Taking Stock of Applied Linguistics

Proceedings of the 49th Annual Meeting of the British Association for Applied Linguistics

Anglia Ruskin University

September 2016

Taking Stock of Applied Linguistics

Proceedings of the 41st Annual Meeting of the British Association for Applied Linguistics

1st – 3rd September 2016

Anglia Ruskin University, Cambridge

First Published 2017 By the British Association for Applied Linguistics
Edited by Bettina Beinhoff, Sebastian Rasinger and Michelle Sheehan

Contents

Pre-teaching linguistic forms and its effect on task interaction

Martin Hawkes, *The University of Shiga Prefecture*

Abstract

Task-based language teaching (TBLT) is an approach to second language pedagogy that prioritises the use of meaning-focused tasks. Although it began as a branch of communicative language teaching, it has grown into a substantial area of both theoretical and pedagogical interest. One pedagogical choice that teachers have is with TBLT is the position of a language focus stage in relation to the main pedagogic task. Some have argued that the pre-teaching of specific language points detracts from a focus on meaning when learners perform the actual tasks. It has been proposed that by doing so, learners will follow one of two paths: they will either mechanically reproduce the target forms or simply ignore them, thus rendering the pre-teaching stage meaningless. This paper describes a research project that sought to empirically investigate these claims by using a micro-analytical approach to look at one group's task interaction after they had received some explicit teaching of potentially useful linguistic forms. The findings show that this group of learners did indeed show a propensity to orient towards reproducing language from both the task model and the taught target forms, which affected their fluency. However, this orientation was dynamic, not fixed, and there was a consistent switch to meaning throughout the course of the task performance. Some practitioners may see this as justification for not proscribing the pre-teaching of specified forms.

Introduction

This paper describes part of a classroom-based investigation into an area of language teaching methodology that has received much attention over recent years—task-based language teaching. Since its beginnings as an offshoot of communicative language teaching, task-based language teaching has come to take a prominent position in both research and pedagogical-based discussion of second language learning; it is not unusual to see the area well represented at academic conferences, and there have been numerous journal articles published on the topic as well as book-length treatments.

Of the various task-based language teaching frameworks that have been proposed, perhaps the one that has had the most influential on pedagogy (Samuda & Bygate, 2008) is the Dave Willis and Jane Willis model (Willis, 1996; Willis & Willis, 2007). A key part of their proposal is the departure from earlier approaches to language teaching, such as Presentation-Practice-Production, which sought to explicitly teach linguistic forms to learners prior to a communicative activity. Willis and Willis argued that any pre-teaching of forms will detract from a focus on meaning when learners subsequently perform the main task.

Despite the prominence of the Willis and Willis position, there is a paucity of classroom research that has directly tried to investigate their claim. In an effort to fill this gap, this paper addressed the following research question:

How does the explicit pre-teaching of linguistic forms affect the orientation of learners during task performance?

This paper presents a detailed single case study analysis of the interaction that occurred as a group of three Japanese university students completed a communicative task after they had received explicit instruction of some potentially useful target forms. Using a qualitative micro-analytical approach, I aim to illustrate the changing orientations of the participants during the task performance.

Background

In the 1970s, a new set of broadly similar approaches to second language teaching emerged that placed more emphasis on communication, and they become collectively known as communicative language teaching (henceforth, CLT). One that became firmly rooted in pedagogy was the method commonly known as Presentation-Practice-Production (henceforth, P-P-P), which Harmer (2007) described as follows:

> In this procedure the teacher introduces a situation which contextualises the language to be taught. The language, too, is then presented. The students now practise the language using accurate reproduction techniques such as choral repetition… individual repetition…and cue-response drills…Later, the students, using the new language, make sentences of their own, and this is referred to as production. (p. 64)

Against the odds, perhaps, P-P-P has demonstrated remarkable durability with practitioners (Carless, 2009; Long & Kurzwell, 2002; Sato, 2010; Viet, Canh, & Barnard, 2015) and teacher trainers (J. Anderson, 2015). It has also gained theoretical support through skill acquisition theory (J. R. Anderson, 2010). Johnson (1996) saw the applicability of J. R. Anderson's ideas to language teaching and P-P-P specifically, stating "the first P (presentation) is largely concerned with the process of declarativisation, while the other two (practice and production) are associated with proceduralization" (p. 103). DeKeyser (1998) has also advocated sequences of classroom activities remarkably similar to P-P-P, citing his earlier study that demonstrated the significance of skill acquisition theory to second language learning (DeKeyser, 1997).

However, P-P-P has received regular—and often fierce—criticism over the years. Some have attacked the lockstep approach to teaching one isolated linguistic (usually grammatical) form after another (Lewis, 1996; Skehan, 1996), with little or no regard for the learner's internal syllabus (Klapper, 2003). Some have argued that the repetitive nature of P-P-P lessons are dull for students and negatively affect motivation (Long, 2000), and that the production stage is only *pseudo*-communicative (Long, 2015). Others have described the impact of pre-teaching and practicing of specific language points on the performance of learners in the production stage (Larsen-Freeman, 2009; Willis & Willis, 2007). Willis and Willis (2007) claimed that if there is pre-teaching and practice before a communicative activity, the resulting interaction will follow one of two possible paths: either learners will orient to form and be enslaved to reproducing the target forms, rendering their speech stilted and hesitant; or they will orient to meaning and ignore the forms completely, making the pre-teaching pointless. Possibly as a result of criticisms such as these, more meaning-oriented forms of CLT have been proposed, but none has caught the attention of teachers and researchers as much as task-based language teaching (henceforth, TBLT).

