were acquainted with the EPOSTL from the first classes in English didactics and they were encouraged to use the EPOSTL systematically until the practicum. These students kindly agreed to contribute to this article and I further present excerpts from their practicum reflective papers preserving the language of the original:

For her reflection, Veronika Faltysová has selected descriptors from the area of methodology (speaking/spoken interaction) and conducting a lesson (classroom management).

I can create a supportive atmosphere that invites learners to take part in speaking activities (EPOSTL, p. 21)

"I find this descriptor essential for my practicum as speaking is a major part of an effective English lesson. It is not always easy to create a friendly atmosphere in the classroom while speaking in a non-native language. There is a lot of influence from the outside world that can weaken the attention of the pupils during a lesson, such as private life, friends or family. To solve this difficult task, I have tried an activity with a mascot, which was presented to us during our methodology class. I came to the conclusion that it worked perfectly with young children in the 3rd class. It was something unexpected, unusual and entertaining for them and they acted spontaneously while talking to their "new friend". Suddenly everyone wanted to join the game. Sometimes it can be a difficult task to consider at what age certain types of games are appropriate, as not all the pupils are so eager to play games. I can also recommend to use a ball that is thrown to the one who is supposed to speak. Then the pupils start to concentrate and pay attention to the teacher and the ball. After that, they know it is their time to speak, and they are involved in the activity in a creative and entertaining way."

I can create opportunities for and manage individual, partner, group and whole class work (EPOSTL, p. 42)

"While reflecting on this descriptor, I realized I had some difficulties with classroom management. For this reason, I tried to improve upon this ability during my practicum, and I have noticed that I am much better now at changing the classroom management during a lesson. It is obvious that individual work and teacher - student interaction are quite often used by many teachers. Nevertheless, there are various activities designed specifically for group work, class work or pair work. I was inspired by some activities from the book "Angličtina plná her." There are many interesting ideas including how to join the group or class of children in different creative ways and activities. I was also using activities to group the children, when needed, with the help of music and numbers, colors or different vocabulary. While dealing with classroom management skills, there is a need to highlight the importance of pair work as well. Pupils enjoy this kind of cooperation and task solving. In my opinion, it is very important for the pupils to be familiar with this kind of work as there will be plenty of occasions during their lifetimes where cooperation and involvement will be needed."

Susan Hofová has chosen to reflect on her skills from the competence of conducting a lesson. In her reflective paper she dealt with a metaphorical description of the teacher's role, emphasizing the importance of a teacher's interaction with the class within the lesson framework.

I can start a lesson in an engaging way (EPOSTL, p. 39)

"Starting a lesson in an engaging way is very often underestimated. There are some teachers who do not even make an attempt to be creative, and as soon as they enter the classrooms, they order their students to open their books. Those teachers should not be allowed to enter the classrooms anymore.

In my opinion, this 'can-do' descriptor is crucial since an interesting start of every lesson is one of the vital conditions for the success of the whole lesson. In teaching, sometimes the metaphor of acting is used as it helps us to visualize its importance. Actors have to put forth their best effort when performing a role from the very beginning of a play, and that is true for teachers as well. Our students are our audience. If they do not like our play and the way it is performed, they cannot go

home like theatergoers, but they usually switch off and stop concentrating. On the other hand, we must also be aware of the fact that seeing the same play over and over again gradually becomes tedious. For this reason, I always tried to start every lesson in a different manner. Sometimes I asked students what they had done during their weekends, another time I asked what they felt like at that particular moment. I also asked about their opinions of the current situation in the Czech Republic or in the world and sometimes about their plans for the following weekend. The ways I started my lessons which are mentioned above are just some of them, but in fact there were more. What proved to be very successful was to start my lessons with short games and competitions. The most successful ones were Peter Black, Peter White, and Corner Running."

I can finish off a lesson in a focused way (EPOSTL, p. 39)

"The end of the lesson is as important as the beginning. Every single minute of the lesson should be maximally utilized. The main problem that I encountered at the beginning was to manage the closing of a lesson in an appropriate way. I had always prepared a wide range of activities, which I was always very enthusiastic about. Unfortunately, the bell ringing always ended my lessons earlier than I was prepared to. That was the reason why I had to assign homework and say goodbye to my students during the breaks. I discussed this problem with my mentors, and I was advised to check the time during the lessons better. I took this piece of advice seriously, and I started checking the time after each activity, and when it was necessary, I flexibly changed the lesson plan so that there was always some time devoted to the closure part."

Reflecting on how to create a supportive atmosphere that invites learners to take part in activities (a 'can-do' descriptor from the part of the EPOSTL that deals with speaking/spoken interaction), Ivana Skálicka has attempted to apply her knowledge of theoretical issues gained in methodology classes.

