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**Theory, 'plausibility' and practice in
English Language Teaching: from
disciplinary knowledge to practitioner
understanding**

Graham Hall

A commentary submitted in partial fulfilment of the
requirements of the University of Northumbria at Newcastle
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy by Published Work

September 2017

Abstract

This submission for a PhD by publication is situated in the discipline of Applied Linguistics, focusing specifically on the field of English Language Teaching (ELT) and the relationship between theoretical and disciplinary knowledge on the one hand, and English language teachers' understandings of such knowledge and its relevance for their own situated pedagogic practice on the other. The submitted work harnesses practitioner experiences in relation to theoretical knowledge and challenges traditional tenets of ELT thought and practice, particularly around the key pedagogic issue of own-language use in the classroom.

My publications make an original contribution to the field of ELT from an Applied Linguistics perspective by:

- framing a problem-posing approach to professional practice and disciplinary knowledge based on the tenet that practitioner understanding depends on teachers' own sense of plausibility (publications b, d, and e)
- contributing to the development of practitioner understanding of the theory-practice interface in ELT, by: illuminating research and research dilemmas in practice (publication a); exploring the relationship between disciplinary knowledge and local pedagogic practice (publications b, d, and e); and mapping and, where appropriate, challenging traditional assumptions underpinning ELT, particularly concerning own-language use in the classroom (c, d and e).
- developing disciplinary knowledge through the collection and analysis of primary data drawn from teachers' understanding of their own practices and pedagogic contexts (publications a, d, e) or through the shaping of academic and professional discourse through the synthesis of sources (b and c).

Consequently, my publications have resulted in a range of impacts and practical applications in the field of ELT across a variety of contexts around the world, in: classroom pedagogy, materials and resource development, curriculum design, and CPD and teacher training/education programmes.

Thus, the work put forward in this submission lies on the boundaries of applied linguistic theory and ELT practice, mediating disciplinary knowledge in light of real world experiences, perspectives and problems.

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Personal Statement

Having graduated in 1991 with a first class BA (Hons) in Geography from Newcastle University, I followed a route into the field of English Language Teaching (ELT) typical of many native speakers¹ of English, passing the RSA/UCLES CTEFLA (now known as CELTA) in early 1992. Subsequently, I spent several years as an English language teacher, working in Poland, Hungary, Saudi Arabia and the UK, teaching 'general' English and English for specific purposes - including for academic purposes - in a variety of institutional contexts, including British Council teaching centres, private language schools, state secondary schools, and British university English language summer schools. In 1998, following the award of an MA in Linguistics for ELT (with distinction) from Lancaster University, I was employed by Northumbria University as a lecturer in EAP in what was then the institution's EFL Division (later, its Language Centre), with the brief of establishing the university's in-sessional English language support programmes (now ESAP). In 2003, I led the design and planning of Northumbria's MA in Applied Linguistics for ELT, a postgraduate teacher education programme for teachers with at least 2 years' language teaching experience, later augmenting the university's postgraduate portfolio with an MA in TESOL for students with no prior language teaching experience. I was programme leader for these programmes from 2003-2011, which was also a period in which the programmes migrated to the Department of Humanities whilst I, joining them, became a lecturer, then senior lecturer, to currently an associate professor in Applied Linguistics/TESOL.

Thus I came to Applied Linguistics from a practitioner background. My own Master's study had introduced me to a range of research into language teaching and learning, its conceptual frameworks, research methodologies, findings, and potential implications for practice. Yet it also established my ongoing concerns with the relationship between research and practice (and researchers and practitioners) in language teaching, between research findings and practitioners' experiential knowledge, and the ways in which disciplinary knowledge might (or might not!) facilitate teachers' understandings of their own practice. Underpinning these concerns was the belief that 'understanding should precede attempts at problem-solving' (Allwright, 2005: 361). Consequently, my own teaching, thinking and research has drawn on this principle. I attempt throughout to engage ELT practitioners in the process of understanding their own professional context in light of insights from applied linguistic theory and research *but also* reflecting upon the

¹ The terms 'native' and 'non-native' speaker are increasingly problematic and contested. Yet whilst Davies (2004: 431) notes that the 'native-speaker of English' is both 'myth and reality' and Holliday (2006) outlines the ways in which the concept(s) sustain 'native-speakerism' in ELT, these terms remain widely used within the 'popular discourse' of ELT (ibid.: 385); hence, 'native speaker' is used here, albeit with significant reservations.

plausibility of applied linguistic findings in relation to their own situated and contextually-based professional experiences and understandings.

My understanding of the relationship between theory and practice, and between disciplinary knowledge and practitioner understanding, can thus be mapped as follows:

- Field of practice: English Language Teaching (ELT) practices, from an Applied Linguistics perspective.
- Key philosophy: navigating the discourse(s), tensions and competing perspectives in applied linguistics theory and research to enhance pedagogic decision-making.
- Process: 'Practice-to-theory' problem posing, and empirical (qualitative) research.
- Standpoint: teachers' own sense of plausibility, mindful of the pedagogic, institutional and social contexts of their work.
- Literature: framed within the context of the social turn within applied linguistics, and postmethod teacher/practitioner reflection and decision-making.
- Data: experience of ELT practice and applied linguistics for ELT teaching, primary empirical data and surveyed secondary sources.
- Contribution to the field: create new understandings of the relationship between theory and practice amongst ELT practitioners; consequently, establish ways in which localised practitioner understandings can be reached from disciplinary knowledge; and challenge traditional tenets of ELT thought and practice, particularly around the key pedagogic issue of own-language use in the classroom.

Acknowledgements

Many people have contributed to the thinking and research I have brought together within this PhD, and to its presentation in this submission. Many thanks to Professor Keith Shaw and Dr Stuart English for their generous encouragement and expert guidance throughout the PhD process, and thanks also to Professors Guy Cook and Steve Walsh and Dr Adam Hansen for their invaluable feedback and insights as I prepared this Commentary.

Thanks are also due to Guy Cook, my co-researcher for three of the papers which underpin this submission and, alongside Professor Ron Carter (to whom thanks are also due), series editor of the Routledge Introductions to Applied Linguistics series in which my monograph, 'Exploring English Language Teaching: language in action', appears. My thinking about research and practice in ELT also owes an enormous debt to all the teachers, researchers, thinkers and writers who have shaped the field and who I draw on throughout both this commentary and the five submitted publications. Among them, the teaching and research of Dick Allwright have particularly shaped my ideas.

Finally, to my family. Thanks to my parents and brother for their love and support as I have explored ELT over the years. And thanks, as ever, to Helen and our girls, Georgia and Rosa, not only for their love, care, and cups of tea, but also for their questions, comments and clarity about my work. This PhD submission is dedicated to them.

Declaration

I declare that no outputs submitted for this degree have been submitted for a research degree of any other institution.

Graham S. Hall

27th September 2017

1. Introduction

This PhD by publication is situated in the discipline of Applied Linguistics², focusing specifically on the field of English Language Teaching (ELT) and the relationship between theoretical and disciplinary knowledge on the one hand, and, on the other, English language teachers'³ understandings of such knowledge and its relevance for their own situated pedagogic practice. It is based on the propositions that:

- all English language teaching is a historically situated and contextually based activity, in which teachers (and their learners) have to 'navigate' the relationship between local concerns, cultures (both societal and pedagogic) and priorities, and global developments, influences and trends (see, for example, Canagarajah, 2006; Crookes, 2009; Holliday, 1994; Pennycook, 2016).
- teachers make sense of the ideas they encounter in their professional lives, whether practical or more research/theory-oriented, in light of their own experiences, beliefs and schema - in effect deploying their own 'sense of plausibility' (Prabhu, 1989) to understand, evaluate and (potentially) engage with new ways of thinking and acting.
- applied linguistics theory, research and disciplinary knowledge might inform pedagogic decision-making, but can be both inaccessible⁴ to teachers and/or offer contradictory perspectives on language teaching and learning (see, for example, Ellis, 1998; Schumann, 1983; Sharwood Smith 2008).
- many ELT practitioners question the value or relevance of such disciplinary knowledge to their own situated pedagogic practice (see, for example, Korthagen, 2007; McIntyre, 2005; Tarone and Allwright, 2005; Tavakoli, 2015; Ur, 2013; Medgyes, 2017; Vanderlinde and van Braak, 2010; Widdowson, 2000).

My work therefore focuses on the development of ELT practitioners' awareness of disciplinary knowledge and their ways of understanding it in light of the pedagogical, institutional and social contexts in which they operate, harnessing practitioner experiences in relation to theoretical

² The extent to which Applied Linguistics is an academic discipline in its own right, or an 'interdisciplinary field' which draws on insights from, for example, Education, Psychology, Anthropology and Sociology is disputed. I shall touch on these issues in Section 2 of this Commentary, 'Locating my publications'. Generally, however, this Commentary refers to Applied Linguistics as a 'discipline', reflecting my own belief in its value as a specific academic community of practice (and, to a lesser extent, for stylistic alignment with the notion of 'disciplinary knowledge').

³ Throughout this Commentary, the term 'teacher(s)' is taken to include *all* ELT practitioners including, for example, materials writers, curriculum and syllabus designers and so forth for stylistic (and word count) reasons. 'Teacher' and 'practitioner' are regarded as synonymous throughout.

⁴ Both physically, in terms of cost, and in terms of the rather exclusive nature of some academic discourse; put simply, many research publications are, quite reasonably, written for other researchers, rather than to be read by practitioners.

knowledge and challenging traditional tenets of ELT thought and practice, particularly around the key pedagogic issue of own-language use in the classroom.

To this end, the five publications put forward for consideration in this submission are:

- a) Hall, G. (2008) 'An Ethnographic Diary Study: problems and understandings'. *ELT Journal* 62/2. 113-122.
- b) Hall, G. (2011) *Exploring ELT: language in action*. London, Routledge. pp.282.
- c) Hall, G. and Cook, G. (2012) 'State-of-the Art: The Use of Learners' Own languages in Language Teaching and Learning' *Language Teaching* 45/3. 271-308. (80% authorship; see Appendix 1 Declaration of Co-authorship of Published Work)
- d) Hall, G. and Cook, G. (2013) 'Own-language use in ELT: exploring global practices and attitudes' *British Council ELT Research Papers 13-01*. London, British Council. (80% authorship; see Appendix 1 Declaration of Co-authorship of Published Work)
- e) Hall, G. and Cook, G. (2015) 'The English language needs and priorities of young adults in the EU: student and teacher perceptions'. *British Council ELT Research Papers 15-01*. London, British Council. (80% authorship; see Appendix 1 Declaration of Co-authorship of Published Work)

Demonstrating the ability both to survey and summarise the field of ELT from an applied linguistic perspective (papers b and c, above) and to conduct detailed empirical research (a, d, e), the publications aim to problematize research (a, b) and pedagogic practices in ELT (b, d), taking forward a 'practice-to-theory' problem-posing approach (Auerbach and Wallerstein, 1987; Schleppegrell and Bowman, 1995) to professional debate and development. Drawing on multiple perspectives (b, c, d, e), the publications required (in their underpinning research: d, e) or require (in current engagement with disciplinary knowledge: publication b) practitioner 'reflection-on-action' (Schön 1983) as teachers make their implicit or practical knowledge explicit and considered, and reflect on the limits of what is or is not possible in their own teaching.

My work therefore makes an original contribution to the field by re-examining and recalibrating the relationship between disciplinary knowledge and practitioner understanding, that is, between theory and practice. This creates new opportunities for practitioners to understand the possibilities and limitations of disciplinary knowledge, both in general terms and with regards to their own classroom practices. The work draws upon and contributes to a range of key frameworks and perspectives in Applied Linguistics/ELT, through its impact on classroom pedagogy, curriculum design (including materials and resource development), teacher development and education in ELT,

and academic and professional debate. This original contribution to the field is summarised in Figure 1 (p12), and further developed in the subsequent sections of this Commentary.

2. Locating my publications: key themes in the field

The published work submitted for this PhD draws from and builds upon a number of key themes, perspectives and debates within those areas of Applied Linguistics which focus on (English) language teaching and learning. Before outlining them, however, it is also worth reflecting briefly on what Applied Linguistics *is* (or might be) and its relationship with ELT, in order to make clear the approach which underpins my publications and their original contribution to the field.

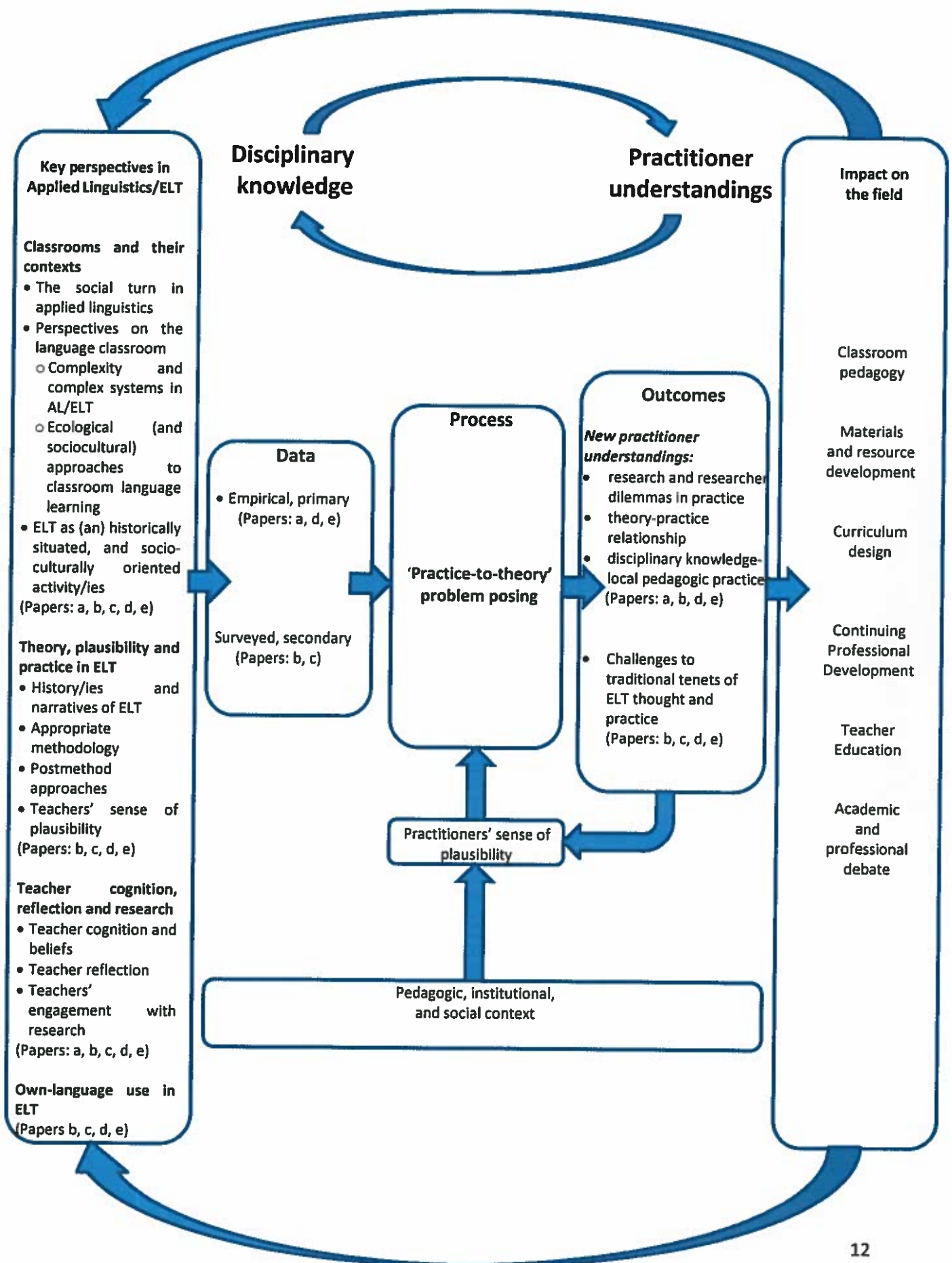
2.1 Applied Linguistics: language knowledge, 'the real world' and ELT

The discipline of Applied Linguistics is relatively young, and its focus is, to some extent, contested. When and where it emerged is a matter of debate, dependent on how it is defined (de Bot, 2015; Kaplan 2010). Many accounts (e.g., Crookes, 2009; de Bot, 2015; Richards and Rodgers, 2014) link the emergence of Applied Linguistics to the development of the 'Army Method' of language teaching (the precursor of Audiolingualism) in the USA towards the end of the Second World War, which brought together 'scientific' views of language and of learning (structuralism and behaviourism, respectively). From this perspective, Applied Linguistics originated with a focus on pedagogy, in which the relationship between 'theory' and 'practice' was central.

Over time, however, and as Applied Linguistics has evolved into an academic discipline⁵, its focus has broadened to include wider concerns which, according to C. Hall, Smith, and Wicaksono (2011), include: *language in everyday use* (e.g., language variation, discourse analysis, and language policy and planning); *language, learning and education* (e.g., literacy, language and education, bilingual and multilingual education, and additional language education); and *language and expert uses* (e.g., translation, lexicography, forensic linguistics, and language pathology). To these, Simpson (2011) adds aspects of *language description* such as 'grammar', 'lexis', and 'phonetics and phonology', and perspectives on *language, culture and identity*, such as 'language and culture', 'ethnicity', and 'language and migration'.

⁵ The evolution of subject areas into academic disciplines, in which a field of knowledge and research is recognised as being distinct from and separate to other disciplines, and academically and institutionally accepted as such, is not straightforward, the development of Applied Linguistics being a case in point. Detailed discussion, however, lies beyond the scope of this Commentary.

Figure 1: The submitted publications' original contribution to the field



The wide-ranging nature of Applied Linguistics is not without its problems, however, in that many researchers of areas listed in the paragraph above would not identify themselves as 'applied linguists', and it is notable that there are few departments of Applied Linguistics in universities in the UK and beyond (Birkbeck, University of London, providing a notable exception in the UK, although even here, the department is titled 'Applied Linguistics and Communication'; Newcastle University has a identically titled subject group within its broader Department of Education, Communication and Language Sciences). Elsewhere, applied linguists (or, at least, those engaging in what C. Hall *et al.* (2011) and Simpson (2011) outline as being applied linguistics; see discussion on page 11) work in departments of Education; Linguistics; English; Second Language Education; Foreign Language Teaching; Applied Language Studies, and so forth.

Yet central to all current understandings of Applied Linguistics is the concern with 'the relation of knowledge about language to decision-making in the real world' (G. Cook, 2003: 5). However, such 'knowledge about language' is not the knowledge of *linguistics applied* (Widdowson, 1984), in which the generalizations and idealizations of linguistic study are deployed directly to answer real world questions (which, Widdowson (2001) argues, they cannot do). Rather, it is *applied linguistics* which mediates linguistics knowledge and actual language use and language-related events, taking account of real world experiences, perspectives and problems, and establishing 'a reciprocal relationship between experience and expertise, between professional concerns with language problems [of which language teaching and learning are part] and linguistics' (G. Cook, 2003: 10-11). And it is here that my thinking, research, and publications are situated, on the boundaries of theoretical and empirical investigation and the real-world issues facing ELT practitioners (Brumfit, 1995).

2.2 English Language Teaching: framing the field and points of reference

A range of perspectives on and debates within ELT have been particularly influential as I have shaped my thinking about the relationship between disciplinary knowledge and practitioner understandings within the field and my original contribution to this dialogue. Table 1 (following page) provides a summary of the key areas; key authors and references are provided for illustrative purposes, although the list is not exhaustive.

i. Classrooms and their contexts

As highlighted in publications b, c, d, and e of this submission, from the mid-1990s onwards, both

Table 1: Framing the field: key perspectives and points of reference in ELT/Applied Linguistics

Classrooms and their contexts	
1. The social turn in applied linguistics	Block, 2003; Firth and Wagner, 1997.
2. Perspectives on the language classroom a. Complexity and complex systems in AL/ELT b. Ecological (and sociocultural) approaches to classroom language learning	Larsen-Freeman and Cameron, 2008; Mercer, 2016. Van Lier, 2000; Lantolf and Poehner, 2014; Tudor 2001; Vygotsky, 1978.
3. ELT as (an) historically situated, and socio-culturally oriented activity/ies	Pennycook, 2000, 2016; Stern, 1983; Auerbach, 1995; Crookes, 2009, 2016; Canagarajah, 2006; Holliday, 2005.
Theory, plausibility and practice in ELT	
4. History/ies and narratives of ELT	Allwright and Hanks, 2009; Kelly, 1969; Howatt with Widdowson, 2004; Hunter and Smith, 2012; Pennycook, 1989, 2004; Richards and Rodgers, 2014; Smith, 2003.
5. Appropriate methodology	Holliday, 1994, 2005.
6. Postmethod approaches	Akbari, 2008; Kumaravadivelu, 1994, 2003, 2006, 2012.
7. Teachers' sense of plausibility	Allwright, 1991; Bell, 2003, 2007; Prabhu, 1990.
Teacher cognition, reflection and research	
8. Teacher cognition and beliefs	M. Borg, 2001; S. Borg, 2006, 2012.
9. Teacher reflection	Farrell, 2015; Mann and Walsh, 2017; Schön, 1983.
10. Teachers' engagement with research	S. Borg, 2009; Dikilitaş et al., 2017; Maley, 2016; Medgyes, 2017; Paran, 2017.
11. Own-language use in ELT	Butzkamm, 1989/2007; G. Cook, 2010; V. Cook, 2001; Turnbull and Dailey-O'Cain, 2009.

the academic and political climate surrounding ELT has changed. Early Second Language Acquisition (SLA) research was critiqued as being asocial and apolitical (e.g., by Firth and Wagner, 1997), while the subsequent Social Turn (Block, 2003) in applied linguistics has led to a clearer acknowledgement of complexity, diversity, difference and uncertainty in language teaching and learning (see also publications b and c of this submission). Increasingly, therefore, the language classroom has been portrayed as an intricate social environment based around social relationships and social interaction (see publications a and b of this submission), and studied through the lenses of Complex Systems, Ecological Approaches, and Sociocultural Theory (e.g., Larsen-Freeman and Cameron, 2008; van Lier, 2000; Lantolf and Poehner, 2014, respectively).

Meanwhile, the relationship between everyday classroom practices and their wider socio-cultural context has also been increasingly recognised, as exemplified by the work of Auerbach (1995), Crookes (2009, 2016), Canagarajah (2006), Holliday (2005), Pennycook (2000, 2016), and Stern (1983); (see also publications b, c, d, and e of this submission). What happens in ELT classrooms is thus shaped by, but also shapes, 'the world beyond their walls' (Pennycook, 2000: 89), classrooms being affected by factors such as: educational sector and policies; regional and national setting; whether a country or institution is resource-rich or limited; and historical-political setting (including, for example, attitudes towards English and towards other languages). Consequently, ELT practitioners find themselves navigating between global and local trends and concerns, and, in the context of this PhD submission, the relationship between research and disciplinary knowledge (which tends to offer generalizations and is 'universally-oriented') and their own lived experiences and pedagogic practices (which are specific and localized).

ii. Theory, plausibility and practice in ELT

ELT is often characterised as being in 'ferment' (Richards and Rodgers, 2001: 254), subject to 'fashions and trends' (Adamson, 2004), or, more positively, as being particularly innovative⁶. Yet, as suggested in the discussion of Applied Linguistics (section 2.1, above), accounts of the development of ELT over time are somewhat contested in an era when unifying narratives and overarching explanations of intellectual and social developments are viewed 'with suspicion' (Canagarajah, 2006: 9; see also publication (b) of this submission). While accounts of methodological innovation in ELT have generally moved away from 'progressive narratives' to conceive of ELT innovations as being 'products of their time' (e.g., Allwright and Hanks, 2009; Richards and Rodgers, 2014), more critical interpretations suggest problematic power imbalances between academic theorists on the one hand and classroom teachers on the other (and the valuing of 'scientific' knowledge over local and contextual knowledge), and frustration for ELT practitioners who cannot implement fully and consistently ideas emerging from academia and research (e.g., Pennycook, 1989, 2004). Meanwhile, Smith (2003) and Hunter and Smith (2012) suggest that those accounts which focus on methodological change and innovation, whether progressive, contextual or critical, tend to overlook continuities in locally-constituted ELT practices. For Hunter and Smith (2012), accounts which 'package up' methodological trends for teachers to read, understand and implement prioritise the understandings and experiences of Anglo-American methodologists and overlook the varied teaching traditions and experiences of practitioners working in a near countless range of contexts

⁶ The British Council, for example, hosts a prestigious annual award ceremony, the ELTons 'to recognise and celebrate innovation in English language teaching' (<http://englishagenda.britishcouncil.org/events/eltons/>).

around the world; in effect, therefore, Hunter and Smith are suggesting that the methodological literature surrounding ELT is too 'top-down', when it needs to be more 'bottom-up' (publications (d) and (e) of this submission uncover such 'bottom-up' perspectives on the key methodological issue of own-language use in the ELT classroom).

Two main responses to the perceived dominance of academics over practitioners, of 'theory' over 'practice', and of 'the West' over 'the rest' (i.e., the Centre over the Periphery) have emerged. Firstly, Holliday's (1994, 2005) call for the development of 'appropriate' methodologies reflecting local norms and assumptions aims to move away from universalist, 'one-size-fits-all' trends in ELT, and potentially empowers ELT practitioners to reflect on what is and is not possible and appropriate in their own professional contexts. Meanwhile, Kumaravadivelu (1994, 2003, 2006, 2012) argues that ELT has entered a Postmethod era in which classroom pedagogy is the result of bottom-up decision-making rather than top-down processes, in which teacher self-observation, self-analysis, and self-evaluation lie at the heart of a 'principled pragmatism'. Postmethod thus draws upon teachers' 'sense of plausibility' (Prabhu, 1990; also Bell, 2007), and on their subjective understandings of their own teaching and context arising from their own experience, professional education and peer consultation (Kumaravadivelu, 2003)⁷ (see publication (b) of this submission for further discussion).

Whilst not all elements of appropriate methodology and Postmethod thinking are fully accepted within ELT (see, for example, Canagarajah (1996) and Holliday (2016) for discussion of the former; Akbari (2008), Bell (2003, 2007) and Larsen-Freeman and Anderson (2011) for concerns about the latter), their prioritizing of practitioner knowledge and understanding, and the way this might lead to principled practitioner decision-making when navigating the tensions between global pedagogical trends and approaches and local priorities and concerns, is now widely accepted (see also publications b, c, d and e of this submission). What remains unresolved, however, is *how* teachers can engage with universalist theories, approaches and disciplinary knowledge in ways which enhance understanding and potentially develop practice, and it is to this unresolved issue that my publications make an original contribution.

⁷ A third response to the predominance of academics in the Centre over ELT practitioners in the Periphery is centres of Phillipson's (1992) 'Linguistic Imperialism' hypothesis. However, this lies beyond the scope of this Commentary.

iii. Teacher cognition, reflection and engagement with research

As ELT practitioners encounter disciplinary knowledge and new ideas in the field, their own cognition, beliefs and personal theories underpin both what they find to be 'plausible' (M. Borg, 2001; S. Borg, 2006, 2012; Prabhu, 1990; see publication (b) for further discussion) and the extent to which their understandings and pedagogic practices might change⁸. S. Borg identifies the ways in which teachers' experiences affect teacher cognition and consequently can act as a filter on how they interpret new information (including disciplinary knowledge). Understanding the often deep-rooted nature of teachers' cognitions, which can be resistant to change and might outweigh the effects of teacher education, is central to developing the relationship between disciplinary knowledge and practitioner understandings within ELT – the key contribution of my submitted publications – through a process of teacher reflection (Farrell, 2015; Mann and Walsh, 2017; Schön, 1983). This may be through formal teacher education programmes, or as part of teachers' more informal opportunities for development, for example, with peers in teacher groups or networks.

It is evident, therefore, that a cornerstone of my thinking and publications is that theory, research and disciplinary knowledge *are* important for teachers. Whilst fully recognising that few teachers read research regularly, that it is not part of their job description, and that primary research is often inaccessible to practitioners (S. Borg, 2009; Paran, 2017), and that a range of ELT thinkers and authors doubt the relevance of theory and research for practitioners (e.g., Maley, 2016; Medgyes, 2017), I contend that, to develop professionally, practitioners need to move beyond their own experiential knowledge to reflect on new ideas, possibilities and concerns. In so doing, they also need to be able to reflect on the ways in which innovations and ideas which are new to them may, but also may not, offer effective alternatives to their current pedagogic practices. The point is not that disciplinary knowledge will necessarily make ELT practitioners teach more effectively; rather it offers a way of understanding current practices and the *possibility* of alternatives. And it is teachers' critical reflection on the value and appropriateness of pedagogic possibilities that can lead to teacher development in an 'appropriate methodology' or 'postmethod' era. The publications put forward in this submission aim to facilitate this process of practitioner understanding.

⁸ Implicit in this statement is the suggestion that pedagogic practice is likely to change (in the long term) only after teacher beliefs and understandings change. That is not to say, however, that a change in beliefs will *necessarily* lead to a change in practice – there are too many other factors in play (e.g. context, inertia, teacher workload) for there to be a straightforward cause-effect relationship. However, it seems reasonable to suggest that a change in teacher beliefs makes a change in teaching practices more likely.

iv. Own-language use in ELT

Debates surrounding the key pedagogic issue of own-language use⁹ in the classroom highlight the ways in which ELT theory and practice, and disciplinary knowledge and practitioner understanding, are developing in increasingly reciprocal ways, and are focused on in publications b, c, d, and e of this submission (particularly, c and d).

Following the late 19th century critique of grammar-translation approaches to language teaching, own-language use was banned by ELT theorists and methodologists for much of the twentieth century, and its possibilities not considered or investigated by researchers. Yet whilst a 'monolingual assumption' prevailed, either implicitly or explicitly, within the disciplinary literature, the use of the learners' own languages continued in practice in many classrooms around the world, exemplifying key themes outlined thus far in this Commentary. Thus, the extent to which own-language use occurred varied according to context, and was shaped by socio-cultural factors (see section 2.2i, above). For example, Adamson (2004) notes its prevalence in China throughout the 20th century, linked to factors such as local educational traditions, resources and policies; meanwhile, the promotion of Audiolingual, then Communicative and Task-based approaches in much of Europe and the USA drew significantly on monolingual, 'English-only' discourses. Furthermore, the evident gap between disciplinary knowledge and research on the one hand, and what actually happened in many classrooms around the world classrooms on the other, reveals the problematic relationship between academics and practitioners and the difficulties of a 'one-size-fits-all' top-down approach to ELT pedagogic innovation (section 2.2ii, above). And, whilst the literature surrounding ELT might have argued for 'English-only' classrooms, without a change in teachers' beliefs and cognitions, this was never likely to be enacted by all practitioners across the profession (section 2.2iii, above).

However, with the recent increased recognition within applied linguistics of diversity, difference and context, and of teacher knowledge, understanding and actual classroom practices (section 2.1, above), the value and role of own-language use is now being reconsidered within the academic and methodological literature surrounding ELT (for example, Butzkamm, 1989/2007; G. Cook, 2010; V. Cook, 2001; Turnbull and Dailey-O'Cain, 2009). This reassessment draws upon a wide-range of theoretical perspectives, including notions of *multicompetence* (V. Cook, 2016) and *interdependence across languages* (Cummins, 2007), own-language use as a socio-cultural *scaffold* for learning (Swain

⁹ Throughout this Commentary, the term 'own language' is used in preference to 'first language' (L1), 'native language', or 'mother tongue', and the reasons for this are examined in more detail in the submitted publications c and d of this submission, i.e., Hall and Cook, 2012; 2013.

and Lapkin, 2000), and the development of *language awareness* and new language based on prior knowledge (Butzkamm and Caldwell, 2009). Importantly, it examines the practical pedagogic functions of own-language use in the classroom (i.e., teaching the language itself, organising and managing lessons, and affective factors in the classroom; Rolin-lanziti and Varshney, 2008; Kim and Elder, 2008) and notions of 'judicious' or 'optimal' own-language use (e.g. Macaro, 2009).

Whilst it is perhaps possible to characterise the emergence of this disciplinary interest in own-language use as academia 'catching up' with what practitioners already know or do, the ways in which applied linguists are now working with teachers to document and validate own-language use practices and possibilities, through research projects, and research and practice-oriented conference presentations and publications, creates new understandings of both own-language use itself, and of the reciprocal relationship disciplinary understandings and localized problems and practices within ELT. Those of my submitted publications which focus explicitly on own-language use (publications c and d - Hall and G. Cook, 2012; 2013) make a significant and original contribution to the emergence of own-language use as a key concern within applied linguistics and ELT, and to the development of the relationship between theory and practice, and theorists and practitioners, around this issue (see, for example, Kerr's (2014; 2016) reference to my publications in his own practitioner-oriented work).

3. The submitted publications: developing disciplinary knowledge and practitioner understanding

This section summarises the content of each of the 5 publications submitted as part of this PhD by publication, reflecting on the relationship of each to those key themes and debates within the field identified in Section 2 of this Commentary. This information is also brought together in Table 2, which additionally outlines the process of review, location of publication, and further relevant details for each.

***Publication a):* Hall, G. (2008) 'An Ethnographic Diary Study: problems and understandings'. *ELT Journal* 62/2. 113-122.**

Hall (2008) documents an ethnographic study of a single ELT classroom in which I had originally aimed to understand how another teacher's classroom was socially constructed¹⁰. The paper, however, focuses on the research process itself (rather than findings about the classroom), and

¹⁰ In other words, in addition to their pedagogic aims, language lessons are also social events based upon social relationships and social interaction (e.g., Breen, 2001; Tudor, 2001).

Table 2: Summary of submitted publications: provenance, publication details and subject matter

Submitted paper	Provenance and publication details	Subject matter
<p>a Hall, G. (2008) 'An Ethnographic Diary Study: problems and understandings'. <i>ELT Journal</i> 62/2. 113-122.</p>	<p>4,000 word double-blind peer reviewed journal article. doi: 10.1093/elt/ccmo88 Cited by: 22¹¹</p>	<p>An examination of the hidden, 'messy' aspects of ethnographic classroom-centred research, uncovering some of the difficulties teacher-researchers might face when researching their own (and others') classrooms. The article establishes principles for both understanding research data and for sharing these insights within the ELT profession. It argues that recognising the difficulties of research is necessary for teachers' engagement with research and for fruitful, localized understandings of data.</p>
<p>b Hall, G. (2011) <i>Exploring ELT: language in action</i>. 1st edition. London, Routledge.</p>	<p>By invitation, this 90,000 word monograph opened the Routledge RIAL series (series now comprises 11 titles). Awarded the British Association of Applied Linguistics (BAAL) 2012 Book Prize.¹³ 2nd edition commissioned and in press; publication September 2017 (2nd edition <u>not</u> included within this submission).</p> <p>Research underpinned REF2014 UoA29 English Language and Literature Impact Case Study 'Developing language teachers' professional practice'. ISBN 13: 978-0-415-58413-5 (hbk) ISBN 13: 978-0-415-58415-9 (pbk) ISBN 13: 978-0-203-82784-0 (ebk) Cited by: 154</p>	<p>Key perspectives and points of reference in the field: 2, 9, 10¹²</p> <p>Adopting a central tenet of Applied Linguistics, this work first exposes and establishes problematic areas of ELT, articulating the questions and dilemmas faced by ELT practitioners in their professional lives, and then explores the possible ways in which empirical and theoretical findings might inform and address these issues. Centrally, the volume requires teachers and other ELT professionals to draw on their own sense of plausibility to make contextually appropriate decisions about ELT practice.</p> <p>The book is organised in four parts, each with a different focus, moving from practice to theory across the three chapters in each section:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Part 1: Classroom interaction and management (pp. 1-55)</i> <p>This section focuses on the ways in which teachers' decisions in the classroom can affect classroom discourse and, consequently, L2 learning outcomes. Identifying classrooms as complex systems, practitioners are encouraged to reflect on how affordances are created by individual personalities and identities, modes of learning, and the values and social pressures inherent in the language classroom.</p> <p>Key perspectives and points of reference in the field: 2, 3, 7.</p>

¹¹ Source: Google Scholar, 15-09-2017

¹² Numbers refer to key perspectives in the field, as listed in Table 1.

¹³ BAAL is the largest professional association for applied Linguistics in the UK. The annual BAAL book prize is awarded 'for an outstanding book in the field of Applied Linguistics', including monographs, textbooks, edited volumes and reference books. Eligibility is not restricted to books published in the United Kingdom. For further discussion, see Section 4, 'Impact of the publications'.

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Part II: Method, postmethod and methodology (pp. 57-120)</i> Chapters in this section address ELT methods and methodology, unpacking in particular the notion of what it is to 'know' a language and how learners may engage in L2 learning before providing a historical and contextually-oriented review of major language teaching methods, including 'post-method practice'. Presenting both conflicting classroom practices and areas of theoretical disagreement, the discussion challenges practitioners to 'navigate' the debates drawing upon their own sense of 'plausibility'. 	<p>Key perspectives and points of reference in the field: 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 11</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Part III: Learners (pp. 121-177)</i> This discussion asks how teachers might acknowledge, and work constructively with, the dynamic and diverse interaction of learner characteristics and relationships in ELT, both within the classroom and beyond. Then, focusing on 'how learners might learn', it section explores the contrasts between theories which focus on their internal mental processes and those which focus on the learner as a social being. <p>Key perspectives and points of reference in the field: 2, 6, 7, 8.</p>
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Part IV: Institutional frameworks and social contexts (pp.179-234)</i> These chapters position English language teaching and learning in its local and global contexts, noting the relationship between these two foci. Moving from the immediate issue of 'which English to teach', to the design of ELT curricula, and finally to its place in educational, political and research agendas, the discussion examines the competing discourses which surround both ELT and English as a language. Practitioners are guided to reach their own 'tentative understandings' of ELT based on their own sense of plausibility. <p>Key perspectives and points of reference in the field: 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10</p>

<p>c</p> <p>Hall, G. and Cook, G. (2012) 'State-of-the-Art: The Use of Learners' Own Languages in Language Teaching and Learning' <i>Language Teaching</i> 45/3. 271-308.</p>	<p>15,000 word double-blind peer reviewed article was commissioned by the editor of <i>Language Teaching</i>.</p> <p>Research underpinned REF2014 UoA29 English Language and Literature Impact Case Study 'Developing language teachers' professional practice'. doi: 10.1017/S0261444812000067 Cited by: 173</p>	<p>This state-of-the-art survey review charts the developing re-evaluation of own-language use in language learning and teaching. Drawing on a range of theoretical and practical, cognitive and socio-cultural, and historical and contemporary literature, it builds a case for a paradigm shift within language teaching methodology.</p> <p>Key perspectives and points of reference in the field: 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 8, 11</p>
<p>d</p> <p>Hall, G. and Cook, G. (2013) 'Own-language use in ELT: exploring global practices and attitudes' <i>British Council ELT Research Papers 13-01</i>. London, British Council.</p>	<p>10,000 word published (and reviewed) outcome of the British Council funded project of the same name. Funding of (£5,016) awarded through the British Council's ELT Research Award scheme. The scheme 'facilitates innovative research to benefit the learning and teaching of English' (British Council, 2017¹⁴) and funds are awarded following a process of competitive bidding. (Principal Investigator, Graham Hall; co-investigator Guy Cook, Kings College London).</p> <p>Research underpinned REF2014 UoA29 English Language and Literature Impact Case Study 'Developing language teachers' professional practice'. ISBN: 978-0-86355-705-7 Cited by: 31</p>	<p>Drawing on the recent re-evaluation monolingual approaches in ELT, recognising the changing goals of ELT for many learners in a multilingual world, and recognising that what is fashionable in 'theory' and 'the literature' does not necessarily reflect what happens in practice, this paper, uncovers a widespread range of own-language use in the profession, confirming the validity of own-language use in the classroom and summarising how and why the learners' own language can play a role in classes.</p> <p>Key perspectives and points of reference in the field: 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 11</p>
<p>e</p> <p>Hall, G. and Cook, G. (2015) 'The English language needs and priorities of young adults in the EU: student and teacher perceptions'. <i>British Council ELT Research Papers 15-01</i>. London, British Council.</p>	<p>10,000 word published (and reviewed) outcome of the British Council funded project of the same name. Funding (£7,030) awarded through the British Council's ELT Research Award scheme. The scheme 'facilitates innovative research to benefit the learning and teaching of English' (British Council, 2017¹⁵) and funds are awarded following a process of competitive bidding. (Principal Investigator, Graham Hall; co-investigator Guy Cook, Kings College London). ISBN: 987-0-86355-768-2 Cited by: 2</p>	<p>This paper addresses changes in the contemporary linguistic landscape of the EU with multiple language use, the emergence of ELF communication, new technologies and associated new communicative environments and new forms of communication.</p> <p>How do young adults and their English language teachers perceive these trends, and, consequently, what are the implications of these trends for ELT in Europe?</p> <p>Key perspectives and points of reference in the field: 1, 3, 5, 7, 8, 11.</p>

¹⁴ <https://englishagenda.britishcouncil.org/research-publications/elt-research-awards>

¹⁵ <https://englishagenda.britishcouncil.org/research-publications/elt-research-awards>

draws upon diary study data to highlight some of the problems researchers face when collecting and interpreting participants' 'emic' understandings of classroom life, i.e., 'the participants' meanings for social actions' (Davies, 1995: 433). The article thus explores those difficulties in research design and data interpretation which are usually 'smoothed out' or generally overlooked in similar research publications. It asks, for example: whether participants *can* articulate their perceptions and ideas accurately and coherently, and whether they have an equal 'voice' within the data; whether participants' perceptions might change over time, and the implications of this for the validity of the data and for researcher understanding; whether participation in the project may have in fact brought the unconscious into consciousness, changing the way in which the teacher and students perceived classroom life; and how far my own research methodology affected the data. The paper thus outlines the conceptual assumptions that underpin diary data collection and treatment (e.g., 'participants tell the truth'), and suggests researchers might need to operate with a 'systematic distrust' of the data and what they think it might show, limiting claims to points of interest (rather than generalizations), which ELT practitioners might recognise and reflect upon in light of their own context.

Hence, the paper uncovers the complexity and 'messiness' of research in order that teachers (and others) can understand more about the research they might read, how such disciplinary knowledge is created, and its possible relevance to their own professional context. It also supports practitioners who wish to systematically investigate their own classrooms and contexts, 'demystifying' research through its 'warts and all' treatment of the decision-making processes and practical difficulties most researchers face¹⁶.

This article evolved from my Master's dissertation. The data and its original analysis took place when I was very much an ELT 'practitioner'. Its publication as a journal article came some years later, around the time when I was starting to work more evidently as a lecturer in Applied Linguistics (see Personal Statement, above). That said, published in *ELT Journal*, which 'links the everyday concerns of practitioners with insights gained from relevant academic disciplines such as applied linguistics'¹⁷, the article was written very much with a practitioner and practice-oriented academic readership in mind. Its approach - uncovering complexity, and encouraging readers/teachers to reflect on

¹⁶ The relevance of these insights to practitioners is further demonstrated by an invitation from the International Association of Teachers of English as a Foreign Language (IATEFL)'s Research Special Interest Group (SIG) to be interviewed at length about the research by a group of delegates as the focus of the SIG's 2016 Pre-Conference Event, IATEFL Annual Conference, Birmingham.

¹⁷ Source: *ELT Journal's* published aims (in all issues, and online at: <https://academic.oup.com/eltj/pages/About>)

disciplinary knowledge in light of their own context – is taken forward in all the subsequent publications.

Publication b): Hall, G. (2011) *Exploring ELT: language in action*. London, Routledge. pp.282.

Hall (2011) provides a comprehensive overview of ELT from an applied linguistics perspective. Original in its organisation and approach, the monograph adopts a ‘back-to-front’ perspective, first exposing and establishing problems and practices in ELT, and then exploring how theoretical understandings and disciplinary knowledge in the field can inform and address these. Positioned at the intersection between ELT practice and theory, therefore, it explicitly acknowledges the tensions which exist between multiple perspectives and diverse theoretical approaches within applied linguistics and their application in the ELT classroom, arguing that ‘theorists tend to research in one tradition or another; however, ELT practitioners are not so constrained and are likely to draw upon those elements that seem intuitively appealing, plausible or recognizable in the own professional context as they search for understanding’ (p176). Consequently, the book requires practitioners-readers to reflect on both disciplinary knowledge and ‘on action’ (Schön, 1983) and consider what is ‘plausible’ to them given their knowledge, experience and social context, in order to create new understandings of their current pedagogic practice, of possible alternative or future practices, and of the ways in which theoretical or disciplinary knowledge can inform such understandings.