TBLT emerged sometime in the 1980s as a branch of CLT. Whereas most forms of CLT certainly had communicative activities, this new approach made them central to the whole method, and they gradually became known as *tasks* (Skehan, 2003). Over at least the past twenty years, much has been written about TBLT with hundreds of articles, several edited collections (e.g. Edwards & Willis, 2005; Thomas & Reinders, 2015; van den Branden, 2006), and book length treatments (East, 2012; Ellis, 2003; Long, 2015; Nunan, 2004; Samuda & Bygate, 2008; Willis, 1996; Willis & Willis, 2007) devoted to it. Although TBLT has been interpreted in a number of different ways, one tenet is that generally consistent is the avoidance of the explicit teaching of linguistic forms *before* learners do the main communicative task, thus, avoiding the kind of "structure trapping" that can occur otherwise (Little & Fieldsend, 2009; Skehan, 1998), and the disfluency, described above, that can result (Willis and Willis, 2007). Nunan (2004), however, does not proscribe pre-teaching in his TBLT framework, but encourages teachers not to insist that learners use specified target forms in the subsequent task. Some proposed strategies to incorporate a language focus within TBLT have included during-task feedback (Long, 1991), explicit post-task teaching (Willis & Willis, 2007), or the design of *focused tasks* which necessitate the use of certain pre-determined linguistic forms (Nobuyoshi & Ellis, 1993).

The question of how a learner is oriented during tasks is one that has received some, if not a large amount, of empirical attention. Within the field socio-cultural theory (henceforth, SCT), there have been a few studies looking at *orientation*. Brooks' (1990) case study showed how learners switched their orientation towards form, apparently as a result of the teacher's previous attention to correction. Coughlan and Duff (1994) described how different learners interpret the same task in quite different ways: some would engage in genuine meaning exchange while others would just produce language "for the sake of it". Other SCT researchers have made reference to the dynamic nature of orientation, reporting that learners' attention to language form changes as tasks progress (Roebuck, 2000; Tocaimaza-Hatch, 2015).

This paper explores the topic of orientation and the sequencing of the task within a class. Specifically, I will look at the impact of the explicit pre-teaching of language forms—operationalised through a P-P-P style lesson—on the orientation of learners during a communicative task in an L2 classroom.

Methods

Participants

The study took place in an intact class at a private university in Japan. The participants—two female and one male—were first-year non-English majors and L1 speakers of Japanese. The participants had studied English as a foreign language for six years through junior and senior high school. It is often claimed by language teachers based in Japan that while Japanese high school graduates often have a reasonable explicit knowledge of English grammar, they have limited communicative competence and oral communication skills; the participating triad roughly fit this stereotype, and would most likely be classed as high beginner learners. The participants were enrolled in a first semester compulsory basic English communication course (15 x 90-minute classes) with the aim of developing speaking skills, and which used a required textbook *New Interchange 1* (Richards, Hull, & Proctor, 2012). It was while doing this course that the author, who was also the teacher with around ten years of experience teaching EFL in Japan, asked the class to participate in a research project from which this paper is based. The week prior to the data collection session, those students that agreed to participate were asked to carefully read and sign an informed consent form, acknowledging that some task recordings would be used for research purposes, but that their anonymity would be protected and non-participation would neither significantly impact class procedures nor have any bearing on course grades.

Procedures

The data described in this paper was collected during a regular timetabled class. The textbook topic on the day looked at "entertainment", particularly film, television and music. To supplement the mechanical exercises of the textbook, additional 90-minute task sequences were added to each unit of the course. This class featured a main task which was a decision making task called *cinema trip*, in which learners, in groups of three, had to plan a visit to a nearby cinema on the coming weekend. Each group was given the current schedule to use to help them plan (see Appendix A). Points to be decided included the film and showing to watch, the time and place to meet, the time and venue to eat, and any others the individual groups saw fit. The main task was preceded by some *schema building tasks* (Nunan, 2004) to establish the theme. First, a brainstorming task had learners listing film genres and ranking them in order of their preference. Next, the cinema schedule was distributed, and the learners tried to identify to which genre each film belonged. The final pre-task activity consisted of explicit teaching and practice of some target forms.

A pilot study had shown that this task creates several obligatory occasions for the use of suggestion phrases (e.g. *how about this movie?*; *why don't we go for some Italian food?*), and that making appropriate suggestions was troublesome for a similar group of learners. The task was also trialled with three native speaker pairs. Using data from these trials, along with a corpus-based grammar reference book (Willis, 2004), the following six suggestion phrases were identified to be used as target forms: *it might be good...*; *how about...?*; *let's...*; *we could...*; *what about...?*; and *why don't we...?*

In the explicit teaching stage, students first listened to a task model performed by two native speakers. Using a transcript of the model, they did two activities that followed Ellis' (2002) notion of consciousness raising: first, they identified suggestion phrases employed by the speakers in the task model and then defined some rules for their use. Finally, there was a controlled practice stage. This explicit teaching stage closely resembled the first two stages of the P-P-P approach. (See Appendix B for the materials used in the explicit teaching stage.)