"The atmosphere in our classes should be positive, stimulating and energizing in an ideal way. Each teacher should be able to create this type of atmosphere because it is the starting point and the main purpose of the successful development of the students. For that reason, I always come to my classes with a smile on my face, and I try to be full of energy and in a good mood. I think it is not possible to want our pupils to be active and creative when a teacher is not active at all.

According to Brown (2007), the first step is to establish rapport which is the relationship teachers establish with their students. This connection has to be based on trust and respect between me and my pupils which make them friendly, capable and creative in their work. There are many ways for teachers to attain this. The first "rule" I adhere to is to show interest in the subject, topic or text we deal with, but mainly in every single pupil and his/her needs and interests (I usually nod, ask additional questions, I try to actively participate, etc.).

What every pupil/student needs is to receive positive feedback on their progress. I know very well the basic didactic rule that we all need to be praised; everyone is pleased when someone praises his/her work or even effort. A positive feedback strengthens their motivation and good perception of the subject. It is always important to listen, value and respect what students think and say. In my classes, each student has a chance to express his/her opinion without a treatment or rejection.

Another advice of Brown I always try to follow is to work *with* pupils as a team, and not *against* them. It is unproductive when teachers stand against their students because all their energy is dedicated to control the students' behavior, and there is no more energy for motivation, creativity and organization of meaningful activities.

I find it also very important to achieve a balance between praise and criticism. However, I must admit it is very difficult for me. I know that too much criticism makes students unmotivated, but too much praise is ineffective as well. To be honest, I am more focused on praise. Effective praise can be verbal or nonverbal, it has to be connected with a specific activity and students have to be aware of the reason for the praise, that is, what they did well. It should motivate students to be even more successful, too. I try to avoid impersonal and mechanical praise, which is ineffective and consists of general comments, so students do not know for what they were praised.

The third rule which I as a teacher follow is to generate energy. Brown (2007) explains this term as *"a force that is unleashed in a classroom, perceivable only through a sixth sense,… that is acquired in the experience of teaching itself. … Energy is the electricity of many minds caught up in a circuit of thinking and talking and writing"* (p.254). I should be the leader who has to get the creative sparks flying. It is not always necessary to be dramatic, witty or funny. Also as a quiet and less outgoing teacher, I can support this energy because it is mainly based on my solid preparation, the confidence in my teaching ability, my belief in the students and my generally positive access to them.

In my opinion, the main point is that I like my students. People who do not like children should not became teachers! Teachers ought to lead children and should be their partners, not enemies as we can see very often. So, this is my rule – to be a partner. For this reason, I try to create a friendly atmosphere where children feel comfortable, and I try to be enthusiastic to motivate students to be active, too."

Another student teacher, Petra Vondrovská, while reflecting on her progress during the practicum, also recalled the theoretical concepts learned from ELT books and shared her experience on applying them with the help of a 'can-do' descriptor from the area of reading:

I can apply appropriate ways of reading a text in class (e.g. aloud, silently, in groups etc.) (EPOSTL, p. 26)

"Aiming to incorporate the theoretical knowledge gained in TEFL classes, I tried to vary activities and reading strategies in my classes according to the text characteristics, the purpose of reading, etc. I identify myself with the opinion of the experts in this field suggesting that pupils should not read every text aloud for many reasons. It was challenging for me to choose this descriptor as my personal target as it is, unfortunately, a common practice that just the strategy of reading aloud and instantaneous translating of the text by individual students is used in foreign language classes. I believe it is not always important to understand every single word in real life situations but to understand the message. During the practicum, it was not always easy for me to apply different reading strategies in my classes since pupils were not used to them. At the beginning, it therefore caused some trouble to involve the whole class and make them active. Nevertheless, I think getting used to new strategies always takes some time, and pupils are able to cope with them when applied regularly.

When I let pupils read a text silently I always checked comprehension by asking questions about the text. Of course, the pupils could also ask me about unknown vocabulary. I also had a chance to try reading in groups, which is one of my favorite strategies as the subsequent information gap is a very natural and motivating way of communication. The strategy of reading I decided to apply always depended on the character of the text and the aim of the particular activity. Without knowing the theory of teaching reading, I would not have been able to come up with such a variety of reading exercises, and the practicum allowed me to try these for the first time."

These excerpts from student teachers' papers bear evidence that the self-assessment section of the EPOSTL and its 'can-do' descriptors stimulated the students' reflective examination of their experiences in language classrooms during the practicum. The relevant 'can-do' descriptors, selected according to their personal teaching priorities, helped them to self-assess particular teaching skills which were developed and/or improved during the practicum.

Conclusion

This paper set out to share with the reader the idea that reflective teaching should be encouraged from the initial stage of any language teacher education program. *The European Portfolio for Student Teachers of Languages* can successfully promote student teachers' self-reflection, provided it is used systematically and continuously. The author has shared her experience of using the EPOSTL with pre-service teachers, emphasizing and illustrating the EPOSTL usefulness as a tool for reflection at the period of school practicum.

Author's note

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