The publication is, by its very nature, broad in scope, but is concerned with presenting key themes within ELT in the order in which teachers are likely to focus on as practitioners. It thus opens with an examination of classroom interaction and management (for example, exploring the immediate, ‘lived’ experience of classroom roles, talk and discourse, errors and corrective feedback and so forth), before investigating Method, Postmethod and methodology (for example, investigating the ways in which second languages might be learned, and how such insights inform how they might be taught (i.e., methods)). Subsequently, the monograph explores learner diversity and development (and the tension between ‘the individual’ and ‘the social’, and between ‘universal’ explanations of second language development to notions of ‘the learner’ as an individual), before concluding with an examination of the institutional context(s) of ELT. In this final section, the analysis navigates between global trends and local contexts, and challenges practitioners and applied linguists to reflect not only on psychological processes and pedagogic behaviour, but also on ELT as an educational and political enterprise.

Whilst discussion of all these issues can be found across existing applied linguistics/ELT literature, at stake in this publication is the way in which disciplinary knowledge and real-world practice are brought together. It recognises the centrality of the practitioner's standpoint and sense of plausibility in the development of new professional understandings. This takes account of classroom realities and social context whilst reflecting on and engaging with theory and research¹⁸. Additionally, it contributes significantly¹⁹ to the emergence of a discourse which does not attempt to say how we *should* teach English, but rather examines what questions practitioners *might* ask when making pedagogic decisions, and what 'answers' *may* be possible in a world of competing demands and priorities.

This publication brought together my thinking about ELT following several years working with English language teachers on Northumbria's MA Applied Linguistics for TESOL and MA TESOL programmes. It reflects my transition from an English language teacher to an ELT-oriented applied linguist with an interest in classroom-centred research, language teaching methodology, and critical approaches to ELT. Creating a pathway for teachers to establish plausible links between disciplinary knowledge and their own practitioner understandings, the aim of this publication is not only the development of *new* practitioner knowledge, but also, equally importantly, the validation of *existing* practices where appropriate. Consequently, it both explores existing theories and practices and challenges existing tenets of ELT thought and practice ('why do we do what we do, and how effective is this, given our local realities?'). Such questioning provides the basis of the exploration, in publications c and d, of own-language use in ELT.

Publication c): Hall, G. and Cook, G. (2012) 'State-of-the Art: The Use of Learners' Own languages in Language Teaching and Learning' *Language Teaching* 45/3. 271-308. (80% authorship)

Hall and Cook (2012) maps out the case for a re-evaluation of own-language use in language teaching and learning, with specific reference to ELT. It builds the rationale first by outlining (and questioning) the pragmatic, 'theory-light' logic behind 'monolingual', that is, English-only, teaching, before documenting the extent to which learners' own languages have continued to be used in many classrooms around the world. A multi-faceted theoretical justification for own-language use

¹⁸ A key (and, I think, uncontroversial) belief underpinning the publications in this submission is that reflection on the 'new' or 'unknown' is essential for teacher development.

¹⁹ The significance of the publication can be documented through the award of the 2012 British Association of Applied Linguistics Book Prize, the commissioning of a 2nd edition by the publisher, Routledge (in press, 2017), and its contribution to a Northumbria University Department of Humanities REF2014 Impact Case Study. For details of the BAAL book prize, see footnote 13.

then draws upon psycholinguistic and cognitive perspectives on language learning, sociocultural theory, and ideas within 'traditional' Second Language Acquisition (SLA) research (e.g., noticing, focus on form, language learning strategies). Finally, the article examines the key questions for practitioners of 'how' and 'how much' the learners' own languages might be used in class, discussing the classroom functions and 'optimal amount' of own-language use alongside teacher and learners' beliefs and, ultimately, their sense of plausibility about this central pedagogic and, indeed, ideological issue within ELT.

As an article in the journal *Language Teaching's* 'state-of-the-art' series, the publication brings together, arguably for the first time in the field²⁰, the wide-ranging, yet disparate and often overlooked literature relating to own-language use in language teaching and learning. It achieves this by identifying and drawing out connections between a range of historical and contemporary secondary sources, both those which are more theoretically-oriented and those more focused on classroom practice. Thus, it sets an agenda within the field which chimes with the 'social turn' in applied linguistics and the search for localised understandings of difference and diversity within the ELT classroom and beyond. It challenges academics and practitioners alike to review and reflect on ELT practice in light of theoretical insights and socio-cultural traditions, constraints and preferences, bringing own-language use from the margins of the field to be a key consideration within its mainstream literature (the impact of this agenda is outlined in more detail in Section 4, 'Impact of the publications', below). As a 'state-of-the-art' review, however, it does not draw on primary data, an issue which is addressed in publication d).

Publication d): Hall, G. and Cook, G. (2013) 'Own-language use in ELT: exploring global practices and attitudes' *British Council ELT Research Papers 13-01*. London, British Council. (80% authorship)

Hall and Cook (2013) develops the territory marked out by publication c), above, briefly reviewing the case for own-language use before presenting the findings of a mixed methods research project which surveyed the reported own-language use practices and attitudes of English language teachers around the world. The survey data is unique in the field in that it draws on the responses of 2,785

²⁰ Claiming to be 'the first in the field' is always potentially problematic, yet the breadth within this article arguably justifies this assertion. Prior publications, before 2012, which had explicitly challenged the monolingual assumption within ELT were very rare, whilst, of the two notable exceptions, Butzkamm and Caldwell (2009) offered a particular approach for the use of the learners' own languages in class whilst Cook (2010) focused more on the role of translation in language teaching and learning. Publication 3 engages in a much more wide-ranging review of the own-language use and, indeed, arguably 'normalises' the term 'own-language' within the discourse of the field (see, for example, subsequent publications oriented to both academic and practitioner audiences by Kerr, 2014; 2016; Richardson and Thornbury, 2016).

teachers working in 111 countries, and includes respondents working in the primary, secondary and tertiary sectors. Consequently, it provides the first (and, to my knowledge, only) detailed account of the extent to which teachers deploy learners' own-languages in English classrooms around the world, offering extensive evidence that own-language use is a pervasive and established part of pedagogic practice across all sectors of ELT (although there is some variation between state and private sector institutions, for example, and between elementary and advanced level classes). It also finds that teachers' attitudes towards the use of the learners' own language are more complex than have usually been acknowledged, in that although the importance of English within the classroom is acknowledged, practitioners also see a range of ways in which own-language use can support language teaching and learning (notably, therefore, and in contrast to other studies of teacher attitudes towards own-language use (e.g., Macaro, 1997), participants in this research did not report a sense of guilt when languages other than English are used in the classroom).

The research underpinning this publication therefore drew on a range of theoretical perspectives as the practitioners reflected on their own pedagogy and the reasons for these practices. Participating teachers thus engaged with research, outlining what was plausible to them and constituted appropriate pedagogy in their socio-cultural context. Furthermore, the research was funded by the British Council's ELT Research Award (ELTRA) scheme, and the paper itself forms part of the British Council's ELT Research Papers series (see Table 2 for further details of the article's provenance). Central to the award scheme and ensuing publication is the need for British Council ELTRA research to be relevant to, and for findings and conclusions similarly to be accessible to, practitioners²¹.

Consequently, the publication explicitly seeks to strengthen the relationship between research and practice and between researchers and practitioners in ELT, creating disciplinary knowledge from the experiences of practitioners, and presenting this knowledge in ways which subsequently enhance practitioner understanding. The paper therefore acts not only as original research, but also as a resource for teachers that confirms the validity of own-language use (and, for many teachers, the validity of their own classroom practices); summarises a range of ideas as to how and why learners' own languages can play a role within the classroom; and encourages teachers to make own-

²¹ The publication is it is freely available online at the British Council's much visited EnglishAgenda website at <https://englishagenda.britishcouncil.org>, and I, with my co-researcher/author Guy Cook, presented its findings as part of the British Council's practitioner-oriented 2014 Seminar Series; also online at: <https://englishagenda.britishcouncil.org/continuing-professional-development/teacher-educator-framework/understanding-teaching-context/own-language-use-elt>. For more details about the publication's impact, see Section 4 'Impact of the publications', below.

language use a more considered element of classroom life around which principles pedagogic decision-making can be developed.

Publication e): Hall, G. and Cook, G. (2015) 'The English language needs and priorities of young adults in the EU: student and teacher perceptions' *British Council ELT Research Papers 15-01*. London, British Council. (80% authorship)

Hall and Cook (2015) draws on publications c) and d). The paper extends empirical understanding of young adults' (aged 18-24) perceived English language needs within the EU, drawing upon debates surrounding the balance between English and own-language use highlighted in the two papers above. Notably, whilst the two previous papers focused on classroom pedagogy *per se*, this publication moves 'beyond' the classroom to examine learners needs, i.e., the role of English in learners' lives in the context of a multilingual EU environment. Thus whilst publications 3 and 4 raise the possibility of a 'multilingual ELT classroom', this publication examines learners' needs in a multilingual world and, consequently, the relationship between these needs and this notion of a multilingual English language classroom. The project also draws upon ideas exploring in publication b) (Hall, 2011) concerning the role of English as a Lingua Franca, and notions of nativeness and foreignness which surround English.

Consequently, drawing on data from three case-study contexts (in Germany, Romania and Turkey), the publication presents clear evidence that young-adult students and their teachers generally accept both native and non-native varieties of English as a lingua franca for communication, the need for English for the workplace, and its importance in online communication. Thus, they identify a difference between 'classroom English' and 'personal' and 'online English', and suggest that a tension exists between learning English for 'real-life' use and teaching/learning English to pass a test, study, or for work. To resolve this tension, participants suggested that, in socio-cultural contexts where there are few opportunities for English use outside the classroom (face-to-face or online), classes might focus more on communication and meaning than on language form. However, where young adults have regular opportunities to use English outside the classroom and maybe be more familiar with emergent and non-standard language forms, the most effective use of class time might be the provision of more formal language instruction, focusing on those areas in which young adult learners have less competence, thereby reducing attempts to reproduce informal and contemporary communication in which the students are already knowledgeable (and often more knowledgeable than their teachers).

Like publication d), the research underpinning this paper was funded by the British Council's ELT Research Award (ELTRA) scheme, and the publication again forms part of the British Council's ELT Research Papers series (see Table 2). Thus, its findings and conclusions are presented so as to be relevant and accessible to practitioners, again developing the relationship between research and practice through the creation of disciplinary knowledge from the experiences of practitioners. Through its findings and in its conclusions, the publication also challenges ELT practitioners within the EU to reflect on the role of face-to-face and online communication in learners' out-of-class lives and learners' related language learning needs and goals, and consider what may be appropriate models of English for learners in the classroom. Ultimately, the publication asks both academics and practitioners how societal changes which involve increased bi- and multi-lingualism, English language change, and the development of online technologies can be accommodated and mediated within ELT classrooms. In so doing, it therefore explicitly links theory to practice in ways which enhance practitioner understandings of their own contexts and pedagogical choices.

4. The impact of the publications on ELT practice and practitioners

This publications and underlying research submitted for consideration for this PhD by publication have had a significant impact on the field of ELT.

The knowledge outlined in **publication a** has been presented and discussed with national and international audiences on a number of occasions, including: the International Association of Teachers of English as a Foreign Language (IATEFL) Teacher Training and Education SIG Conference (2003: Nottingham Trent University, UK); the Explorations in Ethnography Conference (2010: Aston University, UK); and, by invitation, the IATEFL Research SIG Pre-Conference workshop (2016: Birmingham, UK)²².

The impact of **publication b** is two-fold. Firstly, its emphasis on encouraging teachers to explore the educational values and social assumptions that underpin their own professional practices, and its prompts for them to explore possibilities for their own practice in light of applied linguistic theory, have been well-received within both the academic community and by practitioners alike (see, for

²² The discussion continues to provoke interest, with practitioners suggesting it could form the template for a further 'warts and all' collection of research experiences in applied linguistics and ELT, edited by the author.

example, the award of the 2012 BAAL Book Prize, and the commissioning of a 2nd edition, in press - September 2017)²³. Secondly, its approach - for researchers work with, not 'on', practitioners, and for teachers explore possibilities for their own practice in light of disciplinary knowledge in applied linguistics, filter ideas through their own sense of plausibility in for contextually appropriate pedagogy - informs the research underpinning publications c and d.

Publications c and d have arguably had the most significant impact on English language teachers and teaching. They make a distinctive contribution both to the professional methodological debate surrounding own-language use and to the beliefs and practices of individual teachers around the world. Furthermore, by engaging with English language professionals worldwide in both data collection and dissemination activities (publication d), the research asked teachers to share their practices and beliefs about own-language use. Consequently, the research again bridges the perceived 'research/practice' and 'researcher/practitioner' divide within ELT: teachers engage with and reflect upon own-language use in theory and in practice. To facilitate this impact, publication d has been posted online on the British Council's EnglishAgenda website (for ELT practitioners), receiving, for example, 3,246 page hits and 953 downloads in the 5 month period 22/2/13 – 17/7/13 for which data is available (see Table 3, source 7 – p31).

The publications have influenced the field of ELT in two main ways:

Impact on ELT policy: Publications c and d have impacted on ELT policy, curriculum design and classroom practice across a range of ELT bodies, organisations and stakeholders (e.g. the British Council), stimulating reflection, development and change across the profession. The British Council has identified the research (1) as *"leading to a significant paradigm shift in the way ELT develops in the future. [The] British Council's world authority aspirations [are] well served by supporting this research [which is] of interest to a range of global stakeholders, informing trends in materials and resources development for the British Council and publishers...placing the British Council at the heart of a vigorous debate"* (source 1).

²³ BAAL Book Prize judging panel citation (selected quotations): *'the author harnesses practitioners' experience and uses this to activate engagement... Hall is articulating, to language professionals, the very questions and dilemmas which have prompted them to undertake academic study of their field'*; *'Exploring English Language Teaching will undoubtedly prove a source of illumination and inspiration for anyone working or studying at the interface between professional practice and academic study'*.

Reviews (selected): *'the author's success in drawing together here the practical and theoretical aspects of the subject to lend credence to [his] call for greater collaboration between teaching and research'* (Linguist List); *'commendable for the clear and insightful course it steers between pedagogy and theory'* (journal: Applied Linguistics).

Table 3: The impact of 'own-language use' publications (c) and (d): supporting sources

1	Stakeholder feedback: Potential of research underpinning publication (d) for global impact by research funder (British Council), measured against their specific criteria for project funding - 'Impact'.
2	Testimonial: Director of Education Programmes, TESOL International Association, USA, corroborating claims about impacts on ELT practitioners.
3	Testimonial: Education Specialist (TESOL) and Project Leader, International Development and Exchange Programs, World Learning /SIT Graduate Institute, corroborating claims about impacts on Algerian ELT practitioners and policy-makers.
4	Testimonial: ELT Consultant/Senior Teacher Young Learners, British Council Valencia, Spain, corroborating claims about impacts on the British Council (Spain) Teacher Development programme and subsequent pedagogic practice. Corroborator is now freelance consultant.
5	ELT practitioner feedback (1): 200 teachers who participated in the research (publication (d)) corroborating claims about impacts on teachers' beliefs and practice, via a subsequent evaluation survey.
6	ELT practitioner feedback (2): British Council Seminar evaluation by 19 UK-based ELT practitioners, corroborating claims about impacts on their beliefs and practice.
7	Testimonial: Web Editor, British Council <i>EnglishAgenda</i> website (http://englishagenda.britishcouncil.org/), corroborating claims about online page hits and downloads for publication 4 and associated British Council Seminar online video.
8	Online Resource: Graham Hall and Guy Cook, 'Own-language use in ELT: exploring global practices and attitudes' online video of British Council seminar (2013) http://englishagenda.britishcouncil.org/seminars/own-language-use-elt-exploring-global-practices-and-attitudes .
9	Citations: in Kerr's (2014) 'Translation and own-language use activities' Handbook for Language Teachers (CUP): 'I would strongly recommend [publication (c)]. This provides a detailed survey of the academic literature for own-language use.' (see also Kerr 2016)

In the United States, TESOL International's Professional Development Committee invited me to disseminate my research findings via their virtual seminar series, through which "ELT professionals develop leadership skills, improve core competencies, and stay abreast of the latest developments in the field" (source 2). It identifies the research as impacting upon a broad audience, "including ELT teachers, teacher educators, and administrators worldwide" (source 2). TESOL International reported that 100% of participants in the virtual seminar, working in over 20 countries, recommended my research to their ELT colleagues and documents that my work has led "to change and development in English language teaching practices" (source 2).

Furthermore, the research underpinning publications c and d has impacted upon curriculum development and language teacher education elsewhere in the world. It has been incorporated into World Learning's University Linkages (ELT teacher development) curriculum design project (2011-13) in Algeria (supported by the US Agency for International Development), which "builds capacity to

design and deliver a new three year teacher education program ...rooted in an analysis of needs of the regional economy, of employers, and of students” (source 3). The Project Leader (source 3) reports that *“it has had a huge impact with 20 Algerian colleagues at the Universities of Ouargla and Annaba”,* prompting practitioners to *‘think and question their ideas’*. Thus, *“the research has impacted upon ELT professionals, policy and curriculum design in Algeria”* (source 3). In Spain, the research findings have been incorporated (from 6/2/13) into the British Council’s teacher development programme, *“being presented by practitioners to colleagues within the organisation as a stimulus which led to change in classroom practice”* (source 4).

Finally, publications c and d inform a growing body of practitioner-oriented publications which encourage or provide guidelines or activities for the use of the learners’ own-language in class. Authors such as Kerr (2014, 2016) trace an explicit and direct line between their work and these publications (source 9).

i. **Impact on ELT practitioners:** Those individual ELT practitioners who participated (1) in the research, and (2) in subsequent dissemination activities associated with publication d), have re-appraised their own professional practice, resulting in either classroom innovation or the confirmation of existing practice. A post-research sample (source 5) of 200 participants in the ‘own-language use in ELT’ project documented in publication 4 (i.e. 7% of the original cohort) confirmed the impact of the research on ELT professionals in 65 countries (including African, Asian, European and South American contexts) and across primary, secondary and tertiary sector institutions. 157 teachers (i.e. 79% of the post-research sample), working in 48 different countries, confirmed that their knowledge of own-language use in ELT was increased by either participating in the research and/or reading the research findings; 106 ELT professionals (i.e. 56% of the post-research sample), working in 47 countries, confirmed that their beliefs about own-language use in the ELT classroom were impacted upon as a result of the research; 98 teachers (i.e. 49% of the post-research sample), working in 40 countries, confirmed that their own use of the learners’ language in their day-to-day teaching had been impacted upon as a result of the research; and 102 ELT professionals (i.e. 51% of the post-research sample), working in 46 countries, confirmed that their approach to learners’ own-language use in their day-to-day teaching had been affected by the research. Furthermore, 154 teachers (i.e. 77% of the post-research sample) confirmed that participating in the research and/or reading the research findings had benefited their own practice by confirming their current approach to own-language use (evidence collected 24/2/13 - 17/7/2013).

Summarising the impact of the research on their beliefs and practice, individual ELT practitioners (source 5) reported *“profound”* and *“significant”* changes in their thinking (e.g. in Uzbekistan, Spain), changes in classroom tasks and overall levels of own-language use (e.g. in DR Congo, France, Iran, Montenegro, Russia, Saudi Arabia), discovering that own-language use is not *“taboo”* (e.g. France) and feeling *“less guilty”* about own-language use (e.g. in Bahrain, Japan, Netherlands, France, UK), and *“feeling validated”* in their practice (e.g. in Germany, India, Indonesia, Japan, Switzerland). As a Japanese teacher noted, the research *“certainly affects my confidence as a teacher and practice as a learner”* (evidence collected 24/2/13 – 17/7/2013).

With my co-investigator/author Professor Guy Cook, I was invited to present the research in the British Council Seminar Series (2013), attended by 55 senior ELT practitioners from the UK, including school Directors of Study, ELT curriculum developers, British Council staff, English language teacher educators and senior teachers. Consequently, 19 ELT practitioners (i.e. 100% of those sampled) confirmed (source 6) that the research benefited the way they perceived own-language use, with seven noting a change in their views about own-language use and likely subsequent practice (*“[own-language use] is a resource in the classroom”, “it should not be taboo”*) and eight suggesting that the research validated their existing views (*“it confirmed what I suspected”, “I’m now more prepared to stick up for my views”*). The subsequent online video (source 8) of this seminar on the British Council’s EnglishAgenda website has received 250 hits between March and July 2013 (source 7).

These activities have positioned the research focus, the use of learners’ own languages in the ELT classroom, as a mainstream issue within ELT professional practice, evidenced by both invitations themselves and the practitioner feedback from both events. According to TESOL International (source 2), the research is *“important; one of those areas that most teachers want to learn more about, not to mention society at large”*; practitioners (source 5) have reported the impact of the research as *“opening the door’ for follow-up practitioner research activities”* (Oman) and *“action research”* (China); as having impact on teacher training (Greece); and as *“pinpointing what needs to be done in future”* (Portugal).

The research therefore clearly informs and influences ELT professionals’ perceptions of own-language use in language teaching, illuminating and challenging their assumptions about what is ‘common’ and/or ‘best’ practice. It has a global reach and takes account of English language education delivered to any age group in any part of the world. Ultimately, it will influence the design and delivery of curriculum and syllabi in schools, other HEIs or other educational institutions.

As the most recent of the papers submitted for consideration, it is difficult to assess the impact of publication e. That said, it follows publications b) and d) in the way in which it asks practitioners to engage with disciplinary ideas and knowledge in relation to their own context, and with publication d) in the way that disciplinary knowledge is developed out of local practitioner understandings (i.e., the relationship between theory and practice is bi-directional – theory informs practice, and practice informs theory). Supported by the British Council (and therefore meeting that organisation’s aim of funding research that is relevant to ELT practitioners) and available in free-to-view format on the British Council’s EnglishAgenda²⁴ website, it seems reasonable to suggest that the publication will become increasingly impactful on the field and profession of English Language Teaching over time.

5. Conclusion: original contribution to the field and ongoing work

The publications submitted for consideration for a PhD by publication are part of my ongoing and developing body of scholarship which seeks both to create new understandings of the relationship between theory and practice amongst ELT practitioners, and to contribute to the disciplinary knowledge of Applied Linguistics/ELT itself.

5.1 Original contribution to the field

Focusing on the relationship between practice and theory in ELT, and the ways in which disciplinary knowledge and practitioner understandings can be mutually informative, the submitted publications make an original contribution to the field of ELT from an Applied Linguistics perspective in a number of ways.

i. Problem-posing for practitioner understanding

The central tenet of the case presented here is that practitioner understanding - of applied linguistics ‘theory’, of practitioners’ own practices, and of the ways in which disciplinary knowledge may or may not inform localized classroom practices and teachers’ pedagogic decision-making – depends on teachers’ own sense of plausibility. Consequently, it is best supported by a problem-posing approach to professional practice and its links to disciplinary knowledge. This approach entails clarifying the difficulties inherent in applied linguistics research and the subsequent interpretation of data and findings, acknowledging the existence of multiple perspectives on many practical dilemmas in the field, and moving ‘from practice to theory’. This will enable practitioners to understand their current pedagogic practice, recognise possible alternatives to current practices,

²⁴ <https://englishagenda.britishcouncil.org/research-publications/research-papers/english-language-needs-and-priorities-young-adults-european-union-student-and-teacher-perceptions>

and reflect on the viability and appropriacy of such alternatives in the teacher's own socio-cultural context. This may result in either the validation of existing practice or, possibly, the implementation of change. Both outcomes, however, are the result of a process of professional development which seeks to address teachers' underlying cognitions and beliefs about what they do, and about the relationship of practice to theory and of practice to contextual-factors. The publications in this submission, both individually and as a body of work, explicitly aim to pose, rather than categorically answer, questions about practice that might be informed by disciplinary knowledge.

ii. Contribution to practitioner understanding of the theory-practice interface in ELT

The body of work submitted for this PhD by publication presents practitioners constructs an original pathway for the development of practitioner understanding at the interface of research and practice in ELT, as follows:

- *Research and research dilemmas in practice:* Publication (a) unpicks the 'messiness' of empirical (qualitative) research, arguing that if practitioners can understand the dilemmas and difficulties inherent in ELT research (and if researchers can convey these more openly!), they are more likely to understand how disciplinary knowledge is constructed, the questions research can and cannot 'answer' about practice, and how it might (or might not) relate to their own professional context.
- *Theory-practice relationships:* Publications b), d) and e) provide multiple theoretical perspectives on a wide range of issues and questions in ELT, some of which are complementary, some of which are not. The publications map out possible implications for practice, but argue that teachers will take up or reject ideas based on their own sense of plausibility.
- *Disciplinary knowledge and local pedagogic practice:* Publications b), d) and e) argue strongly that disciplinary knowledge is likely to be accepted, adapted or rejected by ELT practitioners dependent on its perceived value and relevance in their socio-cultural and institutional contexts. The publications convey to practitioners that local understanding of disciplinary knowledge is central to professional development.
- *Challenges to traditional tenets of ELT thought and practice:* Publications b), c), d) and e) challenge 'traditional' tenets of ELT. Whilst the most central issue in publications c) and d) is own-language use (also examined in b) and e)), other key challenges presented to practitioners include the methodological framework for ELT, the target language variety, the politics of English and ELT, and so forth.

iii. Practical application of knowledge in the field

As the discussion of the impact of the submitted publications (Section 4) indicates, my work has resulted in a number of practical applications in the field of ELT, across a variety of contexts around the world. Although take-up can be documented for all the publications, the impact on classroom practice and on the profession more generally has been of the publications focusing on own-language use (c and d) has been particularly strong. Evidence is provided for: developments in *classroom pedagogy; materials and resource development; changes in curriculum design; and the introduction of my work, and its uptake, in CPD and teacher training and education programmes.*

iv. Contribution to disciplinary knowledge

As noted in Section 2.1, Applied Linguistics ‘establishes a reciprocal relationship between experience and expertise’ (G. Cook, 2003: 10) and, whilst the publications considered in this Commentary have made an original contribution to the development of practitioner understanding, they have also contributed towards the key perspectives and debates within the field which they draw upon and within which they are situated. Consequently, the publications, either through the collection and analysis of primary data drawn from teachers’ understanding of their own practices and pedagogic contexts (Papers a, d, e) or through the shaping of academic and professional discourse through the synthesis of sources (b and c), have contributed to disciplinary knowledge as follows:

- *Classrooms and their contexts*
 - The social turn in applied linguistics Publications c, d, e
 - Perspectives on the language classroom: a, b, c, d
 - Complexity / complex systems in AL/ELT
 - Ecological (and sociocultural) approaches to classroom language learning
 - ELT as (an) historically situated, and socio-culturally oriented activity/ies b, c, d, e
- *Theory, plausibility and practice in ELT*
 - History/ies and narratives of ELT b, c, d
 - Appropriate methodology b, e
 - Postmethod approaches b, c, d
 - Teachers’ sense of plausibility b, d, e
- *Teacher cognition, reflection & research*
 - Teacher cognition and beliefs b, c, d, e

- Teacher reflection a, b
- Teachers' engagement with research a, b

To summarise, therefore, the publications submitted for consideration for a PhD by Publication have made an original contribution to the field of ELT in a way which exemplifies Applied Linguistics research into real-world issues. Through both detailed empirical research and surveys of the field, they create but also mediate disciplinary knowledge in ways which develop both academic understandings of ELT, but also, importantly, support practitioner understandings of the links between theory, teachers' own 'sense of plausibility' and practice, and of the ways in which disciplinary knowledge can inform practitioners' understanding of their own pedagogic practice in English language teaching.

5.2 Ongoing work

The five publications put forward for consideration in this PhD submission are part of my broader and ongoing body of work which seeks to both add to and to mediate for ELT practitioners the disciplinary knowledge of Applied Linguistics in relation to English Language Teaching. Since the publication of the first of these papers (Hall 2008), I have consistently sought to develop and frame applied linguistic research (both my own and that of the field more generally) and debates in ways which are accessible for ELT professionals, enabling them to deepen understandings of their own professional context. In addition to numerous papers in professional publications (e.g. IATEFL SIG newsletters and event proceedings), I have been a keynote speaker or seminar leader at teacher conferences in Argentina, Canada, Czech Republic, India, Mexico, Pakistan, Peru, Serbia, Spain, Turkey, the UK, and the United States. In all these settings, I have drawn on the problem-posing approach outlined in this Commentary to explore the relationship between theory and practice, either generally, or in relation to own-language use in particular.

Beyond this, however, other professional work and publications which have significantly contributed to shaping the academic and professional discourse around 'theory', plausibility and practice in ELT, but which lie beyond the scope of this PhD submission, include my editorship of *ELT Journal* (2013-ongoing; 4 issues per year)²⁵ and of *The Routledge Handbook of English Language Teaching* (2016, as

²⁵ *ELT Journal's* primary focus on 'the everyday concerns of practitioners with insights gained from relevant academic disciplines' and providing 'a medium for informed discussion of the principles and practice which determine the ways in which English is taught and learnt around the world' (source <https://academic.oup.com/eltj/pages/About>; see also, p23) means that raising its Impact Factor is, unusually for an academic journal, not a *primary* concern of the editor; most *ELT Journal* readers, i.e. practitioners, are not concerned with the journal's Impact Factor. That said, during my time as editor of the journal, its Impact

part of the 'Routledge Handbooks in Applied Linguistics' series; pp. 591, 40 chapters), and my authorship of the 2nd edition of publication b, *Exploring English Language Teaching: language in action* (in press: September 2017). In all three publications, I, and the authors I have worked with through *ELT Journal* and *The Routledge Handbook of ELT*, have been mindful of the diverse pedagogical, institutional and social contexts for ELT around the world, and aimed to stimulate academically-informed professional reflection on key issues facing ELT practitioners. Central to all three projects, however, has been the provision of authoritative understandings and insights to enable teachers to develop their own thinking and practice in contextually appropriate ways. The publications thus aim to 'frame' the field, illustrating, for practitioners and academics alike, the scope of ELT from an applied linguistic perspective, whilst also providing a pathway to 'navigate' the field.

Meanwhile, my own ongoing empirical research has developed to explore how teenage EAL students experience their schooling through English in the UK. It examines the challenges and issues they face, and the solutions they and their teachers and institutions find to support their learning and the development of their identity/ies, both in English and in their own main/home languages. The work thus draws upon debates highlighted in publication e (Hall and Cook, 2015) which examined the role of English in older students' lives, in the context of a multilingual environment in which migration (temporary or permanent) was regarded as increasingly likely. The project also draws on notions of learners' bilingual identities, examined in publications d and e (Hall and Cook 2013; 2015). Thus what can be seen across all my recent empirical research (2013 and 2015, outlined in this submission, and my ongoing work) is a sharpening of focus and of depth, from a global survey of attitudes towards and reported practices surrounding 'own-language use in ELT', through an exploration of students' perceived English language needs and priorities within the multilingual context of the EU, to a focus on specific institutional contexts and experiences, and on observed classroom practices.

Throughout, therefore, my ongoing research and scholarship is on the boundaries of theory and practice, mediating disciplinary knowledge in light of real world experiences, perspectives and problems, through a reciprocal relationship between applied linguists (and myself as an applied linguist) and ELT practitioners.

Factor has increased significantly, and the *Journal* now stands at 53/180 in the SSI journal rankings for Linguistics, and 113/235 for Education and Educational Research, reflecting its increased status within the academic community as well as its central relevance to teachers.

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Appendices

1. *Prima facie* case for submitting for the degree, including approved list of cited publications.
2. Declarations of Co-Authorship of Published Work for: Hall and Cook (2012, 2013, and 2015).
3. The cited published works:
 - a) Hall, G. (2008) 'An Ethnographic Diary Study: problems and understandings'. *ELT Journal* 62/2. 113-122.
 - b) Hall, G. (2011) *Exploring ELT: language in action*. London, Routledge. pp.282.
 - c) Hall, G. and Cook, G. (2012) 'State-of-the Art: The Use of Learners' Own languages in Language Teaching and Learning' *Language Teaching* 45/3. 271-308.
 - d) Hall, G. and Cook, G. (2013) 'Own-language use in ELT: exploring global practices and attitudes' *British Council ELT Research Papers 13-01*. London, British Council.
 - e) Hall, G. and Cook, G. (2015) 'The English language needs and priorities of young adults in the EU: student and teacher perceptions' *British Council ELT Research Papers 15-01*. London, British Council.

Appendix 1: Prima facie case for submitting for the degree, including approved list of cited publications

Graham Hall, Department of Humanities: submission for PhD by published work

Title: Theory, 'plausibility' and practice in English Language Teaching: from disciplinary knowledge to practitioner understanding

This submission is located in the discipline of Applied Linguistics, specifically, the field of English Language Teaching (ELT). It comprises publications from 2008-2015 which have made an original contribution to knowledge by:

- identifying problematic areas of ELT practice
- explaining the ways in which insights from applied linguistic theory and research might inform pedagogic decision-making in these areas
- enhancing ELT practitioners' 'sense of plausibility' in the face of these compelling but often contradictory accounts, mindful of the pedagogical, institutional and social contexts in which English language teachers operate.

As a discipline, Applied Linguistics engages in "the theoretical and empirical investigation of real-world problems in which language is a central issue"¹. Yet the relevance of such disciplinary knowledge to situated pedagogic practice has been regularly questioned by ELT professionals². My publications make a vital intervention in these debates by: uncovering the ways in which localised practitioner understandings can be reached from disciplinary knowledge; harnessing practitioner experiences in relation to theoretical understandings; and challenging traditional tenets of ELT thought and practice, particularly around the key pedagogic issue of own-language use in the classroom. The publications included here have been widely cited by applied linguistics scholars and ELT practitioners³; they have impacted upon ELT policy and practice across a range of ELT organisations and stakeholders⁴; and my monograph was awarded the British Association of Applied Linguistics Book Prize (2012).

At stake in my submission, therefore, is the relationship between research and 'real world' practice in an era of complexity, diversity, difference and uncertainty within ELT⁵. My publications have made an original contribution to the creation of a dialogue which was lacking within the field, and the emergence of a discourse which does not attempt to say how we *should* teach English, but rather examines what questions practitioners *might* ask when making pedagogic decisions, and what 'answers' *may* be possible in a world of competing demands and priorities. The submitted publications are:

- Hall, G. (2008) 'An Ethnographic Diary Study: problems and understandings'. *ELT Journal* 62/2. 113-122.
- Hall, G. (2011) *Exploring ELT: language in action*. London, Routledge. pp.282. Winner of the British Association of Applied Linguistics (BAAL) Book Prize 2012.
- Hall, G. and Cook, G. (2012) 'State-of-the Art: The Use of Learners' Own languages in Language Teaching and Learning' *Language Teaching* 45/3. 271-308. (80% authorship)
- Hall, G. and Cook, G. (2013) 'Own-language use in ELT: exploring global practices and attitudes' *British Council ELT Research Papers* 13-01. London, British Council. (80% authorship)
- Hall, G. and Cook, G. (2015) 'The English language needs and priorities of young adults in the EU: student and teacher perceptions'. *British Council ELT Research Papers* 15-01. London, British Council. (80% authorship)

¹ Brumfit, C.J. (1995) 'Teacher Professionalism and Research', in G. Cook and B. Seidlhofer (eds) *Principle and Practice in Applied Linguistics*. Oxford: Oxford University press. 27-42. p.27

² Korthagen F (2007) 'The gap between research and practice revisited'. *Educational Research and Evaluation*, 13/3. 301–10; McIntyre D (2005) 'Bridging the gap between research and practice'. *Cambridge Journal of Education*, 35/3. 357–82; Tarone, E. & Allwright, D. (2005) 'Second language teacher learning and student second language learning: Shaping the knowledge base', in D. J. Tedick (ed.) *Second language teacher education: International perspectives*. London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates. 5-25; Tavakoli, P. (2015) 'Connecting research and practice in TESOL: a community of practice perspective'. *RELC Journal*. 1-16; Ur, P. (2013) 'Language-teaching method revisited'. *ELT Journal*, 67/4. 468-474. Vanderlinde R. and van Braak, J. (2010) 'The gap between educational research and practice: views of teachers, school leaders, intermediaries and researchers'. *British Educational Research Journal*, 36/2: 299-316.

³ e.g. Chambers, G. (2013) 'The target language revisited'. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 36. 44-54; Ellis, E. (2013) 'The ESL Teacher as Plurilingual: An Australian Perspective'. *TESOL Quarterly*, 47/3. 446-471; Ellis, R. and Shintani, N. (2013) *Exploring language pedagogy through second language acquisition research*. Abingdon: Routledge; Kelly, N. and Bruen, J. (2015) 'Translation as a pedagogical tool in the foreign language classroom: A qualitative study of attitudes and behaviours'. *Language Teaching Research*, 19/2. 150-168; Kerr, P. (2014) *Translation and Own-language activities*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Macara, E., Graham, S. and Woore, R. (2016) *Improving Foreign Language Teaching: towards a research-based curriculum*. Abingdon: Routledge; Littlewood, W. (2014) 'Communication-oriented language teaching: Where are we now? Where do we go from here?' *Language Teaching*, 47/3. 349-362; Ortaçtepe, D. and Akyel, A.S. (2015) 'The Effects of a Professional Development Program on English as a Foreign Language Teachers' Efficacy and Classroom Practice'. *TESOL Journal*, 6/4. 680-706; Quint-Oga-Baldwin, W.L. and Nakata, Y. 'Optimizing new language use by employing young learners' own language'. *ELT Journal*, 68/4. 410-421; Sewell, A. (2013) 'English as a Lingua franca: ontology and ideology'. *ELT Journal*, 67/1. 3-10; Swain, M. and Lapkin, S. (2013) 'A Vygotskian sociocultural perspective on immersion education: the L1/L2 debate'. *Journal of Immersion and Content-Based Language Education*. 1/1. 101-129.

⁴ e.g. the British Council, TESOL International, and World Learning 'University Linkages', as evidenced in the REF2014 Department of Humanities Impact Case Study 'Developing language teachers' professional practice: 'own-language use' in English language teaching'.

⁵ Block, D. (2003) *The Social Turn in Second Language Acquisition*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Appendix 2: Declarations of Co-Authorship of Published Work for: Hall and Cook (2012, 2013, and 2015)



DECLARATION OF CO-AUTHORSHIP OF PUBLISHED WORK



(Please use one form per co-author per publication)

Section A
Name of candidate: **Graham Hall**
Name of co-author: **Professor Guy Cook**
Full bibliographical details of the publication (including authors):

Hall, G. and Cook, G. (2012) 'State-of-the Art: The Use of Learners' Own languages in Language Teaching and Learning' *Language Teaching* 45/3. 271-308.

Section B
DECLARATION BY CANDIDATE (delete as appropriate)
I declare that my contribution to the above publication was as:

(i) principal author X
(ii) joint-author
(iii) minor-contributing-author

My specific contribution to the publication was (maximum 50 words):
As principal author, I led the authorship of Sections 2-8 of the paper, with shared responsibility for Section 9. My contribution to the publication was 80%.
Signed: G.S. Hall (candidate) 25/4/16 (date)

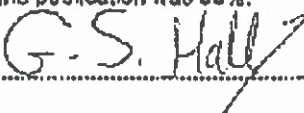
Section C
STATEMENT BY CO-AUTHOR (delete as appropriate)
Either (i) I agree with the above declaration by the candidate
Signed: _____ (co-author) Guy Cook (date) 21 April 2016

Guy Cook


DECLARATION OF CO-AUTHORSHIP OF PUBLISHED WORK

(Please use one form per co-author per publication)

Section A
Name of candidate: Graham Hall
Name of co-author: Professor Guy Cook
Full bibliographical details of the publication (including authors):
Hall G and Cook, G. (2013) 'Own-language use in ELT: exploring global practices and attitudes' *British Council ELT Research Papers 13-01*. London, British Council

Section B
DECLARATION BY CANDIDATE (delete as appropriate)
I declare that my contribution to the above publication was as:
(i) principal author X
(ii) joint-author
(iii) minor-contributing-author
My specific contribution to the publication was (maximum 50 words):
I was Principal Investigator (and, subsequently, principal author) on this British Council supported research project, and thus led on the bid's preparation and subsequent liaison with the British Council, the design and piloting of research tools, data collection, analysis and writing up. My contribution to the publication was 80%.
Signed:  (candidate) 25/4/16 (date)

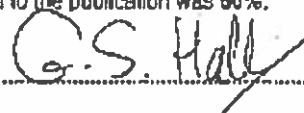
Section C
STATEMENT BY CO-AUTHOR (delete as appropriate)
Either (i) I agree with the above declaration by the candidate

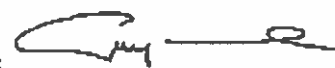
Signed:  (co-author) Guy Cook (date) 21 April 2016

DECLARATION OF CO-AUTHORSHIP OF PUBLISHED WORK

(Please use one form per co-author per publication)

Section A
Name of candidate: **Graham Hall**
Name of co-author: **Professor Guy Cook**
Full bibliographical details of the publication (including authors):
Hall, G. and Cook, G. (2015) 'The English Language needs and priorities of young adults in the EU: student and teacher perceptions'. British Council ELT Research Papers 15-01. London, British Council.

Section B
DECLARATION BY CANDIDATE (*delete as appropriate*)
I declare that my contribution to the above publication was as:
(i) principal author **X**
(ii) joint-author
(iii) minor-contributing-author
My specific contribution to the publication was (*maximum 50 words*):
I was Principal Investigator (and, subsequently, principal author) on this British Council supported research project, and thus led on the bid's preparation and subsequent liaison with the British Council, the design and piloting of research tools, data collection, analysis and writing up. My contribution to the publication was 80%.
Signed:  (candidate) **25/4/16** (date)

Section C
STATEMENT BY CO-AUTHOR (*delete as appropriate*)
Either (i) I agree with the above declaration by the candidate
Signed:  (co-author) **Guy Cook** (date) **21 April 2016**

Appendix 3: The cited published works (a, c, d, and e):

- a) Hall, G. (2008) 'An Ethnographic Diary Study: problems and understandings'. *ELT Journal* 62/2. 113-122.

An ethnographic diary study

Graham Hall

This article examines a small-scale ethnographic survey of a single classroom. Drawing on the collected data, the discussion focuses on some of the problems encountered whilst collecting and interpreting data through self-report diaries. Amongst the issues considered are the perceptions of teachers and learners and their ability to articulate these perceptions, revealing that key assumptions need to be made explicit before appropriate conclusions can be drawn from the data. The article also discusses how variation within the data might be the result of the specific diary approach developed.

The article concludes positively, however, suggesting that explicit recognition of these difficulties can still lead to fruitful, localized approaches to the data.

Introduction

Teachers, and readers of this journal, regularly encounter theories, concepts, and suggestions for our professional practice which are based upon the collection and interpretation of classroom data, and our classrooms are informed by these ideas. It seems reasonable, then, to consider some of the processes involved in classroom data collection, both in order to understand more about what we read and because we ourselves may want to collect and interpret data as we try to understand what takes place in our classrooms.

In this investigation, I shall document my own small-scale ethnographic study of another teacher's class. My diary-based study attempted to discover the teacher's and learners' own perceptions of classroom events; however, I shall discuss why I found the data I collected increasingly problematic. I will document my attempts to resolve these problems satisfactorily in my own mind, discussing the use to which such data can be put.

Ethnography: a range of techniques

According to Atkinson and Hammersley, ethnography:

- has a strong emphasis on exploring the nature of particular social phenomena, rather than setting out to test hypotheses about them;
- has a tendency to work primarily with 'unstructured' data, that is, data that have not been coded at the point of data collection in terms of a closed set of analytic categories;
- investigates a small number of cases, perhaps just one case, in detail;

- analyses human actions, the product of which mainly takes the form of verbal descriptions and explanations, with quantification and statistical analysis playing a subordinate role at most (1994: 248).

Tools such as lesson observation, interviews, diary studies, and the collation of background information and documentation enable ethnographic researchers of English language classrooms to enter into a process of systematic and integrated exploration and reflection (van Lier 1982).

In my project, I hoped to develop a genuine understanding of how the classroom was socially constructed. To achieve this, I wanted to avoid placing my own external framework and understanding on classroom events. (I was not, after all, a participant in the classes.) Instead, I aimed to develop my interpretation of the classroom by establishing, comparing, and contrasting the perspectives of the teacher and learners themselves. I hoped to discover what Davis calls the teacher's and learners' 'emic' perspectives, i.e. 'the participants' meanings for social actions' (1995: 433). The study would recognize, as Davis (*ibid.*) suggests, that emic perspectives are the real reason for teachers' and learners' actions/reactions in the social construction of classroom events, that teachers and learners attribute reasons to other people's behaviour and act and react accordingly (for example, 'my classmate acted in this way because of this reason, therefore I will behave in that manner'). If I could ascertain the emic perspectives of participants, I might be able to establish what happened in the classroom, why it happened, and its significance to the teacher and learners more satisfactorily than by interpreting events myself. I aimed to do this through a diary study in which the participants noted their views on a series of lessons which I also observed and recorded.