The participants' performance of the cinema trip task was audio recorded. As part of the course, audio recordings were regularly made as part of the feedback and assessment system; therefore, the potential impact due to the obtrusive nature of a recording device was mitigated. In the data collection class, the participants were told to start the recorders only if they still agreed to participate in the study. The data from the audio recording were transferred to computer and a detailed transcript of the interaction was created using the software *Transana* (Woods & Fassnact, 2012). This transcript then underwent a line-by-line analyse to look for evidence of learner orientations throughout the task proceedings.

Findings and discussion

In this section, I present a full analysis of the task interaction using the task transcript (see Appendix B for a summary of the transcription conventions), which has been divided into sections that roughly correspond with the different sub-topics (e.g. the film, showing, meeting place etc.) that were discussed. Throughout the commentary, the participants' apparent orientations are illustrated, as evidenced by the surrounding talk. For coding purposes, I identified six categories of orientation in the data set. In the transcript, these orientations are denoted by the following colour coding system:

Orientation	**Description**
Form-target forms	Participants focus on producing the target forms
Form-model	Participants focus on mining language from the task model
Form-metatalk	Off-task talk about the target forms
Meaning	Talk that features a genuine exchange of meanings
Task	Talk that only aims to move the task forward
Task-metatalk	Off-task talk about the task proceedings

This group consisted of three members—GO, YN and EM (pseudonyms). Generally, GO stood out as one of the stronger students in the class, with EM not far behind. While it is probably fair to say that YN was slightly weaker, her personality was such that she was an able communicator, even in her second language. The task was done in an enjoyable manner: the participants clearly got on well and seemed to have fun working together in English.

What becomes clear quite early is that all three participants seem to be oriented towards form over meaning throughout the duration of the task. This orientation to form is apparent from the very first turn, shown in line 1 (see below), in which EM copies verbatim the opening line of the task model from the language focus stage. After a reminder to the whole class from the teacher not to copy the model, EM repeats the opening line (L7). Her partners seem unsure of how to respond, then EM whispers another expression (*sounds good*) that was most likely lifted from the model to YN, who then uses it (L10-11). In line 14, after much hesitation, EM uses one of the target forms (*how about*) to suggest a film. Her production is rather stilted as she appears to be fully focused on producing the target phrase here. In line 15, instead of responding to EM's suggestion, GO uses Japanese to repair a communication breakdown as EM did not respond in line 14 how GO expected. It seems that GO thinks his question in line 12 had a meaning like "when should we go?". YN then takes over and (like EM, very hesitantly) makes a target form (*how about*) suggestion. However, she is essentially repeating the same information that EM gave in lines 1 and 7. This amuses everyone in the group, and a sustained period of laughter ensues. When they resume, EM once again hesitantly uses *how about* to finally suggest a day to visit the cinema (L20). After the responses of "sounds good", the group begin laughing again at their own copying of the model (L21-23).

EM: why don't we go and and see a movie this week?
T: ((to whole class)) don’t copy it hehe maybe the start is okay but
it's your conversation yeah?
EM: *saisho kara iku*? {T: should we start again?}
YN: *un*
GO: *soshiyou* {T: let’s do that}
EM: why don't we go and see a movie this week?
(3.5)
GO: hehe yeah
EM: sounds good ((whispered))
YN: sounds good. xxx hehe eh (1.5) I=
GO: =er what (1.0) what's going on (..) the new movie?
(2.3)
EM: ha- hm (5.3) how about (2.2) the Carrie
GO: *itsu te kiita no ni* {T: I asked ‘when’}
EM: [*itsu ka?* {T: oh, ‘when’}
YN: [ah eh how about (1.5) how about going (1.0) movie (.) er this
weekend?
((16 seconds of laughter))
EM: how abou- how about um Saturday?
GO: hm sounds good
YN: sounds good
((6 secs of laughter))

The next turn is taken by YN, and she also uses *how about* once more to suggest a film (L24-25). As well as a false start and some lengthy unfilled pauses while she is formulating the target form, she also uses the vowel marking phenomenon often found in the speech of L1 Japanese learners of English, which Carroll (2004) identified as being a forward repair technique used in a similar way as hesitation devices. It appears that as these learners are trying to produce the target forms, it is affecting their fluency. GO and EM do not respond to YN’s suggestion; instead, EM decides that she should say the relevant topic starting question (L28), another indication of a lack of orientation to meaning, and more of an orientation to displaying the “correct” way of doing the task.

The whole section from the very start up to line 31 is very disjointed. It seems the participants are not really listening to each other, and are possibly confused by how to carry out the task. They also seem unsure how to apply aspects of the model to their own conversation, and how to fit the target forms into their speech.

YN: how hehehe [3.2] how about-*o* (3.2) how about going (0.7) Room
Mate?
(5.5)
GO: hmmm
EM: *kikebeii* {T: I should ask} what kind of movie do you want to (..)
watch?
(3.5)
EM: *XXX*

In line 32, YN makes another *how about* suggestion for a different film. This time the suggestion is delivered more fluently, possibly owing to it being her third attempt in a short period of time. In the next turn (L33-34), GO begins by seemingly making fun of the repeated uses of *how about*, something he returns to more directly later in the task. Next, he makes a meaning-oriented response. He rejects YN's film suggestion and states a preference for another film. He is not displaying any use of the target forms as he chooses to use an "I want" construction to put forward an alternative choice. After this, the group become unsure how to proceed, and a period of laughter begins again. When they resume, YN rejects GO's film preference (L38) and GO concedes, using a more powerful target form suggestion (*let's*) to conclude the topic of film (L39). In this section of the interaction from lines 32 to 42, the participants are primarily oriented towards meaning, but they are also clearly displaying their use of the target suggestion phrases when an obligatory occasion arises (L32 & L39).

32 YN: ah how about going-*u* Kazetachinu?
33 GO: (how about) hehe yeah but I- I want to go to Kakuyahime
34 Monogatari
35 EM: *XXX*
36 YN: er how
37 ((12 seconds of laughter))
38 YN: I- I don't (..) want to watch-*i* (.) Kakuyahime
39 GO: okay [oh: (1.8) let's- let's go (1.1) er Kazetachinu
40 YN: [*yasashi* {T: he's kind}
41 YN: sounds good
42 EM: okay ah

In the next topic exchange, the group discuss to which showing of the film they will go (L43-54). In lines 43 and 44, although she is probably aiming to ask a question like "what time should we go?", YN persists in trying to use *how about,* but has trouble with it. GO then interrupts YN and tries to ask the question himself, and although not perfect he probably does enough to get his message across (L45 & 46). In the next turn, EM is clearly focused on producing the target phrase *it might be good*: she begins with hesitation markers (*ah hm::*), then starts to use another *how about* suggestion before changing her mind and deciding that she wants to use a different target phrase, well aware that *how about* has been used already on a number of occasions. After some private talk and an unfilled pause, she opts for *it might be good*. When she has trouble completing her turn, GO comes to her assistance, and the final suggestion is co-constructed. YN signals the end of this topic with "let's go" (L53). Although it is not a suggestion in this analysis, it is likely that YN is oriented in part towards the target forms here. EM makes a joke that this sounds like a rather abrupt finish to the task.

43 YN: how about (1.0) this mo- how about going this movie (2.5) *chau*
44 {T: that's wrong} hehe what when=
45 GO: =what show time er what showing do (.) this mo- ah see this
46 movie?
47 EM: ah (3.0) hm: (3.0) (hh) how about *doushiyoukana* {T: what should I
48 do?} (2.2) it might be good to (0.8) see Kazetachinu (2.3) *chigau*
49 {T: no, not that} at?
50 GO: at (1.5) seven o'clock?
51 EM: seven o'clock
52 GO: yeah hm:: that's okay
53 YN: let's go!
54 EM: *owatta!* {T: finished}

In line 56, EM moves the group onto the next topic of discussion, that of the place to eat. In this section, EM uses two more of the suggestion phrases. She is clearly focused on producing a variety of the target forms: In line 59, she uses *shall we* quite fluently to suggest a kind of food. When GO asks for a specific place (L62), EM tries to use *why don't we* but has some trouble, evidenced by a hesitation marker, unfilled pauses, and repetition of the suggestion phrase. GO sees the trouble and tries to help her complete the correct suggestion (L63-65). This is another co-constructed target form between these two learners. Next, YN also uses *why don't* to suggest an alternative (L67), possibly emboldened by EM's previous use (note that YN omits the *to* preposition before the place name, just as EM did). From here up to line 80, the exchanges are more meaning oriented. Even GO's use of the target form *let's* in line 74 seem less form oriented than others: It is delivered very fluently, and there is no real sign of deliberate production.

(6.0)
EM: where to meet. where- where to eat. er
YN: *itsu?* {T: when?}
EM: *(soko mae xxx)* {T: in front of}
EM: shall we go to Italian restaurant?
YN: sounds good! [hehe
EM: [hehe
GO: where? (.) where go to?
EM: er (2.4) why don't we (1.6) why: do:n't we: [go
GO: [go
EM: (1.4) Jolly Pasta?
(2.5)
YN: why don't [we go (.) Starbucks?
GO: [okay
GO: oh::
EM: Italian restaurant XXX hehe
YN: I I don't like pasta.
EM: okay
((2.3 seconds of laughter))
GO: okay let's go (.) Saizeria.
YN: sound good hehe
GO: that is Italian re- Italian.
YN: ah yeah.
EM: I know.
((3.5 seconds of laughter))
YN: I know too