However, the difficulties inherent in collecting emic data through a diary study became clear as the investigation progressed, and I increasingly had to address a key question posed by Allwright and Bailey—how easy is it to 'ask the learners' (1990: 81)?

The participants

The study took place in the UK, and the participants were a British teacher and twelve upper-intermediate learners from a mainly German or Swiss-German L1 background. Most were female (the teacher was male), and aged between 20 and 30. Prior to the study, I was unknown to both the learners and their institution, although I did know the teacher. In order to arrange for the study to take place, I negotiated site entry with the head of the institution, the teacher and the learners, and, following their positive responses to my approaches, data collection took place over a 4-week period. The investigation was undertaken in English—my L1 and that of the teacher.

The diary study

In diary studies, teachers and learners become participant observers, examining their own experiences of language teaching and learning and recording their feelings as openly and honestly as possible (Bailey 1983). Consisting of participants' 'introspective reflections on their own experience', Bailey (*ibid.*) describes diaries as largely heuristic and emic

accounts of teaching and learning (i.e. full, broad, and general, rather than partial and specific, accounts of classrooms).

However, there appears to be no fixed 'diary' format. They may be written or spoken, naturalistic or non-naturalistic, focused or unfocused, based on respondents with or without teaching experience, about one or many participants, collected and collated after each lesson or at the end of the study, completed in the informants' first or foreign language, named 'diary', 'journal', or 'chart', etc. For example, Bailey (*ibid.*) asked her professional respondents to write anything that they felt relevant to their current language learning process. Contrastingly Block (1995), offered guidelines to respondents without teaching experience who kept an oral diary of their naturalistic learning experiences using audio-recording equipment. The diaries were kept in the informants' first language. Breen (1991) compiled the written accounts of teachers taking part in a language teaching/learning experiment, whilst Schmidt and Frota (1986) documented Schmidt's attempts to learn Portuguese, also in writing. Slimani (1987) asked learners to fill in charts about lessons at different times after their completion, examining whether perceptions changed over time.

In designing my own study, I could therefore incorporate those aspects which I felt were appropriate to both my study's aims and its environment.

Design paradoxes

There appear to be two main paradoxes within diary study design. Firstly, the implied privacy of the term 'diary' is itself problematic, the (usually) private documents of non-research situations being very different from those written as part of a research project. The latter generally have an audience other than the writer and it was important for participants to understand the difference. I felt this could be addressed through absolute openness and honesty with the participants. I emphasized the project's voluntary nature and assured them, both in writing and verbally, that all the diaries would be confidential. I would collect, read, and photocopy them the following day. They would then form the basis of subsequent interviews in which I could check my understanding of their views, and where they could expand their opinions if they wished. In effect, the diaries would become an open, but one-sided 'dialogue' between participants and myself. (This dialogue was concluded at the end of the project by a feedback questionnaire in which participants were invited to add any further perspectives on events within their classroom, and also to comment upon issues arising from the study itself such as its methodology and ethics.)

Secondly, I hoped the teacher and learners could record their own thoughts about the lessons and language learning. However, I also wanted them to provide me with 'interesting' data. Hence, after a relatively unguided start, and in conjunction with the wishes of the teacher and the students themselves, I developed the diaries into focused journals (paralleling Jarvis' (1992) discussion of how diaries can become more sophisticated over time with teacher prompting). Based on my own conception of 'what is interesting' I offered initial guidelines as follows:

Write about anything you think was interesting in class today—maybe what events stood out most during the lesson, and why you remember them. You could talk about what you did, what other students did, and

what [the teacher] did. Why not write about a part of the lesson that you really enjoyed, or if you like, something that you wish had happened a little bit differently. Write about anything as long as it interests you.

I followed this with informal personal advice, for example 'write about what I can't see or hear in lessons, for example, what really goes on in pairwork'. The participants, in both interviews and the feedback questionnaire, both noted and seemed to appreciate the personal interest I took in their entries.

This prompting increased the chance that I would find the data 'useful'. It also possibly helped those students (referred to in this article by the initials of their names) who found it difficult to write unprompted. For example:

Maybe it's better when you talk more to us to explain what exactly you want to know . . .

(MD, feedback questionnaire)

However, as I will discuss later, it is possible that these guidelines affected the data outcomes.

I provided participants with notebooks in which to write, in English, their thoughts about the lessons. These I read and returned each day. Once data-collection ceased, the notebooks were left with the participants who abandoned or continued their diaries as preferred. I hoped that by providing participants with their own book, it would encourage a sense of 'ownership' of the diaries, as both a process and a product. More practically, I felt it would also encourage participants to write, and make it easier for me to collect, each day.

Given the participants' relatively unpromising circumstances (for example, forthcoming exams, homework, social life, etc.) and that the study was voluntary, I was pleased to receive seven or eight diary entries daily, with only two students declining my request to participate. However, how could I approach the resulting data?

**Early concerns:
perception and
articulacy within the
data**

Jarvis (op. cit.: 133) notes that diaries deal with perceptions, and it is important not to underestimate the inherent difficulties of diary data, and subsequently draw unsustainable conclusions. Problems centre around participants' perception and their articulacy (i.e. their ability to articulate their perceptions, ideas, and thoughts clearly, accurately and coherently).

**Problems with
perception**

When examining the diaries, I faced an elementary problem—'are these words really the participants' perceptions, and how can I tell?' Firstly, it seems conceptually possible that participants deceived themselves and/or me (as Bailey (op. cit.) notes, self-editing is always a danger of diary studies), raising initial doubts about how far a diary study can really ascertain the actual perspectives of the participants. I could do little about this, although I hoped that a genuinely collaborative relationship between myself and the participants helped minimize it.

Similarly, it is possible that being asked to think may actually create participants' perceptions, by prompting additional thought, or by bringing

the unconscious into consciousness. For example, in subsequent follow-up interviews, the following interaction took place:

Interviewer Do you ever think 'Why am I doing this?' [i.e. an activity in the lesson]

NK Not until now [i.e. this study]

Similarly, it seems possible that thoughts may change because of the study:

It must have affected the way they feel about activities . . . they must be thinking [the author] might ask me about this, why am I doing it

(Teacher, in interview)

Now, when I work 'in pairs', I do it more comfortably

(JF, feedback questionnaire)

The process of creation and change is lost within diaries, participants noting only their thoughts at the final 'considered' stage. Conceptually (and somewhat paradoxically), this leads me to wonder what participants' perceptions might have been had I not asked them to think? Unfortunately, this information seems unobtainable.

It also seems possible that perceptions change over time. Certainly at least one participant implicitly recognized this. After a difficult learning experience, she wrote a rather negative diary entry. However, to the following day's entry, she added:

I overstated a bit yesterday when I wrote this. I wasn't in a good mood and then all is bad

(MD, diary entry)

Thus, if perceptions change over time, how can I be sure that the perception I read was still held by the participant? Practically, the time that the entries were written becomes increasingly important for longitudinal consistency and comparability, both between and within participants' diaries. For example, whilst one participant wrote her accounts soon after lessons (noting the time when she wrote, as I requested), another usually wrote her diary the following day, once commenting:

Sorry, I don't remember anymore. Next I will try to remember my thoughts *as soon as possible* after the lesson.

(HY, diary entry, my emphasis)

This participant's comment possibly indicates her attempts to 'return to the lesson' in the diary, rather than write with hindsight. Alternatively, this may be an arbitrary choice of wording whose meaning is difficult to discern.

Diaries concern not only perceptions but the ability of participants to articulate their ideas clearly. As Erikson notes, people often know more than they can say (1986: 123) or cannot accurately express their meaning. For example, only one participant (MD) provided a diary entry for every observed lesson, and a few wrote very little. Similarly, another participant's (UW's)

Problems of articulation

diary was approximately twice the length of TS's (measured by word-count), whilst participant WZ contributed only once, but wrote the longest entry of the study.

Although a little simplistic, these data seem to illustrate the differences between differing participants' contributions—some respondents have more 'voice' than others. Are the data therefore skewed towards those 'privileged informants' who write more, and if so, how should it be treated? Were the participants who provided more information those with more to write, those who thought they had more to write, or those who were able to write more (for reasons of linguistic ability, time, enthusiasm, etc.)? Or, were the more regular informants those willing to, or thought they should, help my study?

For example:

Today I had the chance to talk a little bit with [UW], and that was very interesting because I've never spoken to her before

(NK, diary entry)

I hadn't worked with her [NK] before so it was interesting to talk with her. The pairwork is a good thing to get in contact with different students and to learn to listen to different accents

(UW, diary entry)

Here, both NK and UW are commenting on the same incident, but with apparently differing levels of detail and reflective consideration. This variation might represent differing levels of interest in the event. It may also result from different levels of articulacy in English, or differing daily circumstances, levels of effort, etc. However, other diary entries and interview transcripts show NK to be one of the more reflective participants. Therefore, whether individual diary entries accurately articulate participants' perceptions seems questionable.

Is there a way forward?

For these reasons, diary data seem far more problematic than many researchers have indicated. To continue working with my diary data, it seems necessary to make several conceptual assumptions.

Firstly, I need to assume that the participants told the truth, or what they saw as the truth at the time of writing. Without this assumption, it is difficult to conceptualize the study progressing any further. Additionally, the apparently honest and open relationship built between myself and the participants during the study seems to support this claim. Secondly, I should recognize that the data was partial, presenting perceptions rather than reality, for 'man [sic] . . . does not and cannot know reality directly' (Caxton 1984: i). Thirdly, I can theorize that as how we behave 'depends on what we consider [the] world to be' (ibid.: 1), it only matters that participants thought they were telling the truth, as this was the basis upon which they socially constructed reality. Together, I feel that these assumptions provide a coherence, albeit strictly limited, for the discussion to continue.

Did my research methodology affect the data?

Having built a foundation from which to continue, I shall now examine the ways in which my study's methodology may have affected the collected data. Is any variation predictable?

A written diary

Although I favoured an oral diary approach, it proved impossible to implement in my small-scale study. However, writing possibly placed more time demands on participants than speaking. Thus participant BF, who, when interviewed, proved to be an interesting and thoughtful informant, typically wrote only one or two sentences each day later explaining that:

To write for me is absolutely not a pleasure [sic]

(BF, feedback questionnaire)

I also asked participants to write in English, for the practical reason I could not myself translate the required languages, and also in acknowledgement of the possibility that communication in a foreign language hinders obfuscation more than it hampers articulation. However, it is possible that writing in English possibly affected the quality and quantity of the data, as might the daily collection of the diaries, and it would be interesting in a future study to explore these concerns through, for example, alternate L1/L2 entries.

A focused journal

As participants became more familiar with diary writing, the style and content of their comments appeared to 'evolve naturally'. Providing participants with more focus appeared to affect this process. For the first two days, participant CA noted, for example:

Funny lesson with important repetition . . . repetition too long . . .
pronunciation cards—good idea

(CA, diary entry)

However, following my request to write about 'what I can't see', she wrote:

. . . [NK] and I *did* speak about other things than James had asked for . . . It was like continuing the exercise . . . I would wish to know what's going on before the lesson starts . . .

(CA, diary entry, CA's emphasis)

Thus whilst CA's second entry is more useful to my study, the additional detail concerning her thoughts, opinions, and 'hidden' (unobserved) behaviour are probably a consequence of my comments to her.

Non-professional informants

Noting that reflection is a challenging task, Jarvis (op. cit.) has highlighted several problems of diary studies which draw upon inexperienced informants including listing, pleasing the reader, and general summaries. Unlike Breen's study (op. cit.), few of the informants in my study had prior teaching experience or experience of participating in a diary study, and their diary entries accordingly illustrate Jarvis' argument. For example:

■ listing:

a repetition of phrasal verbs. may be too long. Pronouncing was included

(BF, diary entry)

- pleasing the reader, for example:

it is interesting and useful to think back on the class

(WZ, diary entry)

- general summaries, for example:

I could understand the first questions . . . the second part (questions) was very interesting . . . when we discuss about complaint, I enjoyed it.

(HY, diary entry)

Would professionally experienced informants have provided significantly different data? There are slightly more occasions where the teacher's diary offers insights which interested me. For example:

I feel happy . . . [with pairs] . . . as I believe they [the students] enjoy working with each other and will therefore produce more, both in terms of quantity and natural input

. . . no noticeable problems with the class dynamics . . .

the stand-up exercise was designed to provide a physical stimulus

(Teacher, diary entries)

However, the many complicating factors (for example, my existing professional relationship with the teacher, writing in first language, etc.) perhaps make it impossible to know whether the differences in data are wholly due to the teacher's professional expertise.

Overall, it seems that the design of the study influenced the data collected, and it seems crucial that the influences and difficulties within the data are made explicit.

Moving on: what can the diary study tell us?

In this study, I have examined whether it is possible to collect data about participants' perceptions about classroom language learning. I have attempted to highlight the numerous conceptual and operational difficulties I experienced in a self-report diary study. I showed that some participants were more 'fruitful' than others (Block op. cit.), raising dilemmas about data *treatment*. I also illustrated that it was necessary to make numerous assumptions about the limited *nature* of the collected data.

The constraints I have discussed suggest that we should operate with a systematic 'distrust' of diary data and what we think it might show. Thus, Allwright (personal communication) suggests that 'a participant said this, it is interesting (to me), and this is what I understand by it at this time' might be as much as diary studies can reasonably assert. This seems to indicate that much can be learnt (but perhaps little can be generalized) from participants' perceptions of the language classroom.

Although limited, this perspective can still prove fruitful. If the limitations and decision-making process within data collection (and subsequent analysis) are made explicit, then readers will be able to:

Experience vicariously the setting that is described and confront the key assertions and constructs . . . [and] . . . consider the author's theoretical and personal perspective as it has changed through the study

(Erikson 1986: 145)

This suggests that specific understandings of data are acceptable within our professional community provided these interpretations are disseminated and also draw upon a full, and fully illustrated, theoretical framework.

I am not suggesting, therefore, that diary studies are invalid, but that they are extremely problematical. Nor am I suggesting that the findings of such studies should be kept at an individual level, but that the problems and complexities of diary data need to be made explicit for any audience or readership to find those elements of the study which are genuinely relevant to their own context. Diary findings *might* be typical of many or most English language classrooms, but, more importantly, they can provide points of immediate interest and recognition for our professional community (and communities) to consider. Accessible mechanisms for dissemination, both formal and informal, through publication and via associations or networks of teachers need support for, as Cameron (1992: 24) notes, 'if something's worth knowing, it's worth sharing'. So too, I hope, are these experiences of the complex nature of 'doing' ethnographic, diary-based research.

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State-of-the-Art Article

Own-language use in language teaching and learning

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Until recently, the assumption of the language-teaching literature has been that new languages are best taught and learned monolingually, without the use of the students' own language(s). In recent years, however, this monolingual assumption has been increasingly questioned, and a re-evaluation of teaching that relates the language being taught to the students' own language has begun. This article surveys the developing English language literature on the role of students' own language(s) in the language classroom. After clarifying key terms, the paper charts the continuing widespread use of students' own languages in classrooms around the world and the contemporary academic and societal trends which have led to a revival of support for this. It then explores key arguments which underpin this revival, and reviews a range of empirical studies which examine the extent and functions of own-language use within language classrooms. Next, the article examines the support for own-language use that a range of theoretical frameworks provide, including psycholinguistic and cognitive approaches, general learning theory and sociocultural approaches. Having explored the notion of 'optimal' in-class own-language use, the article then reviews research into teachers' and students' attitudes towards own-language use. It concludes by examining how a bilingual approach to language teaching and learning might be implemented in practice.

1. Introduction

The issue of how to teach or learn a new language has generated an immense literature in English, based upon varying mixtures of assertion, theory, observation and experiment, and written from a variety of perspectives: psycholinguistic, sociolinguistic, pedagogic, educational and political. Since the late nineteenth century, the usual assumption in this literature has been that a new language is best taught and learned monolingually, without use of the students' own language for explanation, translation, testing, classroom management or general communication between teacher and student. The belief – sometimes explicit, but more often implicit – has been that everything that happens during a language class should

be in the language being taught, and that students should be discouraged or even banned from making any use of the language(s) they already know. Since this notion became accepted wisdom in the late nineteenth century, it has been largely taken for granted in the language teaching literature throughout the twentieth century, with only isolated voices of dissent. More recently, however, this MONOLINGUAL ASSUMPTION has been increasingly challenged alongside a reassessment of the merits of relating the language being taught to students' own languages. This article surveys and assesses this new and growing literature.

Bearing in mind, however, that language learning is an international activity, it is important to note that what is in vogue in the literature does not necessarily reflect what is actually happening in all parts of the world. In some places, the latest fashion simply does not reach teachers, syllabus designers or text-book writers; in others, there is a significant time lag before a new approach arrives; and elsewhere, new theories may be actively resisted. Thus, although the mainstream literature has supported monolingual teaching for the last hundred years or so, there are many educational contexts where use of the students' own language has remained the norm. Similarly, if bilingual teaching returns, as the literature surveyed in this article suggests it will, then it is likely that monolingual teaching will nevertheless continue in many places.

The greater part of the language-teaching literature has concerned the teaching of English, although a great deal of it, acting on the assumption underpinning much second language acquisition (SLA) research that acquiring a new language is a substantially uniform universal process, implicitly claims relevance to the teaching of any language. In our view, this failure to differentiate is a considerable weakness; while the psycholinguistic aspects of language learning may indeed have some universal features, the sociolinguistic factors vary considerably. As English continues to grow and consolidate its position as the dominant international language, its use raises very specific issues of power and identity, which, though shared to a certain extent by other dominant and widely distributed languages (such as French, Spanish, Portuguese and Russian), are very different from those involved in the teaching of smaller and more geographically confined languages (such as Icelandic, Chechen, Navaho and literally thousands of others). The extent and speed of the spread of English make it, in the view of some analysts (following Phillipson 1992), a threat to other languages, including those which have formerly had international currency in one field or another (e.g. diplomatic French or scientific Russian). In addition, the global distribution of English (Crystal 2003), its fragmenting into new Englishes (Sergeant 2012) and its use as a *lingua franca* (Seidlhofer 2011) mean that, for many learners, native-speaker models of English and the goal of cultural integration into English speaking countries are no longer needed, or even desirable.

This confounding of different languages is also sometimes present in the literature advocating a return to bilingual teaching. That is to say, many arguments for bilingual teaching are vague as to whether they are relevant to any language, to a particular language, or specifically to English. It may be, however, that a reintroduction of bilingual teaching will also hasten an end to over-generalised statements about language learning. The learning of Chinese by a French speaker, for example, which necessitates the learning of a new writing system and significantly different structures, is not the same as the learning of Italian by a Spanish speaker. Thus, specificity is needed, and we should make our position and the scope of this survey clear from the outset. This article is concerned with the teaching of English

to speakers of other languages, though where relevant, we also review literature referring specifically to languages other than English (almost exclusively other 'big' languages such as French and Spanish). We do not, however, claim relevance to the teaching of any language.

Moreover, in the teaching of English, the dominance of the monolingual assumption is particularly important for a number of reasons. Firstly, it has had a devastating effect on the status of non-native English speaker teachers. Additionally, by assuming that the goal of learners should be to emulate native-speaker proficiency, it has presented learners with an unattainable but not necessarily desirable ideal (not all native-speaker English is widely comprehensible, stylistically diverse, literate or eloquent). Furthermore, the monolingual teaching of English has inhibited the development of bilingual and bicultural identities and skills that are actively needed by most learners, both within the English-speaking countries and in the world at large.

1.1 Survey outline

After a brief and necessary discussion of terminology (section 1.2), the rest of section 1 outlines the late nineteenth-century origins of monolingual language teaching which, despite changes in theories of language and of learning, was supported by the vast majority of language teaching and learning literature throughout the twentieth century. Section 2, in contrast, charts the continuing widespread use of students' own languages, even in contexts where the monolingual assumption is notionally unchallenged. Subsequently, section 3 examines the contemporary scholarly and societal trends which have led to a revival of interest in own-language use and translation. Key arguments underpinning this revival are brought together in section 4. Section 5 reviews empirical studies which explore both the extent of own-language use (5.1) and its functions (5.2) within the language classroom. Section 6 examines the theoretical frameworks and research findings which support bilingual teaching, including psycholinguistic and cognitive perspectives (6.1), SLA (6.2), general learning theory (6.3) and sociocultural approaches (6.4), from there moving to questions surrounding the 'optimal amount' of own-language use in the classroom (6.5) and ways of integrating psycholinguistic into sociolinguistic frameworks (6.6). Research into teachers' and learners' attitudes towards own-language use is discussed in section 7. Finally, this review considers the persistence of monolingual approaches, especially in content-based learning (section 8), before examining how a bilingual approach may be implemented in practice in section 9's concluding discussion.

1.2 Terminology

As so often in academic debate, the terminology which surrounds own-language use in language teaching can cause considerable confusion; different terms are often used by different authors to refer to the same concept, while the same terms are also used in different senses. Clarity is therefore needed in referring to the two opposed approaches to teaching. We shall refer to the notion that a language is best taught without reference to another language

as MONOLINGUAL TEACHING and the opposite notion, that use should be made of a language the student already knows, as BILINGUAL TEACHING.

All learners of an additional language are by definition speakers of at least one language and aspire to know at least one new one. At least two languages are therefore involved, and there are established terms to refer to each. Most widespread are 'first language' (abbreviated to 'L1'), 'mother tongue' and 'native language' for the existing language and 'second language' (abbreviated to 'L2'), 'foreign language' or 'target language' for the new one.

In our view all these terms are unsatisfactory. In many educational settings, the common shared language is not the 'first' or 'native' language of all students (for example, although German is the language used in German secondary schools, and therefore the language likely to be recruited as an aid to the teaching of English, it is not the first language of all the pupils in those schools, who may for example be recent arrivals from Turkey or Poland). Moreover, the term 'native language' has long been effectively challenged as muddled and imprecise (Coulmas 1981; Rampton 1990). 'Mother tongue' is not only an emotive term but also inaccurate – for the obvious reason that many people's 'mother tongue' is not their mother's 'mother tongue'!

As for the language being learned, 'second' wrongly implies that all learners know only one other language, when many are already bi- or multi-lingual; in addition, it arguably has unfortunate connotations of 'second class'. Furthermore, as the use of English in the world becomes ever more global (Graddol 1997, 2006; Crystal 2003; Seargeant 2012), the distinction between English as 'second' and 'foreign' language becomes ever harder to draw; in some senses English has become the second language of the whole world. Meanwhile, 'target language' may have unfortunate military overtones. For these reasons, this article, while acknowledging the currency of the terms above, will adopt the terms OWN LANGUAGE – 'the language which the students already know and through which (if allowed), they can approach the new language' (G. Cook 2010: xxii) – and NEW LANGUAGE, that is, the language being learned (for further discussion, see G. Cook 2010: xxi–xxii).

1.3 Origins of monolingual teaching

The twentieth century was a time of successive revolutions in theories of language and language acquisition, and these have had a marked influence on language teaching. For example, philology was overtaken by structuralist linguistics; behaviourist learning theory retreated in the face of a new Chomskyan nativism; a focus on sentence grammar yielded to functionalist and discourse analytic views; corpus linguistics re-wrote ideas about the relation between vocabulary and grammar. The fact that confidence in monolingual teaching has survived such changes suggests that its origins lie less in the theoretical than the practical sphere. This view is also borne out by the history of its emergence in the late nineteenth century.

Monolingual teaching was not unknown before that time, however. In Europe, there had been medieval schools which used Latin for all purposes, immersion teaching by governesses and tutors in upper-class families, and instances of monolingual teaching in general secondary school education (Phillipson 1992: 186–187). But it was from the late nineteenth century

onwards that it was extensively promoted in the language-teaching literature, rapidly gaining the status of an unchallenged assumption, not only in the teaching of English, but other major European languages too. Although the academics of the self-styled REFORM MOVEMENT (Howatt & Smith 2002, Howatt with Widdowson 2004: 187–210) drew upon research in phonetics and psychology to vigorously oppose the GRAMMAR TRANSLATION METHOD which dominated foreign language teaching in secondary schools at that time (instead advocating a greater emphasis on spoken language, fluency and connected texts), they were by no means dogmatically opposed to the use of students' own languages. Henry Sweet, for example, one of the leaders of the Reform Movement in Britain, explicitly advocated the use of translation in the teaching of vocabulary (1899/1964: 194).

Thus, a more credible source for dogmatically monolingual teaching is the work of Maximilian Berlitz. The story is that Berlitz, a German Jewish immigrant to the USA who himself spoke several languages, employed a Frenchman, Nicholas Joly, to cover his French class for English-speaking students (Berlitz International 2008: 4). Having always communicated with Joly in French, however, Berlitz did not realise that his new employee did not speak any English. Joly was therefore not able to follow the usual practice of explaining the French language in English, and had to teach French in French, making his meaning as clear as he could through gestures, facial expressions, pictures and so forth. To Berlitz's surprise, on his return (so the story goes) not only had the pupils enjoyed these lessons, they also seemed to have made progress. This serendipitous event apparently inspired Berlitz to develop the BERLITZ METHOD, which still survives nearly a century and a half later, proudly described on current Berlitz websites (e.g. Berlitz London: 2011). One of the main tenets of the method remains as follows:

The Berlitz Method excludes any use of the student's native language in either the classroom or in the student's review materials. By totally immersing the student in the new language, we can most closely simulate the real-life situations in which he or she will be using the language, and eliminate the cumbersome process of introducing a concept first in the student's language and then in the target language.

With this method, Berlitz went on to found the Berlitz schools, which spread rapidly throughout the USA and internationally, teaching both English and other languages. There were 200 such schools by 1914, and the organisation is still thriving today, promoting the fact that it 'is one of the few international organisations to survive two World Wars and the Great Depression' (Berlitz International 2008: 8).

The monolingual principle of the Berlitz schools became a model for other institutions, and its widespread acceptance can be attributed to a number of factors. Classes in which students are speakers of a variety of languages, and the employment of native speaker teachers who do not necessarily know the language(s) of their students, created situations in which bilingual teaching seemed to be impossible. It was also in the interests of both publishers and language schools based in English-speaking nations to promote monolingual products which could be implemented by native-speaker experts, marketed worldwide without variation, and did not need input from speakers of other languages.

Additionally, the perceived goals of language learning changed. In so-called 'traditional' language teaching, and in particular in Grammar Translation, the aim was to develop the

ability to translate written language accurately, and ultimately to build upon this skill, thereby enabling literary texts to be read in the original. Since the move towards monolingual teaching in the late nineteenth century, however, a frequent if often unstated assumption has been that, with the exception of courses specifically aimed at training translators and interpreters, the goal of language teaching is to prepare students to communicate in monolingual environments and to emulate as far as possible the use of the new language by its native speakers – a goal which for many learners is neither useful, desirable or attainable (Davies 1995, 2003; see also section 1). There was little or no acknowledgement of the need of many learners to operate in bilingual or multilingual environments, where translation and appropriate CODE-SWITCHING are needed and valued skills (Sridhar & Sridhar 1986).

Similarly, the recent reassessment of the merits of bilingual teaching seems also to be driven more by practical considerations and a reconsideration of the goals of language learning rather than by any new theories of language and language learning. Indeed, the proponents of a return to bilingual teaching seem to share many theoretical assumptions with those advocating monolingual teaching in the late twentieth century, including their focus on communication and learner needs. Major factors in the advocacy of bilingual teaching include a recognition that many learners will need to operate bilingually, that they will wish to preserve their own cultural and linguistic identity while speaking English, and that they will not necessarily be using English in a native-speaker environment, but as a *lingua franca* with other non-native speakers of English (Jenkins 2000, 2007; Seidlhofer 2002, 2011). In short, the increasingly accepted view, following a paradigm-breaking argument by Widdowson (1994), is that the predominantly English-speaking countries, given the language's international currency, can no longer claim 'the ownership of English'.

Although belief in the superiority of monolingual teaching was endemic in the most influential English language teaching literature from the late nineteenth century onwards, there were nevertheless important changes within this monolingual paradigm. While actual use of students' own languages by teachers or students was discouraged or even banned, this did not necessarily initially entail a lack of interest in that own language by teachers and course designers. In the 1940s and 1950s, it was widely assumed that CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS (a comparison of the learners' own language and the new language) would be useful, as it would identify points of difficulty for speakers of particular languages (Fries 1945; Lado 1957). Knowledge of learners' own language and its relation to the new language was therefore present in the background of monolingual teaching, even when not allowed in the foreground.

However, in the 1970s and 80s, with the emergence of SLA as the dominant body of academic theory informing language teaching, even this background consideration of learners' own languages was removed. Early SLA claims that a natural order of acquisition would be followed by all learners of English whatever their own language (Krashen 1982), and that first language interference was only a minor cause of error (Selinker 1972), dealt a formidable blow to the apparently commonsense view that syllabuses should vary with the first language of the students (whereby, for example, the teaching of English to Chinese speakers would demand a different approach from the teaching of English to French speakers). Additionally, the emphasis on a natural and universal order of second language acquisition through exposure to meaning did not favour the conscious attention to differences between

new language and own language which is inherent in bilingual teaching. There are, however, some notable exceptions to the dismissal of contrastive analysis as a guide to learner problems, such as Swan & Smith's edited collection (1987/2001), which brings together insights into likely learner difficulties across a range of own languages.

2. Acknowledging own-language use

However, despite the monolingual imperatives which dominated theories of language teaching and SLA research until the late twentieth century, learners' own languages and, indeed, translation, have continued to be used in many language classrooms around the world (Benson 2000; V. Cook 2008), especially in contexts where learners share a language which is also known by the teacher. For example, Adamson (2004) notes that Grammar Translation in English language teaching prospered until the 1960s in China, whilst Nasrin (2005) outlines the continuing use of the same method in Bangladesh.

Yet, as Pennycook (2004) points out, there is more to own-language use than the 'static' and 'traditional' impression that the term 'Grammar Translation' portrays, an image which has served to stereotype and marginalise non-monolingual teaching practices around the world (see also G. Cook 2010). Numerous studies have documented bilingual teaching, code-switching and CODE CHOICE (emphasising learner choice during classroom interaction and teacher choices in curriculum design and teaching practice (Levine 2011)) in a range of English language classrooms around the world, for example in Botswana (Arthur 1996); Brazil (Fabricio & Santos 2006); China (Qian, Tian & Wang 2009; van der Meij & Zhao 2010; Littlewood & Yu 2011); Cyprus (Copland & Neokleous 2011); Finland (Nikula 2007); Germany (Butzkamm 1998); Hong Kong (Pennington 1995; Lin 1996; Carless 2002, 2004, 2008; Littlewood & Yu 2011); Hungary (Harbord 1992; Nagy & Robertson 2009); Italy (Moore 2002); Japan (Hobbs, Matsuo & Payne 2010); Malta (Camilleri 1996); South Africa (Adendorff 1996); South Korea (Liu et al. 2004; Kang 2008); Spain (Unamuno 2008); Sri Lanka (Canagarajah 1999); Sweden (Cromdal 2005); Thailand (Forman 2007, 2008); and Turkey (Eldridge 1996; Ustunel & Seedhouse 2005). Studies from Canada, with its particular history of bilingual education, also document own-language use and code choices (e.g. Behan & Turnbull with Spek 1997; Swain & Lapkin 2000, 2005; Liebscher & Dailey-O'Cain 2005; Cummins 2007; Dailey-O'Cain & Liebscher 2009).

Similarly, own-language use in US language classrooms (both English and other languages) has been documented by, for example, Brooks & Donato (1994); Polio & Duff (1994); Blyth (1995); Kramsch (1998); Antón & DiCamilla (1999); Alley (2005); Belz (2002); Levine (2003, 2009, 2011); Edstrom (2006); Scott & de la Fuente (2008); and Brooks-Lewis (2009). Meanwhile, Rolin-Ianziti & Brownlie (2002), Crawford (2004), Kim & Elder (2008) and Ellwood (2008) document own-language use in Australian and New Zealand language classrooms, whilst Mitchell (1988), Macaro (1997, 2001), Allford (1999) and Meiring & Norman (2002) detail the use of learners' own languages in British secondary school foreign language classes. Moreover, the continued use of translation activities in language classrooms around the world has also been increasingly acknowledged in recent years. For example, Kern (1994) investigates the role of translation in L2 reading; Lally (2000) and Kim (2011)

outline the use and effects of translation tasks within writing activities; Tudor identifies a use for translation within ESP (1987a; 1987b); and Malmkjær (1998) points out that translation and own-language use remain the norm in university-level language teaching.

According to V. Cook (2001), language teachers who are able to do so use the learners' own language 'every day'. Similarly, Lucas & Katz's (1994) study of English-only programmes in the US reports that 'the use of native language is so compelling that it emerges even when policies and assumptions mitigate against it' (p. 558). As Levine (2011) observes, therefore, the language classroom has remained a multilingual environment in spite of the monolingual principles and norms which have been assumed within the language teaching literature over the last hundred years. Despite its disappearance from the public discourses of language teaching and learning, in many contexts, own-language use and translation has never entirely ceased – or been 'stamped out' (Butzkamm 2003: 29).

What has developed in language teaching, therefore, is a divide between those who have regarded monolingual classrooms as a given and those who teach using the learners' own language. Yet twelve years into the twenty-first century, there is evidence that this division, which, in many contexts, might arguably be characterised as one between theory and practice, may be coming to an end, and that the existence and advantages of using the learners' own language in class are increasingly recognised. Next, therefore, we shall briefly examine how societal and scholarly trends have led to an environment in which own-language use might be viewed more positively.

3. The changing context

The recent interest in own-language use and, to a lesser extent, translation has been made possible by changes in the academic and political climate surrounding language teaching and learning. Early SLA ideas about natural acquisition through attention to meaning have now been effectively discredited (Gregg 1984, McLaughlin 1987, Widdowson 1990 *inter alia*), and early SLA research has been widely criticised for its asocial and apolitical approach to language learning (Block 2003). The development of a SOCIAL TURN (*ibid.*) within applied linguistics more easily acknowledges complexity, diversity, difference and uncertainty within language and language learning, and has complemented a growing interest in the relevance of COMPLEXITY THEORY to new language development (e.g. Larsen-Freeman 1997; Larsen-Freeman & Cameron 2008: 115–160); of SOCIOCULTURAL THEORY (e.g. Lantolf 2000, 2011); and of ECOLOGICAL APPROACHES (e.g. van Lier 2000, 2004; Kramsch 2002) as ways of understanding and explaining language and language-related phenomena.

At the same time, the effects of contemporary migration and globalisation alongside the increasing recognition that non-native speakers of English have long outnumbered native speakers globally (Crystal 2003) have led to a re-evaluation of the importance of bilingualism and multilingualism for individual and societal language use. As central and creative elements of multilingual discourse which create and maintain speaker IDENTITY (Norton 2000; Rampton 2005; Block 2007; De Fina 2007), code choice and code-switching have become increasingly de-stigmatised beyond the classroom and, consequently, are also

starting to be seen as a 'normal behaviour' (Levine 2009) within language classrooms. From this perspective, therefore, language learners are increasingly seen as multiple language users (Belz 2002), with the language classroom conceptualised as a multilingual speech community (Blyth 1995; Edstrom 2006). This contrasts with what V. Cook (2001) characterises as a 'traditional' view of learners as deficient 'imitation natives' learning in monolingual classrooms.

Such considerations highlight the need to consider the links between code-switching, speaker identity and the symbolic value of languages; a number of studies have addressed these issues in postcolonial settings. Focusing on English-medium primary classrooms in Botswana, Arthur (1996) suggests that code-switching from English into the learners' own language (Setswana) creates a 'safe-space' in which learners can contribute more to a lesson and engage more critically with the curriculum. With only limited access to English beyond the classroom, learners and teachers employ Setswana as a 'language of complicity' to overcome problems of English-medium classroom interaction. Lin (1996) takes an equally critical approach to the symbolic domination of English in Hong Kong schools, also suggesting that own-language use is a pragmatic response in English-medium classrooms and calling for a 'balanced academic bilingualism' (p. 79), both to reflect the reality of classroom life and to challenge the subordination of 'all cultural and educational goals to the single dominant goal of learning English' (*ibid.*). Similarly, Katunich (2006) argues that English-only or English-mainly teaching in post-apartheid South Africa is a form of colonialism which denies black (Katunich's terminology) language learners the possibility of additive multilingualism and limits their identities and educational trajectories – see also Chick & McKay (2001). For further discussion of the functions of classroom code-switching in other postcolonial contexts in Africa, see, for example, Ferguson (2003) and Opoku-Amankwa (2009). Overall, therefore, these perspectives highlight the ways in which debates surrounding own-language use and code-switching in the English language teaching (ELT) classroom are not 'just' technical issues surrounding how languages are learned, but can underpin learners' sense of who they are and who they want to be in a complex multilingual world.

Although particularly relevant within postcolonial environments, concerns surrounding identity and cultural integrity are by no means limited to these contexts. Numerous studies have focused upon the links between identity, own-language use and the development of INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATIVE COMPETENCE, that is, the ability of speakers to communicate in culturally appropriate ways as they move between languages and cultural groups (Stiefel 2009; Levine 2011). Crawford (2004) finds that teachers see the learners' own language as the most appropriate medium for cross-cultural comparisons, whilst Elorza (2008), Stiefel (2009) and House (2009), amongst many others, suggest that, in addition to a focus on linguistic accuracy, in-class translation activities can also bring to learners' attention cross-cultural differences in the ways speakers communicate. Meanwhile, from a more critical perspective, Fabrício & Santos (2006) outline the ways in which a group of Brazilian schoolchildren use their own language to reflect on the relationship between English and Portuguese both in their classroom and beyond. Noting that English, the language of globalisation and the market, 'is everywhere in Brazil' (p. 68), their study illustrates how own-language use facilitates learners' awareness of the SYMBOLIC COMPETENCE of languages (Kramersch 2006), whereby the decision to use

one language over another at a particular time is in part influenced by the history and power relationships between those languages, that is, by their 'symbolic value' (see also Kramsch 2009).

Thus, changing academic and contemporary political, societal and personal perspectives on bi- and multilingualism provide a context in which interest in own-language use in language classrooms has developed and the reality of in-class code-switching is more readily acknowledged. However, research into, and arguments for, own-language use draw upon a range of differing perspectives, from theories of cognition and learning to concepts of power and classroom management, and from the search for 'optimal' own-language use to the role of teacher and learner beliefs in supporting (or rejecting) bilingual teaching. It is to these arguments that we now turn in more detail, looking first at broad theoretical reconceptualisations of language learning and teaching which acknowledge and favour own-language use in the classroom, before moving on to examine specific evidence and insights provided by empirical studies.

4. Own-language use: (re-)emerging arguments

4.1 The 'crosslingual' language classroom and 'bilingualisation'

In his balanced consideration of **CROSSLINGUAL** and **INTRALINGUAL** language teaching (i.e. teaching which utilises or makes reference to the learners' own language *versus* teaching that uses only the new language), Stern (1992: 279–299) suggests that these two approaches are not 'opposites' but, rather, form a continuum whereby learners' own languages will be used in different ways and to differing extents at various stages during instruction. Arguing from both a practical perspective (for example, purely intralingual teaching is unrealistic; searching for an interpretation or translation when we do not understand the L2 – to use Stern's terminology – is 'natural language behaviour') and drawing upon more theoretical perspectives (for example, the own/new language connection in a learner's mind is an 'indisputable fact of life' which generally leads to the use of the learner's own language as a reference system for the new language), Stern suggests that crosslingual and intralingual techniques and practices can complement each other. For Stern, intralingual teaching strategies will be more effective if crosslingual activities such as translation, the use of bilingual dictionaries, 'consecutive and simultaneous interpreting' and the 'interpretive treatment of texts' are more clearly recognised as strategies 'in their own right' (p. 295). Meanwhile, the most appropriate balance of intra- and crosslingual approaches will depend on the specific purpose and context of learning: if communicative proficiency in the new language is the principal goal of teaching and learning, intralingual strategies will dominate; however, if mediating skills such as translation and interpreting are the goal of learning, crosslingual strategies should be an important part of classroom life (p. 301).

Like most advocates of own-language use (as we shall see), Stern is careful to emphasise that his support for crosslingual teaching is not a call to abandon intralingual activities or to ignore 'the crucial role of monolingual communicative activities and tasks' in the language classroom (Butzkamm & Caldwell 2009: 14); he also points out that further research is necessary into the

most appropriate combination of intra- and crosslingual techniques for different language learning contexts, age groups and abilities (echoed by Macaro 1997, 2006). But his case for the abandonment of anti-own-language dogma is clear: 'crosslingual techniques have a theoretical justification and can also be efficient, helpful to the learner and interesting' (Stern 1992: 289).

Stern's discussion cites Widdowson's consistent concern with the unthinking abandonment of translation and own-language use in language teaching and learning. At the height of the 'communicative revolution', Widdowson, in his *Teaching language as communication*, the seminal text for COMMUNICATIVE LANGUAGE TEACHING (CLT), observed that:

What we are aiming to do is make the learner conceive of the foreign language in the same way as he [sic] conceives of his own language and to use it in the same way as a communicative activity. This being so, it would seem reasonable to draw upon the learner's knowledge of how his own language is used to communicate. That is to say, it would seem reasonable to make use of translation. (1978: 159)

Widdowson develops this argument in much greater detail in his more recent discussion of 'bilingualisation', that is, the *process* of acquiring a new language, in ELT (2003: 149–164). Widdowson identifies the essentially bilingual nature of the foreign language classroom whereby 'our students come to class with one language (at least) and our task is to get them to acquire another one' (p. 149), and argues that conventional (i.e. monolingual) language teaching procedures fail to recognise the ways in which all bilingual language users fuse their knowledge of two languages into a single system of COMPOUND bilingualism (Weinreich 1953). Compound bilingualism implies that two (or more) languages 'are interwoven in the L2 user's mind' (V. Cook 2001) in terms of, for example, vocabulary, syntax, phonology and pragmatics. Consequently, learning a second language cannot be the same as first language acquisition, for the learners' own language plays a central role in the development and use of their new language. For both V. Cook and Widdowson, monolingual teaching not only overlooks the ways in which learners will always draw upon their own language in order to learn a new language, but is paradoxically designed to stifle natural second language learning processes (Widdowson 2003: 150).

Thus, V. Cook (2001) criticises the notion that successful language acquisition depends on the separation of languages in the learner's mind (i.e. COORDINATE bilingualism) which, he suggests, is a central tenet of monolingual teaching. Both V. Cook (*ibid.*) and Widdowson (2003) trace the attempt to compartmentalise and separate the learner's own language and the new language back to theories of transfer such as Contrastive Analysis (see section 1.3) in which the learners' own language was seen as the major source of difficulty and interference in new language learning. However, they both also ask why, when cognitivist perspectives on SLA now accept that the learners' own language is a resource which learners actively draw upon in interlanguage development (Ellis 1994, cited in Widdowson 2003: 152) – although exactly how remains unclear – the reconceptualisation of own-language use in language pedagogy remains 'conspicuous by its absence' (*ibid.*).

Both V. Cook's and Widdowson's critiques of monolingual teaching are at the forefront of attempts to re-evaluate the use of the first language in the classroom. Indeed, V. Cook (2001) follows up his broadly psycholinguistic arguments by suggesting a range of ways in

which learners' own language might be used positively in class, including conveying meaning and explaining grammar, organising classroom activities, maintaining discipline, building rapport and forming relationships between teacher and learners, and use of the learners' own language for testing. Cook also suggests the development of learning activities which build up connections between own and new languages in the learners' minds and the deliberate use of the learners' own language during classroom tasks and activities. Throughout, he emphasises the importance of seeing such techniques positively rather than as fall-back activities which teachers feel guilty about. Thus, for V. Cook, as for Widdowson and Stern, the need to maximise new language in the classroom does not preclude the use of the learners' own language, as it may provide efficient shortcuts within the learning process, be more related to the learning processes the learners are using, or be more relevant to their external learning goals (2001, 2002).

4.2 'Bilingual Reform'

Whilst Widdowson and V. Cook offer a broad theoretical re-evaluation of the use of learners' own languages in the classroom, Butzkamm & Caldwell (2009) provide a more detailed overview of how a bilingual approach to language teaching might operate in practice in their book *The bilingual reform: A paradigm shift in foreign language teaching*. Drawing upon both authors' longstanding interest in this area (for example, Butzkamm 1989/2002; Caldwell 1990) which, in turn, builds upon Dodson's earlier work and 'Bilingual Method' (1967/1972), the book acts both as a call for change in which the 'mother tongue taboo will be swept away. . . [in an] act of theoretical house-cleaning' (2009: 13) and as a practical guide for using the learners' own language in the classroom. Indeed, building on Butzkamm's 2003 paper, they offer ten maxims for using the 'mother tongue' (their term), highlighting, for example, issues of learner confidence, a focus on meaning, and links between the learners' own and the new language.