From line 82 to the end of the task, the group discusses the topic of when to meet. The decision is not straightforward though, and the participants resort to Japanese in places that seem to be examples of off-task private talk (L90, 92, 95) (although, as shown in lines 92-93, it might involve the other group members). The participants negotiate and find a time to meet that works for everyone. Overall, there is a orientation to meaning to be found in a number of the turns (e.g. L100-103; 109-110; 115-120). However, there is also a distinct orientation to form that pervades much of the topic. In line 91, after EM uses another (albeit aborted) *how about* suggestion, GO laughs and comments on the repeated uses of this target form. Regardless, EM begins to use it again in line 92, and YN uses it one more time in lines 97 to 99 (which causes laughter), and again in line 106 when YN begins to use it once more. Things come to a head in lines 112 to 116 during which YN begins to use *how about* yet again but stops, stating that she is embarrassed (due to the teasing by GO). GO then mentions again that the others like using *how about* too much. As a result, YN tries to use a *why don't we* suggestion but struggles and reverts to *how about* once more—after all, in her previous use of *why don't we*, she seemed to simply copy EM's prior use of it (L62-66). GO sees her trouble and interrupts her turn to bring the topic to a close (L116). This shows that it is not only the pre-task that can influence orientation, but the words or actions of a learner's interlocutor can also have an impact. Here, due to GO's teasing, YN felt compelled to leave her comfort zone and use a different target form.

The final few lines of the interaction add detail to their plan and are oriented to meaning (L117-121). In the final turn, EM uses Japanese to confirm that they have already decided on the meeting place, one of the recommended points that should be discussed.

(6.0)
GO: whe- whe- when oh
EM: when
GO: when we meet ah (1.0) before (2.0) go to cinema?
EM: whe-
(2.0)
GO: hm
EM: *XXX*
GO: un
EM: how: about- *ju kuji kara chau*? {T: from 9 or 10, isn't it}
GO: hehe how *sukisugi* {T: you like it too much}
EM: hehe how about *gohan tabena akan kara*= {T: we have to eat lunch}
YN: =*seyona*: {T: that's right}
GO: hm
YN: *demo asa kara asobitai kara* hehe {T: but I want to play from
morning}
YN: how about=
EM: =ten o'clock=
YN: =how about ten o'clock?
((laughter 4.5))
YN: I want to go,
GO: yeah
YN: many place
GO: hm okay (..) but ten o'clock is so fast
EM: hehe
YN: hehe un::: how about (1.4)
GO: hehehe
YN: eleven o'clock?
GO: XXX
EM: eleven?
GO: yah:: okay eleven o'clock is okay=
YN: =I (1.5) how about (1.4) ah *chau wa* {T: that's wrong} (2.8)
hazukashi {T: it's embarrassing}
GO: hehehe how about *sukisugiru* {T: like it too much} (2.6) okay okay
YN: why don't:: (1.3) hehe [how about
GO: [ele- ele- eleven o'clock is okay okay
YN: I (..) get up you
(8.5)
EM: I going to?
YN: I going to eleven o'clock (1.0) your house
GO: ah okay.

EM: *basho mo kimechatta* {T: we've also decided the place}

A cursory glance at the colour coding reveals the dynamic nature of orientation throughout the task. While many of the turns and series of turns, and series of turns, found in this group's task performance were meaning oriented, these were rarely maintained for long, and there was a very prominent and consistent orientation switch towards form that ran through the entire interaction. As well as initially attempting to reproduce parts of the task model, there were several off-task references to the target forms along with numerous very deliberate uses of the target forms that certainly affected fluency and interfered with the task running smoothly: Over the course of the task, EM used target forms on six occasions (2 x *how about*; 1 x *it might be good*; 1 x *shall we;* 2 x *why don't we*), GO on two (2 x *let's*), and YN had seven attempts (6 x *how about*; 1 x *why don't*).

To restate, the research question that was formulated was *How does the explicit pre-teaching of linguistic forms affect the orientation of learners during task performance?* When considering the answer, it is worth framing it with regards to both Willis and Willis' (2007) and Nunan's (2004) predictions. Both stated that individual learners would either choose to ignore the target forms or to use them, with Willis and Willis seeing both as negative outcomes. In this data set, it is clear that all followed the latter option, that is, they were primarily form-oriented: they used and talked about using the target forms, and there was evidence that their orientation sometimes affected their fluency. However, I do not believe they used the task exclusively as a vehicle for target form practice. It would be easy for the group to have used little else other than suggestions and affirmative responses, but there is some discussion and negotiation to be found during most of the topics discussed, and there is a genuine orientation to meaning that flows through the task performance. Thus, the findings concur with earlier studies which showed learner orientation in tasks to be dynamic and not fixed.

Conclusion

This paper described the findings of a classroom-based study looking at learner orientation during L2 task performance. While some previous pedagogically-focused TBLT frameworks have proscribed any pre-teaching of linguistic forms before learners begin a communicative task, there is little empirical evidence to support claims that learners will either completely ignore the forms or simply mechanically reproduce them. The three participants in this study certainly attended to form, but their orientation was fluid, switching from form to meaning continuously throughout the task. Some may interpret the findings as supporting the proscription of pre-teaching of forms, but the appropriate or ideal balance between meaning and form is something that is difficult to determine. I would argue that for some tasks learners can enjoy the benefits that tasks can provide for fluency development and negotiation opportunities, while also having valuable practice opportunities to proceduralise and automatise new language. Other tasks that are less focused and do not inherently contain many opportunities for the use of specific forms might be best performed without any pre-task language focus. In the area of language teaching methodology, there are many dogmatic voices and TBLT is no different. With recent evidence showing the benefits of more explicit teaching (Spada & Tomita, 2010), it may be time to rethink the eschewing of pre-teaching of linguistic forms in many interpretations of TBLT. I would add my voice to those that call for a flexible, more eclectic approach to language teaching based on the learners' and teacher's context and preferences, and the targets of individual courses, classes and tasks.