Thus, Butzkamm & Caldwell (2009: 13) argue that own language is 'the greatest pedagogical resource' that a learner brings to foreign language learning, as it 'lays the foundations for all other languages we might want to learn'. They therefore advocate not just a 'flexible and less rigid attitude' towards own-language use, but the systematic exploitation of the potential of learners' own language(s) '*where that is appropriate*' (original emphasis). Like Stern, V. Cook and Widdowson, therefore, Butzkamm & Caldwell emphasise the importance of meaning and communicative tasks in teaching and learning, and the need to create a 'foreign language atmosphere' by using the foreign language to perform the 'normal business' of the classroom, such as spontaneous communication between teachers and learners and classroom management tasks (thereby 'cocooning' learners in a 'language bath' (p. 31)). But their call is for a 'new balance' in which own-language use compensates for the limited time and exposure to new language which learners experience as a 'natural' part of instructed language learning. They also highlight the need for learners both to 'decode' language in order to understand its 'message', and to 'code-break', processing language to understand the 'rule' and *how* meanings are encoded so that language patterns can subsequently be used creatively to produce new meanings (V. Cook's terms (e.g. 2008), and a distinction similarly

made by Butzkamm's notion of *doppelverstehen*/'dual comprehension', that is, understanding both *what* is said and *how* it is said (1989/2002: 12)). For Butzkamm & Caldwell, therefore, this 'generative...and combinatorial power of language' (p. 14) is best facilitated by use of the learners' own language, and they outline a comprehensive repertoire of classroom techniques which, they suggest, will facilitate the paradigm shift towards own-language use in language teaching and learning, including idiomatic translation, bilingual dictionary work, and the development of dialogues and drama. We shall return to these practical issues in section 9.

4.3 A case for translation

Thus far, this review has examined the broad approaches to own-language use that underpin the cautious revival of interest in bilingual teaching. However, whilst pointing out that own-language use is not the same as translation, but also suggesting that the rehabilitation of own-language use may in fact open a gateway for translation, G. Cook (1998/2009, 2007, 2008, 2010) moves the debate towards this more specific (and controversial) possibility, presenting a case for the revival of translation within language teaching and learning.

Arguing that translation cannot be treated separately to, or be compartmentalised from, other forms of own-language use in the classroom, G. Cook's *Translation in language teaching* (2010) draws upon language-learning research, pedagogical theory and practice, and educational philosophy to make a case for a major reassessment and reintroduction of translation into language teaching and learning. The argument is that in many contexts translation is a natural and effective means of language learning, develops an important skill, answers students' needs and preferences, and protects students' linguistic and cultural identity. Meanwhile, Witte, Harden & Ramos de Oliveira Harden's edited collection (2009) strongly advocates translation activities as a means through which learners' language awareness, intercultural competence and understanding of conceptual metaphors and literary texts may be developed (in addition to the benefits provided to learners' fluency and accuracy). Similarly, Malmkjær (1998: 8) points out that translation, an important 'fifth skill' for language learners to develop in the contemporary world, depends upon, and is inclusive of, the other four skills of reading, writing, listening and speaking. Thus learners who engage in translation activities will inevitably practise other language skills, leading Malmkjær to suggest that translation is not, in fact, radically different from other language skills.

However, as G. Cook (2010: 52) observes, the distrust of translation became so deeply entrenched from the late nineteenth century onwards that the apparently small move from supporting own-language use to advocating translation is for many a step too far. He cites, for example, V. Cook's reluctance to advocate a return to translation in his seminal 2001 paper because of, according to V. Cook himself, 'its pejorative overtones' (p. 421); similarly, Stern's balanced account of cross and intralingual language teaching (1992) allows for only new to own-language translation (and then, not 'to excess', p. 293). Thus, recognising the potential contentiousness of the issue, G. Cook's discussion refers only to a 'climate for revival' rather than identifying a 'revival' in translation itself.

5. Examining the evidence

Writing in 2001, Macaro commented that there was ‘very little research’ into own-language use in language teaching and learning (p. 532) – a dearth which his own work has gone a long way to rectify; Liu et al. subsequently noted the particular lack of research in ELT contexts (2004: 610). But as section 2 illustrates, there is now a substantial literature which acknowledges the existence and extent of own-language use in classrooms, much written since Macaro’s observation. A substantial proportion of this ‘flurry’ of scholarly interest (Levine 2011: 72) documents the quantity and/or assesses the functions of own-language use, and it is to these two issues that we now turn.

5.1 The amount of own-language use

A number of studies have attempted to quantify the amount of own and new language use in the classroom, focusing mainly on the extent to which teachers use each code and the reasons for this. Although some research has focused on the teaching of English (e.g. Kharma & Hajjaj 1989; Liu et al. 2004; Copland & Neokleous 2011), the majority of studies have investigated foreign language teaching in English-speaking countries (e.g. Duff & Polio 1990; Macaro 1997; Rolin-Ianziti & Brownlie 2002; Edstrom 2006; Kim & Elder 2008; Levine 2011).

In an early investigation, Guthrie (1984, cited in Levine 2003, 2011) examined the own/new language practices of six university-level French teachers working in the same institutional context, all of whom reported teaching communicatively. Guthrie’s analysis of ten hours of recorded teaching demonstrated substantial variation in the amounts and purposes of own-language use by teachers. Yet it also suggested that most teachers used the new language most of the time. Subsequently, however, Duff & Polio (1990) undertook a more wide-ranging study, asking ‘How much foreign language is there in the foreign language classroom?’ and observing, recording and transcribing the spoken discourse of thirteen foreign language classrooms within a university languages programme (their investigation also utilised learner questionnaires and teacher interviews to elicit attitudes and motivations towards own-language use, to be explored in section 7). Duff & Polio found much more variation than Guthrie in own-language use by teachers. Whilst the mean and median amounts of new language use across the study were 67.9% and 79% respectively (on average, therefore, the learners’ own language was used by teachers for 32.1% (mean) and 21% (median) of their utterances), within individual classes, the range of new language use ranged from 10% to 100% (correspondingly, therefore, own-language use within the study ranged from 0% to 90%). Turnbull (2001) identifies similar levels of variation in the amount of new language spoken by school French teachers in Canada (from 9% to 89% of classroom activities conducted in French). Similarly, Edstrom (2006), focusing on her own practices as a teacher of Spanish in a US university over the course of a semester, found ‘extreme fluctuations’ in own-language use, ranging from 7% to 70% of her talk for individual lessons, or, taken as monthly average, from 17% during one month’s classes to 42% of her speech in

another (see also Turnbull 2001 and Kim & Elder 2008 for similar evidence of variation in and relatively high levels of own-language use). Cai (2011), in her study of English teaching in a Chinese university, documented classes in which up to 80% of teaching was in Chinese, despite teachers' self reports of much lower quantities.

Furthermore, even those studies which show generally less own-language use by teachers reveal variation both between instructors within the same institution and/or between lessons. For example, Rolin-Ianziti & Brownlie (2002) found that own-language use by four French teachers directing the same listening exercise ranged from 0% to 18.15% of their total speech, whilst Macaro (2001) observed that six student teachers' own-language use between lessons ranged from 0% to 15.2%. Rolin-Ianziti & Brownlie (2002) also reported that a teacher who had not employed the learners' own language at all during a listening exercise used it for 55.51% of her speech during a grammar activity. Meanwhile, observations of own-language use in two ELT contexts suggest that teachers used the learners' own language for an average of 20% in Kuwaiti beginner and lower intermediate classes (Kharma & Hajjaj 1989) and, in a South Korean High School, for up to 32% of class time (Liu et al. 2004). Moreover, Copland & Neokleous (2011) observed a range of own-language use in a Cypriot language school, from lessons conducted almost wholly in English to classes handled almost wholly in Greek.

To summarise, the discussion so far provides a general impression of own-language use in the classroom. Two general approaches to the analysis of teachers' speech can be identified: own-language use measured in terms of time spent in new or own language (e.g. Duff & Polio 1990; Edstrom 2006) or of the number of words spoken in each code (e.g. Rolin-Ianziti & Brownlie 2002; Liu et al. 2004), the latter needing to take into account the differences in word counts between synthetic languages with a high morpheme-per-word ratio and isolating languages with a low morpheme-per-word ratio. Nevertheless, the studies confirm the extent to which teachers' own-language use varies between and within contexts. A complicating factor, however, is the tendency for teachers to underestimate the extent to which they use the learners' own language. For example, according to Polio & Duff, who in addition to the recorded and quantified classroom data presented here also obtained teacher perceptions of own-language use, the instructors in their study were unaware of 'how, when and the extent to which they actually used English' and the degree to which they 'urged students to speak the L2, but then would not necessarily do so themselves' (1994: 320; see also Edstrom 2006; van der Meij & Zhao 2010; Copland & Neokleous 2011). This may be because of the underlying negative attitudes towards own-language use which still prevail in many contexts, and individual teachers' attitudes and beliefs about bilingual teaching. We shall examine teachers' beliefs in more detail in section 7. Now, however, we shall examine why teachers code-switch: what are the functions (both observed by researchers and reported by teachers and learners) of own-language use in the classroom?

5.2 The functions of own-language use

As Edstrom (2006) observes, whilst there is considerable variation in the reported *quantities* of own-language use by teachers, the reported *functions* of own-language use are relatively constant. When interviewed, for example, the teachers in Duff & Polio's study (1990) suggested

that they were more likely to use the learners' own language when it was particularly 'different' from the new language (in terms of, for example, writing systems or grammar); similarly, departmental policies, lesson objectives and tasks, and training and qualifications were said to affect the amount of own-language use.

Subsequently, Polio & Duff (1994) returned to their transcription data to establish in more detail the particular pedagogic functions of own-language use, finding that teachers used their learners' own language for grammar instruction, classroom management and administration, to demonstrate empathy or show solidarity with the learners, to provide translations for unknown words and to compensate for learners' apparent lack of understanding and in response to learners already speaking in their own language. Comparable rationales for own-language use are identified in a range of similar studies, such as Atkinson (1987), Franklin (1990), Macaro (1997, 2001), Rolin-Ianziti & Brownlie (2002), Carless (2004), Liu et al. (2004), Copland & Meokleous (2011) and Levine (2011), as well as in the broader approaches of V. Cook (2001) and Butzkamm & Caldwell (2009) outlined above (in section 4). Meanwhile, Ustunel & Seedhouse (2005), asking 'why that, in that language, right now?', employ a Conversational Analysis methodology to trace in detail the relationship between teacher code-switching and pedagogical focus and sequencing in lessons. They find, for example, that teachers switch from the new to the learners' own language after a pause or hesitation by learners, or switch code in order to prompt a similar switch by learners.

Meanwhile, Rolin-Ianziti & Varshney (2008) draw upon Ellis's distinction between 'medium-oriented goals' and 'framework goals' in classroom interaction to classify teachers' reasons for own-language use: respectively, the teaching of the new language ('the medium') itself and 'goals associated with the organization and management of classroom events' (Ellis 1994: 577–578). According to Rolin-Ianziti & Varshney (2008), teachers might use the learners' own language for medium-oriented goals, such as explaining vocabulary items or teaching grammar (see, for example, Polio & Duff 1994; Castellotti 1997; Kim & Elder 2008) and framework goals, such as giving procedural instructions and assigning homework (e.g. Polio & Duff 1994; Macaro 2001). Littlewood & Yu (2011) similarly draw upon Kim & Elder's (2008) distinction between 'core goals' (teaching the target language), 'framework goals' (managing the classroom situation) and 'social goals' (expressing personal concern and sympathy) to explore a number of ways in which teachers strategically employ learners' own languages in class. Citing a number of illustrative works, they focus upon the role of the learner's own language during the presentation, practice and production of new language, such as Dodson's (1967/1972) and Butzkamm's (2003) 'bilingual sandwich' technique, Butzkamm's (2001) 'mirror translation' exercises and Duff's (1989) and Deller & Rinvolutri's (2002) bilingual learning materials.

Littlewood & Yu (2011) also emphasise the 'reassuring' role the learners' own language can play in the classroom and the potentially alienating effects of monolingual teaching, Allwright & Bailey similarly observing that 'banishing the learners' first language. . . deprives [them] of their normal means of communication and so of the ability to behave fully as normal people' (1991: 173). For example, learners in Chen's (2003) study ascribe their in-class reticence to the demands placed on them by communicative language teaching, whilst Brooks-Lewis (2009) documents stress experienced by adult learners in a monolingual language classroom and their sense of disadvantage in relation to their teacher. Similarly, Auerbach's more overtly

political take on the issue emphasises how teacher power and authority can be reinforced by monolingual teaching and, consequently, how own-language use can 'reduce anxiety and enhance the affective environment for learning' (1993: 20). (See also Stables & Wikeley (1999) with reference to the negative effect of monolingual teaching on British teenagers' attitudes to language learning.)

Meanwhile, Stibbard (1998) highlights the affective-humanistic benefits of mother tongue use with beginner learners in Hong Kong, and Levine (2003) suggests that 'principled' and 'meaningful' own-language use can contribute to a reduction in learner anxiety. Canagarajah (1999: 132) observes how own-language use puts Sri Lankan learners 'at ease. . .and creates a less threatening atmosphere', especially when discussing local events; similarly, in her study of her own practice, Edstrom (2006) uses the learners' own language to 'connect with students' and to deal light-heartedly with cultural stereotyping which, she felt, could not be discussed adequately in the new language.

A similar positive effect of own-language use on in-class relationships is documented by Nikula (2007), who observed Finnish learners employing their own language for affective and interpersonal functions in an otherwise monolingual content-based class. Own-language use has been likewise identified as promoting class unity and identity in a variety of ELT classrooms and contexts, such as in Maltese secondary schools (Camilleri 1996), South African high schools (Adendorff 1996) and Swedish primary schools (Cromdal 2005). Meanwhile, Schweers (1999) identifies a role for own-language use in encouraging learner motivation and positive attitudes towards the language being learned.

Consequently, outlining her own reasons for using the learners' own language, Edstrom (2006) argues that the debate transcends concerns about language acquisition processes or ways of managing classroom activities; own-language use is a moral issue. Drawing on the work of Johnston (2003), who explains morality in terms of the value-laden decisions that teachers make on a moment-by-moment basis and their consequences for learners, Edstrom suggests that teachers have a 'moral obligation' to recognise learners as individuals, to communicate respect and concern and to create a positive affective environment (which, in turn, benefits learning). She therefore argues that concerns for learner affect outweigh her belief in maximising new language use, although she notably points out that, whilst this may seem subjective, she is not arguing for 'purposeless' or 'lazy' own-language use (Edstrom 2006: 289). Instead, she suggests that 'thoughtful [and] honest self-analysis' can help teachers use the learners' own language 'judiciously' (we shall return to the search for 'judicious' or 'optimal' levels of own-language in section 6.5).

In summary, therefore, there is overwhelming evidence of widespread own-language use and code-switching in language classrooms, so much so that the amount of own-language use is often underestimated or under-reported by teachers. It is also clear that code-switching fulfils a number of clear pedagogic functions, and is employed in similar ways and for similar reasons across a range of differing classroom contexts; as Widdowson (2003) points out, given that own-language use is an inevitable and 'natural' part of classroom life, it should and can be turned to pedagogic advantage, no longer viewed as an impediment to remove or avoid, but as a positive resource (p. 152). V. Cook (2001), Butzkamm & Caldwell (2009) and G. Cook (2010), among many others, make the same case. However, beyond 'just' the pedagogic advantages of code-switching in the classroom, how might own-language use support the

process of acquiring a new language? It is to theories of learning, and of language learning, that we now turn.

6. Theoretical frameworks and research findings

The growing theoretical diversity of SLA research has led to cognitive and sociocultural perspectives on language learning being characterised as ‘parallel worlds’ (Zuengler & Miller 2006: 36). Yet both these approaches to second and additional language learning provide substantial arguments in support of own-language use in English language teaching, based upon current understandings of both how the bi- and multilingual mind functions and how people learn (Cummins 2007).

6.1 The bilingual mind: psycholinguistic and cognitive perspectives

We have already noted (section 4) the role of the learners’ own language as a ‘natural’ reference system and ‘pathfinder’ (Butzkamm 1989) for learners, which they inevitably draw upon as the new language is learned, and also the case for compound bilingualism, in which psychological connections are maintained between languages in the learners’ minds (see V. Cook 2001; Widdowson 2003; Butzkamm & Caldwell 2009). From a psycholinguistic perspective, V. Cook’s MULTICOMPETENCE MODEL, ‘the knowledge of more than one language in the same mind’ (2008: 231; also 1995, 2002), reconceptualises language *learners* as bilingual language *users* who have different uses for language from monolinguals, have a different knowledge of both the new language *and* their own language from monolingual speakers, and even have different minds from monolinguals. Indeed, brain and behavioural research by Bialystok et al. (2005) and Bialystok & Feng (2009) has found significant differences in the ways monolingual and bilingual language users perform linguistic tasks (see also Grosjean 1989, Belz 2002 and Herdina & Jessner 2002 for discussions related to multicompetence). Cummins (2007: 299) also highlights the ‘enhanced metalinguistic awareness’ that bilingual learners develop as a result of processing two languages, suggesting that learners are likely to benefit from focusing upon the similarities and differences in their two or more languages (for example, focusing on cognates or working on dual language projects). Thus learners should be encouraged ‘to see the first language as something that is part of themselves whatever they do and appreciate that their first language is inextricably bound up with their knowledge and use of the second’ (V. Cook 2002: 339).

Similarly, focusing upon the complex ways in which languages interact in the minds of language learners (i.e. bilingual language users), Cummins (1981, 2007) suggests that, because of *interdependence across languages*, the development of a skill or proficiency in one language assists in the development of that same skill in the other language(s). Thus, learners have a COMMON UNDERLYING PROFICIENCY that is interdependent across languages and which allows for ‘the transfer of cognitive/academic or literacy-related proficiency from one language to another’ (2007: 232). Citing a number of studies from bilingual and immersion programmes in Canada and the US (e.g. Thomas & Collier 2002; Genesee et al. 2006), Cummins (2007) identifies

five types of cross-lingual transfer which might operate in a variety of ways, depending on the sociolinguistic and educational context (i.e. the transfer of phonological awareness; pragmatic aspects of language use, such as the ability to take risks in communication; metacognitive and metalinguistic strategies, such as vocabulary acquisition strategies; specific linguistic elements, such as the meaning of 'photo' in 'photosynthesis'; conceptual elements, such as understanding the concept of photosynthesis). For Cummins, learning is likely to be more efficient if teachers draw learners' attention to the similarities and differences between their languages, coordinating and reinforcing learning strategies across languages.

6.2 Tracing own-language use in SLA research

Although, as noted (section 1), 'mainstream' SLA has shown remarkably little interest in the ways learners' own languages might positively influence new language learning, there are clear links between Cummins' discussion (2007) of the way teachers might draw learners' attention to the similarities and differences between languages and concepts which are central within current SLA research, such as NOTICING (Schmidt 1990; see also Robinson's (2003) discussion of ATTENTION) and FOCUS ON FORM (Long 1991). Indeed, Laufer & Girsai (2008) make the case for explicit contrastive analysis and translation as part of form-focused instruction after finding that learners taught unfamiliar vocabulary items via translation fared better in a subsequent retention test than those taught solely through meaning-focused instruction. They suggest that translation activities stretch learners' linguistic resources and result in PUSHED OUTPUT (Swain 1985) as, to produce good translations, learners cannot avoid problematic words or structures, a point also emphasised by G. Cook (2010: 136); this 'elaborateness of processing' consequently leads to more durable memory encoding (Hummel 1995). However, although there has been some interest in the effects of contrastive form-focused instruction and translation on learner uptake, the area remains significantly under-investigated by SLA research. The few studies there are in this area include Kupferberg & Olshtain (1996), Källkvist (2008) and Scott & de la Fuente's (2008) experimental approaches to grammar acquisition; Snellings, van Gelderen & de Glopper's (2002) use of translation tasks to establish vocabulary retrieval speed and Hummel's (2010) comparison of translation and rote-learning in vocabulary learning.

The possible benefits of own-language use and translation as LANGUAGE LEARNING STRATEGIES has also been discussed (e.g. O'Malley & Chamot 1990; Oxford 1996; Cohen forthcoming). Indeed, O'Malley & Chamot (1990) argue that translation is one of the most used learning strategies, whilst Hummel (2010) reviews a range of evidence which emphasises the value of translation as a potentially effective cognitive strategy for learners.

Meanwhile, there is evidence that code-switching and own-language use facilitates learning by reducing the processing load for learners during cognitively challenging tasks. The extent to which many learners use their own language internally in the classroom is well documented. For example, Blyth (1995), Antón & DiCamilla (1999), Centeno-Cortés & Jiménez Jiménez (2004) and Alegria de la Colina & García Mayo (2009) all report own-language private verbal thinking (also termed PRIVATE SPEECH) and mental translation during new language tasks and activities. Whilst many studies adopt a sociocultural approach

to private speech (which we shall examine shortly, in section 6.4), Kern (1994; see also Macaro 2006) suggests that own-language use lightens the cognitive load of tasks by reducing the demands on learners' working memory and facilitating cognitive processing; Carless' (2002) and Scott & de la Fuente's (2008) studies, of young EFL learners in Hong Kong and college-level learners of Spanish and French respectively, also report learners' own-language use increasing in line with task complexity. Consequently, Macaro (2006) notes that code-switching and immediate translation during breakdowns in classroom discourse can also lighten the cognitive load on learners, facilitating the processing of other input and providing 'an efficient shortcut, more related to the learning processes the students are using' (V. Cook 2002: 340). For Macaro (2006), code-switching and own-language use in the classroom fulfils the role of both a learning strategy and a communication strategy (confirming, perhaps, that the distinction between language use, communication strategies and learning strategies is conceptually unclear; for further debate on this issue, see Oxford 2011; Cohen forthcoming).

The role of code-switching in VOCABULARY TEACHING AND LEARNING has also been widely documented. Alongside substantial empirical support for the use of bilingual dictionaries (e.g. Prince 1996; Nation 1997, 2003; Bruton 2007; Laufer & Girsai 2008), Celik (2003) suggests the insertion of a single word from the own language as an effective way of introducing new vocabulary (see also Macaro et al. 2009). Indeed, Nation, summarising a number of studies which compare the effectiveness of learning strategies, suggests that translation is invariably 'the most effective' way of learning vocabulary (2003). Meanwhile, examples of cross-linguistic awareness-raising activities which develop learners' METAPHORICAL COMPETENCE (Low 1988) and their ability to understand and create metaphors in their new language are outlined by Lazar (1996), Deignan, Gabryś & Solska (1997), Harden (2009) and Thorpe (2009).

6.3 Building on prior knowledge

The idea that learning is most effective when it builds upon the PRIOR KNOWLEDGE and understandings of learners has support from a number of theoretical traditions. Brooks-Lewis (2009) draws upon John Dewey's humanistic and democratic educational philosophy (1939) to point out that 'recognizing a person's prior knowledge is another manner of recognizing the person and that is demonstrated with the incorporation of the L1 in foreign language education' (2009: 228). With clear links to our earlier discussion of the affective constraints learners may experience when trying to behave as 'normal people' (see Allwright & Bailey, 1991, above), Brooks-Lewis highlights the way in which adult Spanish-speaking learners of English in her study found own-language use motivating as they could utilise their 'lifetime of investment in prior knowledge and communicative experience' (2009: 228), making use of their existing language skills and understanding of grammatical concepts.

Similarly, constructivist accounts of learning suggest that 'new knowledge and understanding is based on what learners already know and believe' (Bransford, Brown & Cocking 2000: 10). Effective learning therefore depends upon the engagement of prior knowledge, which includes not only previously taught information or skills, but 'the totality of the experiences that have shaped the learner's identity and cognitive functioning' (Cummins

2007: 232). Cummins (*ibid.*) develops this thesis in the context of language learning, suggesting that, if prior knowledge is encoded in the learners' own language, then the engagement of this knowledge is necessarily mediated through their own language. Language teaching should consequently aim to activate learners' prior knowledge, but will need to draw upon the learners' own language to achieve this.

There are clear links between the incorporation of learners' prior knowledge, in the form of their own language and, for example, contrastive analysis, 'noticing' (whereby learners consciously 'pay attention' to the gap between their current linguistic performance and the new language) and the development of LANGUAGE AWARENESS (Widdowson 2003; see also Butzkamm & Caldwell 2009). More broadly, however, prior knowledge 'makes learning significant' as learners fit new information to the knowledge they already possess (Brooks-Lewis 2009: 228); in effect, prior knowledge and the learners' own language provide a cognitive framework through which new knowledge is constructed and regulated. Studies drawing upon sociocultural theory have further explored this perspective.

6.4 Sociocultural approaches to own-language use

Sociocultural accounts of language learning assert that cognitive development, including language development, is a collaborative process 'driven by social interaction' (Levine 2011: 24; see also, for example, Vygotsky 1978; Lantolf 2000; Swain & Lapkin 2000). Language is seen as a cognitive tool through which learners mediate their mental processing, such as their planning, noticing or reasoning (Swain & Lapkin 2000: 253), but this mediating role is derived from the social role which language fulfils as learners regulate themselves and others in socially situated activities (Brooks, Donato & McGlone 1997; Alegría de la Colina & García Mayo 2009). Thus 'psychological processes emerge first in collective behaviour, in co-operation with other people, and only subsequently become internalised as the individual's own "possessions"' (Stetsenko & Arieviditch 1997: 161, cited in Swain & Lapkin 2000: 254). Language is said to mediate learners' cognitive activity on both the external (interpsychological) and internal (intrapsychological) planes (Antón & DiCamilla 1999).

From this perspective, therefore, own-language use by learners is regarded as a cognitive tool for learners through which learning is SCAFFOLDED. At the interpsychological level, Antón & DiCamilla found that learners use their own language for collaborative talk during tasks, such as jointly explaining the nature of tasks, solving problems and maintaining focus. Similarly, Brooks & Donato (1994) also acknowledge that own-language use during language-learning tasks is 'a normal psycholinguistic process that facilitates L2 production and allows the learners both to initiate and sustain verbal interaction with one another' (p. 268); Swain & Lapkin (2000), studying language use by English-speaking French immersion students, also in collaborative tasks, suggest that learners' own language helps them understand task content, focuses attention on form, and helps establish and maintain interpersonal collaboration and interaction. Likewise, Vilamil & Guerrero (1996) report that their ELT learners engaged in the peer review of writing via their own language for similar reasons, whilst Thoms, Liao & Szustak (2005) also observe own-language use by English language learners to 'move

the task along' in online chat activities. Thoms et al. (*ibid.*) additionally suggest that when performing solely in the new language is beyond the learners' ability, own-language use may allow less proficient learners to maintain interaction with more proficient language users and even access their higher-level knowledge. Although there are parallels with Macaro's (2006) observation (see section 6.2) that code-switching enables communication to continue and lightens the cognitive load on learners, understood from a sociocultural perspective, own-language use may enable learners to work with 'expert others' at a level which would otherwise be beyond their reach, thereby working in their ZONE OF PROXIMAL DEVELOPMENT (Vygotsky 1978). Further relevant studies of own-language use for interpsychological purposes include Behan & Turnbull with Spek (1997), Storch & Wigglesworth (2003) and Swain & Lapkin (2005).

At an intrapsychological level, Antón & DiCamilla's (1999) study also notes learners' use of their own language in private speech to direct their own thinking. Similarly, Centeno-Cortés & Jiménez Jiménez (2004) observed own-language private speech by learners of Spanish which demonstrated learner reasoning at the initiation, progression and conclusion of tasks. They also found that there was a shift from new to own-language private speech as learners encountered more difficult tasks.

Pedagogically, therefore, it seems logical to suggest that teachers can facilitate learning by allowing the 'judicious' use of learners' own language. For Swain & Lapkin (2000), this entails neither prohibiting nor encouraging own-language use (in order to avoid own-language use substituting for, rather than supporting, new language learning). Likewise, Centeno-Cortés & Jiménez Jiménez (2004) argue that, whilst prohibiting own-language use deprives learners of a key cognitive and metacognitive tool, this does not mean the learners' own language should be used for all classroom activities, but for specific linguistic or communicative functions in the classroom (Thoms et al. 2005). What, however, might this mean in practice? What is meant by the 'judicious use' of the learners' own language?

6.5 Searching for 'optimal' own-language use

The notion of the 'judicious' use of the learners' own language has been touched upon regularly throughout this review. Yet, from Stern's (1992) search for the 'appropriate' combination of intra- and crosslingual activities to Edstrom's (2006) call for principled and 'purposeful' own-language use, the question of what this might entail has remained somewhat vague. Consequently, there have been several calls for more research to find an 'appropriate ratio' of own to new language use (Crawford 2004) and 'when and why' the learners' own language might be used (Turnbull & Arnett 2002; see also Stern 1992, Macaro 1997, 2006, 2009a; Meiring & Norman 2002; Turnbull & Dailey-O'Cain 2009). Yet whilst acknowledging the reality and beneficial effects of code-switching in the classroom, this debate also recognises V. Cook's (2001) concern that new language input and use is 'maximised' (see section 4.1). Turnbull & Arnett (2002), for example, cite Ellis' (1984) argument that own-language use deprives learners of target language use; citing MacDonald (1993), Macaro (1997) and Turnbull (2001) also argue that using the new language in the classroom is particularly motivating, as it enables learners to see its immediate usefulness (as opposed to at some

point in the future) and provides opportunities for immediate success. Butzkamm & Caldwell (2009: 150) also make the point that a structured and principled deployment of the student's own language – as opposed to the chaotic way it tends to appear, despite restrictions, in monolingual teaching – can increase rather than decrease the use of the new language for communication.

As Turnbull & Dailey-O'Cain (2009) suggest, therefore, there is some concern on the part of researchers that in the absence of clear research findings, teachers may be making up their own arbitrary rules concerning code-switching. Yet in contrast, there is also a compelling argument that teachers and learners are in fact best placed to decide what is appropriate for their own classroom (McMillan & Rivers 2011). Thus whilst there is some evidence that teachers resort to the learners' own language when they are tired, and that learners use their own language when they go off-task in class (Macaro 2006) – examples perhaps of Edstrom's 'unprincipled' own-language use (2006) – Macaro also finds that teachers hold coherent sets of beliefs concerning the balance of own and new language use in the classroom. Investigating 'predominantly CLT-based' foreign language classrooms in UK schools, Macaro (1997) identified three distinct personal theories amongst teachers. The 'virtual position' posits that the classroom is a 'virtual reality' which mirrors the environment of first language learners and migrants in a new country; this was acknowledged by Macaro to be an 'unattainable ideal' reflecting perfect learning conditions which do not exist in instructed language learning. Consequently, he found that many teachers aspire to a 'maximal position' of new language use; from this perspective, however, use of the learners' own language was 'tainted' (2009a: 36) and led to feelings of guilt amongst teachers. Finally, Macaro identified an 'optimal position' in which the value of own-language use was recognised as enhancing learning at certain points during lessons, more so than using only the new language. As we have seen, there is considerable evidence in support of 'optimal use' of code-switching in class, leading Macaro (2009a: 38–39) to suggest that it involves teachers making a judgment about:

the possible detrimental effects of not drawing the learners' attention to aspects of their first language, or not making comparisons between the first and second languages. It involves a principled decision regarding the effects of not conveying important information simply because this might be too difficult for the learners to understand in the second language – a teacher avoidance strategy. It involves decisions about the relative merits of second language input modification as opposed to activating first language connections.

However, in arguing that these should be informed judgments, Macaro (*ibid.*) also acknowledges that there are 'virtually no studies' which have considered whether code-switching into the learners' own language while maintaining new language discourse actually results in more effective learning; clearly more research is needed to address this issue.

6.6 Complementary frameworks? From psycholinguistics to sociolinguistics

This broad review of empirical studies has taken in a range of findings which support the use of the learners' own language in the classroom. The discussion has moved from cognitive and psycholinguistic to social and sociocultural perspectives on language learning, although

it is clear that, in terms of informing real world practices, these two theoretical approaches cannot be so simply separated. Thus whilst, as already noted, SLA research has traditionally overlooked own-language use or regarded it as an unwelcome barrier to new language input and use, recent conceptualisations of bi- and multilingual competence and cognition have suggested that own-language use is not only inevitable within the language classroom, but contributes positively to new language development. Approaching the issue from a very different theoretical perspective, sociocultural approaches to learning offer similarly substantial support to these claims.

Undoubtedly, learners still require significant exposure to, and practice of, new language. Equally, many researchers and teachers are still extremely cautious about encouraging own-language use (we shall further examine teachers' attitudes and beliefs, beyond those already summarised, in more detail in section 7). We should also note that several of these studies were undertaken in bilingual and immersion contexts in Canada, or with learners of foreign languages other than English, albeit in generally communicative contexts. Yet the relevance of psycholinguistic and sociocultural arguments for ELT, favouring principled own-language use and code-switching, seems clear; and these approaches can be brought together via a sociolinguistic perspective of the language classroom as a 'bilingual space' in which learners are developing into bilingual or multicompetent language users whose own language complements the development of their new language (V. Cook 2002; Edstrom 2006; Turnbull & Dailey-O'Cain 2009). From this perspective, therefore, the language classroom can be conceptualised as a bi- or multilingual COMMUNITY OF PRACTICE (Wenger 1998) which is characterised by 'mutual engagement', 'joint enterprise' and 'shared repertoire'. Consequently, own-language use is understood as a legitimate practice which contributes to the classroom's 'conceptual architecture for learning' (p. 230), that is, alongside other classroom procedures and practices, code-switching is a resource through which 'the conditions for learning' are created (Levine 2011: 42). Furthermore, learners' bi- and multilingual identities are accepted which, in turn, makes a positive contribution to learning (Liebscher & Dailey-O'Cain 2005; Unamuno 2008).

Thus the extent to which own-language use occurs in a language classroom will in many ways depend on the teacher's and learners' perceptions of its legitimacy, value and appropriate classroom functions. It is to these attitudes and beliefs that we now turn.

7. Teachers' and learners' attitudes

As outlined in the early sections of this paper, own-language use has been regarded as 'the skeleton in the cupboard' of English language teaching (Prodromou 2002: 5), with negative perceptions of the issue maintaining a 'stranglehold' (ibid.) on teachers' attitudes and beliefs. Consequently, many studies have reported teachers' sense of 'guilt' when learners' own languages are used in the classroom (e.g. Mitchell 1988; Macaro 1997, 2006, 2009a; Butzkamm & Caldwell 2009; Turnbull & Dailey-O'Cain 2009; Littlewood & Yu 2011); as Macaro (2006: 69) observes, teacher guilt 'is not a healthy outcome of pedagogical debate'.

Yet teacher attitudes towards own-language use are more complex than just feelings of guilt. For example, Macaro reports that 'the majority of bilingual teachers regard code-switching as

unfortunate and regrettable *but necessary*' (2006: 68; emphasis added), whilst, as we have seen, numerous studies have elicited a more positive and reasoned justification for own-language use in the classroom. Examples include classroom management and administration, grammar instruction, and to demonstrate empathy with learners (Duff & Polio 1990, see section 5.2), 'moral obligation' (Edstrom 2008, also section 5.2) and Macaro's discussions concerning 'optimal position' for own and new language use (1997, 2009a, 2009b, see section 6.5; also van der Meij & Zhao 2010; McMillan & Rivers 2011). Summarising the literature, therefore, Macaro notes the 'overwhelming impression that bilingual teachers believe that the L2 should be the *predominant* language of interaction in the classroom. On the other hand, . . . [we do not find] a majority of teachers in favour of excluding the L1 altogether' (2006: 68, original emphasis).

Teacher beliefs are derived from and shaped by a range of sources, including teachers' own experiences as language learners, their practical experience of what is and is not successful in class, and the perspectives of others (including colleagues, teacher trainers and educators, managers and policy-makers and academic research and researchers). Additionally, teacher beliefs can change over time; for example, Atkinson (1993), Auerbach (1994), Burden (2000), Mattioli (2004) and Butzkamm (n.d.) all document how, having originally advocated a monolingual approach to teaching, they later came to view the learners' own language as a resource for language learning (cited in McMillan & Rivers 2011).

Frequently reported teacher beliefs include, for example, the notion that the balance between own and new language use is most consistently affected by learners' ability (Mitchell 1988; Macaro 1997; Crawford 2004). Meanwhile, Liu et al. (2004) identify teachers' beliefs about their own new language proficiency as a factor affecting own-language use (also Carless 2004; Bateman 2008; Kim & Elder 2008; Nagy & Robertson 2009).

Obviously, however, not all teachers hold the same beliefs. In contrast to the studies cited in the previous paragraph, for example, van der Meij & Zhao (2010) find that teachers of English working in two Chinese universities disagree with the notion that learner or teacher proficiency should affect own-language use. This raises the possibility that attitudes and beliefs towards code-switching vary according to cultural background and educational tradition. Similarly, in their study of Japanese-origin and British-origin teachers of Japanese in UK secondary schools, Hobbs et al. (2010) found, perhaps counter-intuitively, that the non-native speakers of Japanese had a more positive attitude towards own-language use than the native speakers, a finding they ascribe to the teachers' different cultures of learning. Furthermore, Canada, with its particular history of bilingual education, provides a specific environment in which teachers are apparently sympathetic to own-language use and code-switching in class (as shown by the numerous studies cited in this paper, such as Duff & Polio 1990; Rolin-Ianziti & Brownlie 2002; Cummins 2007).

Meanwhile, the potentially differing attitudes to code-switching of teachers who do or do not share the learners' own language has also been touched upon. Harbord (1992: 250), for example, refers to 'frequent differences of opinion' between native and non-native English speaker teachers (NESTS and NON-NESTS in Medgyes' (1994) terminology) over whether to use the learners' own language in class. In their more recent study, however, McMillan & Rivers' (2011) found that NESTs working in a broadly CLT environment in Japan were evenly divided between those with a positive and those with a negative attitude to teacher and learner own-

language use. Interestingly, not all NESTs with limited Japanese proficiency (i.e. the learners' own language) regarded judicious own-language use by teachers negatively; and teachers with lower Japanese proficiency tended to have a more positive view of learners' own-language use than higher Japanese-proficiency teachers. In justifying their views, teachers suggested several arguments in favour of own-language use which have already been identified in this paper, such as to save time, build rapport with learners and engage in contrastive analyses of their own and the new language (and participants' arguments against own-language use similarly reflected points touched on in this review, such as learner motivation and the need for exposure to language input). Consequently, echoing Macaro's suggestion that teachers' judgement is central to the establishment of 'optimal' levels of own and new language use (2009a, see above), McMillan & Rivers call for an 'English-mainly' policy rather than 'English only', based on the reflections of teachers as professional decision-makers in their own local context.

McMillan & Rivers' discovery of relatively little difference between the views of NEST and non-NESTs in a specific Japanese context may therefore be typical of contexts around the world; certainly the many studies cited in this paper which examine teachers' experiences and perspectives of own-language use do not seem to reveal a wide gap between NEST and non-NEST perspectives of the issue. This is encouraging if NESTs and non-NESTs, and monolingual and bilingual language teachers, are to work together in more effective and complementary ways to teach English through cross-lingual approaches. However, more research is clearly needed in this area.

A small number of studies have also looked at the beliefs of student teachers (as opposed to in-service instructors) with regard to own-language use. Orland-Barak & Yinon (2005) explored the perspectives of 14 Arab and Jewish EFL teachers in Israel, finding that, over the course of their initial teaching practice, they 'exhibited new insights regarding the different purposes for which L1 can be used in a communicative lesson' (p. 91), challenging the 'myth' of new language only in the classroom (p. 97); in their classes, the learners' own languages were used for explanation, rapport-building and classroom management. Interestingly, although the study aimed to investigate the ways in which cultural differences might affect the beliefs of Arab and Jewish student teachers, the teachers in this study exhibited 'strikingly similar' attitudes towards own and new language use in the classroom (see the discussion of the relationship between teachers' attitudes and cultural/educational background, above). Meanwhile, Macaro's (2001) study of the practices and beliefs of six English-speaking teachers of French found that, although the learners' own language was used surprisingly infrequently, it was utilised for the (by now familiar) functions of giving instructions, classroom management and discipline. Exploring in detail the reasoning of two of the participants, Macaro also found that whilst what one teacher allowed was heavily influenced by the perspectives of policy-makers and statements, the other continued to follow her personal beliefs, with implications for the success (or otherwise) of initial teacher education programmes.

Finally, learners' attitudes towards code-switching will also clearly affect the extent and function of own-language use in the classroom, and its potential contribution to learning; do learners, in fact, prefer monolingual teaching and learning, as is often asserted?

Both Turnbull & Arnett (2002) and G. Cook (2008) highlight the relative absence of research into learner perceptions of own-language use. A notable exception, however, is Duff & Polio's study of 13 language classes (1990; see also section 5.4), which found that a large majority of learners were satisfied with the amount of own-language use by their teachers, irrespective of whether this was a large amount or not. Rolin-Ianziti & Varshney (2008), meanwhile, found that the majority of beginner learners of French in an Australian university preferred own-language use for classroom management. Their study also confirmed the positive affective role code-switching can play in the language classroom, participants suggesting that own-language use often reduces learner anxiety, though it may also result in a lack of challenge and subsequent learner demotivation. Meanwhile, Pease-Alvarez & Winsler (1994) and Brooks-Lewis (2009) uncovered positive attitudes towards bilingual classroom practices amongst young and adult Spanish learners of English in the US and adult learners of English in Mexico, whilst Chavez's (2003) wide-ranging study of 330 US college learners of German indicated that most learners considered and preferred their classroom to be 'diglossic'; indeed, Chavez reports that teachers tended to use the new language more than their learners actually wished. Beyond these studies, in which learners were directly asked for their opinions, a generally positive picture of learner engagement with own-language use also emerges when we reflect upon evidence for the 'humanistic' and 'reassuring' function of own-language use (Harbord 1992; Littlewood & Yu 2001, respectively) which was highlighted earlier in this review (see section 5.2).

8. Entrenched monolingualism in ELT

As noted at the beginning of this article, new directions in the language learning literature are never universally adopted. Despite the overwhelming force of the arguments and evidence in favour of bilingual language teaching in a globalised multilingual world, many curricula, institutions, syllabus and materials designers, as well as teachers, parents – and, of course, students – remain committed to monolingual teaching.

A notable manifestation of diehard monolingualism, strangely posing as a new approach, is content-based language teaching, in which school curriculum subjects are taught through the medium of a new language on the assumption that this simultaneously furthers both student proficiency in that language and their knowledge of the subject in question. It has been energetically promoted in a number of countries, including the UAE, Mexico and South Korea for the teaching of English, and in Europe notionally for the teaching of any language, under the name CONTENT AND LANGUAGE INTEGRATED LEARNING (CLIL) (Marsh 2002; Coyle, Hood & Marsh 2010).

In practice, however, CLIL is most frequently used to extend the teaching of English. Despite running counter to the EU commitment to maintaining linguistic diversity, English-medium CLIL in Europe has received intensive support, in the shape of investment by the EU in research, development and implementation, and, surprisingly – counter to the trends surveyed in this article – endorsement by language teaching theorists and applied linguists. Meanwhile, in many postcolonial contexts such as South Africa, where the ex-colonial language (i.e. English) is used as the primary language of instruction, the

effects of CLIL have been at times disastrous, maintaining the dominance of English and acting as a barrier to multilingual and multicultural socialisation (Chick & McKay 2001).

The applied linguistic arguments advanced in its favour (Dalton-Puffer 2007: 257–277, ICRJ 2008 onwards) draw upon the old SLA view that exposure and attention to meaning will be sufficient factors for language learning success, and also on analogy with content-based instruction in bilingual second language learning contexts such as Canada rather than foreign language teaching programmes. Advocates broadly subscribe to the notions that ‘the requisites of success lie in exposure’ (Marsh 2002: 9) and that ‘early introduction (4–12 years) is now... advantageous’ (ibid.: 10). Bilingual teaching (‘trans-languaging’ in the CLIL jargon) is seen as something which will – and should – wither away (Marsh 2002: 98). The utilitarian rationale (ibid.) virtually ignores the complex impact on diversity and identity both of this major extension of English into classrooms and subject areas where students’ own languages previously held sway, and in contexts where the ex-colonial language maintains its dominant position.

While there is surprisingly little academic criticism of English-medium CLIL, those asked to implement it sometimes express strong opposition and suspicion of the motives behind it; it is also seen as detrimental to the maintenance of linguistic diversity (G. Cook 2010: 115). In South Korea, for example, the *Korea Times* (2008) reports that the government’s English immersion programme seems to have been halted, partly because of teacher resistance. Meanwhile, in South Africa, increasing attention has been given to the ‘judicious’ introduction of African languages (i.e. own languages) as complementary languages of instruction (see, for example, Bloch 2009; Wildsmith-Cromarty 2009).

9. Practical applications and pedagogical approaches

Over the course of this article, we have outlined the ways in which the changing academic and political climate surrounding English language teaching has led to an increased acceptance of own-language use in the classroom. We have also documented a wide range of empirical evidence which demonstrates the importance and functions of own-language use and code-switching in language teaching and learning. Presenting a state-of-the-art ‘review of recent and current research’, our discussion has reflected the ways in which theoretical approaches and empirical studies have conceptualised and modelled own-language use, focusing on, for example, the overall goals of classroom interaction (e.g. ‘core’, ‘framework’ and ‘social’ goals – see section 5.2) rather than specific classroom goals or activities. Yet a substantial body of research and research-informed teaching materials highlights the ways in which learners’ own language might be utilised in specific classroom practices and activities. It is to this that we turn in the final section of our review.

For mainstream ELT publishers, a tension exists between the desire to produce materials for global distribution and the increasingly important demand for coursebooks which meet the needs of teachers and learners in a particular country or region (Bolitho 2003). Clearly, it is easier for localised learning materials to take account of local traditions of learning, including the degree to which the learners’ own language is used in class and in published coursebooks.

Consequently, many major ELT publishers now produce country- or region-specific materials which incorporate to some extent the learners' own language (e.g. through translated word lists, own-language rubrics or grammatical explanations). Interestingly, however, several widely-distributed global textbooks now also integrate translation into activities, albeit on a relatively minor scale (e.g. Soars & Soars 1986 onwards; Swan & Walter 1990 onwards).

Beyond this, however, a number of teacher resource books outline a range of practical ideas and classroom tasks, for example Duff (1989), Deller & Rinvoluceri (2002), González Davies (2004) and Butzkamm & Caldwell (2009). They include, for example, activities which explicitly examine the role of the learners' own language in learning and in the classroom; contrast own and new language forms; develop role-play and drama via own-language preparation; emphasise the efficiency of a bilingual approach to vocabulary development; and focus on the value of translation as a 'fifth skill' in language learning.

Although these resources are generally framed within a 'communicative' approach which emphasises interaction, collaboration and meaning, they often involve a more 'traditional' focus on form, accuracy and individual study. Interestingly, they differ in the extent to which they accommodate monolingual teachers (i.e. teachers who do not speak the learners' own language); are appropriate to beginners, intermediate and advanced learners; take account of younger learners and learners with different learning styles, experiences and preferences; and are suitable for classes in which learners share the same language or for mixed-language classes. Thus Butzkamm & Caldwell's (2009) bilingual approach calls for teachers who can code-switch effectively in the learners' own language. In contrast, Deller & Rinvoluceri (2002: 10) identify a number of activities in which teachers who do not know the learners' own language (or who are teaching mixed-language classes) may cede 'full autonomy... [to learners] using their mother tongue'. Similarly, G. Cook, reviewing 'what [kind of own-language use], when, what for, by whom, and with whom' (2010: 125–153), notes a place for own-language use in mixed-language classes, and makes specific suggestions for translation activities which are possible for teachers who do not share their students' own language(s). Although the possibilities for own-language use in these contexts are more limited than those available to bilingual teachers working with single language classes, 'they help to establish the presence and relevance of learners' own languages in the classroom' and the reality of a bi- and multilingual world (p. 152).

At the start of the twenty-first century, therefore, now that 'the long silence' (G. Cook 2010: 20–37) about bilingual teaching has been broken, and its merits are no longer routinely ridiculed and dismissed, the way is open for a major 'paradigm shift' in language teaching and learning (Maley 2011). The literature reviewed in this article is no doubt only a beginning.

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Own-language use in ELT: exploring global practices and attitudes

Graham Hall and Guy Cook

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Abstract

Throughout the 20th century, professional and methodological discussion and debate within ELT (English language teaching) assumed that English is best taught and learned without the use of the students' own language(s). Recently, however, this English-only assumption has been increasingly questioned, and the role of own-language use is being reassessed. However, there are substantial gaps in our knowledge and understanding of the extent to which, and how, learners' own languages are used in ELT classes, and the attitudes practising teachers hold towards own-language use.

This paper reports on the project *Own-language use in ELT: exploring global practices and attitudes*, a survey of the extent to which, how, and why teachers deploy learners' own-language in English language classrooms around the world. The findings offer clear evidence of widespread own-language use within ELT, and suggest that teachers' attitudes towards own-language use, and their classroom practices, are more complex than usually acknowledged. Although there is variation between individuals and groups of teachers, the survey shows that own-language use is an established part of ELT classroom practice, and that teachers, while recognising the importance of English within the classroom, do see a range of useful functions for own-language use in their teaching.

Consequently, the report provides a resource for teachers, confirming the validity of own-language use and touching on a range of ideas as to how and why learners' own languages can play a role within ELT classes. The findings also suggest that there is a potential gap between mainstream ELT literature and teachers' practices *on the ground*.

1

Introduction

For much of the 20th century, professional discussion, debate and research within ELT has assumed that English is best taught and learned without the use of the students' own language(s), leading to the promotion of monolingual, English-only teaching. In recent years, however, this monolingual assumption has been increasingly questioned, and a re-evaluation of teaching that relates the language being taught to the students' own language has begun. Furthermore, there is an increasing recognition that what has been fashionable in ELT theory and literature does not necessarily reflect what actually happens in classrooms around the world. However, despite this recent interest, there is, as yet, very little data that documents the extent and purpose of own-language use in English language teaching. Thus, stimulated by the current re-appraisal of the issue, this project aimed to address this gap, while also providing a useful resource for teachers who see a place for the learners' own language in their own teaching. The study therefore investigated the use of learners' own languages within ELT and the perceptions and perspectives of own-language use held by English language teachers around the world.

A note on terminology

In this research, the term 'own language' is used in preference to 'first language' (L1), 'native language' or 'mother tongue', all of which seem unsatisfactory. For example, in many language classrooms, the most common shared language of the learners is not the first or native language of all students (e.g. although German is the language used in German secondary schools and therefore the language likely to be used to assist the teaching of English, it is not the first language of all the pupils in those schools who may, for example, be recent arrivals from Turkey or Poland). Furthermore, the term 'native language' is imprecise – it mixes several criteria and can mean the language someone spoke in infancy, the language with which they identify, or the language they speak best; these are not always the same (see Rampton 1990 for further discussion). Finally, 'mother tongue' is not only an emotive term but also inaccurate – for the obvious reason that many people's mother tongue is not their mother's mother tongue!

2

Own-language use in ELT: theoretical background and current debates

For much of the 20th century, the use of learners' own languages in language teaching and learning was banned by ELT theorists and methodologists (Howatt with Widdowson, 2004; G Cook, 2010; Littlewood and Yu, 2011; Hall and Cook 2012), the assumption being that a new language should be taught and learned monolingually, without reference to or use of the learners' own language in the classroom.

Within the ELT literature, grammar translation had been rejected in the late 19th century, criticised for focusing exclusively on accuracy and writing at the expense of fluency and speaking, and for being authoritarian and dull. Consequently, Western European and North American methodologists promoted monolingual (Widdowson, 2003: 149–164) or intralingual teaching (Stern, 1992: 279–299), based around the principle that only the target language should be used in the classroom. In effect, claims against grammar translation were used as arguments against *any and all* own-language use within ELT (Cook, 2010: 15, original emphasis).

Support for and acceptance of monolingual approaches, which include such major current approaches as communicative language teaching, task-based learning and teaching, and content and language integrated learning, can be ascribed to a number of factors including: classes in which learners speak a variety of own languages, the employment of native-speaker English teachers (NESTs in Medgyes' [1992] terminology) who may not know the language(s) of their learners, and publishers' promotion of monolingual course books which could be used by native-speaker 'experts' and be marketed globally without variation. Furthermore, the perceived goals of language teaching changed from the so-called traditional or academic aim of developing learners' abilities to translate written texts and appreciate literature in the original to the (often unstated) goal of preparing learners to communicate in monolingual environments and emulate native speakers of the target language. It is worth noting, however, that for many learners, this goal was, and is, not necessarily useful, desirable or obtainable (Davies, 1995; 2003) in a world in which learners need to operate bilingually or use English in a lingua franca environment with other non-native speakers

of English (Jenkins, 2007; Seidlhofer 2011). In addition, an increasing amount of communication is no longer face-to-face but via computer.

Of course, what is fashionable in the literature does not necessarily reflect what happens in classrooms in all parts of the world, and, despite its disappearance from ELT theory and methodological texts, the use of learners' own languages in ELT classrooms has survived. Adamson (2004) notes that the grammar translation method was employed in China until the late 20th century while V Cook observes that the approach carries an 'academic...seriousness of purpose' which may seem appropriate in those societies that maintain a traditional view of learner and teacher roles in the classroom (2008: 239). Thornbury (2006), meanwhile, notes that the continued survival of grammar translation may be a consequence of its ease of implementation, especially with large classes. Similar translation-based approaches also underpin self-study texts, such as Hodder and Stoughton's 'Teach yourself ...' series and the commercially highly successful language courses of Michel Thomas (see Block 2003).

However, beyond traditional grammar translation, a wider recognition and re-evaluation of the use of the learners' own language in the ELT classroom is now emerging, drawing upon a range of theoretical and pedagogical insights into the nature of language learning and its broader social purposes. Indeed, according to V Cook (2001), those language teachers who can speak the learners' own language use it in class 'every day', while Lucas and Katz (1994: 558) argue that 'the use of native language is so compelling that it emerges even when policies and assumptions mitigate against it'. We shall now briefly summarise key arguments for own-language use (for a more detailed review, see Hall and G Cook, 2012).

Pedagogic functions of own-language use

Pedagogic arguments for own-language use include the efficient conveying of meaning, maintenance of class discipline and organisation, and teacher-learner rapport and contact between the teacher and learners as real people (e.g. Polio and Duff, 1994; V Cook 2001). Rolin-lanziti and Varshney (2008) classify these pedagogic functions in terms of teachers'

'medium-oriented goals' and their 'framework goals', that is, teaching the new language (the medium) itself (e.g. explaining vocabulary items or teaching grammar) and framing, organising and managing classroom events (e.g. giving instructions or setting homework). Meanwhile, Kim and Elder (2008) identify a similar distinction, additionally suggesting that the learners' own language is often used for the social goal of expressing personal concern and sympathy. Similarly, a number of studies highlight the role of own-language use in potentially establishing more equitable intra-class relationships between the teacher and learners than via the exclusive use of the target language (e.g. Auerbach, 1993; Brooks-Lewis, 2009). Indeed, Edstrom (2006) proposes that debates surrounding own-language use go beyond concerns about language learning processes or classroom management and involve value-based judgments in which teachers have a moral obligation to use the learners' own language judiciously in order to recognise learners as individuals, to communicate respect and concern, and to create a positive affective environment for learning.

Theorising own-language use

Reference to the role of the learners' own language as a natural reference system and a pathfinder for learning new languages is widespread (e.g. Butzkamm, 1989; Stern, 1992; Butzkamm and Caldwell, 2009). Socio-cultural theories of learning and education suggest that learning proceeds best when it is 'scaffolded' onto existing knowledge (Vygotsky, 1978), while notions of compound or integrated bilingualism (in which knowledge of two or more languages is integrated in learners' minds rather than kept separate) emerge from cognitive approaches to second-language learning (V Cook, 2001; Widdowson, 2003). Thus, because languages are said to interact and to be interdependent in the minds of language learners (who are bilingual language users), learning is likely to be more efficient if teachers draw students' attention to the similarities and differences between their languages (Cummins, 2007).

Meanwhile, the potential benefits of own-language use and translation as an effective language-learning strategy have been identified (e.g. Oxford, 1996), while the ways in which learners use their own language to guide and direct their thinking about the new language and during language tasks has also been discussed (e.g. Anton and DiCamilla, 1999; Centeno-Cortés and Jiménez Jiménez 2004). Similarly, own-language use has been identified as the most effective way of learning vocabulary, via learners' use of bilingual dictionaries and also as a teaching strategy (e.g. Celik, 2003; Nation, 2003; Laufer and Girsai, 2008).

How much own-language use?

The idea of judicious own-language use has already been touched upon, and there have been a number of calls for research to find an appropriate or optimal amount of own-language use in class (e.g. Stern, 1992; Macaro 2009), one which is 'principled and purposeful' (Edstrom, 2006) and which identifies when and why the learners' own language might be used (Turnbull and Arnett, 2002). While recognising the reality of own-language use and its beneficial effects in many ELT contexts, it is clearly important that learners obtain new language input and practice opportunities. Too much own-language use may deprive learners of the opportunity to use the target language, and using the new language is often motivating for learners who can quickly see its usefulness and achieve immediate success (Turnbull, 2001). There is therefore concern among some researchers that, in the absence of clear research findings or other sources of guidance, that teachers may be devising arbitrary rules concerning the use of the learners' own language. And yet, teachers are also best placed to decide what is appropriate for their own classrooms (Macmillan and Rivers 2011).

Researching predominantly communicative language classrooms, Macaro (1997) has identified three perspectives that teachers hold about own-language use:

- the classroom is a virtual (and unattainable) reality that mirrors the environment of first-language learners or migrants to a country who are immersed in the new language. Macaro points out that these perfect learning conditions do not exist in language classrooms.
- aim for maximal use of the new language in class, with own-language use being tainted, thereby leading to feelings of guilt among teachers.
- the optimal position, in which own-language use is seen as valuable at certain points during a lesson, providing advantages to learners and learning beyond using only the target language. This optimal use of the learners' own language requires principled and informed judgments by teachers, but is also very difficult to define precisely or to generalise across contexts, classrooms and groups of learners.

The current research draws upon Macaro's analysis as we attempt to understand what kind of position teachers hold about own-language use, and what an optimal position might involve for participants in this project.

Teachers' and learners' attitudes

Clearly, the extent to which own-language use occurs in a class depends on the attitudes of teachers and learners towards its legitimacy and value in the ELT classroom, and many studies report a sense of guilt among teachers when learners' own languages are used in class (e.g. Macaro, 1997, 2009; Butzkamm and Caldwell 2009; Littlewood and Yu 2011).

Beyond teachers' guilt, however, a range of more complex attitudes have been identified. Macaro reports that 'the majority of bilingual teachers regard code-switching as unfortunate and regrettable *but necessary*' (2006: 68, emphasis added), while the studies previously noted in this review have elicited a more nuanced view of own-language use from teachers, focusing on its role in classroom management, grammar and vocabulary teaching, empathy and rapport building with learners, its morality, and the search for an optimal position for new and own-language use in the classroom. Summarising the literature, therefore, Macaro notes 'the overwhelming impression that bilingual teachers believe that the L2 should be the *predominant* language of interaction in the classroom. On the other hand, ... [we do not find] a majority of teachers in favour of excluding the L1 altogether' (2006: 68, original emphasis).

Clearly, however, not all teachers hold the same attitudes to own-language use, and there is some evidence that attitudes and beliefs might vary according to teachers' cultural backgrounds and the educational tradition in which they work. For example, while many studies report a belief that the balance between own and new language use in class is most consistently affected by learners' and/or teachers' ability in English (e.g. Macaro, 1997, and Crawford, 2004 for the former, Kim and Elder, 2008 for the latter), van der Meij and Zhao (2010) find that English teachers working in Chinese universities perceive no such link. Meanwhile, potentially differing attitudes between teachers who do or do not share the learners' own language have been noted, Harbord referring to 'frequent differences of opinion' between NESTs and non-NESTs (1992: 50). Yet even here, the picture is not clear cut; McMillan and Rivers (2011) more recent study of NEST and non-NEST attitudes in a specific Japanese teaching context finds little difference of opinion between the two groups – both favouring an 'English mainly' rather than 'English only' approach in the classroom.

Although learners' attitudes will clearly affect the extent and role of own-language use in the classroom, there has been less research into learner perceptions of the issue. That said, a number of studies have uncovered positive attitudes, particularly as a way

of reducing learners' anxiety and creating a humanistic classroom (Harbord, 1992; Rolin-lanziti and Varshney, 2008; Brooks-Lewis 2009; Littlewood and Yu, 2011).

Thus, twelve years into the 21st century, the reality and value of learners' own-language use in class is now more widely recognised and researched. Studies have ranged from those classrooms where own-language use is officially discouraged but in reality occurs (e.g. Littlewood and Yu, 2011), to classrooms where a balanced and flexible approach to own-language and new-language use is taken (e.g. Carless, 2008), to lessons that actively encourage and employ translation exercises as a tool for second-language development (e.g. Kim, 2011). Thus use of the learners' own language has been found to be prevalent within ELT classrooms, even in contexts where it is ostensibly discouraged (see also, for example, Kim and Elder, 2005).

Justification for the study

Despite the recent focus upon this issue, however, there remain substantial gaps in our knowledge and understanding of the extent to which, and how, learners' own languages are used in ELT classes, and the attitudes practising teachers hold towards own-language use. A global survey of classroom practices, teachers' attitudes and the possible reasons for these attitudes provide a wide-ranging empirical base for further discussion about the role of own-language use within ELT, while also allowing for and acknowledging the differences in perspectives which may emerge as a consequence of contextual factors.

3

Research methodology

Aims and research questions

The project aimed to investigate the ways in which learners' own languages are used in English-language teaching around the world, to explore teachers' perceptions of and attitudes towards the use of learners' own languages in the ELT classroom, and to investigate the factors that influence teachers' reported practices and attitudes. Consequently, the study addressed the following research questions:

1. What types of own-language use activities do teachers report that they and learners engage in?
2. What are teachers' reported attitudes towards and beliefs about own-language use in the ELT classroom?
3. What are teachers' perceptions of their institutional culture, and the culture/discourse of ELT more broadly, in relation to own-language use?
4. To what extent are teachers' reported levels of own language use practices associated with specific background variables such as type of institution, learners' English language level, and teachers' experience?

Research design

The project explored teachers' insider perspectives on own-language use in their classroom teaching (Davis, 1995). We pursued a mixed-method research design (Dörnyei, 2007; Borg, 2009), combining quantitative and qualitative approaches to provide a broad, yet in-depth picture of teachers' reported classroom practices and attitudes. Quantitative data was collected via a survey of teachers' perceptions of own-language use, gathered from a global sample of ELT practitioners (a copy of the final questionnaire can be found in Appendix 1). Qualitative data was collected through semi-structured interviews with teachers who had completed the questionnaire and volunteered to participate further. The mixed-method approach enabled us to verify findings from two perspectives, and to illustrate broad trends within the questionnaire data with examples from the interview data as we sought to understand why teachers had answered specific questions in particular ways.

a. The questionnaire

The strengths and limitations of questionnaires have been widely documented (e.g. Brown 2001; Dörnyei, 2003 and 2007). While they can be administered to large and geographically diverse samples efficiently and economically, and provide data that can be analysed relatively quickly, their reliability and validity depend on careful design and implementation in order to avoid, for example, generating superficial answers from unmotivated respondents (Dörnyei, 2003).

In designing our questionnaire, therefore, it was essential to ensure that individual items were clearly written, while the survey as a whole needed to be relevant and interesting to respondents, and straightforward for them to complete (see also Borg and Al-Busaidi, 2012). Having identified key themes and debates within the literature surrounding own-language use (see Section 2), we thus needed to balance this at times more theoretical background with the practical experiences and attitudes of participating teachers. Key issues that we wished to investigate with teachers included:

- how and to what extent teachers used the learners' own language in their teaching
- how and to what extent learners used their own language in class
- teachers' attitudes towards own-language use in class
- teachers' evaluation of the arguments for and against own-language use in ELT
- teachers' perceptions of general attitudes towards own-language use in their schools/institutions and within the profession of ELT more generally.

Additionally, we required relevant biographic data including an understanding of the participants' professional contexts (their location, type of school, typical number of learners per class, whether classes were monolingual – with learners sharing an own language, or multilingual – with learners coming from different own language backgrounds), and their professional qualifications and experience.

Consequently, the questionnaire consisted of a range of closed items and a number of open-ended questions. Closed questions took the form of Likert-scale items; open-ended questions provided participants with the opportunity to add written

qualitative comments to the quantitative survey data, for example, to develop their views or to provide further examples of how the learners' own language was used in their classroom. The questionnaire was piloted with 19 English language teachers working in 16 different countries around the world, and drawn from private and state institutions within the primary, secondary and tertiary sectors (pilot participants were known to the researchers through their professional contacts). Subsequent revisions were made to the questionnaire's length, wording and overall structure in light of their feedback.

The final version of the questionnaire consisted of nine multipart Likert-scale items and one open 'additional comment' question exploring key aspects of and beliefs about own-language use in teachers' professional contexts, and it should thus be noted that this data represents reported rather than actual own-language practices. The survey also comprised 13 shorter questions establishing participants' biographical data and context, and two questions asking participants if they would be willing to volunteer for the interview phase of the study and wished to receive a copy of the study's final report. The average time, in the pilot study, for completion of the survey was 15–20 minutes.

Given our aim of obtaining a broad snapshot of own-language use practices and attitudes around the world, the only criterion for participation was that respondents were *practising* English language teachers. Data was collected via non-probability opportunity sampling – responses were facilitated by the British Council, by a number of national teachers' associations, and by the researchers' professional contacts across a range of ELT contexts. Following the advice of these contacts, the survey was administered electronically through the online SurveyMonkey site, via email, and in hard-copy form. While the vast majority of respondents completed the survey online, the email and hard-copy versions enabled teachers with more limited technological access to participate. The survey was administered from February to April 2012, with a total of 2,785 teachers from 111 countries responding (for further details of the respondents' profile, see Section 4; for a full listing of all 111 countries, see Appendix 2).

b. The interviews

As noted, follow-up interviews were conducted to explore teachers' responses to the questionnaire in more detail. The aim was to provide greater insight into the thinking behind teachers' answers to questions in the survey, and also to elicit reasons for using or not using the students' own language which had not been envisaged in the questionnaire. The interviews were conducted after the survey, and

could not therefore be used to inform its design, but the themes that emerged in them can be regarded as pointers towards possible directions in future research into attitudes and practices involving own-language use.

Of the 2,785 survey respondents, 1,161 volunteered to be interviewed; given that we were undertaking semi-structured interviews that would last between 35 and 45 minutes, it was clearly unrealistic to speak to all the volunteers. Thus a sample of 20 teachers were invited for interview from a variety of contexts, with the aim of providing a stratified sample (Perry, 2005) in which interviewees reflect key criteria in the same proportions as the wider survey group. These criteria were:

- sector: primary, secondary or tertiary level
- geographical spread: by country/continent
- monolingual or multilingual classes (learners share or do not share the same own language)

Given the project's global reach, interviews were conducted at distance via the online Skype communication tool, a further criteria affecting the sample. Due to online difficulties, 17 teachers were interviewed in total, from the following sectors/countries:

- Primary: China, Indonesia, France, Estonia*, Argentina
- Secondary: Malaysia*, Saudi Arabia, Latvia, Spain, Greece, Egypt
- Tertiary: Armenia, Brazil, Japan, Mexico, Portugal*, Turkey

*Note: Learners shared own language in all classes except those marked **

Clearly, however, although the interview sample aimed to reflect the wider survey group as closely as possible, countries and educational sectors are not homogenous contexts – differences exist within national populations and between institutions. Consequently, the interviews provide illustration and insights into, rather than full representation of, the survey data. Furthermore, as the list of interviewees indicates, there is an absence of inner-circle contexts (e.g. the UK, USA, Australia), meaning that the data provides little information on the Anglophone private language-school sector, in which mixed nationality classes (and where learners do not share a common own-language) are often the norm. Issues surrounding own-language use in this sector clearly differ from those in other ELT contexts.

The interviews aimed to unpack and add more depth to the participants' survey responses. Thus although they were to some extent individualised and dependent on the teachers' previous responses and professional contexts, they all followed the common framework provided by the questionnaire. As semi-structured interviews, they therefore investigated participants' perspectives on teacher and learner uses of own language, their opinions about own-language use and its place in their classroom, and the culture of their institution and of the ELT profession more generally. The interviews took place over a two-week period (in May 2012) and were, with the agreement of all participants, audio-recorded and transcribed. Transcripts were forwarded to participants for checking and comment, and corrections subsequently made as appropriate. We should acknowledge, however, that interviews are collaborative and co-constructed encounters in which the respondents' lack of anonymity and perceptions of the researchers' agenda may have influenced the data (Mann, 2011; Talmy, 2011; Borg and Al-Busaidi, 2012).

c. Data analysis

The closed survey data was analysed via SPSS 19 software. Descriptive statistics (e.g. mean averages, frequencies and distributions) were calculated for all questions, while the relationships between variables were also examined via inferential statistics (e.g., is there a relationship between the sector a teacher works in – primary, secondary or tertiary – and their beliefs about own-language use?). Open responses to questionnaire items provided a further substantial data source (63,000 words) which, together with the interview transcripts, were thematically categorised to find contrasts and commonalities between both the interview participants and between the questionnaire and interview data. Again, we should recognise that the analysis was an interpretive activity supporting the focus of our research goals (Talmy, 2011).

d. Research ethics

Ethical approval for the study was obtained from Northumbria University's Institutional Ethics Committee before the survey was circulated and the interviews undertaken. The survey was accompanied by information outlining the project's aims (also available on the project website) so that teachers' voluntary participation was a result of informed consent. Interview data has been treated so that participants' anonymity is maintained. Furthermore, in order to develop a more balanced and reciprocal relationship between researchers and participants, all respondents who expressed an interest will receive an e-copy of the final project report.

4

Results

In this section, we first outline the profile of our respondents before presenting a summary of results in response to the research questions outlined in Section 3. The discussion will focus first on the findings revealed by the quantitative survey data before briefly examining participants' qualitative interview responses.

Profile of respondents

The survey respondents constituted a non-probability sample of 2,785 teachers working in 111 countries. Five countries returned 100 or more responses to the survey: the People's Republic of China (227), Portugal (190), Spain (189), Indonesia (108) and Turkey (105). A further 11 countries returned 50 or more responses: Latvia (98), United Arab Emirates (83), India (79), Saudi Arabia (79), United Kingdom (71), Egypt (64), Lithuania (61), Netherlands (58), Mexico (55), France (54) and Japan (50).

Most respondents worked in state schools/institutions (58.7 per cent of the sample), and the vast majority taught classes in which learners shared a common own language (87 per cent). Almost two-thirds (62.5 per cent) of participants classed themselves as expert or native speakers of their learners' language, with a further 7.9 per cent identifying themselves as advanced-level speakers of that language. As Figure 1 shows, the survey sample included teachers working with learners of all age groups, while just over half the respondents taught learners at beginner to pre-intermediate English-language levels (see Figure 2).

Figure 1: Age of learners

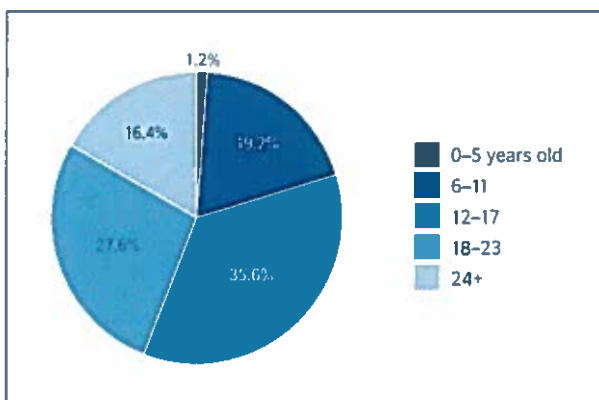
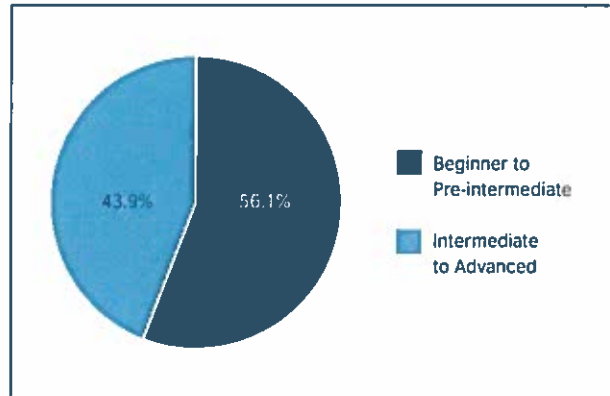


Figure 2: Learners' English language level



Participants generally taught classes of less than 30 students, with around one-third teaching groups of 11–20, and a further third teaching classes of 21–30.

Tables 1 and 2 summarise the respondents' profile according to their years of experience as English-language teachers and their ELT-related qualifications. Participants' ELT experience ranged from 0–4 years (15.8 per cent) to over 25 years of teaching (16.3 per cent), with 5–9 and 10–14 years of experience being most common (20.4 per cent and 20.7 per cent respectively). Just 1.8 per cent of the sample reported that they held no relevant qualifications for English language teaching, while 41.4 per cent held a Master's level qualification and 5.9 per cent a Doctorate.

Table 1: Respondents by years of experience as an English language teacher

Years	Percentage
0–4	15.8
5–9	20.4
10–14	20.7
15–19	14.1
20–24	12.8
25+	16.3

Table 2: Respondents by highest qualification relevant to ELT

Qualification	Percentage
Certificate	10.8
Diploma	11.1
University undergraduate degree (e.g. Bachelor's/first degree)	28.9
University postgraduate degree (e.g. Master's/second degree)	41.4
Doctorate (PhD)	5.9
No relevant qualification	1.8
Other	7.7

RQ 1: What types of own-language use activities do teachers report that they and learners engage in?

a. Teachers' own-language use in the classroom

According to the survey, many teachers and learners make use of the learners' own language in the classroom.

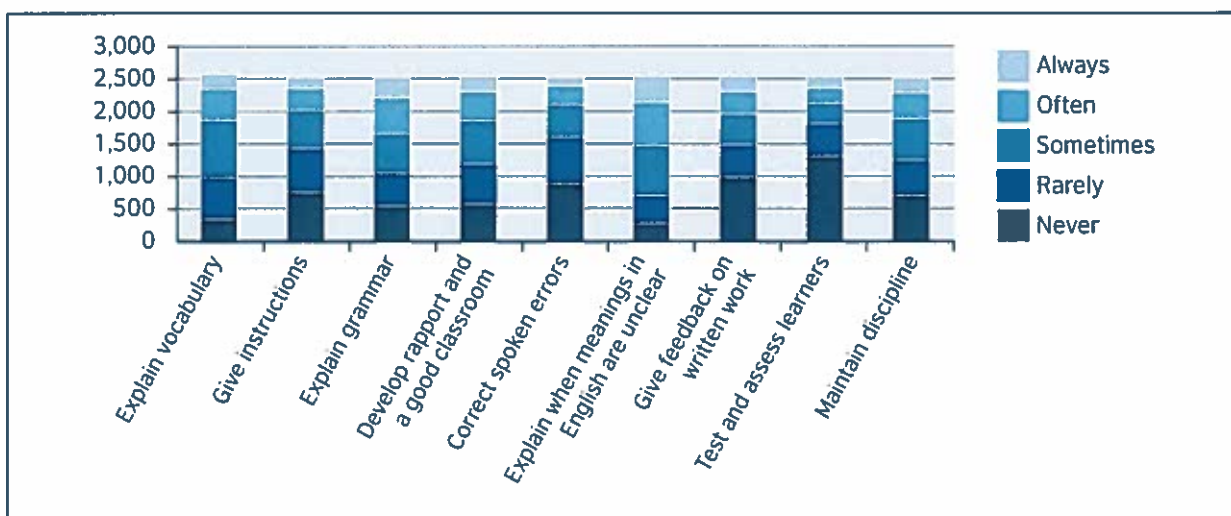
The majority of teachers who participated in the survey reported using the learners' own language *sometimes* (30.1 per cent), *often* (25.7 per cent) or *always* (16.2 per cent) to explain when meanings in English are unclear; likewise, a total of 61.5 per cent of participants also explained vocabulary via the own language *sometimes*, *often* or *always*. Furthermore, over half the teachers in the survey report a similarly frequent use of own language to explain grammar (58.1 per cent of responses), to develop rapport and a good classroom atmosphere (53.2 per cent) and to maintain discipline

(50.4 per cent). The learners' own language was less frequently deployed to give instructions to learners, correct spoken errors, give feedback on written work or test and assess learners (see Appendix 3 for a more detailed breakdown of the data).

In addition to the nine teacher activities highlighted within the survey (and listed in Figure 3), a number of respondents noted other ways in which they made use of the learners' own language. Several highlighted its role in language-awareness activities, identifying the way in which they contrasted English grammar with that of the learners' own language (the examples provided included Arabic, Estonian, Farsi, Finnish, Hindi and Serbian). Others identified own language as the most appropriate medium for meta-cognitive work, such as discussing with students their learning strategies and study skills or engaging in needs analysis. A number of respondents suggested that own-language use was appropriate in the first few weeks of a course before being phased out or reduced over time. Several suggested that their use of own language would change according to the learners' age and English-language level; we shall return to this issue when examining Research Question 5.

Within this survey sample, therefore, and, in keeping with key themes and trends identified within the literature surrounding the issue, many respondents acknowledged a range of medium-oriented, framework and social functions underlying own-language use in their classes (e.g. explanations of vocabulary and grammar (the medium), giving instructions and classroom management (framework tasks), and maintaining rapport (a social function); see Section 2, above, for further explanation). However, it is also worth noting that

Figure 3: Reported frequency and functions of teachers' own-language use in class



*Throughout this report, where totals do not add up to 2,785, this is due to missing data and respondents' omission of individual questions.

while own-language use appears to be part of many teachers' everyday classroom practice, for each of the functions suggested within the survey, between 20 and 35 per cent of respondents reported that they used only English. Within ELT generally, there is clearly a wide variation in teacher practices.

b. Learners' own-language use

Survey responses focusing on the extent and functions of learner own-language use clearly illustrate that the vast majority of learners use their own language at some point in class. Indeed, only 10 per cent of participants suggest that learners *never* use bilingual dictionaries/word lists and *never* compare English grammar to the grammar of their own language (in fact, over 70 per cent of learners reportedly use bilingual vocabulary resources and actively compare English and own-language grammar items). And even though a substantial proportion of learners reportedly never engage in spoken or written translation activities (31.1 per cent and 40.2 per cent respectively), 43.2 per cent of learners do participate in oral translation tasks *sometimes*, *often* or *always* (with around one third of learners engaging in written translation equally frequently). These trends are illustrated in Figure 4, with a more detailed breakdown of the data provided in Appendix 3.

Survey respondents' additional comments (from 219 participants) add further detail to the quantitative summary of learner behaviour. Many responses highlighted the way in which learners themselves use own language to understand and manage their participation in classroom activities, i.e. own language

is used by learners for framework functions such as checking teacher instructions with peers and understanding how classroom interaction is to be organised during classroom activities (especially in the early stages of pair and group work).

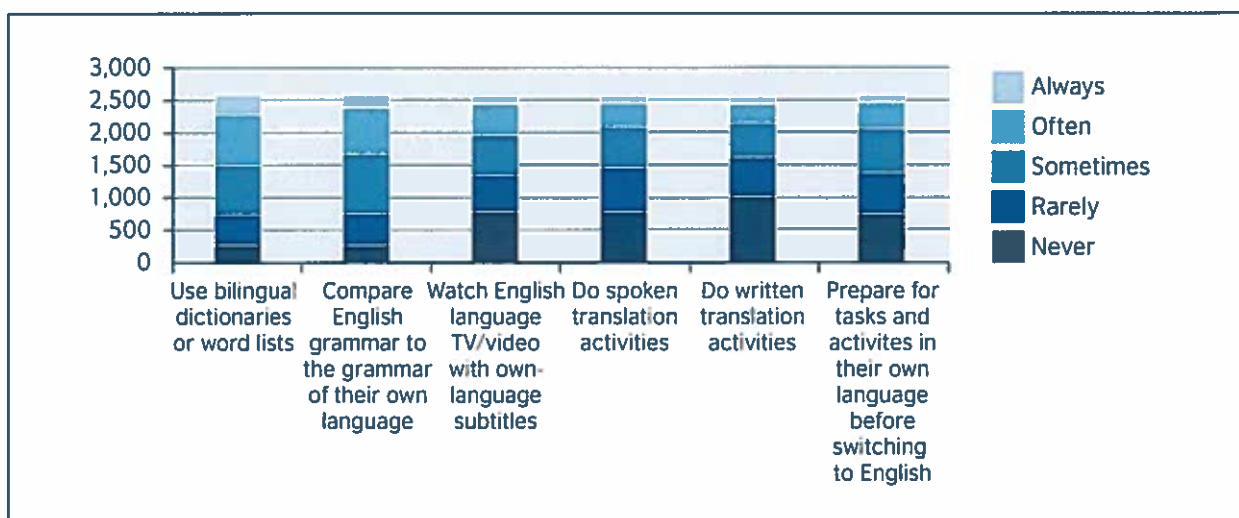
Understandably, learners also appear to use their own language to develop and maintain friendships (i.e. to perform a social function within the classroom). The data thus emphasises the active way in which learners as well as teachers deploy own language to establish and maintain the classroom as a pedagogical and social environment in which language learning can take place.

Finally, a number of respondents also acknowledged the difficulty they had in evaluating how much learners use their own languages in class. This raises the possibility that some respondents may have underestimated the amount of own-language use that occurs in their classes. Given that the data so far reveals reasonably significant levels of own-language use in ELT, the possibility that the data may in fact under-report such activity is potentially significant.

RQ 2: What are teachers reported attitudes towards and beliefs about own-language use in the ELT classroom?

In Section 2 of the survey, teachers were asked to summarise their overall attitude towards own-language use in their teaching, to evaluate a range of arguments for and against its use in class, and to consider the relationship between own-language use and class variables such as learner age, English-language level and group size.

Figure 4: Reported frequency and functions of learners' own-language use in class



a. Teachers' general attitudes towards own-language use

As Figure 5 shows, the majority of teachers suggested that they try to exclude or to limit own-language use (61.4 per cent of respondents strongly agree or agree with excluding own language, with 73.5 per cent reporting that they 'allow own-language use only at certain points of the lesson').

Superficially, therefore, this attitudinal data seems to suggest that teachers continue to reject own-language use within ELT. And yet, as we have seen, survey respondents also reported a notable amount of own-language practices in their classrooms. How might we account for this apparent paradox?

Evidently, the survey data is not as straightforward as it at first appears. For example, while the vast majority of participants clearly believe that 'English should be the main language used in the classroom' (less than 4 per cent of respondents disagreed with this statement), over one third of survey respondents did not agree with the statement 'I try to exclude own-language use'. Similarly, the 73.5 per cent of surveyed teachers who 'allow own-language only at certain parts of a lesson' may be indicating an acceptance that its use is inevitable. Indeed, it seems possible that this particular set of responses may reflect a search by some teachers for Macaro's optimal position (1997; see Section 2), in which own-language use is seen as valuable at certain points during a lesson. Furthermore, only around one third of survey respondents reported that they felt guilty if languages other than English are used in class, while the majority

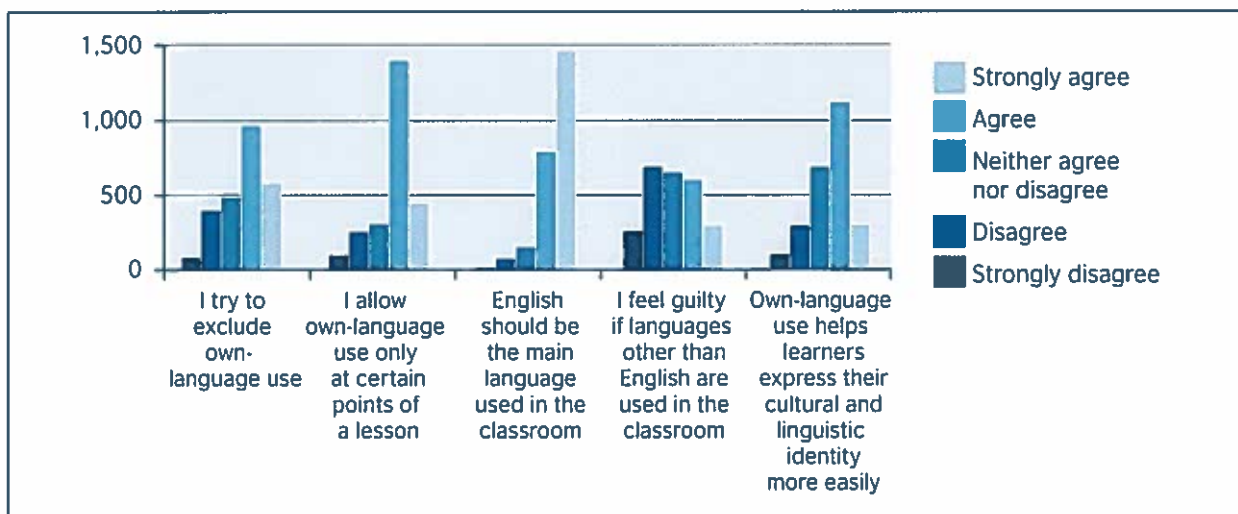
of participants (56.7 per cent) agreed that own-language use helped learners to express their own identity during lessons.

The survey data therefore suggests that teachers' attitudes towards own-language use are more complex than are sometimes acknowledged. Those who accommodate the use of learners' own languages in class are not isolated examples of poor practice within ELT, but are, in fact, typical of many ELT practitioners around the world, albeit teaching in ways that have been widely ignored by the language teaching and learning literature over the past century. In essence, the data supports Macaro's suggestion (2006; see Section 2) that many teachers recognise the importance of English as the *predominant*, but not necessarily the *only* language in the classroom. Clearly, however, it is possible that teachers' attitudes and own-language practices may be associated with variables such as their professional context, experience and type of institution (i.e. the discussion in this section outlines only aggregate trends within the survey data). We shall address variation between groups of teachers when addressing Research Question 5.

b. The case for and against own-language use: teachers' perceptions

This section of the questionnaire brought together key arguments which potentially support or discourage own-language use in ELT. Respondents evaluated the strength of each point for and against own-language practices on a seven-point Likert scale.

Figure 5: Teachers' views of own-language use in their classroom



As Figures 6 and 7 illustrate, respondents generally judged those arguments which point out the disadvantages of (excessive) own-language use in class to be stronger than those which can be categorised as generally supportive of own-language practices. This trend is consistent with the discussion of respondents' general attitudes already noted, whereby teachers regard English as the primary language within the classroom and allow (or aim to allow) own-language use only at certain points of lessons.

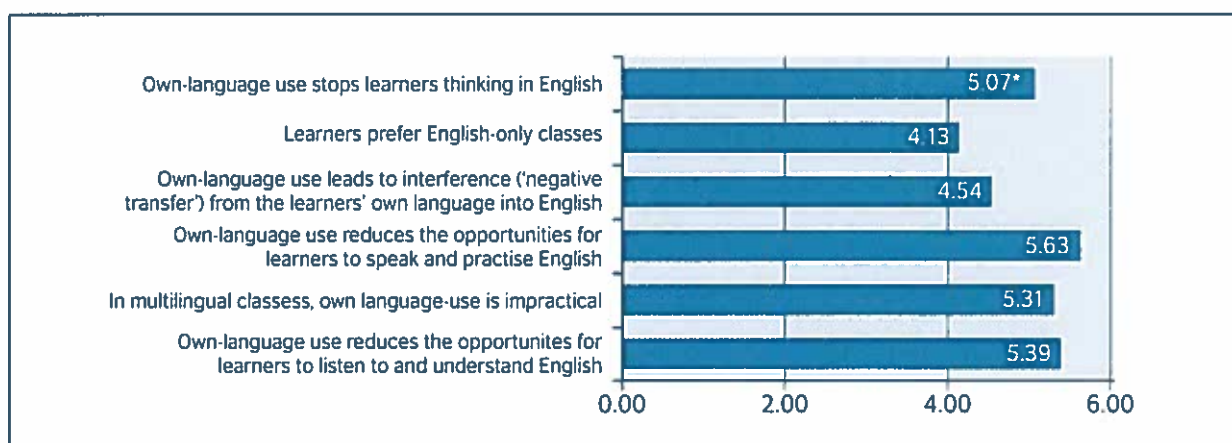
However, examining the data in more detail reveals that some key arguments seem to be more plausible to survey participants than others. As Figure 6 shows, the potential for own-language use to deprive learners of both speaking and listening practice in English was identified as the strongest argument against own-language activities. Meanwhile, respondents perceived the role of own-language interference (negative transfer) into English as being a less significant concern. However, implicit in these findings, and central to a key theme that is becoming clear within the data, is that a substantial minority of respondents did not rate each of the arguments against own-language use listed within the survey as strong or very strong. Indeed, around 20 per cent of all responses evaluated them as weak to very weak. This is, of course, not surprising given the range of professional contexts within global ELT; yet this diversity of attitudes and contexts is often forgotten in the research and methodological literature of our field.