References

Anderson, J. (2016). A potted history of PPP with the help of ELT Journal. *ELT Journal.* Advance online publication. doi: https://doi.org/10.1093/elt/ccw055

Anderson, J. R. (2010). *Cognitive psychology and its implications* (7th ed.). New York: Worth Publishers.

Carless, D. (2009). Revisiting the TBLT versus P-P-P debate: Voices from Hong Kong. *Asian Journal of English Language Teaching, 19*, 49-66.

Carroll, D. (2004). Vowel-marking as an interactional resource in Japanese novice ESL conversation. In K. Richards, P. Seedhouse & P. Drew (Eds.), *Applying conversation analysis* (pp. 214-234). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

DeKeyser, R. M. (1997). Beyond explicit rule learning: Automatizing second language morphosyntax. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition, 19*, 195-221.

DeKeyser, R. M. (1998). Beyond focus on form. Cognitive perspectives on learning and practicing second language grammar. In C. Doughty & M. Williams (Eds.), *Focus on form in classroom second language acquisition* (pp. 42-63). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Edwards, C., & Willis, J. (Eds.) (2005). *Teachers exploring tasks in English language teaching.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Ellis, R. (2002). Grammar teaching — practice or consciousness-raising? In J. C. Richards & W. A. Renandya (Eds.), *Methodology in language teaching: An anthology of current practice* (pp. 167-174). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ellis, R. (2003). *Task-based language learning and teaching.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Harmer, J. (2007). The practice of English language teaching (4th ed.). Harlow: Pearson/Longman.

Johnson, K. (1996). *Language teaching and skill learning.* Oxford: Blackwell.

Klapper, J. (2003). Taking communication to task? A critical review of recent trends in language teaching. *Language Learning Journal, 27*, 33-42.

Larsen-Freeman, D. (2009). Teaching and testing grammar. In M. H. Long & C. J. Doughty (Eds.), *The handbook of language teaching* (pp. 518-542). Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.

Lewis, M. (1996). Implications of a lexical view of language. In J. Willis & D. Willis (Eds.), *Challenge and change in language teaching* (pp. 10-16). Oxford: Macmillan.

Little, A., & Fieldsend, T. (2009). Form-focused tasks using semantically enhanced input. *The Language Teacher, 33*(3), 9-14.

Long, B., & Kurzwell, J. (2002). PPP under the microscope. *English Teaching Professional, 25*, 18-20.

Long, M. H. (1991). Focus on form: A design feature in language teaching methodology. In K. de Bot, R. Ginsberg, & C. Kramsch (Eds.), *Foreign language research in cross-cultural perspective* (pp. 39-52). Amsterdam: John Benjamin.

Long, M. H. (2000). Focus of form in task-based language teaching. In R. D. Lambert & E. Shohamy (Eds.), *Language policy and pedagogy: Essays in honor of A. Ronald Walton* (pp. 179-192). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Long, M. H. (2015). Second language acquisition and task-based language teaching. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.

Nobuyoshi, J., & Ellis, R. (1993). Focused communication tasks and second language acquisition. *ELT Journal, 47*(3), 203-210.

Nunan, D. (2004). *Task-based language teaching*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Richards, J. C., Hull, J., & Proctor, S. (2012). *Interchange 1a* (4th ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Samuda, V., & Bygate, M. (2008). *Tasks in second language learning.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Skehan, P. (1996). Second language acquisition research and task-based learning. In J. Willis & D. Willis (Eds.), *Challenge and change in language teaching* (pp. 17-30). Oxford: MacMillan.

Skehan, P. (1998). *A cognitive approach to language learning.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Skehan, P. (2003). Task-based instruction. *Language Teaching, 36*(1), 1-14.

Spada, N., & Tomita, Y. (2010). Interactions between type of instruction and type of language feature: A meta-analysis. *Language Learning, 60*(3), 263-308.

Tocaimaza-Hatch, C. C. (2015). An analysis of Spanish L2 learners' orientation through activity theory. *Foreign Language Annals, 48*(3), 491–510.

Thomas, M., & Reinders, H. (Eds.) (2015). *Contemporary task-based language teaching in Asia*. London: Bloomsbury.

van den Branden, K. (Ed.) (2006). *Task-based language education: From theory to practice.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Viet, N. G., Canh, L. V., & Barnard, R. (2015). 'Old wine in new bottles': Two case studies of task-based language teaching in Vietnam. In M. Thomas & H. Reinders (Eds.), *Contemporary task-based language teaching in Asia* (pp. 68-86). London: Bloomsbury.

Willis D. (2004). Collins COBUILD intermediate English grammar (2nd ed.). Glasgow: HarperCollins.