Similarly, when participants evaluated the case for own-language use (Figure 7), the way in which learners might relate new English-language knowledge to existing own-language knowledge and its role in reducing learner anxiety were seen as the two strongest arguments (with mean ratings of 4.21 and 3.98 respectively). Interestingly, however, the very practical suggestion that 'conveying meaning through the own-language saves time' was not quite so well regarded (mean = 3.51). This is potentially encouraging for those calling for principled or judicious own-language use (see Section 2) as it seems to imply that teacher decision-making may centre more on issues of learning and pedagogy rather than expediency and convenience (that said, saving time is clearly an essential part of classroom and course management on occasion!).

c. Own-language use and learner/class characteristics

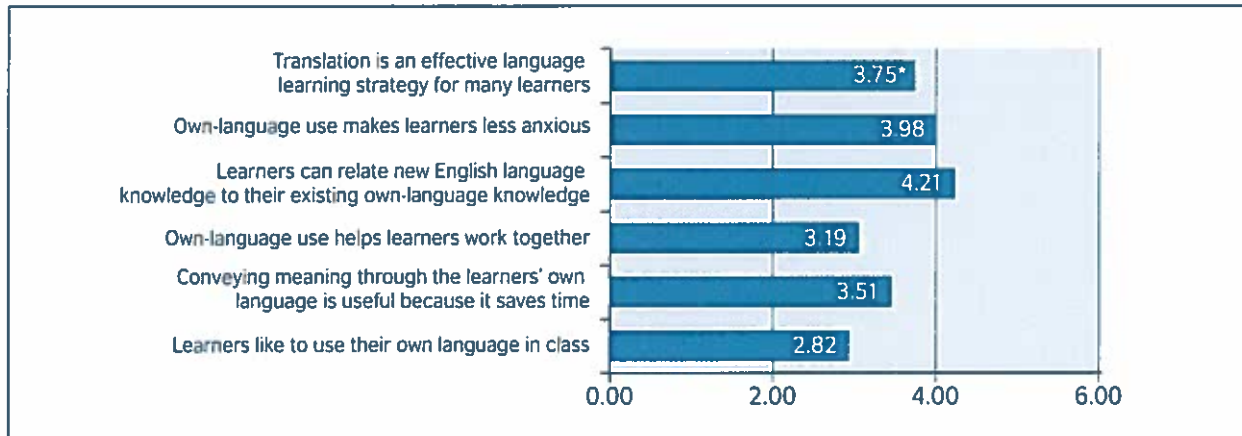
The survey also examined the extent to which participants consider own-language use more appropriate with some groups of learners than with others. Thus, Figure 8 shows the extent to which survey participants perceived the appropriateness of own-language use according to: learners' English-language level, age, class size and own-language background (columns 4 and 5 deal with different aspects of this final characteristic).

Figure 6: Evaluating arguments against own-language use



1 = a very weak argument for own-language use; 6 = a very strong argument
 *indicates mean average for each descriptor

Figure 7: Evaluating arguments supporting own-language use



1 = a very weak argument for own-language use; 6 = a very strong argument

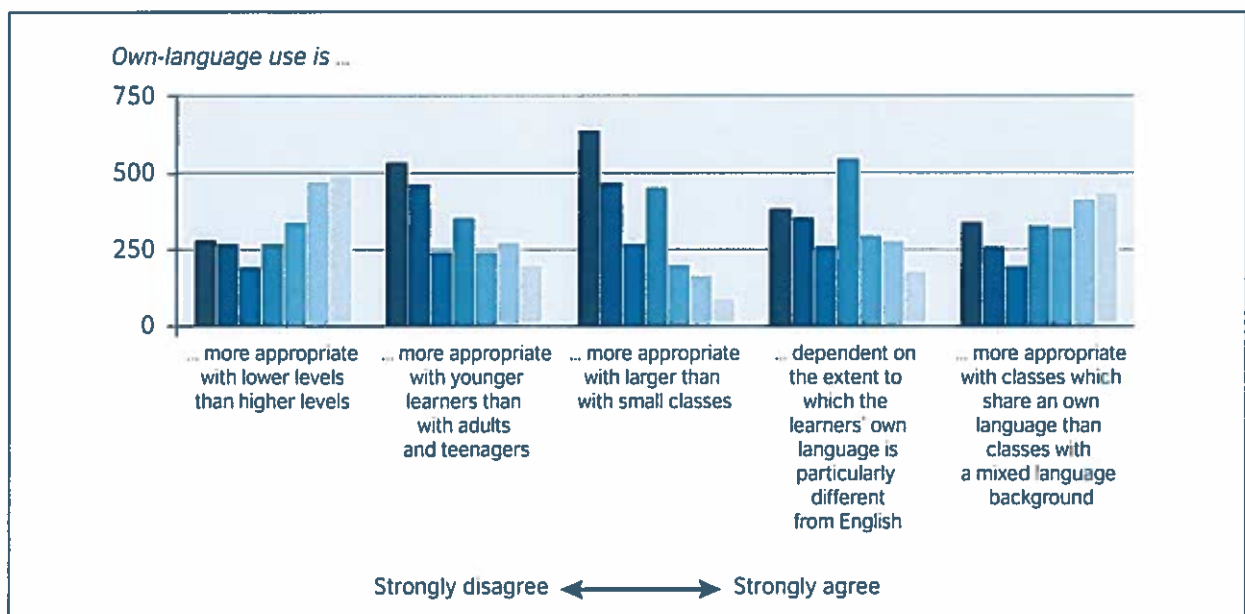
*indicates mean average for each descriptor

Interestingly, as Figure 8 (column 1) shows, the majority of survey respondents believed that own-language use is more appropriate with lower-level learners than higher-level students, with 56.2 per cent of the sample agreeing with this view (and less than one third or 32.1 per cent disagreeing). In contrast, most participants did not think that own-language use is more appropriate with younger learners (column 2) or with larger classes (column 3). Clearly, there may be a tendency for younger learners to be studying English at a lower level than older learners, but according to many teachers participating in this survey, age alone should not determine the extent of own-language use.

Meanwhile, perspectives on the relationship between the learners' own-language background and its use in class are less clear-cut. Although many respondents

were undecided as to the importance of own-language background, there was a slight tendency for participants to disagree with the notion that own-language use 'is more appropriate where the learners' own-language is particularly different from English (e.g. uses a different writing system or has a very different grammar)' – see Figure 8, column 4. Additionally, while the majority of responses note that own-language use is more appropriate with classes where learners share an own language (column 5), a sizeable minority disagreed with this perspective, presumably on the basis that own-language use is to be avoided (rather than suggesting its use is equally appropriate with classes in which learners share an own language compared to those where they do not).

Figure 8: The perceived appropriateness of own-language use with different groups of learners



RQ3: What are teachers' perceptions of their institutional culture, and the culture/discourse of ELT more broadly, in relation to own-language use?

In the survey, participants were asked to consider their professional context and its institutional culture, and to reflect upon the extent to which a range of stakeholders expected English-only classes or allowed for own-language use in the classroom.

As Table 3 shows, survey responses suggested that an institutional culture that favours English-only classrooms (and therefore discourages own-language use) seems to prevail in many contexts. While most teachers agreed that they could decide for themselves the appropriate balance of English and own-language use in class, 63 per cent suggested that their school or institution expected English-only teaching. However, while this is a sizeable majority, the data again presents a far from uniform attitude to own-language use which is often overlooked in the professional and academic literature. Implicitly, over one third of institutions are reported as not expecting

classes to be taught only in English, while almost half the survey responses either disagree or neither agreed nor disagreed that 'learners expect classes to be taught only in English'; interestingly, more parents of younger learners are reported as favouring English-only teaching than learners themselves. Similarly, teachers' perceptions of education ministry policies suggest that, while English-only teaching is favoured by many ministries (46 per cent), a substantial minority (42 per cent) appear to give no strong lead on the issue.

To summarise: although there is a reported tendency towards English-only attitudes among schools, learners and policy-makers, a sizeable minority of responses suggest that English-only teaching is not a universally accepted or expected norm across institutional stakeholders. And yet 59 per cent of respondents' fellow teachers are said to favour (i.e. strongly agree or agree with) English-only classes, that is, according to the survey data, a higher proportion of teachers appear to support English-only classes than do learners, parents, and education ministries.

Table 3: Teachers' perceptions of the institutional culture around own-language use

	Strongly agree %	Agree %	Neither agree / disagree %	Disagree %	Strongly disagree %	Not applicable %
Teachers can decide for themselves the balance of English and own-language use in the classroom	29.6	45.0	8.4	10.0	5.5	1.5
My school/institution expects classes to be taught only in English	29.8	33.2	19.0	11.4	3.0	3.6
Learners expect classes to be taught only in English	14.6	35.0	25.0	20.8	3.7	0.9
Parents expect classes to be taught only in English	21.0	31.3	24.6	11.5	2.3	9.3
The education ministry expects classes to be taught only in English	17.0	29.0	28.7	11.3	3.0	11.0
Teachers in my institution feel that classes should be taught only in English	19.7	39.3	22.2	14.0	2.4	2.4

Figure 9: Own-language use and professional development activities within ELT

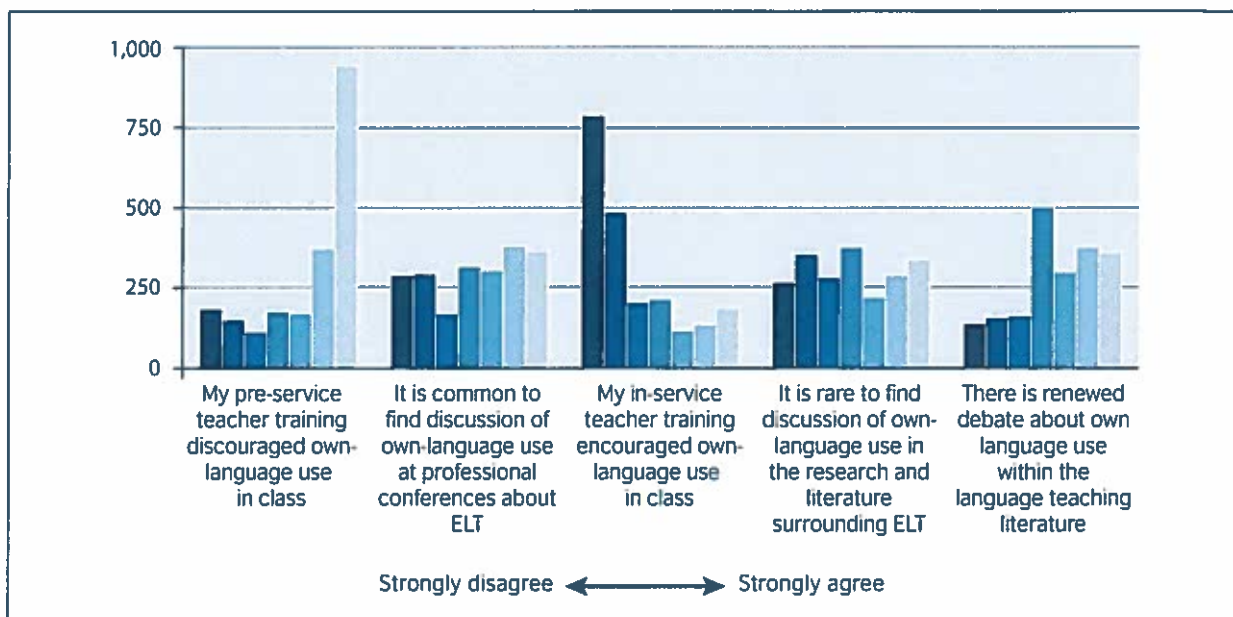


Figure 9 provides an indication as to why this might be the case. Participants overwhelmingly reported that both the pre-service and in-service teacher-training programmes that they had experienced discouraged own-language use in the ELT classroom (columns 1 and 3), and it seems reasonable to assume that the support many teachers have for English-only teaching derives in part from the developmental activities in which they have participated.

However, despite the English-only focus of ELT training, it is also notable that many survey participants acknowledged that it was 'common to find discussion of own-language use at professional conferences' (column 2). Participants also noted the recent re-emergence of debate surrounding the use of the learners' own language (columns 4 and 5), suggesting that, at a practitioner level, the value of own-language use is more widely recognised than the methodological literature and professional training suggests (reflecting the earlier discussion, Section 2). Indeed, numerous qualitative comments in this section of the questionnaire identified a gap between respondents' experience on teacher-training programmes and their subsequent classroom experiences and professional conversations, one participant from Malta, for example, noting that own-language use 'is not something we can control even if we want to'. Similarly, summarising the state of current professional debate around the issue, a teacher working in the United States suggested that 'it is very uncommon to find a presentation on

own-language use at professional conferences about ELT, but it is extremely common to find teachers debating own-language use amongst themselves at professional conferences about ELT'. Thus, as a participant working in China noted, rather than a current renewal of interest in own-language use, 'the debate has always been there' among and between practitioners in many contexts.

RQ4: To what extent are teachers' reported levels of own-language use practices associated with specific background variables such as type of institution, learners' English language level, and teachers' experience?

The discussion so far has examined the survey responses of all 2,875 participating teachers, identifying a range of broad trends across the data. As noted, however, it seems likely that teachers' own-language practices and attitudes may be associated with variables such as their professional context and experience, and it is to the potential variation between groups of teachers who completed the questionnaire that we now turn. As it is beyond the scope of this paper to report on all variations within the sample, the discussion of survey data will focus on the type of institution teachers work in (state or private) and the learners' English-language level. The possible relationship between the English-language teaching experience of respondents and own-language use will be further explored via the qualitative interview data.

Figure 10: Teachers' reported use of own language to explain grammar



Figure 11: Teachers' reported use of own language to develop rapport and a good classroom atmosphere



a. Teachers in state or private institutions

Teachers working in state schools/institutions (58.7 per cent of the total sample) reported using the learners' own language (e.g. to explain vocabulary and grammar, to develop rapport and a good classroom atmosphere) more frequently across a range of classroom functions than those working in the private sector, and also accommodating or encouraging learners' own-language activities more often in class (e.g. bilingual dictionary use, preparing for spoken tasks in the own language). For example, as Figure 10 illustrates, many more teachers reported using the learners' own language *always/often/*

sometimes to explain grammar in state institutions than private schools (69 per cent against 43 per cent respectively); likewise, 59 per cent of state-institution teachers reported using the own language *always/often/sometimes* to develop rapport compared to 45 per cent of teachers in the private sector (Figure 11). Indeed, the difference between private and state teachers was found to be statistically significant for all teacher uses listed in the survey except testing (for fuller results, see Appendix 3).

Similarly, learner own-language use was reported as being more frequent in state-sector institutions for the range of classroom functions highlighted within

Table 5: Frequency with which teachers report using the learners' own language in class

	% Teachers of beginner to pre-intermediate learners	% Teachers of intermediate to advanced learners
To give instructions	54.4*	28.9
To maintain discipline	61.6	36.6
To develop and maintain rapport	60.1	43.4
To explain grammar	67.3	46.7

*Figures denote the percentage of responses categorised as either *always/often/frequent*

the survey. For example, while over three quarters of state-school teachers (77.1 per cent of responses) reported that learners *always/often/sometimes* used bilingual dictionaries in class, the equivalent figure from teachers working within the private sector was just under two thirds (64.7 per cent); learners were reported to engage in spoken-translation activities far more frequently (i.e. *always/often/sometimes*) in state compared to private institutions (50 per cent compared to 33.4 per cent of responses respectively). These examples typify the range of difference between state- and private-sector institutions for reported learner own-language activities within the survey (for full results, see Appendix 3).

b. Teachers of lower or higher English-language level students

Perhaps unsurprisingly, and consistent with the attitudinal data outlined above (Section RQ2, c), own-language use appears to be significantly more frequent in classes with lower level than higher level learners (lower level in this survey defined as beginner to pre-intermediate, higher level as intermediate to advanced learners). Teachers working with lower level students report using the learners' own language significantly more frequently across all functions

highlighted in the survey, in particular to give instructions and maintain discipline (both framework goals in class – Kim and Elder, 2008 and Rolin-lanziti and Varshney, 2008; see Section 2); to develop rapport and a good classroom atmosphere (a social goal); and to explain grammar (a medium-oriented goal; see Section 2), as illustrated in Table 5.

The reported differences between higher- and lower-level learners' use of their own language in class are less straightforward. For example, approximately 70 per cent of learners, independent of level, are reported as using bilingual dictionaries and comparing English grammar to the grammar of their own language *always/often/sometimes* (although within this data, there is a slight tendency for teachers of lower-level classes to indicate *always* or *often*, and for teachers of higher-level students to note *sometimes*). However, survey responses suggest that learners with a lower level of English engage more frequently in spoken translation activities and written translation activities, and also prepare more often for classroom activities in their own language before using English. Table 6 summarises these trends; see Appendix 3 for fuller results.

Table 6: Frequency with which teachers report learners' use of their own language in class

	% Teachers of beginner to pre-intermediate learners	% Teachers of intermediate to advanced learners
Use bilingual dictionaries or word lists	72.1*	71.4
Compare English grammar to the grammar of their own language	69.7	71.6
Do spoken translation activities	50.0	34.3
Do written translation activities	41.1	28.8
Prepare for tasks and activities in their own language before switching to English	50.6	40

*Figures denote the percentage of responses categorised as either *always/often/sometimes*

Although the qualitative analysis (see below) will investigate teachers' accounts for the reported differences in own-language use between higher- and lower-level learners (see below), the survey data provides also some explanation of these trends. While all teachers agree that English should be the main language used in the classroom and try to limit own-language use to certain points of a lesson, a higher proportion of teachers of lower-level students identified the way in which own-language use can save time, help learners to work together and reduce learner anxiety as strong arguments for using the learners' language in class. Meanwhile, the survey suggests that higher-level learners are more likely to expect English-only classes than learners with a lower level of English (61.4 per cent compared to 40.2 per cent of responses *strongly agree/agree* with the questionnaire item 'learners expect classes to be taught only in English').

c. Teacher experience ... and beyond

For our final example of variation within the sample, this report turns to the issue of teacher experience, drawing, in this section, upon the qualitative interview data. As the number of interviews was small and space in this report is limited, the findings reported here are introductory, rather than conclusive.

As already indicated, the sample of 17 teachers was chosen to reflect both the geographical spread of the survey and to provide equal representation of primary, secondary and tertiary teachers. It also serendipitously included a mix of beginner and established teachers, with individuals' length of service ranging from less than four years (France, primary; China, primary; Turkey, tertiary) to 44 years (Saudi, secondary). In addition, it contained a mix of native and non-native speakers of English, as well as two cases of teachers whose native language was neither English nor that of their pupils – a native Greek speaker teaching English in Japan, and a native Russian speaker teaching English in Egypt – a presence which, emerging as it did in a sample determined by other factors, perhaps suggests that the usual binary distinction native English speakers who do not know their students' language and non-native English speakers teachers who do, no longer does justice to the complexity of contemporary linguistic identities.

The experience factor appeared to be a more significant determiner of views on own-language use than the national context in which the interviewee is working, suggesting a community of practice that cuts across other parameters. There was a strong tendency across the whole sample for the most experienced teachers to be more pragmatic and less dogmatic in their views on own-language use

than the less-experienced teachers. Even those who generally favoured maximising target-language use also extolled the virtues of a 'middle road' (Egypt, secondary), and regarded 'resort' (Greece, secondary) to the students' own language as a 'handy tool' (Mexico, tertiary) to be used when necessary. One explicitly referred to the softening of her views as she became more experienced:

as I said, at the beginning I was like very pious, maintaining this English only policy. But then I thought, wait a second, it's not working. It doesn't work. (Japan, tertiary)

Conversely, one of the least-experienced teachers, who strives to be strictly English-only in his teaching for reasons of principle, reported that his older and more experienced colleagues consider him 'idealistic' for his English-only approach (Turkey, tertiary). The more experienced teachers, moreover, seemed comfortable and confident in their views that own language should be used when necessary, even in the face of opposition from their institution, managers or colleagues. (An exception to this trend was the tertiary teacher from Brazil who not only endorsed the strict monolingualism of her institution, but also maintained this policy outside the classroom, speaking to her students in English on all occasions and wherever she encountered them, even outside the school or when they addressed her in Portuguese.)

The more experienced interviewees also expressed the view that the decision to switch to the students' own language should not be determined by any pre-existing theory or belief but taken as and when necessary. The reasoning behind the use of the students' language was not written anywhere and did not arise from following 'specific rules' (Latvia, secondary). It should rather be a spontaneous response to a perception of student need:

It depends on the moment. I am a kind of face reader. (Japan, tertiary)

Thus, the own language is used:

when they're struggling with meaning (Greece, secondary)

when I could see that they didn't get it (Japan, tertiary)

And decisions to make the switch are intuitive:

the trick is to know how much is enough (Saudi Arabia, secondary)

I just know (Latvia, secondary)

Close monitoring of student mood was said to play a more significant role than principles, and the cues for the decision to switch languages comes from the students themselves, prompted by their 'body

language' (Estonia, primary), or when there are 'blank faces staring back at me' (Spain, primary).

There were a number of other common uses of students' own languages referred to by more than one interviewee. One was intervention when they 'get it wrong' or are 'struggling with meaning' (Greece, secondary). Another was to ensure that weaker students in mixed-ability classes did not fall behind. For the same reason, the English NS interviewees (France, primary; China, primary; Estonia, primary; Egypt, secondary) said that they allow the better students to use their own language in order to help the weaker ones:

whenever I'm not able to get across to the students in English what it is that I need them to do. OK, it's OK for them to talk amongst themselves just for more clarification (Estonia, primary)

Interviewees were also unanimous in regarding own-language use to be most needed and most appropriate with lower-level and young learners, the aim being to then use it 'less and less' as they progressed (Mexico, tertiary). Other uses referred to by more than one interviewee included clarification (Japan, Estonia, Greece), confirmation of understanding (Brazil, Estonia, Malaysia), the reduction of anxiety (Estonia, Mexico, Turkey), the explanation of difficult vocabulary (Armenia, Egypt, Greece), and the maintenance of control and interest in larger classes (Armenia, China). Arguments against own-language use included the encouragement of thinking in English, parent pressure (China, Greece, Brazil), and as a balance to excessive reliance on translation in the state system (China, Greece).

d. Further variation

Due to limitations of space, it is beyond the scope of the current report to examine all potential variation within the data. Thus, the discussion above clearly suggests that both the (reported) attitudes and practices of English-language teachers and their learners differ according to the respondents' professional context, in relation to the different groups of learners they work with, and with respect to teachers' own professional experience. Undoubtedly, further close examination of the data will reveal further variation within the data, with areas of interest including the behaviour and attitudes of teachers: of younger and older learners; from differing national contexts (e.g. Spain and China, or Saudi Arabia and Brazil); who speak/do not speak the learners own language, or teach classes where learners themselves share/do not share an own language. Thus the analysis illustrated here provides only a starting point in the relationship between own-language use and contextual and background variables in ELT.

5

Summary

The insights reported here provide a valuable addition to the literature surrounding the use of learners' own languages in the ELT classroom. While there is a re-emerging debate and many localised case studies of own-language use practices, to our knowledge this is the first global survey of teachers' reported classroom practices and their attitudes and beliefs towards the issue.

The findings offer clear evidence of widespread own-language use within ELT, and provide a foundation for those who wish to explore the issue further. We aim also to have provided a useful resource for teachers, confirming the validity of own-language use and touching on a range of ideas as to how and why learners' own languages can play a role within ELT classes. We hope that this report encourages teachers to make own-language use a more considered element of classroom life around which principled pedagogical decision-making can be developed.

To summarise the key findings from this research:

1. A majority of participating teachers reported using the learners' own language to explain when meanings in English are unclear, and to explain vocabulary and grammar when they considered this necessary (as in, for example, Polio and Duff, 1994; V Cook, 2001). Many participants also identified a role for own-language use in developing rapport and a good classroom atmosphere (as in Kim and Elder, 2008).
2. Learners were reported as drawing upon their own language to a significant degree in the classroom, notably through the use of bilingual dictionaries and by comparing English grammar to the grammar of their own language. Learners' own-language preparation for classroom tasks and activities was also widely noted (and is consistent with the case-study findings of, for example, Anton and DiCamilla, 1999; Centeno-Cortés and Jiménez Jiménez, 2004).
3. In contrast to several other studies of teacher attitudes to own-language use (e.g. Macaro, 1997; Littlewood and Yu, 2011), the majority of participants in this research did not report a sense of guilt when languages other than English are used in the classroom. Teachers seemed to hold more complex and nuanced attitudes towards own-language use.
4. Thus, while teachers generally agree that English should be the main language used in the classroom, most do not try to exclude completely the learners' own language, but allow its use only at certain parts of the lesson. However, the extent to which this takes place in a planned and principled way (Edstrom, 2006; Macaro, 2009) or arbitrarily requires further investigation.
5. The majority of participants agreed that own-language use is more appropriate with lower-level English-language learners than higher-level students, but did not feel that learner age, class size or own-language background should affect the extent to which learners' own language is used in class.
6. While most teachers reported that they can decide for themselves the extent of own-language use in their classrooms, they also generally noted that institutions, learners and, where applicable, parents often expect English-only classes. Meanwhile, both pre- and in-service teacher-training programmes were strongly identified as discouraging own-language use in class. (Interestingly – and perhaps inconsistently – education ministries were less strongly identified as sources of support for English-only teaching). Thus despite the widespread deployment of learners' own language in the classroom, there remains a lack of engagement with the issue at a broader theoretical or methodological level within ELT. This is a concern if the search for optimal own-language use is to develop further, and if teachers are to be supported in their search for principled and purposeful own-language use.

7. There are clear variations between the practices and attitudes of different groups of teachers. Own-language use appears to be more frequent in state schools than in the private sector and among teachers of lower-level students (which is consistent with Finding 5, above). Furthermore, more experienced teachers report a more positive attitude towards own-language use, perhaps as the influence of English-only discourses within pre-service teacher training fades as teachers establish effective practice in light of their own classroom realities and experiences (it seems likely that further variation between teachers from, for example, different cultural or national contexts may exist, but this is beyond the scope of the current report).

Clearly, however, the place of own-language use within ELT requires further investigation and discussion, not only by methodologists, but by teachers and other ELT practitioners. Although our research was global in scope, the number of survey responses might have been even higher and was potentially limited by access to web-based technology. It would also have been useful to drill down into the data with a greater number of interviews, and to continue the analysis to recognise more inter-group variation within ELT. That said, we believe the study is methodologically valid and that the instruments developed here provide a basis for further research of this kind. It would be interesting, for example, to investigate in further detail settings in which the use of the own language has been more prevalent (for example, secondary or tertiary ELT in Eastern Europe or China), or to examine countries such as Brazil or India, where the wide range of English-language teaching contexts suggests variation in own-language use practices and beliefs is likely.

Overall, therefore, our study suggests that teachers' attitudes towards own-language use, and their classroom practices, are more complex than are often acknowledged. Although there is variation between individuals and groups of teachers, the survey shows that own-language use is an established part of ELT classroom practice, and that teachers, while recognising the importance of English within the classroom, do see a range of useful functions for the own language in their teaching. It seems that there is a potential gap between mainstream ELT literature and practice on the ground, a gap that should prompt further investigation of this central practice within English language teaching.

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Appendix 1 – The Questionnaire

Use of the learners' own language in the English-language classroom

To what extent do you make use of the learners' own language in the English language classroom? Alternatively, to what extent do you maintain an 'English-only' classroom? Do you allow or encourage your learners to use their own language in class? If so, why and in what kind of ways? And if not, again, why?

Northumbria University and the Open University in the UK, in conjunction with the British Council, are carrying out a survey into the use of the learners' own language in the English language classroom. The survey asks you about your experiences of, and your views about, the use of learners' own language in your teaching. We are interested in finding out what English teachers do (or don't do), the activities they use, and the reasons for this. Participation in this survey is voluntary and your answers are confidential: no individual's answers can be identified. However, if you are willing to be contacted by us for a follow-up interview, please give your contact details at the end of the questionnaire.

The survey will take approximately 20 minutes to complete. Thank you for your interest in contributing.

Note: In this survey, the term 'own language' is used in preference to 'first language' (L1), 'native language' or 'mother tongue'. To find out why, visit:

www.northumbria.ac.uk/sd/academic/sass/about/humanities/linguistics/linguisticsstaff/g_hall/ownlanguageuseproject/howyoucanhelp/?view=Standard

ABOUT YOUR PROFESSIONAL CONTEXT

1. Country where you work:

2. Type of school/institution you teach English in most often: *(tick ONE)*

Private State Other (please specify)

3. Age of learners you teach most often: *(tick ONE)*

0-5 6-11 12-17 18-23 24+

4. English language level of the learners you teach most often: *(tick ONE)*

Beginner to Pre-intermediate Intermediate to Advanced

5. Number of learners in your classes, on average: *(tick ONE)*

1-10 11-20 21-30 31-50 51-100 100+

6. How would you describe the curriculum in your institution?

Learners study only English	<input type="checkbox"/>
Learners study English and other academic subjects	<input type="checkbox"/>

7. How would you describe your work as an English language teacher?

I teach English	<input type="checkbox"/>
I use English to teach other academic subjects	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other (please specify):	<input type="checkbox"/>

8. How would you describe the classes you teach?

Learners share a common own language	<input type="checkbox"/>
Learners do not share a common own language	<input type="checkbox"/>

9. If learners in your classes share a common own language, how well can you speak their own language (in your opinion)?

Beginner	
Elementary	
Intermediate	
Upper-intermediate	
Advanced	
Expert or native speaker	
Not applicable	

OWN-LANGUAGE USE IN YOUR CLASSROOM

This section of the questionnaire is interested in whether, how, and how often teachers and learners use the learners' own language in the classroom.

10. Here is a list of ways in which teachers might use the learners' own language in class. In the class you teach most often, how frequently do you use the learners' own language to: *(Tick ONE box for each activity)*

	Always	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
Explain vocabulary					
Give instructions					
Explain grammar					
Develop rapport and a good classroom atmosphere					
Correct spoken errors					
Explain when meanings in English are unclear					
Give feedback on written work					
Test and assess learners					
Maintain discipline					
Other (please specify):					

11. Here is a list of the ways in which learners might use their own language in class. In the class you teach most often, how frequently do learners:
(Tick ONE box for each activity)

	Always	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
Use bilingual dictionaries or word lists					
Compare English grammar to the grammar of their own language					
Watch English-language TV/video with own language subtitles					
Do spoken translation activities					
Do written translation activities					
Prepare for tasks and activities in their own language before switching to English					
Other (please specify):					

12. Tick ONE box for each statement below to summarise your views of own-language use in your classroom.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
I try to exclude own-language use					
I allow own-language use only at certain points of a lesson					
English should be the main language used in the classroom					
I feel guilty if languages other than English are used in the classroom					
Own-language use helps learners express their cultural and linguistic identity more easily					

YOUR OPINIONS

13. Here is a list of possible arguments **for** using learners' own language in the classroom. To what extent do you think each is a strong argument for own-language use in class. (Tick **ONE** box for each statement)

	Weak argument for own language use		↔	Strong argument for own language use	
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Learners like to use their own language in class	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Conveying meaning through the learners' own language is useful because it saves time	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Own-language use helps learners work together	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Learners can relate new English-language knowledge to their own language knowledge	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Own-language use makes learners less anxious	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Translation is an effective language-learning strategy for many learners	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other reason(s) for own-language use:					

14. Here is a list of possible arguments **against** using learners' own language in the classroom. To what extent do you think each is a strong argument against own-language use in class. (Tick **ONE** box for each statement)

	Weak argument for own language use		↔	Strong argument for own language use	
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Own-language use reduces the opportunities for learners to listen to and understand English	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
In multilingual classes, own-language use is impractical	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Own-language use reduces the opportunities for learners to speak and practise English	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Own-language use leads to interference (negative transfer) from the learner's own language into English	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Learners prefer English-only classes	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Own-language use stops learners thinking in English	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other reason(s) against own-language use:					

15. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?
(Tick ONE box for each statement)

	Strongly disagree		↔	Strongly agree	
Own-language use is more appropriate with lower level learners than higher-level learners	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Own-language use is more appropriate with younger learner than with adults and teenagers	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Own-language use is more appropriate with larger classes than with smaller classes	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The amount of own-language use depends on the extent to which the learners' own language is particularly different from English (e.g. uses a different writing system or has a very different grammar)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Own-language use is more appropriate with classes that share an own language than classes that have a mixed-language background	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

OWN-LANGUAGE USE AND INSTITUTIONAL CULTURE

16. For each statement, give your opinion about the general attitude to own-language use in your institution. (Tick ONE box for each statement)

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Not applicable
Teachers can decide for themselves the balance of English and own-language use in the classroom	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
My school/institution expects classes to be taught only in English	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Learners expect classes to be taught only in English	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The government/education ministry expects classes to be taught only in English	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Teachers in my institution feel that classes should be taught only in English	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

17. For each statement, comment on how often the teaching/learning materials used in your institution include own-language use activities. (Tick ONE box for each statement)

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Not applicable
The teaching materials used include own-language explanations of English	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The teaching materials used encourage learners to use their own language during classroom activities	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

OTHER INFLUENCES ON YOUR TEACHING

18. Based on your own experiences, give your opinion as to how far own-language use is supported or discouraged through teacher training and other forms of professional development within ELT. (Tick ONE box for each statement)

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Not applicable
My pre-service teacher training discouraged own-language use in class						
It is common to find discussion of own-language use at professional conferences about ELT						
My in-service teacher training encouraged own-language use in class						
It is rare to find discussion of own-language use in the research and literature surrounding ELT						
There is renewed debate about own-language use within the language teaching literature						
Further comments:						

FURTHER COMMENT

19. If you have any further comments about the use of the learners' own language in the ELT classroom, please add them here: (optional)

ABOUT YOU

20. Years of experience as an English-language teacher:

0-4 10-14 20-24
 5-9 15-19 25+

21. Highest qualification relevant to ELT: (Tick ONE)

Certificate	<input type="checkbox"/>
Diploma	<input type="checkbox"/>
University undergraduate degree (e.g. Bachelor's/first degree)	<input type="checkbox"/>
University postgraduate degree (e.g. Master's/second degree)	<input type="checkbox"/>
Doctorate (PhD)	<input type="checkbox"/>
No relevant qualification	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other (please specify):	<input type="checkbox"/>

22. What is your level of English, in your opinion?

Elementary	<input type="checkbox"/>
Intermediate	<input type="checkbox"/>
Upper-intermediate	<input type="checkbox"/>
Advanced	<input type="checkbox"/>
Expert or native speaker	<input type="checkbox"/>

23. As a regular part of your job, do you:

	Yes	No
Teach English language classes	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Prepare your own lessons	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Choose your own course book	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Develop course syllabuses	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Lead teacher-training/development sessions	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

24. If you are willing to be contacted by email or Skype for a follow-up interview, add your contact details here:

25. If you would like to receive an e-copy of the final report on this project, add your contact details here:

**Thank you for completing the questionnaire; your help is invaluable.
 We hope to publish our findings with the British Council in Autumn 2012.**

Appendix 2 – Questionnaire participants, by country

Country where you work	Response (%)	Response (N)	Country where you work	Response (%)	Response (N)
Afghanistan	0.0	1	Macedonia	0.9	23
Albania	0.1	2	Malaysia	0.7	20
Algeria	0.8	22	Malta	0.9	25
Angola	0.0	1	Marshall Islands	0.0	1
Argentina	1.1	30	Mauritius	0.1	3
Armenia	1.2	32	Mexico	2.0	55
Australia	0.5	13	Moldova	0.1	2
Austria	0.1	4	Montenegro	0.0	1
Azerbaijan	0.5	13	Morocco	0.1	4
Bahrain	0.8	21	Mozambique	0.0	1
Bangladesh	0.5	14	Myanmar	0.1	2
Belgium	0.1	4	Nepal	0.1	2
Bosnia and Herzegovina	0.1	2	Netherlands	2.1	58
Brazil	1.8	48	New Zealand	0.1	2
Brunei	0.0	1	Nigeria	0.1	2
Bulgaria	0.3	9	Norway	0.2	5
Canada	0.4	10	Oman	1.1	31
Chile	0.1	4	Pakistan	0.4	11
China	8.4	227	Palestine	0.1	2
Colombia	0.3	9	Peru	0.3	7
Congo	0.0	1	Philippines	0.1	4
Congo, Democratic Republic	0.0	1	Poland	0.7	20
Costa Rica	0.1	2	Portugal	7.0	190
Croatia	0.3	8	Qatar	0.0	1
Cyprus	0.7	19	Romania	0.2	5
Czech Republic	0.4	10	Russia	1.1	29
Denmark	0.0	1	Saudi Arabia	2.9	79
Ecuador	0.1	3	Senegal	0.1	3
Egypt	2.4	64	Serbia	1.6	43
Estonia	1.2	32	Singapore	0.0	1
Finland	0.1	4	Slovakia	0.1	2
France	2.0	54	Slovenia	0.9	23
Georgia	0.9	25	South Africa	0.0	1
Germany	1.8	49	Spain	7.0	189
Greece	1.5	41	Sri Lanka	1.4	39

Country where you work	Response (%)	Response (N)	Country where you work	Response (%)	Response (N)
Guatemala	0.0	1	Sudan	0.2	6
Haiti	0.0	1	Sweden	0.1	3
Honduras	0.1	2	Switzerland	0.8	21
Hungary	1.2	33	Syria	0.1	2
Iceland	0.6	15	Taiwan	0.7	20
India	2.9	79	Tanzania	0.0	1
Indonesia	4.0	108	Thailand	0.8	21
Iran	1.7	45	Tunisia	0.2	6
Iraq	0.5	13	Turkey	3.9	105
Ireland	0.1	2	Uganda	0.1	2
Israel	0.4	12	Ukraine	1.2	32
Italy	1.4	37	United Arab Emirates	3.1	83
Japan	1.9	50	United Kingdom	2.6	71
Jordan	0.0	1	United States	1.2	32
Kazakhstan	0.2	5	Uruguay	0.1	3
Korea, South	0.7	19	Uzbekistan	0.5	13
Kuwait	0.0	1	Venezuela	0.0	1
Latvia	3.6	98	Vietnam	0.6	15
Libya	0.1	4	Yemen	0.0	1
Lithuania	2.3	61	Zimbabwe	0.0	1
Macao	0.0	1	(Other)	0.2	5
Answered question					2,699
Skipped question					86

Appendix 3 – Descriptive statistics for Section 2 (questions 10, 11 and 12) of the questionnaire – ‘Own-language use in your classroom’

Part 1: All responses

Part 2: Responses by type of institution (state/private)

Part 3: Responses by learners’ English language level

Part 1: All survey responses

Question 10

Here is a list of ways in which teachers might use the learners’ own language in class. In the class you teach most often, how frequently do you use the learners’ own language to:

	Always (%)	Often (%)	Sometimes (%)	Rarely (%)	Never (%)
explain vocabulary	8.0	18.8	34.7	25.4	13.1
give instructions	7.2	12.5	23.4	26.7	30.2
explain grammar	12.6	21.1	24.4	19.6	22.3
develop rapport and a good classroom atmosphere	9.6	16.7	26.9	24.0	22.8
correct spoken errors	5.6	10.6	20.4	27.8	35.6
explain when meanings in English are unclear	16.2	25.7	30.1	16.4	11.6
give feedback on written work	9.5	13.2	18.3	20.0	39.0
test and assess learners	7.0	8.8	12.8	19.3	52.1
maintain discipline	10.2	14.9	25.3	21.1	28.5

Question 11

Here is a list of the ways in which learners might use their own language in class. In the class you teach most often, how frequently do learners:

	Always (%)	Often (%)	Sometimes (%)	Rarely (%)	Never (%)
use bilingual dictionaries or word lists	11.6	29.9	30.3	17.9	10.3
compare English grammar to the grammar of their own language	7.3	27.0	36.3	19.3	10.0
watch English-language TV/video with own-language subtitles	4.6	18.5	24.5	21.4	31.0
do spoken translation activities	3.7	14.3	25.2	25.8	31.1
do written translation exercises	4.0	11.1	20.6	24.0	40.2
prepare for tasks and activities in their own language before switching to English	3.9	15.5	26.6	24.5	29.6

Question 12

Tick ONE box for each statement to summarise your views of own-language use in your classroom.

	Strongly agree (%)	Agree (%)	Neither agree nor disagree (%)	Disagree (%)	Strongly disagree (%)
I try to exclude own-language use	23.0	38.4	19.4	15.9	3.3
I allow own-language use only at certain points of a lesson	17.6	55.9	12.3	10.2	4.0
English should be the main language used in the classroom	58.6	31.5	6.1	3.2	0.6
I feel guilty if languages other than English are used in the classroom	11.9	24.1	26.1	27.5	10.4
Own-language use helps learners express their cultural and linguistic identity more easily	12.1	44.6	27.4	11.7	4.2

Part 2: By type of institution (state/private)

Question 10

Here is a list of ways in which teachers might use the learners' own language in class. In the class you teach most often, how frequently do you use the learners' own language to:

		Private (%)	State (%)
explain vocabulary	Always	6.0	9.3
	Often	14.5	21.8
	Sometimes	32.2	36.6
	Rarely	27.9	23.7
	Never	19.5	8.6
give instructions	Always	6.5	7.3
	Often	8.8	15.5
	Sometimes	16.8	28.2
	Rarely	27.5	26.3
	Never	40.4	22.7
explain grammar	Always	7.7	15.8
	Often	12.6	27.7
	Sometimes	22.7	25.7
	Rarely	23.1	17.0
	Never	34.0	13.7
develop rapport and a good classroom atmosphere	Always	9.3	9.3
	Often	12.4	19.9
	Sometimes	23.4	29.8
	Rarely	25.1	23.4
	Never	29.9	17.6
correct spoken errors	Always	5.0	5.9
	Often	6.9	13.3
	Sometimes	14.9	24.4
	Rarely	26.7	28.8
	Never	46.5	27.5
explain when meanings in English are unclear	Always	12.2	18.7
	Often	18.7	31.0
	Sometimes	29.3	30.9
	Rarely	21.6	12.6
	Never	18.3	6.9
give feedback on written work	Always	7.9	10.7
	Often	7.0	17.9
	Sometimes	13.4	22.1
	Rarely	19.2	20.4
	Never	52.5	28.8

		Private (%)	State (%)
test and assess learners	Always	6.8	7.3
	Often	5.8	11.0
	Sometimes	7.7	16.6
	Rarely	15.7	21.9
	Never	63.9	43.2
maintain discipline	Always	7.8	11.6
	Often	9.8	18.9
	Sometimes	19.5	30.1
	Rarely	23.0	20.0
	Never	39.8	19.4

Question 11

Here is a list of the ways in which learners might use their own language in class. In the class you teach most often, how frequently do learners:

		Private (%)	State (%)
use bilingual dictionaries or word lists	Always	9.3	13.1
	Often	25.7	32.8
	Sometimes	29.6	31.2
	Rarely	19.0	17.3
	Never	16.3	5.5
compare English grammar to the grammar of their own language	Always	6.5	7.7
	Often	21.4	31.4
	Sometimes	36.5	36.7
	Rarely	21.6	17.6
	Never	14.0	6.5
watch English-language TV/video with own-language subtitles	Always	4.8	4.3
	Often	18.2	18.9
	Sometimes	22.8	26.0
	Rarely	18.2	23.5
	Never	35.9	27.3
do spoken translation activities	Always	3.2	3.7
	Often	10.4	17.2
	Sometimes	19.9	29.0
	Rarely	27.0	25.0
	Never	39.6	25.0
do written translation exercises	Always	3.4	4.2
	Often	6.5	14.5
	Sometimes	15.3	24.8
	Rarely	22.4	25.2
	Never	52.4	31.4
prepare for tasks and activities in their own language before switching to English	Always	3.3	4.1
	Often	11.9	18.4
	Sometimes	24.4	28.6
	Rarely	23.7	25.2
	Never	36.8	23.7

Question 12

Tick ONE box for each statement to summarise your views of own-language use in your classroom.

		Private (%)	State (%)
I try to exclude own-language use	Strongly agree	29.9	18.2
	Agree	33.5	42.6
	Neither agree nor disagree	17.1	20.4
	Disagree	15.2	16.3
	Strongly disagree	4.3	2.5
I allow own-language use only at certain points of a lesson	Strongly agree	16.9	18.3
	Agree	50.7	60.1
	Neither agree nor disagree	12.3	11.6
	Disagree	13.0	8.2
	Strongly disagree	7.1	1.8
English should be the main language used in the classroom	Strongly agree	66.0	53.3
	Agree	26.1	35.4
	Neither agree nor disagree	4.1	7.5
	Disagree	3.1	3.2
	Strongly disagree	0.7	0.6
I feel guilty if languages other than English are used in the classroom	Strongly agree	15.5	9.3
	Agree	22.1	25.3
	Neither agree nor disagree	24.9	27.5
	Disagree	26.0	28.3
	Strongly disagree	11.5	9.5
Own-language use helps learners express their cultural and linguistic identity more easily	Strongly agree	11.7	12.4
	Agree	39.5	48.0
	Neither agree nor disagree	27.9	27.1
	Disagree	14.1	10.3
	Strongly disagree	6.9	2.2

Part 3: By learners' English-language level

Question 10

Here is a list of ways in which teachers might use the learners' own language in class. In the class you teach most often, how frequently do you use the learners' own language to:

		Beginner to Pre-intermediate (%)	Intermediate to Advanced (%)
explain vocabulary	Always	10.8	4.5
	Often	21.6	15.3
	Sometimes	35.2	34.2
	Rarely	23.2	28.1
	Never	9.3	17.8
give instructions	Always	9.1	4.8
	Often	16.7	7.1
	Sometimes	28.5	17.0
	Rarely	25.4	28.4
	Never	20.4	42.8
explain grammar	Always	16.8	7.3
	Often	26.5	14.6
	Sometimes	24.0	24.8
	Rarely	17.3	22.5
	Never	15.5	30.9
develop rapport and a good classroom atmosphere	Always	11.6	7.1
	Often	20.9	11.5
	Sometimes	28.6	24.8
	Rarely	22.4	25.9
	Never	16.5	30.7
correct spoken errors	Always	6.7	4.3
	Often	13.4	6.8
	Sometimes	23.7	16.7
	Rarely	26.5	29.3
	Never	29.7	42.9
explain when meanings in English are unclear	Always	20.0	11.3
	Often	30.1	20.2
	Sometimes	28.6	31.9
	Rarely	13.9	19.8
	Never	7.4	16.9
give feedback on written work	Always	12.0	6.5
	Often	18.1	7.0
	Sometimes	21.1	14.9
	Rarely	18.8	21.6
	Never	30.2	50.0

		Beginner to Pre-intermediate (%)	Intermediate to Advanced (%)
test and assess learners	Always	8.6	5.0
	Often	12.1	4.8
	Sometimes	15.4	9.4
	Rarely	21.6	16.2
	Never	42.3	64.6
maintain discipline	Always	12.4	7.6
	Often	20.1	8.2
	Sometimes	29.1	20.8
	Rarely	18.7	24.0
	Never	19.7	39.5

Question 11

Here is a list of the ways in which **learners** might use their own language in class.

In the class you teach most often, how frequently do learners:

		Beginner to Pre-intermediate (%)	Intermediate to Advanced (%)
use bilingual dictionaries or word lists	Always	14.5	8.0
	Often	28.5	31.5
	Sometimes	29.1	31.9
	Rarely	17.7	18.0
	Never	10.1	10.6
compare English grammar to the grammar of their own language	Always	9.4	4.4
	Often	26.8	27.1
	Sometimes	33.5	40.1
	Rarely	19.2	19.7
	Never	11.2	8.7
watch English-language TV/video with own-language subtitles	Always	5.9	2.9
	Often	17.6	19.5
	Sometimes	26.2	22.7
	Rarely	22.0	20.7
	Never	28.3	34.2
do spoken translation activities	Always	4.6	2.6
	Often	17.3	10.2
	Sometimes	28.1	21.5
	Rarely	24.3	28.0
	Never	25.8	37.8
do written translation exercises	Always	4.6	3.4
	Often	13.0	8.6
	Sometimes	23.5	16.8
	Rarely	22.4	26.3
	Never	36.5	44.9
prepare for tasks and activities in their own language before switching to English	Always	4.9	2.5
	Often	17.5	12.8
	Sometimes	28.2	24.7
	Rarely	22.7	26.6
	Never	26.6	33.3

Question 12

Tick ONE box for each statement to summarise your views of own-language use in your classroom

		Beginner to Pre-intermediate (%)	Intermediate to Advanced (%)
I try to exclude own-language use	Strongly agree	19.7	27.0
	Agree	38.6	38.6
	Neither agree nor disagree	21.4	16.9
	Disagree	17.4	13.9
	Strongly disagree	3.0	3.7
I allow own-language use only at certain points of a lesson	Strongly agree	16.4	18.9
	Agree	59.3	51.9
	Neither agree nor disagree	12.3	12.3
	Disagree	9.1	11.6
	Strongly disagree	2.9	5.2
English should be the main language used in the classroom	Strongly agree	53.3	65.3
	Agree	33.8	28.5
	Neither agree nor disagree	7.9	3.9
	Disagree	4.4	1.6
	Strongly disagree	0.6	0.7
I feel guilty if languages other than English are used in the classroom	Strongly agree	11.0	13.1
	Agree	26.1	21.4
	Neither agree nor disagree	25.7	26.6
	Disagree	27.3	27.8
	Strongly disagree	9.8	11.1
Own-language use helps learners express their cultural and linguistic identity more easily	Strongly agree	12.4	11.7
	Agree	46.5	42.2
	Neither agree nor disagree	27.2	27.5
	Disagree	10.6	13.1
	Strongly disagree	3.3	5.5

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Graham Hall and Guy Cook

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Abstract

The rapidly changing communicative landscape presents challenges to ELT professionals and students. In the European Union (EU), as elsewhere, increased mobility, migration, and integration, combined with developments in online communication, have led to substantial changes in English language use and practices. Young-adult learners are inevitably most receptive to and arguably most affected by such changes, with potential implications for English language teaching.

This paper reports on the project *The English language needs and priorities of young adults in the EU: student and teacher perceptions*, an investigation into the contemporary English language needs of 18–24 year olds in a context of increasing English language use, emergent forms of English, and increasing use of new technologies for communication. The project involved the collection of both quantitative survey data gathered through a Europe-wide questionnaire for teachers and students, and qualitative interview and focus-group data from three specific EU contexts: Germany (a founder member), Romania (a later acceding member) and Turkey (a candidate member). The body of this report draws mainly upon the qualitative data, using it to exemplify and add depth to the quantitative findings, which are presented in the appendices.

The findings offer clear evidence that young-adult students and their teachers in the three contexts share generally similar attitudes towards English. They accept both different native English language varieties and non-native English as a lingua franca for communication; they recognise the need for English language proficiency for employment and study; and they emphasise the importance of English in online communication – perhaps the most notable use of English in young adults’ current non-academic and personal lives – while also noting evident differences between ‘classroom English’ and ‘online’ or social English.

Consequently, young adults and their teachers identify a tension between learning English for real-life use, and teaching/learning English to pass a test, for further study or for future employment. Two possible resolutions to this tension were suggested by participants. In contexts in which students had fewer opportunities for communication in English outside the classroom, whether face-to-face or online, the preferred solution was to focus more on communication than form in class. However, in those contexts where young adults often communicate in English outside class (for example, online) and may be more familiar with emergent and non-standard aspects of the language, the best use of classroom time may be to provide more formal language instruction in areas where young-adult students are less competent than their teachers, to reduce attempts to reproduce contemporary, informal communication in materials and activities and instead to draw on students’ own knowledge of these aspects of English language use. In this way, the ELT classroom would become a two-way exchange in which students and teachers bring together complementary sources of English language knowledge.

1

Introduction

Changes in the contemporary communicative landscape present challenges to ELT professionals and students. In the EU, as elsewhere, increased mobility, migration and integration, combined with rapid growth in the use and capabilities of electronic communication, have led to radical changes in English language use and practices, potentially making ELT approaches and materials date quickly.

Consequently, a gap, possibly generational, may develop, in which the practices of teachers, testers and curriculum designers no longer match the needs and wants of students – especially young-adult learners, who are inevitably most receptive to change. This demographic group is most likely to move into new communicative environments, speak new forms and varieties of English (Seidlhofer, 2011; Cogo and Dewey, 2012; Seargeant, 2012), engage in multiple language use (Kramsch, 2009; Canagarajah, 2012) and make heaviest use of new technologies and the new forms of communication they enable (Baron, 2008; Crystal, 2011; Tagg, 2015).

However, in order to avoid imposing top-down ideas about English in the EU, it is important to understand how teachers and young-adult learners themselves perceive the role of English in Europe, uncovering what forms and varieties of English students actually want and need, and when and how they use English. In this project, therefore, we sought the views of both teachers and students, aiming to uncover their perceptions of the contemporary English language needs of EU citizens, and the implications this may have for ELT in Europe.

2

English in the European Union: contexts and debates

Many languages are spoken within the European Union. At the time of writing (2015), there are 24 official and working languages within the EU (see Appendix 1), more than 60 indigenous minority languages and a wide range of non-indigenous languages spoken by migrant communities (European Commission, 2012:2). The EU has a stated commitment to maintaining this linguistic diversity, emphasising a strategy for multilingualism that sees a role for languages and multilingualism in support of the European economy, aims to encourage European citizens to learn more languages in order to foster mutual understanding, and enables citizens to understand and participate fully in the democratic institutions, procedures and legislation of the EU (Council of Europe, 2005).

However, within this multilingual strategy, the European Union is 'increasingly endeavouring to operate in the three core languages of the European Union – English, French and German – while developing responsive language policies to serve the remaining 21 official language groups' (European Commission, 2015). Meanwhile, the tension between a plurilingual Europe and the spread of English as a global language (Crystal, 2012) or the emergence of English as a lingua franca (Jenkins, 2007; Seidlhofer, 2011) was recognised as long ago as 2002–03 in the European Commission reports 'Plurilingualism, democratic citizenship in Europe and the role of English' (Truchot, 2002) and 'Key aspects in the use of English in Europe' (Breidbach, 2003). No other European language has been the focus of such discussion, debate, and, indeed, concern.

2.1 The spread of English in Europe

The recent spread of English in Europe is part of a wider trend of English use and learning around the world (Phillipson, 2007). Most contemporary accounts of this spread note the links between English and globalisation (e.g. Graddol, 2006; Pennycook, 2007; Seidlhofer, 2011), a continuing process in which there is a 'widening, deepening and speeding up' (Held et al., 1999: 2) of worldwide interconnectedness in the social, cultural, economic and political realms of present-day life. Such interconnectedness is realised through 'flows'

and 'networks' (*ibid.*: 16) of goods and money, of people (as migrants and tourists) and of information (through online technologies). And implicit in these flows is English, in its role as a global lingua franca, consequently making the language 'like no other in its current role internationally due to the extent of its geographical spread, the enormous cultural diversity of its users, and for the huge range of domains in which it is deployed' (Dewey, 2007: 333).

Additionally, within the EU itself, English features prominently in the twin processes of integration and closer union (Phillipson, 2007) in both formal and institutional domains, and also in social and informal realms of communication. Berns (2009), for example, documents how English fulfils four broad purposes for its users:

- innovative, e.g. creative English language use in advertising, but also in popular music, films and games, and online blogs and chat, or messaging
- interpersonal, e.g. travelling, socialising; using English might also be seen as prestigious, apparently demonstrating educational achievement
- instrumental, e.g. in the development of an English medium education to attract students from both within and beyond Europe to EU universities
- institutional (or administrative), e.g. as a designated official language of the EU (see above), and as the default language in inter-governmental, private and third-sector meetings.

Clearly, therefore, English use in Europe entails more than face-to-face contact, also involving mass communication and media (Berns, *ibid.*). Indeed, the extent to which English is spoken (and written) in EU citizens' public, professional and private lives has prompted Phillipson (2007: 125) to ask whether English is 'no longer a foreign language in Europe' (Phillipson, *ibid.*). He makes clear his concern, however, that the learning and use of English in Europe should be an 'additive' process, 'one which increases the competence of individuals and the society' in a multilingual world, rather than 'subtractive', whereby English 'threatens' other languages (*ibid.*: 126) or hinders multilingualism in Europe.

2.2 Who speaks English in the EU?

It is notoriously difficult to estimate the number of English speakers in the world, or within a world region. What level of proficiency is necessary to be considered an 'English speaker'? Should speakers of all varieties of English be considered, including, for example, pidgins or creoles, or, for that matter, UK varieties such as Doric, the mid-northern Scots dialect? And how can comprehensive data be gathered when, in some contexts, estimates are not available (Crystal, 2012), and the growth in the number of English speakers in the world, and in the EU, is so rapid?

However, in a recent representative survey of 27,500 people aged 15 and over (European Commission, 2012), 33 per cent of EU citizens who do not speak English as their mother tongue reported that they can speak English well enough to hold a conversation (compared to 12 per cent for French and 11 per cent for German). This figure hides some variation within the EU, of course, with respondents in the Netherlands (90 per cent Malta) (89 per cent), Denmark and Sweden (86 per cent) particularly likely to speak English as a foreign language, followed by those in Cyprus and Austria (73 per cent in each) and Finland (70 per cent). Meanwhile, English is the most widely used second or foreign language, with 25 per cent of respondents saying that they can follow radio or television news in English (compared to seven per cent for French and for German), and a similar proportion suggesting they can read a newspaper or magazine in English (compared to seven per cent for French, six per cent for German), and can use English online (five per cent for French and for German). Interestingly, approximately 41 per cent of younger people (aged 15–34) in Europe speak English in addition to their mother tongue, this figure dropping to 25 per cent for respondents aged 55 and above (European Commission, 2012).

Given the status of English in Europe, these figures are perhaps unsurprising, and yet they raise a series of interesting questions concerning European citizens' attitudes to English, and to other languages. In the same 2012 European Commission survey, 67 per cent of participants considered English to be one of the two most useful languages for themselves (apart from their own language); this compares with 17 per cent for German, 16 per cent for French, 14 per cent for Spanish and six per cent for Chinese. Meanwhile, 79 per cent of Europeans considered English as one of the most useful languages for the future of their children (compared to 20 per cent each for French and German, 16 per cent for Spanish, and 14 per cent for Chinese). Thus, English is the language people 'need', and is seen as the 'language of opportunity'.

Yet central to the discussion surrounding English in the EU (and indeed in the world more generally) is the extent to which students need or are compelled to learn the language. In his exploration of the role of English in the EU and China, Johnson (2009: 132–133) comments on the view of his participants that 'English is the language of the world; we must learn it to succeed':

Where these respondents differed was in whether they said it with a hopeful smile on their face or with hints of resentment in their eyes.

Thus, while Graddol (2006) suggests that English is the de facto lingua franca of Europe, it is possible, as Phillipson (2003) claims, that the dominance of English may cause resentment among some individuals, organisations and institutions. Additionally, in this changing landscape of English in Europe, non-native speakers may need to navigate between notions of 'need' and/or 'opportunity' (via English) and identity (expressed through their L1/own-language, and indeed, also through English) (Graddol, 1996; Norton, 1997).

2.3 ELT in the EU: issues and dilemmas

The trends outlined above, of globalisation, widespread English language use in the EU, and the increasing recognition that non-native speakers of English have long outnumbered native speakers both globally and in Europe (Crystal, 2012), have led to increasing discussion of the potential misalignment between upholding 'standard' native-speaker English as a goal for English language teaching and learning, and the realities of non-native speaker use of English as a lingua franca (Kohn, 2011; De Houwer and Wilton, 2011). Here, English as a lingua franca (ELF) can be defined as 'any use of English among speakers of different first languages for whom English is the communicative medium of choice, and often the only option (Seidlhofer, 2011: 7). ELF communication may differ from native-speaker norms, but facilitates successful communication while accommodating English language variation and the manifestation of speakers' linguistic and cultural identities.

Dewey (2007) suggests that 'mainstream ELT' continues to teach English according to native-speaker norms, perceiving no need for significant change despite the changing patterns and trends of English use among learners and non-English L1 speakers. Modiano (2009: 59), however, suggests that, as ELT practitioners within the EU struggle to come to terms with the internationalisation of language teaching and learning, there is a recognition that the goal of ELT is cross-cultural communicative competence (Zhu Hua, 2014), and that learners are no longer learning English

primarily to speak with native speakers. Yet while there is an understanding that English is now 'a heterogeneous entity',

few practitioners have as yet been able to devise methods and curricula that can act as a basis for teaching with such an understanding as a guiding principle. There is a lack of consensus as to how English should be taught and learned, and certainly less agreement over which educational norm is best suited to represent English in the new era. (Modiano, 2009: 59).

Modiano (*ibid.*) argues strongly that both EU policy towards English and European ELT should be developed within an ELF framework that develops cross-cultural communicative competence and the expression of speaker identity within English, which he sees as appropriate for Europe and, indeed, the globalised world.

Meanwhile, as part of the EU's multilingual strategy, and with particular relevance to debates surrounding the teaching and learning of English, the Council of Europe's Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) aims to provide a common basis for the development of language syllabuses, assessment and materials within the EU by outlining the skills and knowledge learners need in order to be able to 'act effectively' on a 'life-long basis' (2001: 1). Indeed, although in place for only 13 years, the influence of the CEFR has extended beyond Europe and may become a global benchmark for the description of language teaching objectives, content and methods (Valax, 2011). While the CEFR applies to the teaching and learning of all languages, the status and reach of English within Europe make the relationship between the CEFR and English particularly interesting and, indeed, potentially problematic. As Leung (2013) points out, it is difficult for a single framework to accommodate the psychological and pedagogical challenges posed by the spread of English in the early 21st century as well as the accompanying changes to the language – a point also recognised by the CEFR document itself. Thus, in order to gain a better understanding of learners' priorities and needs in this changing context, students can be conceptualised as social agents, i.e. members of society who have tasks (not exclusively language-related) to accomplish in a given set of circumstances, in a specific environment and within a particular field of action (CEFR, 2001; Norton Pierce, 1995).

Consequently, a number of related questions can be identified. What are the implications of the developments outlined above for ELT, in particular, the relationship between classroom practices and young-adult students' perceived English language needs and priorities in the changing context of EU language use. To what extent, for example, can and should the ELT classroom be a multilingual speech community (Blyth, 1995; Edstrom, 2006) that might replicate the way English language learners use English and other languages beyond the classroom? What might this mean for English language syllabi, materials and classroom pedagogy, including the accommodation of new forms of English and the use of learners' own language(s) in class (Cook, 2010; Hall and Cook, 2012; 2013)? And what might the consequences of increasingly rapid change beyond the ELT classroom be for ELT practitioners and other stakeholders within the EU?

2.4 Justification for the study

To summarise, therefore, a gap, possibly generational, may have developed in which the practices of teachers, testers and curriculum designers no longer matches the needs and wants of students – especially young-adult learners, who are inevitably most receptive to the changing linguistic context of the EU. This demographic group is the most likely to move into new communicative environments, speak new forms and varieties of English, engage in multiple language use and make heaviest use of new technologies and the new forms of communication they enable. What, therefore, are the perceived English language needs and priorities of young adults in the EU?

3

Research methodology

3.1 Aims and research questions

The project aimed to investigate teachers' and young-adult learners' perceptions of the contemporary English language needs of young-adult EU citizens in a context of increasing English language use in Europe, emergent forms of English, multiple language use and increasing use of new technologies and new forms of communication. The study aimed to consider the implications of these perceptions for approaches to English language teaching and learning in the EU.

Consequently, the study addressed the following research questions (RQs):

1. How do 18–24-year-old ELT students and their teachers in the EU perceive young adults' English language needs and priorities, in particular in relation to:
 - a. appropriate models of English
 - b. online communication
 - c. cultural and linguistic identity?
2. Is there a gap between students and teachers with regard to these perceived needs and priorities?
3. Do students' and teachers' perceptions of English language needs and priorities differ in founder, recently acceding and candidate EU members?
4. What are the implications of RQs 1–3 for ELT professionals in the EU?

3.2 Research design

The project explored EU-based English language teachers' and students' own perspectives on how young adults use English, the varieties of English they need, and what they need English for, both now and in their future lives. Pursuing a multi-method strategy (Borg, 2009; Hall and Cook, 2013), we collected and analysed first quantitative data collected through two questionnaires (circulated to English language teachers and to young-adult learners respectively, across both the EU and non-EU member countries in Europe), then qualitative data collected through semi-structured interviews (with teachers) and focus-groups (with young-adult learners) in three case-study countries – one EU founder member (Germany), one later accession country (Romania) and one candidate member (Turkey). These countries were selected in order to explore the extent to which perceived English language needs and priorities are associated with EU membership status.

The generation of the three kinds of data went some way towards mitigating objections to the limitations associated with questionnaires (Oppenheim, 1992), interviews (Talmy and Richards, 2011) and focus groups (Bloor et al., 2001) when any of these are conducted in isolation: we could verify findings from three perspectives, and add depth to and illustrate broad trends from the questionnaire data via the interview and focus-group responses, as we sought to explore in more detail why specific survey questions had been answered in particular ways.

a. Teacher and student questionnaires

Questionnaires have numerous strengths but also some limitations, as outlined by, for example, Dörnyei (2003; 2007), Borg and Al-Busaidi (2012) and Hall and Cook (2013). They can be administered across large and geographically varied samples, generating data that is relatively straightforward to analyse. However, they require careful design to ensure their reliability and validity, and to avoid collecting superficial responses from unmotivated participants.

Consequently, when designing our own questionnaires, one for teachers and another for young-adult students (aged 18–24), it was important to ensure that individual items were well-constructed and clear for participants, and that the surveys as a whole were ‘relevant, interesting, professional-looking and easy to complete’ (Borg and Busaidi, 2012: 221).

Thus, our two questionnaires were developed in parallel over a three-month period, first by identifying key issues in the literature surrounding English in the EU (see Section 2), and then developing questions that were relevant to the project’s aims and research questions. In effect, therefore, both questionnaires addressed the same debates surrounding English, although questions were framed to correspond to each group of participants. Key issues that were investigated included:

- young adults’ perceived English language needs
- young adults’ reasons for learning English, and the ways in which they use English outside the English language classroom
- the relationship between using English and young adults’ sense of identity
- the relationship between young adults’ English language needs and ELT materials and methodologies.

Relevant biographical data was also required in order to understand participants’ professional (for teachers) or learning (for students) contexts, including their location, type of school or institution, and professional qualifications and experience (for teachers) or time spent studying English (for students).

Questions were constructed to avoid ambiguity and redundancy while drawing upon a range of easy-to-complete formats. Closed questions, for example, took the form of Likert rating scales, rank ordering configurations and checklists, while open-ended questions enabled participants to provide written qualitative comments in addition to the quantitative closed-question data (see Dörnyei 2003 for further discussion). Both questionnaires were piloted, with 13 teachers working in ten European countries and with six students living in four countries (teachers who participated in the pilot were known to the researchers through their professional contacts; students were contacted via participating teachers). Consequently, revisions were undertaken, in particular to the wording and format of two specific questions, with minor changes made to the surveys’ length and structure.

Organised in six main subsections, the final version of both questionnaires therefore constituted five multi-part Likert scale items, two rank ordering questions and one checklist item, with four ‘additional comment’ questions enabling participants to add further detail to their closed-question responses. Thirteen shorter questions established participants’ biographical and contextual data, while a final question asked participants whether they would like to receive a copy of the study’s final report. The average time for completion of both surveys (based around pilot-study feedback) was 15–20 minutes. (See Appendices 3 and 4 for each questionnaire).

When administering the questionnaire for teachers, the only criterion for participation was that respondents were: (1) practising English language teachers (this deliberately broad criterion includes those who both teach language and train teachers, who teach and manage, who teach only English or who teach English via content-based approaches etc.); and (2) working in Europe, whether within the EU’s 28 full member countries, its candidate or potential candidate Countries (five and three countries respectively) or in other European, but non-EU countries; for a full listing of all 36 EU-aligned countries, see Appendix 2. This enabled us to explore the extent to which perceived English language needs and priorities are associated with EU membership status (Research Question 3, see above). Data was collected via non-probability opportunity sampling, teachers being contacted

with the co-operation of the British Council and national and regional teachers' associations, and via the researchers' own professional network of contacts across the EU and associated countries. The survey was mainly administered via the SurveyMonkey online platform, although it was also available to participants via email and hard-copy versions in order that teachers with more limited online access could participate.

For young-adult students, the criterion for participation was that respondents were English language learners (either in an institutional setting and/or less formally, through self-study and English language use beyond the classroom) between the ages of 18–24 years old, living in the EU's member, candidate or potential candidate countries or in other European, but non-EU, countries. Student participants were contacted via non-probability opportunity sampling, drawing on those contacts deployed when gathering teacher data and, indeed, enabling participating teachers to disseminate the survey among their own students.

The questionnaires were administered between January and April 2014, with a total of 628 teachers and 280 young-adult learners in Europe participating and completing the relevant survey. For further details of the respondents' profile by country, see Appendices 5 and 7.

b. Teacher interviews and student focus groups

As noted, the project then explored three case-study contexts – in Germany, Romania and Turkey – in order to investigate in more detail the thinking behind teachers' and students' answers to questionnaire responses. The case-study investigations also provided insights into whether the perceived English language needs of young adults in Europe might vary with EU membership status.

Institutions were approached through the researchers' professional networks or via local contacts. At each institutional site, both the teachers and learners who took part were provided with information (in written form) about the aims, methodology and potential outcomes of the project so that they could make an informed decision about whether or not to participate. All institutions and individuals were assured anonymity to encourage participation, and consent forms were obtained from all participants.

The interviews with individual teachers in each location were semi-structured. They followed the general themes and topics covered by the questionnaire, that is: the perceived English language needs of young adults in Europe; reasons for learning and the ways in which English is used by 18–24 year olds, including their use of English when online; the relationship between using English and young adults' sense of identity; and the relationship between young adults' English language needs and ELT materials and methodologies. However, the interviews were flexible enough to allow for the detailed exploration of relevant issues and ideas that emerged during the discussion. Each interview lasted approximately 25–30 minutes and was audio-recorded to facilitate subsequent transcription.

Student focus groups in each institution consisted of five to ten students between the ages of 18–24. Each group included five to ten students, with roughly equal numbers of females and males. Focus-group discussions explored the same general themes as the questionnaires and teacher interviews, again with a flexible format to allow in-depth discussion of particularly relevant or interesting points. Each meeting lasted approximately 30–40 minutes, and, like the interviews, the discussions were audio-recorded and transcribed.

The case-study institutions and participants were as follows:

- Germany (EU founder-member): seven teachers (four male, three female), and four student focus groups (approximately 35 students, aged 18–19, at CEFR C1 level), drawn from two state secondary schools in the Lower Saxony region.
- Romania (recent EU accession country): nine teachers (two male, seven female) from one private language school and one state secondary school, and four student focus groups (27 students, aged 18–24, at CEFR level C1), drawn from one state secondary school and one university in the Moldavia region of Romania.
- Turkey (EU candidate member): ten teachers (one male, nine female) and two student focus groups (approximately 18 students, aged 18–19, at CEFR B2 level), drawn from two university language centres in the Central Anatolia region.

These interviews and focus groups provided a snapshot of current teacher and young-adult student perspectives on our topic. Although explored with a relatively limited number of participants in only one locality in each country, the views expressed did noticeably echo those of the larger number of participants in the survey. Consequently, they complement and add depth to the survey data, providing additional insights.

c. Analysing and reflecting on the data

When analysing the closed questionnaire data, descriptive statistics were calculated for all questions (i.e. mean averages and frequencies) while inferential statistics were calculated to establish relationships between variables where appropriate (e.g. is there a relationship between the country where a participant lives or works and perceived reasons for learning English or perception of the most appropriate variety of English?). The responses to open survey questions provided an additional source of participant perspectives, which, together with the interview and focus-group data were thematically categorised to find commonalities and contrasts between participants and groups of participants.

Overall, the data provided us with a broad snapshot of 'insider' perspectives (i.e. those of teachers and learners) on the English language needs of young-adult learners in the EU. We should recognise, however, that both the questionnaire and interview/focus-group participants constitute a small sample of the wider population of English language teachers and learners in Europe – and possibly those who are more inclined to use online technologies (in the case of the questionnaire) or who are linked to or are active in local or national Teacher Associations. Consequently, our data are illustrative rather than generalisable. However, throughout our data collection and subsequent analysis, we have attempted to 'interrogate the contexts' that we investigated, in order that our analysis is 'dependable' (Wardman, 2013: 136; see also, Guba and Lincoln, 1985: 13). Similarly, the data that we report upon suggests a high level of critical awareness on the part of the interviewees and focus-group participants, suggesting similar levels of critical reflection by teachers and young-adult learners of English across the EU.

In our discussion of Results (Section 4, below), we present the qualitative data from the teacher interviews and student focus groups in three case-study contexts; these data illustrate and illuminate trends revealed in the wider surveys. Consequently, the results of the teacher and young-adult English language learner questionnaire surveys are provided in Appendices 6 (teachers) and 8 (students) below, in the form of the descriptive statistics for all closed survey questions. Interested readers can refer to this data for corroborating insights into our discussion.

d. Research ethics

Ethical approval for this study was obtained from Northumbria University's Institutional Ethics Committee prior to the collection of data. Participation in the project was voluntary, and participants were provided with relevant information in advance of the project (also available on the project website) in order to make a fully informed decision about whether to contribute to the research. Interviewee and focus-group participant identities are anonymised to protect respondents' confidentiality. Furthermore, all participants who expressed an interest will receive an e-copy of the final project report in order to develop a more balanced and potentially reciprocal relationship between researchers and participants.

4

Results

We turn now to the qualitative data collected via teacher interviews (T) and student focus groups (FG) which, as observed in Section 3.2, adds depth to and illustrates trends revealed by the survey data.

As noted, this case-study data provides a snapshot of current teacher and young-adult student perspectives on the English language needs of 18–24 year-olds in three very specific contexts: educational institutions in Germany, Romania and Turkey. The findings presented here are therefore introductory and illuminating, rather than conclusive and generalisable. A number of key themes emerge from the data, and, as will be evident from the discussion below, there was a considerable degree of consensus between teachers and students, and little evidence of a generation gap in attitudes and perceptions, even if the kind of English used by the two groups differs considerably. There were, however, some significant differences between the three countries regarding the impact of English on their own languages and cultures.

4.1 Which English?

While recognising differences between varieties of English, particularly with regard to pronunciation and in terms of accent, students in all three countries generally felt that an ability to communicate in any English was more important than studying or speaking a particular variety. This was particularly true of the choice between British and American English. For example, students noted that:

Why it is important if you are speaking in British, or American or Australian English? It doesn't matter because you always communicate in English, and you can understand it, all of them [the varieties]. It doesn't matter. (Turkey FG1)

It's a universal language, so we have to learn it to communicate to all the people. (Romania FG2)

I think, first it's most important that people understand what you're telling them. So it doesn't matter if it's British English or American English or whatever. In the end, I think it doesn't really matter ... whatever suits you best. (Germany FG4)

Teachers tended to agree:

... as long as they make themselves understood that's what matters. (Romania T1)

Interestingly, such discussions tended to look beyond the traditional (and stereotypical) dichotomy of British or American English, and acknowledge English varieties from contexts such as India and Africa. A German student, for example, noted the potential complexity this adds to the concept of a native speaker of English, while a German teacher advocated the importance of:

learning about English via speakers from different countries, and the inclusion of Indian, South African accents. (Germany T4)

That said, individuals had their own preferences and rationale for focusing on one particular variety or trying to speak with a particular accent. Both teachers and students identified predominantly British English examples in their teaching materials, largely as a result of tradition and examination syllabuses, while acknowledging the prevalence of American media beyond the classroom, for example:

From top down yes, or the principals, the administration let's say. So they seem to favour British more for example. But when I look at students, because of maybe films and that, they favour American accent at the same time. (Turkey T9)

It was also observed that the two varieties are converging, making the question of a choice between them somewhat dated:

sometimes we are not very sure that the one that we use is purely British, because they tend to come with so many Americanisms and we hear them every day. And they are exposed to so many American movies first of all. (Romania T1)

Yet apart from demands of examinations for British English, teachers in all three countries had no particular penchant for one or the other. However, when student preferences were identified, these were based around notions of what was 'cool' or 'easier' to learn, usually, it was reported, American English:

But generally speaking I would say the kids love American English because they think it's easier, although actually it isn't... there are lots of students coming back from the US, and then of course the other students, yeah well my best friend speaks like this and then, and they copy their way of speaking. (Germany T1)

In some cases, again depending on their own experiences they might have a preference for American English. So we basically accept that. (Romania T2)

Generally, therefore, while classrooms in all three contexts tended to draw more upon standard British English norms (while introducing students to other varieties and accents), students perhaps identified (and identified with) other English norms outside the class. Thus, in many ways, our qualitative data sustains the claim that the use of English as a lingua franca is changing attitudes and spoken norms, with the heterogeneity of English being increasingly recognised, while ELT classrooms arguably lag behind this in terms of the language models presented to learners.

4.2 Current and future uses of English

Unsurprisingly, participants in all three countries confirmed how important knowing and speaking English was to them. English was clearly seen as a necessary requirement of current and future academic study, for example:

...they are aware that they have to be proficient for postgraduation, and for their Master's degree or PhD studies. (Turkey T1)

When you study something, English is getting bigger in every subject, and you have to read texts in English. For example psychology, it's mainly in English, also in Germany. And I think for studies it's really important nowadays, that you have good English. (Germany FG3)

The role of English in students' future employment was also highlighted, for work outside their home countries, especially for Romanians, but also for employment at home. Particularly in the Turkish

context, it seemed to many teachers and students self-evident that in order to find professional-level employment within their home country, English would be a significant if not essential attribute:

Thinking about my friends who work in Istanbul, and their bosses are usually foreigners, so they have these meetings in English, they go abroad and so on. But that's just one section of the society. But my sister for example, has a car rental company, and they want to hire drivers, and they also need to know English, at least some English, so that when they go to the airport and take somebody to another country, they need to communicate. So, almost every part of society now needs to learn it. (Turkey T5)

When talking about future employment, the potential effect of Turkey's candidacy for EU membership became apparent:

But if we become part of the EU, people who have finished university or even those who couldn't go to university will want to go abroad, especially to work. So many more people will want to learn English then. (Turkey T10)

Here 'abroad' is not specifically the UK, but potentially any EU country, reflecting the view that English, more than any other language in Europe, is essential to work and travel, no matter what the destination. The importance of English for non-work related travel and study was also commented on by teachers and students alike in all three contexts:

But I think you can't live without it, because when you travel to Italy for example, you can't speak this language, or I don't know Spain for example, and you use English to survive in this country. (Germany FG3)

Romanian participants also commented on the need for Italian by the many migrant Romanians who go to work in Italy. For Romanians, moreover, accession to the EU was seen as a less important factor in the growth of English than the 1989 anti-communist revolution. This view was expressed by both teachers and students, though the latter were born after that event. As ten of the 12 countries that have joined the EU since 2004 are former communist states or Soviet republics, the same may be true in those countries too. If so, this means that – with regard to our RQ3 – membership of the EU, though important, is not such a major factor in the linguistic landscape of eastern Europe as the changes that accompanied the collapse of the Soviet Union.

4.3 Online English

The essential role of English for online communication was also highlighted by teachers and students, both in terms of the extent to which English is necessary simply to participate in many online activities, and the way in which such activities, and, implicitly, English, develop and sustain new, globalised social networks:

Well first of all English is the language of the internet and of technology. And I think everybody should know English who uses this. (Romania FG3)

Internet sites, platforms and activities mentioned across the three countries where our student participants use English included: Facebook, Google, Amazon, Skype, Wikipedia, YouTube, gaming communities, English language movies without subtitles and Japanese animes with English subtitles. Texting and messaging on Whatsapp were also mentioned as tending to involve English as well as the students' own languages:

I don't know if you checked my texts with [NAME], there's half English half Romanian there. (Romania FG4)

Unsurprisingly perhaps, there was recognition that the English that students used online was somewhat different to the English taught in class or encountered in more formal settings, with a particular emphasis on lexical expressions:

There are some words that you can learn from online games. Well for instance, one of my teachers didn't know that word, she said I never heard that. And she was an English teacher. (Turkey FG1)

I think it's certain word ranges in a way, usually [students] know expressions I wouldn't know, to be honest... we always notice that we have a section [in class] where we deal with modern ways of communication, and they all know the special terms, without us teaching them, so it's quite amazing. (Germany T1)

I once used 'my bad', as in my mistake, and I was corrected for that. And that's, that's only example, but it's the most prevalent (...) Yes. I mixed a term from online English, or maybe not online, informal English, with a term from formal English. And that shouldn't happen. (Romania FG3)

Yet there was also a general sense, among both students and teachers, that taught English classes did not need to deal with or include emergent, online forms of English; indeed, that online English was separate from the English of the classroom, for example:

Of course not. Because it's just daily English. It doesn't help us to improve our English. Right? (Turkey FG2)

(The student speaking here also, of course, reveals complex attitudes towards 'communication' and 'correctness' in English that we shall return to below.)

In all three countries, participants agreed that classroom learning should be more concerned with accuracy, with formal varieties, and involve such activities as the study of grammar, literature and translation; online communication was seen as more to do with fluency, new and fashionable forms, and international English. As with the issue of international varieties, this was not a matter of disagreement between teachers and students, who saw the two kinds of English as different rather than in conflict, and with each age group recognising that the other had knowledge and skills in English that complemented their own.

However, the students from Germany and Turkey saw English as having only a limited role in their offline and local daily lives. While reasonably prevalent in their surroundings, for example, in advertising, pop music, films and television, English had not yet permeated their local context to the extent that they felt they needed to communicate with their peers, or beyond, in English face-to-face outside of class:

For me it's only that you can understand words on Facebook, movies, music. But outside of these points I don't use English very often. (Germany FG1)

I prefer to watch English TV series, instead of watching Turkish TV series. Therefore I use English while I am watching TV series. But actually in our daily lives ... we cannot find lots of opportunity to use English in our daily lives. (Turkey FG1)

In contrast, the Romanian focus-group participants claimed to make much greater use of English on a daily basis, even with other Romanians:

Student: We communicate in English between, er,

Interviewer: Between yourselves

Student: between ourselves, yeah, more, whatever.

Interviewer: Between Romanians?

Student: Yeah between Romanians, yeah.

Interviewer: Why?

Student: Er, I find it easier to concentrate and think in English than in Romanian. It's easier to express myself and express the things I wouldn't normally express in Romanian. (Romania FG3)

4.4 The spread of English: identity, culture and other languages

As might be expected from participants who either taught or were learning and using the language at a CEFR B2/C1 level, attitudes towards English were generally positive. As the discussion above indicates, English was seen as having an important role in both their current and future professional and personal lives. However, it was important to investigate the ways in which young-adult learners navigated the issue of 'opportunity' and 'need' in English, i.e. the extent to which they felt they had a genuine choice about learning and using English, and the effects of the spread of English on their own first language and home culture.

Throughout the interviews with teachers and students in all three countries, English was portrayed as a necessity. As one teacher in Turkey put it:

[students] know that without English, they can't survive, in their job, in their even family. (Turkey T3)

And, despite the acknowledgement, noted above, that English was important for the development of online social networks and non-professional or academic activities, there was a clear sense among students in both contexts that knowing English provided them with obvious advantages, such as:

English makes you go a step further.
(Turkey FG1)

It's just an advantage of our modern world, because it's the universal language.
(Germany FG1)

English is the path that will take you to a better life, better life standards. (Turkey T2)

Consequently, for one German student, whilst English was seen as 'not necessarily unstoppable', it was also 'a train that's easy to jump on.' (Germany FG4)

While Romanian participants viewed English mostly as a practical necessity, teachers in Germany and Turkey additionally expressed the view that the ability to speak English was viewed as a signifier of academic success, while not knowing the language was seen as not only reducing future academic and professional opportunities but also as indicating a lack of success in life more generally:

I know that English is the most popular and significant one [language]. Even you are not going to use it for career, you're expected to know in order to be regarded as educated ... You are not even regarded as successful if you do not know English. (Turkey T1)

I think it has a good image. People who know English always are looked in a better way I think, it is a plus, not just in academic sense, not just related to their work. But also I think it's seen as something, which also ... makes people maybe more intellectual. (Turkey T8)

It is interesting to note that young-adult students themselves did not express these views quite as strongly during the focus groups.

On occasion, it was suggested in all three contexts that English words might be replacing lexis in their own languages. Some participants suggested that this was not necessarily a problem as language change and mixing was inevitable (Germany FG4, Turkey T4). However, attitudes in Turkey were more mixed when discussing whether English was a potential threat to participants' home language and culture, with teachers and students in particular commenting on possible difficulties created by the spread of English. Both groups acknowledged concerns about 'the increasing penetration of Turkish by English' (Turkey T5), commenting that:

It's a threat to native language because when you see someone speaking Turkish, you see they are not talking correct Turkish. They use lots of English words, and it is a threat to our native language. Because, older people say something, sometimes these young adults don't understand. Some of the words disappear from the language. (Turkey T10)

Yes, it is a problem, because ... if you are putting some English words in your own language, after ten or 20 years, you might forget literally forget your own language. Then ... the whole language is gone. (Turkey FG1)

In marked contrast, all our Romanian and German participants unanimously dismissed questions about a potential threat from English to their own language or identity as insubstantial. Both Romanian teachers and students reported the regular use of English lexis (e.g. 'cool', 'fabulous', 'hi, man', 'really', 'sorry', 'suitable', 'weekend') in Romanian discourse, but for both groups this was described as interesting or amusing rather than threatening. Teachers, with the benefit of greater linguistic insight, also reported English-influenced changes to Romanian grammar and intonation, but again this was not seen as a negative development. In a similar way, on the topic of national identity, both teachers and students dismissed any danger of nationalism and isolationism in Romanian politics of the kind now growing in many European countries. Clearly the reasons for this difference between member states are complex

and beyond the scope of this research, but the views expressed by our participants do suggest, with regard to our RQ3, that such political differences between EU states may be a more important factor than EU membership in itself.

A parallel difference was that in Germany and Turkey but not in Romania, participants felt that older people were less engaged with English and found its spread more threatening, both to their language but also more generally to culture and identity. A similar point was made about potential urban/rural differences in attitudes to English, and public discussion of the relationship between Turkish and German, and English, was noted:

Our culture and language is forgotten to people, and this is a big problem to us ... this is very important for our identity. (Turkey FG2)

I think it's a problem because of the cultures. Because culture means not just the way of living, it's just because of the language and all that. And I think every culture is unique, and if you start mixing them up... (Germany FG4)

Clearly, the spread of English may affect individuals' attitudes to learning other foreign languages, and the data in this investigation suggested this was the case. At times, some young adults suggested that learning other foreign languages was something of a chore or 'just' a curricular requirement that would have little benefit in the future:

Because, for me, I know I don't use it. If I go to France I will speak English, because it's easier. (Germany FG3)

Meanwhile, for others, learning languages other than English was a hobby that lacked the urgency and importance of being able to speak English:

[Students] say if I am to learn a foreign language, first I need to be done with English, and then learn other languages as a hobby maybe. So they do it as something extra. So their way of looking at it I think is different, from English. English is a need for them, but other languages they do it just for fun maybe, just for their development. (Turkey T9)

Interestingly, however, although English, with all its attendant advantages, dominated their perspectives, its continuing dominance was not universally seen as inevitable:

Is really English still the number one language, because there are so many more Spanish speakers? ... I think Spanish will be big. (Germany FG4)

Overall, therefore, attitudes expressed towards the spread of English varied between the three contexts, with the greatest concern about the ways in which English might affect both language and culture being expressed in Turkey and the least – in fact none – in Romania.

4.5 Implications for English language teaching

At the heart of all the discussions within our data was the unresolved dilemma of why English was being taught, or, from the students' perspective, their interpersonal, instrumental and institutional reasons for learning English. The most obvious realisation of these tensions could be found in participants' discussions of teaching/learning English to pass a test, for further study, and for future employment, compared to learning English for real-life use. These concerns are by no means unique to these case-study contexts, and need to be balanced within most ELT institutions.

Unsurprisingly, throughout the discussions with both teachers and learners, there was an emphasis on the need for communication and speaking in English, and how this could be realised in the classroom. For some students, this meant less interest in correct grammar and, indeed, less interest in grammar per se, and a relaxed attitude to accuracy in spoken language for actual communication:

[on grammar] It's important, but when you speak to someone, it's not that important that you use the perfect grammar. (Germany FG1)

We focused too much on the grammar, we talked too ... too little. And that's not good enough. (Romania FG2)

We should learn from our teachers English, by practising and learning, understanding, everything, but not for exams... It's not just for exams. Our learning is not just for exams. If we just focus on exams, we can't speak fluent with foreign People. (Turkey FG2)

There was a sense that some students felt a slight lack of connection between classroom English and the English that they encountered outside the classroom, and a sense of grievance if they were corrected for using English that they had encountered elsewhere. There was agreement between teachers and students that this disconnection needs to be addressed. One possible direction for ELT in the light of these comments would be to relax the focus on accuracy and form at least in so far as the demands of testing and examination allow.