Willis, D., & Willis, J. (2007). *Doing task-based teaching.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Willis, J. (1996). *A framework for task-based learning.* Harlow: Addison Wesley Longman.

Woods, D., & Fassnacht, C. (2012). Transana (Version 2.50) [Software]. Available from http://www.transana.org/

Appendix A: Task materials

Megaplex Cinema Umeda

Gakuyahime monogatari (J) 	10:00 ~ 12:30 14:30 ~ 17:00 17:30 ~ 20:00	**Captain Phillips** (E) 	08:30 ~ 11:00 11:30 ~ 14:00 14:30 ~ 17:00 17:30 ~ 20:00 20:30 ~ 23:00*
Percy Jackson (2D) (E) 	10:00 ~ 12:00 14:20 ~ 16:20	**Percy Jackson (3D)** (J) 	12:30 ~ 14:30** 17:50 ~ 19:50**
Room Mate (J) 	11:50 ~ 13:50 16:30 ~ 18:25 21:15 ~ 23:10*	**The Family** (E) 	09:00 ~ 11:05 13:00 ~ 15:05 16:50 ~ 18:55 19:20 ~ 21:25
Kazetachinu (J) 	11:15 ~ 13:05 19:00 ~ 20:50	**Subete wa kimi ni aeta kara** (J) 	11:15 ~ 13:15 14:15 ~ 16:15 17:00 ~ 19:00 20:00 ~ 22:00*
Carrie (J) 	18:30 ~ 20:25	**Carrie** (E) 	12:00 ~ 13:55 16:00 ~ 17:55 18:25 ~ 20:20 21:00 ~ 22:55*
Wallflower (E) 	15:40 ~ 17:40 17:50 ~ 19:50* 20:20 ~ 22:20*	**The Counselor** (E) 	18:50 ~ 21:00

Admission
Adult: ¥1,800 Student: ¥1,500 *Late Show: ¥1,200 ** 3D show: + ¥400

Appendix B: Language focus stage materials

Language Focus - Suggestions

A. *Listen again and read the model task.*

A: So why don't we go and see a movie this week?
B: Sure, what's on?
A: Here's the cinema listing. what do you wanna see?
B: hmmmmm we could watch Carrie?
A: Ooh, I'm not really into horror.
B: ah okay hmm
A: how about the new Tom Hanks movie, Captain Phillips?
B: ah sorry I've already seen it. hmm what about Percy Jackson?
A: Ah Percy Jackson! I heard that was quite good. Okay, sounds good.
B: Yeah yeah. do you wanna see it in 3D or 2D?
A: Hmm is it the same price?
B: Ah I think 3D is a little bit more expensive.
A: Ah... oh 400 yen but that's okay, ah yeah 3D sounds pretty cool.
B: Yeah. um alright when is good for you?
A: It'll have to be Saturday or Sunday.
B: afternoon?
A: yeah. how about the er the two-twenty?
B: two-twenty works for me.
A: okay.
B: well do you wanna- do you wanna grab some lunch first?
A: ah that sounds great. Do you know any places around there?
B: what do you fancy eating?
A: shall we go to a pizza place or something?
B: Yeah there's a- there's a nice little um Italian restaurant just around the corner I think.
A: but when should we meet?
B: tell you what, let's meet at about one o'clock.
A: one o'clock, and then we'll buy tickets and go to the restaurant.
B: yeah.
A: it might be good to meet in the lobby then.
B: in the lobby yes
A: okay see you then

B. *Underline the words that are used to make suggestions. There are eight to be found.*

C. *Look at the suggestions below. Which are correct? Check (✔) the boxes.*

Suggestion	correct	incorrect
Why don't we *Monsters Inc*?		
Why don't we watch *Monsters Inc*?		
Why don't we watching *Monsters Inc*?		
What about *Jolly Pasta*?		
How about eating at *Jolly Pasta*?		
What about eat at *Jolly Pasta*?		
We could meet in the cinema lobby?		
We meet in the cinema lobby?		
We could meeting in the cinema lobby?		
Shall we go to the six thirty show?		
We go to the six thirty show?		
Shall we going to the six thirty show?		
Let's go and see *Toy Story*?		
Let's *Toy Story*?		
Let's going and see *Toy Story*?		
It might be good to eat after the movie.		
It might be good eat after the movie.		
It be good to eat after the movie.		

D. *Write the missing words for rules for making suggestions. Choose the answers from the box.*

verb phrase (動詞句)	noun (名詞)	-ing phrase (動名詞)	verb phrase
verb phrase	verb phrase	to + verb phrase	

1. why don't we…?

why don't we + _______________?

2. **what about…? / how about…?**

how/what about + _______________?

how/what about + _______________?

3. we could…

we could _______________?

4. shall we…

shall we + _______________?

5. let's

let's + _______________?

6. it might be good…

it might be good + _______________?

E. *With your partner, take turns picking a card and reading it to your partner. When replying your partner should make a suggestion. Try to use a* ***different*** *suggestion each time.*

Example

```
A: What should we have for dinner tonight?
B: How about pizza?

B: How do you want to go to Osaka?
A: Shall we take the train?
```

I'm hungry.	I need a drink!	What should we buy Mr Hawkes for his birthday?
I'm broke - I need more money.	When should we meet to do our English project?	What TV show do you recommend?
What time should we meet tomorrow?	Where should we go for lunch today?	Where should we meet to do our English homework?