There were, however, two opposite currents of opinion on how to reconcile real life with classroom English, and some divergence between the views of Turkish participants and those of Germans and Romanians. For the Turks, the preferred solution was a greater focus on communication than on form: they expressed the view that classroom English should reflect, incorporate and attempt to emulate the real, fluent and contemporary English students would encounter outside the classroom. This familiar argument – a long-standing one in Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) – was justified by the facts that Turkish students appeared less confident in their English, less immersed in online culture and had fewer opportunities for interaction and communication in English outside the classroom.

Although similar views were expressed by some participants in Germany and Romania, with some teachers and students saying that classroom English should place a greater emphasis on spoken and online fluency, a contrary perspective suggested that the division between these two kinds of English could be handled in a different and radical way. That is, given the ready availability of communication opportunities in English (for example, through popular culture, social media and travel) and the fact that aspects of the English used in such communication are often better known by the students than their teachers, then attempts to reproduce authentic communication, of the kind familiar in CLT and TBLT (Task-based Language Teaching) are no longer so urgently needed, or likely to be successful, in the classroom. From this perspective, the best use of classroom time and of teachers' expertise would be to provide more formal language instruction in areas where students were less competent than their teachers, thus enhancing their chances of success in examinations, higher education and employment, while also providing a foundation for real-life communication outside. Such a view was, for example, effectively summarised by a group of German students in a comment that clearly echoes our earlier discussion of online English (above):

The school has to kind of lay the foundations, so that you can basically, take your English outside of school and do with it whatever you want, that you can talk to people, travel people, can talk slang maybe, or that you just can learn it, that you

have the foundation to learn that or you have the foundation to learn business English. Because we don't learn real technical terms, I mean just a little bit, but I couldn't understand a science paper in English I don't think, maybe, with a dictionary. But that's not what the school has to do ... the school has to lay the foundation. (Germany FG4)

Given this, in those EU contexts where English is widely used outside the classroom, an effective strategy for teaching English to young adults might be to abandon or at least reduce attempts to reproduce actual contemporary communication in materials and activities. Instead, teachers could draw upon students themselves as a source of examples and knowledge of certain areas of English language use. The classroom would thus address the dichotomy between fluent informal English and more formal varieties by making ELT a more two-way affair in which students and teachers bring together two complementary sources of knowledge. Interestingly, the Romanian and German teachers themselves generally endorsed such an approach.

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Summary of findings

The findings reported here provide valuable insights into the contemporary English language needs and priorities of young-adult learners in the EU, and the implications of this for ELT professionals and other stakeholders. The study has focused upon the demographic group who are most likely to use new forms of English in new, often online, communicative environments, and has sought to avoid imposing top-down ideas about the current and future use of English in the EU by uncovering the perceptions of young adults and their teachers themselves.

To summarise the key findings from this research:

RQ 1a: Appropriate models of English

While there is a focus on British English in class, largely to meet the demands of the syllabus and examinations, both teachers and students recognise and accept the greater prevalence of US English in many non-educational contexts. They are also tolerant of varieties of English, and following native-speaker norms of correctness or accuracy in ELF communication is not seen as a priority. Overall, therefore, participants regard successful communication as far more important than conformity to any particular variety, while tending themselves to lean towards British or US English norms.

RQ 1b: Online communication

For many young adults, the current value of English is its facilitative role in online communication and their participation in international social networks. Although both students and teachers across all contexts clearly acknowledge the importance of English for young adults' future employment and future study, most students' current communication in English outside lessons takes place online. Both teachers and students recognise the differences between classroom English and online English and generally see the two as complementary rather than in conflict.

RQ 1c: Cultural and linguistic identity

Unsurprisingly, English is seen as necessary, while also offering opportunities. While young adults in the case studies are said to have no choice in learning English, this is not portrayed as being problematic for the individuals concerned. We can perhaps draw parallels here with Graddol's (2006) notion of English becoming a basic skill alongside L1 literacy and numeracy – a skill so desirable that notions of choice or no choice are no longer easily applicable. We should recognise, however, that participants in all three case-study contexts were successful learners or users of English, and positive attitudes towards the language are therefore likely.

However, looking beyond the individual to consider the relationship between English and wider societal, cultural and linguistic concerns, differences between the three contexts emerge, with Turkish participants expressing some concern about the effects of English on their Turkish language and culture, Romanians being unconcerned, and Germans being between these two perspectives. In the case of Turkey and Germany, differences between differing groups in society were noted. Differences were identified between older and younger generations, and, to a lesser extent, between urban and rural populations, in attitudes towards English and in the possible limits on future opportunities caused by not knowing the language.

RQ 2: Is there a gap between students and teachers with regard to the perceived English language needs and priorities of young adults?

There is generally a consensus between teachers and students throughout the study. Attitudes towards English language varieties are similar throughout, although there is a slightly more noticeable preoccupation among teachers with British English in the classroom, seemingly led by examination and assessment requirements. That said, teachers acknowledge the varied non-classroom influences on students' English language (e.g. US films and television), generally finding these influences unproblematic. Each group also acknowledged the specific expertise of the other; for example, teachers respected student knowledge of online English use, and students recognised that classroom focus on accuracy, grammar and conformity to a particular variety was useful to them, especially for study and employment.

RQ 3: Do students and teachers perceptions of English language needs and priorities differ in founder, recently acceding and candidate EU members?

Generally, EU membership status seems to make little difference to perceptions of young adults' needs and priorities – there was a consistency of perspectives across all contexts. The only significant difference was in attitude to the impact of English on the home language and culture (see RQ 1c above). The reasons for this appear to relate to factors other than EU membership, such as the rural/urban balance of a country; differences in access to new technologies, the internet and online communication; and other political factors. Also noticeable is the extent to which participants referred to English as a global language, and to their future employment in a global context. While the EU provided one context for the discussion, it was evident that both teachers and students saw the future in global rather than European terms.

RQ 4: What are the implications of RQs 1–3 for ELT professionals in the EU?

One of the most encouraging findings of the study for ELT professionals is that teachers and young-adult students seem to share common understandings, both of the changing communicative environment in which English is used, and of the implications of this for classroom practice in their own particular context.

What is perhaps of particular interest for the future development of English language syllabuses, materials and assessment is the extent to which

young adults now learn English primarily for reasons of employment and for communication with their peers in an international and often online setting. There is little sense that learners are particularly interested in UK or US culture, at least beyond accessing English language media for their own entertainment; nor is particular priority given to speaking with native speakers or always following native-speaker English language norms. It seems reasonable to suggest, therefore, that future ELT resources will need to recognise even more clearly than at present the international perspective that learners hold, broadening their focus to recognise that English is an international and an internationally varied language.

Teachers participating in this study aim to acknowledge and accommodate such variation in, and varieties of, English in their classrooms; this is appreciated by their students. However, there are also constraints on their classroom activities due to national syllabus and assessment norms, which seem to lag behind changes in English and the ways in which young adults in particular use English. Additionally, the changing communicative environment beyond the classroom differs between contexts within the EU; in this study, for example, the use of English in the Turkish context differed from those explored in Germany and Romania, with potential implications for the development of varied and locally appropriate approaches to ELT.

In the Turkish case study, where students had fewer opportunities for communication in English outside class, there was a preference for communication in class, rather than a focus on grammar and form. However, Germany and Romania, where young adults tended to communicate often in English outside class (for example, online) and thus may be more familiar with emergent elements of the language, the best use of classroom time may be to provide more formal language instruction in areas where young-adult students are less competent than their teachers, and draw on students' own knowledge of less formal aspects of English language use.

Although the primary focus of our study has been Europe and the EU, the issues raised within the research are likely to be relevant to most, if not all, ELT contexts around the world. How are societal changes involving increased bi- and multilingualism, English language change, and the development and use of online technologies to be accommodated and mediated within the ELT classroom in ways that meet students' needs (both in terms of facilitating their possible mobility and integration, and also in terms of maintaining their identities)? Further investigations into these key questions are necessary.

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Appendix 1: The official and working languages of the EU

Bulgarian	French	Maltese
Croatian	German	Polish
Czech	Greek	Portuguese
Danish	Hungarian	Romanian
Dutch	Irish	Slovak
English	Italian	Slovene
Estonian	Latvian	Spanish
Finnish	Lithuanian	Swedish

(Source: European Commission http://ec.europa.eu/languages/policy/language-policy/official_languages_en.htm)

Appendix 2: Full, candidate and potential candidate countries of the EU

a. EU member states (and EU entry dates)		
Austria (1995)	Germany (1952)	Poland (2004)
Belgium (1952)	Greece (1981)	Portugal (1986)
Bulgaria (2007)	Hungary (2004)	Romania (2007)
Croatia (2013)	Ireland (1973)	Slovakia (2004)
Cyprus (2004)	Italy (1952)	Slovenia (2004)
Czech Republic (2004)	Latvia (2004)	Spain (1986)
Denmark (1973)	Lithuania (2004)	Sweden (1995)
Estonia (2004)	Luxembourg (1952)	United Kingdom (1973)
Finland (1995)	Malta (2004)	
France (1952)	Netherlands (1952)	

b. EU candidate countries		
Albania	Montenegro	The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia
Iceland	Serbia	Turkey

c. EU potential candidate countries	
Bosnia and Herzegovina	Kosovo

(Source: European Commission http://europa.eu/about-eu/countries/index_en.htm)

Appendix 3: Online questionnaire for English language teachers

The English language needs and priorities of English language teachers in Europe

Introduction

What are the English language needs and priorities of young adults in Europe? What kinds of English do 18–24 year-olds want to speak, and why? Has the development of new technologies and online communication affected the ways in which young adults use English, and if so, how? Has the emergence of English as an international lingua franca affected people's sense of their own identity? And what might this mean for English language teaching and learning?

Northumbria University and King's College London (both UK), in conjunction with the British Council, are carrying out a survey into student and teacher perceptions of the English language needs of young adults in Europe, and the implications of this for English language teaching. We are interested in finding out your views about how and why young adults learn and use English, the kinds of English they want to speak, and what this might mean for English language teaching. In this survey, the term young adult refers to 18–24 year olds.

Participation in this survey is voluntary and your answers are confidential – no individual's answers can be identified.

The survey will take approximately 20 minutes to complete. Thank you for your interest in contributing, and you can find out more about this project at: www.northumbria.ac.uk/sd/academic/sass/about/humanities/linguistics/linguisticsstaff/g_hall/englishlanguageneeds/

Note: This survey is open to all English language teachers working in Europe. Although the focus is on young-adult learners, aged between 18–24 years old, teachers working with learners of all ages are welcome to participate.

A. About your professional context

1. Country in Europe where you work:

--

2. Type of school/institution you teach English in most often: (tick ONE)

Private	<input type="checkbox"/>
State	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other (please specify)	<input type="checkbox"/>

3. If you work in more than one type of institution (see Question 2, above), what other types of school/institution do you teach in? (You may select more than one option, if appropriate)

Private	<input type="checkbox"/>
State	<input type="checkbox"/>
Self-employed	<input type="checkbox"/>
Not applicable	<input type="checkbox"/>

4. Age of learners you teach most often: (tick ONE)

0-5	<input type="checkbox"/>	18-23	<input type="checkbox"/>
6-11	<input type="checkbox"/>	24+	<input type="checkbox"/>
12-17	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>

5. If you teach more than one age group (see Question 4 above), what **other** age groups do you teach? (You may select more than one option, if appropriate)

0-5	<input type="checkbox"/>	18-23	<input type="checkbox"/>
6-11	<input type="checkbox"/>	24+	<input type="checkbox"/>
12-17	<input type="checkbox"/>	Not applicable	<input type="checkbox"/>

6. English language level of the learners you teach most often: (tick ONE)

Beginner to Pre-intermediate	<input type="checkbox"/>
Intermediate to Advanced	<input type="checkbox"/>
Not applicable - I regularly teach both higher and lower-level students	<input type="checkbox"/>

7. How would you describe the curriculum in your institution? (tick ONE)

Learners study only English	<input type="checkbox"/>
Learners study English and other academic subjects	<input type="checkbox"/>

8. How would you describe your work as an English language teacher? (tick ONE)

I teach English	<input type="checkbox"/>
I use English to teach other academic subjects	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other (please specify)	<input type="checkbox"/>

9. How would you describe the classes you teach? (tick ONE)

Learners share a common first language	<input type="checkbox"/>
Learners do not share a common first language	<input type="checkbox"/>

10. If learners in your classes share a common own language, how well can you speak their own language (in your opinion)? (tick ONE)

Beginner	<input type="checkbox"/>
Elementary	<input type="checkbox"/>
Intermediate	<input type="checkbox"/>
Upper-intermediate	<input type="checkbox"/>
Advanced	<input type="checkbox"/>
Expert or native speaker	<input type="checkbox"/>
Not applicable	<input type="checkbox"/>

B. Young adults' English language needs

The following section of the questionnaire is concerned with your views about young adults' English language needs.

11. Here is a list of statements about young adults' English language knowledge and skills. Tick **ONE** box for each statement to summarise your views.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Have native-like pronunciation					
Use native-like grammar					
Be familiar with native-speaker idiomatic language					
Use native-speaker idiomatic language					
Know about British, US or other English-speaking cultures					
Know about the way other non-native English speakers use English (e.g. their accent, grammar and vocabulary)					
Be able to use English in online written communication (e.g. email, texting, tweeting and messaging)					
Be able to use English in online spoken communication (e.g. via Skype or FaceTime)					
Be familiar with new words, phrases and expressions in spoken English					
Be familiar with new words, phrases and expressions in spoken and written English (e.g. LOL, PAW)					
Be able to use new words, phrases and expressions in spoken and written English (e.g. LOL, PAW)					
Further comments (optional)					

12. Which variety of English do you think young adults from your country need to learn or speak? Tick the relevant items (you may tick as many as appropriate).

British English	<input type="checkbox"/>
American English	<input type="checkbox"/>
European English	<input type="checkbox"/>
International English	<input type="checkbox"/>
English for online communication	<input type="checkbox"/>
A non-standard regional variety of English (e.g. New York English)	<input type="checkbox"/>
English related to a specific job or career (e.g. English for business, for tourism, for engineering)	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other (please specify)	<input type="checkbox"/>

13. Please give a brief reason for your answer(s) to Question 12 above.

14. In your opinion, where will young adults use English most often? Rank the possibilities below in order from 1 to 3, with 1 being the most likely and 3 the least likely. You can use each number only once.

Learners will use English most often in other non-English speaking countries	<input type="checkbox"/>
Learners will use English most often in their home country	<input type="checkbox"/>
Learners will use English most often visiting or living in an English-speaking country	<input type="checkbox"/>

15. If you have any further comments about your answers to Question 14 (above), please add them here: (optional)

16. In your opinion, through what mode of communication will young adults use English most often? Rank the possibilities below in order, 1 to 4, with 1 being the most frequent and 4 being the least frequent. You can use each number only once.

Online written communication (e.g. texting, email, written chat and messaging)	<input type="checkbox"/>
Online spoken communication (e.g. via Skype)	<input type="checkbox"/>
Reading and writing on paper	<input type="checkbox"/>
Face-to-face communication	<input type="checkbox"/>

17. If you have any further comments about your answers to Question 16 (above), please add them here: (optional)

C. Young adults' reasons for learning English

This section of the questionnaire focuses on your views about why young adults learn English and the ways they use English outside the English language classroom.

18. Here is a list of possible reasons why young adults might want to learn English. How important do you think each reason is for young adults in your country?

	Very important	←				→	Not at all important
To help them communicate with native speakers							
To communicate with other non-native speakers who speak English							
To understand English language films, music and television							
To participate in online social networks (e.g. Bebo, Facebook, Myspace or Ning)							
To participate in online games							
To travel to the UK, USA or other English-speaking countries							
To help them find work in their home country							
To help them find work in countries where English is not the first language of the majority of people							
To help them understand UK, US or other English-speaking cultures							
To appear more knowledgeable or sophisticated							
To help them get good grades at school, college or university							
For their future career							
To pass IELTS or a similar international English language qualification							
To be more respected by their own age group							
For study purposes in their own country							
For study purposes in other countries where English is not the first language of the majority of people							
Other (please specify)							

D. Language and identity

This section of the questionnaire focuses on the ways in which using English might (or might not) affect young adults' sense of identity.

19. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements (tick ONE box for each statement)

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Learning English changes the way people feel about their own country					
The English language is a threat to national or local languages					
The English language is a threat to national or local cultures					
In the future, knowing English will be as important as knowing my country's first language					
In my country, people who speak English have a more international outlook than people who do not					
Further comments (optional)					

20. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements (tick ONE box for each statement)

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Young adults are more positive about English than older age groups					
Young adults use English more than older age groups					
Young adults have a more positive attitude towards English than towards their own first language					
Young adults see English as something they must know to be successful					
People who have learned English to an advanced level are more positive about travel and living abroad					
People who have learned English to an advanced level are less positive about their home country					
Further comments (optional)					

E. English language teaching and learning

21. For each statement, give your opinion about ELT and young adults' English language needs (tick ONE box for each statement)

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Contemporary published (including online) ELT materials meet the needs of young adult learners					
Contemporary published (including online) ELT materials recognise international forms of English					
Contemporary English language testing and assessment meet the needs of young adult learners					
Contemporary English language syllabuses meet the needs of young adult learners					
Further comments (optional)					

F. Further comment

22. If you have any further comments about the English language needs and priorities of young adults in Europe, please add them here: (optional)

G. About you

23. Years of experience as an English language teacher:

0-4	
5-9	
10-14	

15-19	
20-24	
25+	

Use of the learners' own language in the English language classroom.

24. What is your first language?

--

25. What variety of English do you speak? (tick ONE)

American English	<input type="checkbox"/>
Australian English	<input type="checkbox"/>
British English	<input type="checkbox"/>
European English	<input type="checkbox"/>
International English	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other (please specify)	<input type="checkbox"/>

26. As a regular part of your job, do you:

	Yes	No
Teach English language classes	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Prepare your own lessons	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Choose your own course book	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Develop course syllabuses	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Lead teacher training/development sessions	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

27. If you would like to receive an e-copy of the final report on this project, add your contact details here:

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Thank you for completing the questionnaire; your help is invaluable. We hope to publish our findings with the British Council in Spring 2015.

Appendix 4: Online questionnaire for young-adult English language learners

The English language needs and priorities of young adults in Europe

Introduction

Thank you for taking part in our survey!

What are the English language needs and priorities of young adults in Europe? What kinds of English do 18–24 year-olds want to speak, and why? Has the development of new technologies and online communication affected the ways in which young adults use English, and if so, how? Has the way English is often used as an international language affected people's sense of their own identity? And what might this mean for English language teaching and learning?

Northumbria University and King's College London (both UK), in conjunction with the British Council, are carrying out a survey into student and teacher perceptions of the English language needs of young adults in Europe, and the implications of this for English language teaching. We are interested in finding out your views about how and why young adults learn and use English, the kinds of English they want to speak, and what this might mean for English language teaching. In this survey, the term young adult refers to 18–24 year olds.

Participation in this survey is voluntary and your answers are confidential – no individual's answers can be identified.

The survey will take approximately 20 minutes to complete. Thank you for your interest in contributing, and you can find out more about this project at: www.northumbria.ac.uk/sd/academic/sass/about/humanities/linguistics/linguisticsstaff/g_hall/englishlanguageneeds/

Note: this survey is open to all young adult (18–24 years old) English language learners in Europe and/or young adults in Europe who use English as a second, additional or foreign language, or as an international lingua franca.

A. You and your context

1. Country in Europe where you live:

--

2. How old were you when you started learning English (either at school or in other English language classes, or informally in other ways)?: (tick ONE)

0–4	<input type="checkbox"/>	15–19	<input type="checkbox"/>
5–9	<input type="checkbox"/>	20+	<input type="checkbox"/>
10–14	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>

3. Where do you study English? (tick ONE)

As part of my regular school/college/university studies	<input type="checkbox"/>
In extra classes outside my school/college/university	<input type="checkbox"/>
As part of my school/college/university classes AND in extra classes outside my school/college/university	<input type="checkbox"/>
I don't study English in lessons or classes; I only study English by myself	<input type="checkbox"/>
I don't study English at all	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other (please specify)	<input type="checkbox"/>

4. How would you describe your curriculum at school, college or university? (tick ONE)

I study only English	<input type="checkbox"/>
I study English and other academic subjects	<input type="checkbox"/>
I study other academic subjects in English (but don't study English itself as a subject)	<input type="checkbox"/>
I don't study English or in English at school, college or university	<input type="checkbox"/>

5. How would you describe how English is taught at your school, college or university? (You may select more than one answer if appropriate)

English is taught as a separate subject	<input type="checkbox"/>
English is used to teach other academic subjects	<input type="checkbox"/>
Not applicable	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other (please specify)	<input type="checkbox"/>

B. When and how you use English

The following section of the questionnaire is concerned with your views about when you need to use English, and the kind of English you need to learn

6. Here is a list of statements about the kind of English language knowledge and skills you need. Tick ONE box for each statement to summarise your views.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
I need to have native-like pronunciation					
I need to use native-like grammar					
I need to be familiar with native-speaker idiomatic language					
I need to use native-speaker idiomatic language					
I need to know about British, US or other English-speaking cultures					
I need to know about the way other non-native English speakers use English (e.g. their accent, grammar and vocabulary)					
I need to be able to use English in online written communication (e.g. email, texting, tweeting and messaging)					
I need to be able to use English in online spoken communication (e.g. via Skype or FaceTime)					
I need to be familiar with new words, phrases and expressions in spoken English					
I need to be familiar with new words, phrases and expressions in spoken and written English (e.g. LOL, PAW)					
I need to be able to use new words, phrases and expressions in spoken and written English (e.g. LOL, PAW)					
Further comments (optional)					

7. English is spoken or used in different ways in different contexts (for example, British English differs from American English). Which variety of English do you need to learn or speak? Tick the relevant items (you may tick as many as appropriate).

British English	
American English	
European English	
International English	
English for online communication	
A non-standard regional variety of English (e.g. New York English)	
English related to a specific job or career (e.g. English for business, for tourism, for engineering)	
Other (please specify)	

8. Please give a brief reason for your answer(s) to Question 7 above.

9. In your opinion, where will you use English most often? Rank the possibilities below in order from 1 to 3, with 1 being the most likely and 3 the least likely. You can use each number only once.

I will use English most often in other non-English speaking countries	
I will use English most often in their home country	
I will use English most often visiting or living in an English-speaking country	

10. If you have any further comments about your answers to Question 9 (above), please add them here: (optional)

11. Like all languages, English can be used for different purposes, e.g. for speaking or writing, online or face-to-face. Which of the following ways of communicating in English will you use most often?

Rank the possibilities below in order, 1 to 4, with 1 being the most frequent and 4 being the least frequent. You can use each number only once.

Online written communication (e.g. texting, email, written chat and messaging)	
Online spoken communication (e.g. via Skype or Facetime)	
Reading and writing on paper	
Face-to-face communication	

12. If you have any further comments about your answers to Question 11 (above), please add them here: (optional)

C. Your reasons for learning English

This section of the questionnaire focuses on why you have learnt English, and ways you use English outside the English language classroom.

13. Here is a list of possible reasons why young adults might want to learn English. How important is each reason to you? (Select ONE box for each reason to summarise your views)

	Very important	←					→	Not at all important
To help them communicate with native speakers								
To communicate with other non-native speakers who speak English								
To understand English language films, music and television								
To participate in online social networks (e.g. Bebo, Facebook, Myspace or Ning)								
To participate in online games								
To travel to the UK, USA or other English-speaking countries								
To help them find work in their home country								
To help them find work in countries where English is not the first language of the majority of people								
To help them understand UK, US or other English-speaking cultures								
To appear more knowledgeable or sophisticated								
To help them get good grades at school, college or university								
For their future career								
To pass IELTS or a similar international English language qualification								
To be more respected by their own age group								
For study purposes in their own country								
For study purposes in other countries where English is not the first language of the majority of people								
Other (please specify)								

D. Language and identity

This section of the questionnaire focuses on the ways in which using English might (or might not) affect learners' sense of identity.

14. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements (tick ONE box for each statement)

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Learning English changes the way people feel about their own country					
The English language is a threat to national or local languages					
The English language is a threat to national or local cultures					
In the future, knowing English will be as important as knowing my country's first language					
In my country, people who speak English have a more international outlook than people who do not					
Further comments (optional)					

15. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements (tick ONE box for each statement)

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Young adults are more positive about English than older age groups					
Young adults use English more than older age groups					
Young adults have a more positive attitude towards English than towards their own first language					
Young adults see English as something they must know to be successful					
People who have learned English to an advanced level are more positive about travel and living abroad					
People who have learned English to an advanced level are less positive about their home country					
Further comments (optional)					

E. English language teaching and learning

16. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?
(tick ONE box for each statement)

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
The textbooks and materials (including online) I have used to learn English provide the language knowledge and skills I need to pass English language exams					
The textbooks and materials (including online) I have used to learn English provide the language knowledge and skills I need to communicate in English with people from other countries for work					
The textbooks and materials (including online) I have used to learn English provide the language knowledge and skills I need to communicate in English with people from other countries for leisure (e.g. travel and tourism)					
The textbooks and materials (including online) I have used to learn English recognise international forms of English					
The English language tests and assessments I have taken test the language knowledge and skills I need to communicate in English with other people through speech					
The English language tests and assessments I have taken test the language knowledge and skills I need to communicate in English with other people in writing					
The English language tests and assessments I have taken test the language knowledge and skills I need to communicate in English with other people online					
Further comments (optional)					

F. Further comment

17. If you have any further comments about your English language needs and priorities, please add them here: (optional)

--

G. About you

18. How old are you? (tick ONE)

18	<input type="checkbox"/>	22	<input type="checkbox"/>
19	<input type="checkbox"/>	23	<input type="checkbox"/>
20	<input type="checkbox"/>	24	<input type="checkbox"/>
21	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>

19. What is your first language?

--

20. How long have you been learning English? (tick ONE)

1-4 years	<input type="checkbox"/>
5-9 years	<input type="checkbox"/>
10-14 years	<input type="checkbox"/>
15-19 years	<input type="checkbox"/>
20+ years	<input type="checkbox"/>

21. Your English language level: (tick ONE)

Beginner	<input type="checkbox"/>
Elementary	<input type="checkbox"/>
Intermediate	<input type="checkbox"/>
Upper-intermediate	<input type="checkbox"/>
Advanced	<input type="checkbox"/>
Proficiency	<input type="checkbox"/>

22. If you know your CEFR English language level (e.g. A1, A2, B1, B2, C1, C2), please add it here: (optional)

--

Note: CEFR is an abbreviation for the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages

23. If you would like to receive an e-copy of the final report on this project, add your contact details here:

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Thank you for completing the questionnaire; your help is invaluable. We hope to publish our findings with the British Council in Spring 2015.

Appendix 5: Teacher questionnaire participants, by country

Country where you work	Response percentage	Response (N)
Albania	0.80	5
Andorra	0.16	1
Austria	0.32	2
Azerbaijan	0.32	2
Belarus	0.16	1
Belgium	1.11	7
Bosnia and Herzegovina	0.48	3
Bulgaria	2.87	18
Croatia	1.43	9
Cyprus	0.32	2
Czech Republic	2.71	17
Estonia	0.64	4
Finland	0.16	1
France	3.82	24
Germany	4.46	28
Greece	5.10	32
Hungary	3.50	22
Iceland	2.39	15
Italy	4.14	26
Kazakhstan	0.32	2
Latvia	2.23	14

Country where you work	Response percentage	Response (N)
Lithuania	2.55	16
Macedonia	0.32	2
Malta	4.14	26
Netherlands	0.80	5
Norway	0.16	1
Poland	1.75	11
Portugal	21.82	137
Romania	4.14	26
Russia	1.75	11
Serbia	2.71	17
Slovakia	6.85	43
Slovenia	0.80	5
Spain	6.21	39
Sweden	0.32	2
Switzerland	0.32	2
Turkey	1.75	11
Ukraine	1.59	10
United Kingdom	4.14	26
(Other)	0.48	3
Total		628

Note: There were no survey participants from those European countries not listed above

Appendix 6: Descriptive statistics for Sections B–E (questions 11–21) of the teacher questionnaire (all survey responses)

Question 11: Here is a list of statements about the kind of English language knowledge and skills you need. Tick ONE box for each statement to summarise your views.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Have native-like pronunciation	7.26%	36.46%	27.26%	24.96%	4.07%
Use native-like grammar	9.29%	55.36%	21.43%	12.68%	1.25%
Be familiar with native-speaker idiomatic language	16.19%	59.53%	15.83%	7.19%	1.26%
Use native-speaker idiomatic language	6.19%	40.44%	31.69%	19.67%	2.00%
Know about British, US or other English-speaking cultures	27.57%	48.47%	14.95%	8.29%	0.72%
Know about the way other non-native English speakers use English (e.g. their accent, grammar and vocabulary)	14.08%	41.16%	27.44%	15.70%	1.62%
Be able to use English in online written communication (e.g. email, texting, tweeting and messaging)	48.39%	45.54%	4.29%	1.61%	0.18%
Be able to use English in online spoken communication (e.g. via Skype or FaceTime)	36.49%	50.27%	10.38%	2.68%	0.18%
Be familiar with new words, phrases and expressions in spoken and written English	29.95%	58.11%	9.45%	2.50%	0.00%
Be able to use new words, phrases and expressions in spoken and written English	25.89%	55.18%	15.18%	3.75%	0.00%
Be familiar with new words, phrases and expressions in online English (e.g. LOL, PAW)	18.53%	54.86%	20.68%	5.22%	0.72%
Be able to use new words, phrases and expressions in online English (e.g. LOL, PAW)	14.96%	46.17%	30.84%	7.48%	0.55%

Question 12: Which variety of English do you think young adults from your country need to learn or speak? Tick the relevant items (you may tick as many as appropriate).

British English	68.27%
American English	44.21%
European English	23.35%
International English	57.40%
English for online communication	32.80%
A non-standard regional variety of English (e.g. New York English)	1.60%
English related to a specific job or career (e.g. English for business, for tourism, for engineering)	54.55%

Question 14: In your opinion, where will young adults use English most often? Rank the possibilities below in order from 1 to 3, with 1 being the most likely and 3 the least likely. You can use each number only once.

	Ranked 1	Ranked 2	Ranked 3	Mean ranking
Learners will use English most often in other non-English speaking countries	44.23%	39.70%	16.07%	2.28
Learners will use English most often in their home country	22.83%	27.92%	49.25%	1.74
Learners will use English most often visiting or living in an English-speaking country	33.02%	32.45%	34.53%	1.98

Question 16: In your opinion, through what mode of communication will young adults use English most often? Rank the possibilities below in order, 1 to 4, with 1 being the most frequent and 4 being the least frequent. You can use each number only once.

	Ranked 1	Ranked 2	Ranked 3	Ranked 4	Mean ranking
Online written communication (e.g. texting, email, written chat and messaging)	47.43%	30.67%	18.29%	3.62%	3.22
Online spoken communication (e.g. via Skype)	10.67%	31.81%	32.57%	24.95%	2.28
Reading and writing on paper	13.14%	18.29%	24.38%	44.19%	2.00
Face-to-face spoken communication	28.76%	19.24%	24.76%	27.24%	2.50

Question 18: Here is a list of possible reasons why young adults might want to learn English. How important do you think each reason is for young adults in your country? (Select ONE box for each reason to summarise your views)

	Very important	←—————→					Not at all important
To help them communicate with native speakers	33.33%	28.94%	18.16%	10.18%	4.39%	4.19%	0.80%
To communicate with other non-native speakers who speak English	51.38%	29.53%	12.01%	4.92%	1.18%	0.39%	0.59%
To understand English language films, music and television	32.94%	33.33%	20.12%	9.07%	3.16%	0.99%	0.39%
To participate in online social networks (e.g. Bebo, Facebook, Myspace or Ning)	25.20%	34.13%	18.65%	13.10%	4.96%	2.58%	1.39%
To participate in online games	18.40%	22.60%	23.40%	16.60%	7.40%	7.40%	4.20%
To travel to the UK, USA or other English-speaking countries	31.61%	33.80%	17.50%	11.13%	3.58%	1.79%	0.60%
To help them find work in their home country	51.87%	28.40%	9.27%	5.13%	2.76%	1.58%	0.99%
To help them understand UK, US or other English-speaking cultures	43.25%	23.02%	15.28%	10.91%	4.56%	2.18%	0.79%
To help them find work in other countries where English is not the first language of the majority of people	27.44%	34.79%	17.89%	11.33%	5.57%	2.19%	0.80%
To help them understand UK, US or other English-speaking cultures	15.64%	24.55%	24.55%	15.25%	9.70%	7.52%	2.77%
To appear more knowledgeable or sophisticated	7.57%	18.13%	22.31%	22.91%	12.15%	10.16%	6.77%
To help them get good grades at school, college or university	32.80%	31.40%	16.60%	11.60%	4.80%	2.00%	0.80%
For their future career	65.34%	24.50%	6.57%	2.59%	1.00%	0.00%	0.00%
To pass IELTS or a similar international English language qualification	26.00%	28.00%	18.00%	15.00%	5.20%	6.00%	1.80%
To be more respected by their own age group	3.39%	14.97%	22.75%	22.55%	14.37%	11.38%	10.58%
For study purposes in their own country	23.65%	32.06%	19.84%	14.23%	7.01%	2.40%	0.80%
For study purposes in the UK, USA or other English-speaking countries	32.41%	26.44%	15.11%	14.12%	7.16%	3.58%	1.19%
For study purposes in other countries where English is not the first language of the majority of people	20.32%	25.70%	21.31%	16.73%	8.96%	4.98%	1.99%

Question 19: To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements. (Tick ONE box for each statement).

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Learning English changes the way people feel about their own country	15.37%	35.93%	31.54%	13.77%	3.39%
The English language is a threat to national or local languages	2.83%	10.32%	18.42%	38.46%	29.96%
The English language is a threat to national or local cultures	2.23%	9.51%	16.80%	41.30%	30.16%
In the future, knowing English will be as important as knowing my country's first or national language	31.54%	46.51%	12.38%	7.58%	2.00%
In my country, people who speak English have a more international outlook than people who do not	33.07%	41.24%	16.73%	7.37%	1.59%

Question 20: To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements? (Tick ONE box for each statement).

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Young adults are more positive about English than older age groups	23.66%	43.74%	22.86%	8.95%	0.80%
Young adults use English more than older age groups	36.20%	47.60%	10.60%	5.00%	0.60%
Young adults have a more positive attitude towards English than towards their own first language	7.77%	15.54%	38.05%	31.67%	6.97%
Young adults see English as something they must know to be successful	34.20%	51.80%	11.00%	2.60%	0.40%
People who have learned English to an advanced level are more positive about travel and living abroad	42.40%	38.00%	16.20%	2.60%	0.80%
People who have learned English to an advanced level are less positive about their home country	3.01%	12.45%	29.12%	37.75%	17.67%

Question 21: For each statement, give your opinion about ELT and young adults' English language needs. (Tick ONE box for each statement).

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Contemporary published (including online) ELT materials meet the needs of young-adult learners	11.04%	55.83%	20.86%	10.63%	1.64%
Contemporary published (including online) ELT materials recognise international forms of English	8.40%	50.61%	27.66%	12.09%	1.23%
Contemporary English language testing and assessment meet the needs of young-adult learners	8.38%	45.19%	29.65%	13.29%	3.48%
Contemporary English language syllabuses meet the needs of young-adult learners	7.17%	41.80%	34.22%	14.34%	2.46%

Appendix 7: Young-adult English language learners questionnaire participants, by country

Country where you live	Response percentage	Response (N)
Austria	0.36%	1
Belgium	8.57%	24
Bulgaria	0.71%	2
Croatia	0.71%	2
Czech Republic	6.79%	19
Denmark	0.71%	2
Estonia	0.36%	1
France	4.64%	13
Germany	2.14%	6
Greece	1.43%	4
Hungary	0.36%	1
Italy	1.07%	3
Latvia	8.93%	25
Lithuania	5.71%	16

Country where you work	Response percentage	Response (N)
Macedonia	0.36%	1
Netherlands	0.36%	1
Poland	12.86%	36
Portugal	6.07%	17
Russia	1.79%	5
Serbia	2.14%	6
Slovakia	17.14%	48
Slovenia	3.93%	11
Spain	7.86%	22
Turkey	1.43%	4
Ukraine	0.36%	1
United Kingdom	0.36%	1
(Other)	2.86%	8
Total		280

Note: There were no survey participants from those European countries not listed above.

Appendix 8: Descriptive statistics for Sections B–E (questions 6–16) of the young-adult English language learner questionnaire (all survey responses)

Question 6: Here is a list of statements about the kind of English language knowledge and skills you need. Tick ONE box for each statement to summarise your views.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
I need to have pronunciation like a native-speaker of English	24.82%	45.04%	18.44%	10.99%	0.71%
I need to use grammar like a native-speaker of English	32.03%	48.75%	15.30%	3.56%	0.36%
I need to be familiar with native-speaker idioms and idiomatic language	37.37%	43.77%	13.52%	5.34%	0.00%
I need to use native-speaker idioms and idiomatic language	17.63%	43.53%	23.02%	15.11%	0.72%
I need to know about British, US or other English-speaking cultures	22.50%	45.71%	20.00%	10.00%	1.79%
I need to know about the way other non-native English speakers use English (e.g. their accent, grammar and vocabulary)	12.95%	32.01%	32.73%	17.99%	4.32%
I need to be able to use English in online written communication (e.g. email, texting, tweeting and messaging)	55.40%	34.53%	5.76%	3.60%	0.72%
I need to be able to use English in online spoken communication (e.g. via Skype or FaceTime)	49.29%	38.57%	6.79%	3.57%	1.79%
I need to be familiar with new words, phrases and expressions in spoken and written English	40.29%	51.08%	6.47%	2.16%	0.00%
I need to be able to use new words, phrases and expressions in spoken and written English	39.86%	47.46%	10.87%	1.45%	0.36%
I need to be familiar with new words, phrases and expressions in online English (e.g. LOL, PAW)	22.94%	44.09%	23.66%	8.24%	1.08%
I need to be able to use new words, phrases and expressions in online English (e.g. LOL, PAW)	19.34%	42.34%	22.63%	13.14%	2.55%

Question 7: English is spoken or used in different ways in different contexts (for example, British English differs from American English). Which variety of English do you need to learn or speak? Tick the relevant items (you may tick as many as appropriate).

British English	78.72%
American English	53.90%
European English	20.79%
International English	44.68%
English for online communication	29.08%
A non-standard regional variety of English (e.g. New York English)	8.16%
English related to a specific job or career (e.g. English for business, for tourism, for engineering)	39.01%

Question 9: In your opinion, where will you use English most often? Rank the possibilities below in order from 1 to 3, with 1 being the most likely and 3 the least likely. You can use each number only once.

	Ranked 1	Ranked 2	Ranked 3	Mean ranking
I will use English most often in my home country	27.07%	18.80%	54.14%	1.73
I will use English most often in other non-English speaking countries	21.43%	54.14%	24.44%	1.97
I will use English most often visiting or living in an English-speaking country	51.50%	27.07%	21.43%	2.30

Question 11: Like all languages, English can be used for different purposes, e.g. for speaking or writing, online or face-to-face. Which of the following ways of communicating in English will you use most often? Rank the possibilities below in order, 1 to 4, with 1 being the most frequent and 4 being the least frequent. You can use each number only once.

	Ranked 1	Ranked 2	Ranked 3	Ranked 4	Mean ranking
Online written communication (e.g. texting, email, written chat and messaging)	32.20%	32.95%	28.03%	6.82%	2.91
Online spoken communication (e.g. via Skype or FaceTime)	7.58%	17.42%	23.48%	51.52%	1.81
Reading and writing on paper	21.59%	29.55%	28.41%	20.45%	2.52
Face-to-face spoken communication	38.64%	20.08%	20.08%	21.21%	2.76

Question 13: Here is a list of possible reasons why young adults might want to learn English. How important is each reason for you? (Select ONE box for each reason to summarise your views)

	Very important	←-----→					Not at all important
To help me communicate with native speakers	54.12%	27.45%	14.90%	1.18%	0.78%	1.18%	0.39%
To communicate with other non-native speakers who speak English	56.64%	32.03%	7.03%	3.91%	0.00%	0.39%	0.00%
To understand English language films, music and television	52.96%	26.88%	13.04%	3.56%	1.98%	0.40%	1.19%
To participate in online social networks (e.g. Bebo, Facebook, Myspace or Ning)	18.36%	31.64%	21.48%	13.28%	5.08%	5.08%	5.08%
To participate in online games	10.24%	12.20%	13.78%	10.63%	9.84%	11.81%	31.50%
To travel to the UK, USA or other English-speaking countries	56.47%	27.06%	8.24%	4.31%	1.18%	1.96%	0.78%
To help me find work in my home country	42.52%	25.20%	18.11%	5.12%	4.33%	2.36%	2.36%
To help me find work in the UK, USA or other English-speaking countries	54.12%	16.08%	11.37%	6.27%	3.14%	5.49%	3.53%
To help me find work in other countries where English is not the first language of the majority of people	34.38%	26.95%	16.02%	9.38%	5.47%	4.69%	3.13%
To help me understand UK, US or other English-speaking cultures	31.76%	32.94%	17.65%	9.02%	5.49%	2.35%	0.78%
To appear more knowledgeable or sophisticated	21.18%	24.71%	17.25%	16.47%	6.67%	5.88%	7.84%
To help me get good grades at school, college or university	33.73%	28.24%	14.51%	10.98%	5.88%	3.14%	3.53%
For my future career	67.72%	22.83%	5.91%	1.97%	0.00%	1.18%	0.39%
To pass IELTS or a similar international English language qualification	27.17%	21.65%	16.54%	18.50%	7.87%	2.36%	5.91%
To be more respected by my own age group	8.73%	17.46%	18.25%	15.08%	11.11%	10.32%	19.05%
For study purposes in my own country	29.48%	23.90%	22.31%	12.75%	5.58%	1.20%	4.78%
For study purposes in the UK, USA or other English-speaking countries	36.61%	18.11%	14.57%	13.39%	6.69%	4.72%	5.91%
For study purposes in other countries where English is not the first language of the majority of people	29.64%	17.79%	17.39%	18.18%	5.53%	5.53%	5.93%

Question 14: To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements (tick ONE box for each statement).

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Learning English changes the way people feel about their own country	10.16%	32.93%	34.15%	15.45%	7.32%
The English language is a threat to national or local languages	7.76%	25.31%	22.45%	29.80%	14.69%
The English language is a threat to national or local cultures	6.94%	20.41%	24.08%	31.43%	17.14%
In the future, knowing English will be as important as knowing my country's first or national language	38.02%	38.43%	16.94%	4.96%	1.65%
In my country, people who speak English have a more international outlook than people who do not	32.24%	44.49%	15.10%	6.12%	2.04%

Question 15: To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements? (tick ONE box for each statement).

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Young adults are more positive about English than older age groups	34.43%	46.31%	12.30%	6.56%	0.41%
Young adults use English more than older age groups	43.62%	43.21%	11.11%	1.23%	0.82%
Young adults have a more positive attitude towards English than towards their own first language	14.34%	34.84%	31.97%	16.39%	2.46%
Young adults see English as something they must know to be successful	35.12%	47.52%	11.98%	5.37%	0.00%
People who have learned English to an advanced level are more positive about travel and living abroad	42.39%	37.45%	13.17%	6.58%	0.41%
People who have learned English to an advanced level are less positive about their home country	7.02%	19.01%	32.64%	31.82%	9.50%

Question 16: To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements? (tick ONE box for each statement).

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Not relevant to me
The textbooks and materials (including online) I have used to learn English provide the language knowledge and skills I need to pass English language exams	20.76%	58.05%	10.17%	8.05%	1.27%	1.69%
The textbooks and materials (including online) I have used to learn English provide the language knowledge and skills I need to communicate in English with people from other countries for work	14.89%	48.09%	20.00%	12.34%	1.28%	3.40%
The textbooks and materials (including online) I have used to learn English provide the language knowledge and skills I need to communicate in English with people from other countries for leisure (e.g. travel and tourism)	20.34%	55.93%	15.68%	4.24%	1.69%	2.12%
The textbooks and materials (including online) I have used to learn English recognise international forms of English	12.82%	38.46%	27.78%	13.25%	3.42%	4.27%
The English language tests and assessments I have taken test the language knowledge and skills I need to communicate in English with other people through speech	17.52%	47.44%	19.66%	9.83%	3.42%	2.14%
The English language tests and assessments I have taken test the language knowledge and skills I need to communicate in English with other people in writing	18.45%	58.80%	14.16%	5.15%	1.29%	2.15%
The English language tests and assessments I have taken test the language knowledge and skills I need to communicate in English with other people online	16.17%	36.60%	22.98%	12.77%	6.81%	4.68%

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