Appendix C: Transcription conventions (adapted from Kasper & Wagner, 2001)

[	Overlapping speech
(0.5)	length of silence in tenth of a second
(.)	micropause (less than half a second)
(..)	short pause (less than one second)
::	lengthened syllable
-	self-interruption, cut-off, abrupt finish/false start
?	rising intonation contour
.	falling intonation contour
,	continuing intonation contour
(speech)	transcriber's best guess at content
(( ))	other events
!	emphatic utterance
XXXXX	Unintelligible speech (If L2, italics are used)
o	vowel marking
italics	Japanese words
{ }	English translation of participants' Japanese

How Celebrity Guest Chat Shows and Interviews Are Expanding the Ways We Talk, Listen, and Interact

Ian Nakamura, Okayama University

Abstract

The globalization of entertainment through talk puts the viewing of interactions with our favorite celebrities within reach of our fingertips as never before. With the emergence of multi-platform accessibility, the styles of conducting chats and interviews have expanded beyond the structural routine of the interviewer's questions and the recipient's answers. Looking anew at how chat shows and interviews are organized sequentially on a turn by turn basis draws attention to how such talk is co-accomplished. Heritage (1985) points out that interviewers use prompts, inferential probes, and reformulation to keep not only interviewees engaged, but also to keep the 'overhearing' audience informed. Other resources to be discussed through examples include elaboration and repair. The basic rules of interviewing are displayed in the opening questions in James Lipton's (2002) "Inside the Actors Studio" interview with Johnny Depp. Excerpts from more recent interviews conducted by Charlie Rose and Kevin Pollak of the same celebrity guest, Larry David, highlight aspects of what Tolson (2001) calls "broadcast talk as conversation practice." Using the traditional roles for questioner and respondent as a jumping off point, variations of how co-participants take turns reflect new possibilities for blending personality with style and substance. There are implications and applications not only for how language is being used, but also for how practitioners might want to improve the ways they participate and present themselves through talk. Various types of institutional spoken discourse including teacher-student talk rely on similar question-answer exchanges to keep a conversation going.

Introduction

This paper continues an ongoing project of examining various forms of broadcast interviews as both a conversation analyst and a classroom teacher that started at the BAAL2015 conference as a presentation and then a proceeding paper (see Nakamura, 2016). At that time, I discussed a popular segment of the Chris Evans Breakfast Show, a BBC radio 2 program in which he talks with children about what they are doing for the first time ever. My focus was on how Chris Evan skillfully manages talk with his juvenile guests within the constraints of this particular type of institutional discourse of host-guest talk to an overhearing audience.
As for practical application, I argued then as I do now with new data and analysis of broadcasted celebrity interviews that language teachers and students who are interested in how to facilitate

and extend a conversation with their students can benefit by noticing what professional talk show hosts do. The actions taken by the host and guest are co-managed. Besides the host having the next question ready, either speaker can initiate or complete repair to re-align what is talked about and how. See Schegloff, Jefferson, and Sack (1977), for the seminal explanation of the organization of repair[1].

Drawing parallels with conducting talk in the classroom, teachers face similar interactional challenges once they ask a student a question in front of other students. They serve as the overhearing audience, an important third party to the talk. As with broadcast interviews whether they are with children or celebrities, the fundamental concerns are the same: How to guide the recipient of the question to respond in such a way that a discussion is established and sustained.

Previous Studies

In order to locate my study of a certain kind of interview discourse practice within the field of research on interviews, I will mention and discuss some key characteristics of broadcast "news" interviews from the literature of Conversation Analysis. By doing so, I hope to build a description of the structure of the kind of interview practice that I am interested in. I summarize below "the main interactional and institutional tasks" that Heritage and Roth (1995, pp. 1-2) list from the point of view of what the interviewer (or host) is expected to do.

(1) Most importantly, the interviewer should elicit responses from the interviewee to help the overhearing audience understand and follow the discussion.

(2) Next, the interviewer should not challenge or question the interviewee's answers, the information given and opinions expressed.

(3) Finally, the interviewer should keep an objective or neutral stance by sticking to asking questions.

From the constraints described above, we can begin to see the ongoing interactional challenge. "A fundamental question in the organization of social interaction concerns how one individual elicits a response from another. Virtually any stretch of interaction reveals interesting puzzles" (Stivers and Rossano, 2010, p. 3). The recipient design of the question will hopefully lead to what they term a "mobilizing response" from the interviewee that can be further developed in subsequent turns. The sequential organization of turn taking reveals how actions are implemented. Observing how co-participants in interaction orient and respond to each other helps to form a shared understanding of the conversational work being co-accomplished.

Heritage's (1985) important paper on broadcast news interviews draws attention to some ways that interviewers elicit responses from their guests. He goes beyond the general rule that the interviewer asks questions that the interviewee answers, by giving terms to the resources available to do inquiry such as prompting and exploratory probing. Questioning has an interactional design. Heritage explains how speakers shape their talk for the "overhearing audience." This purpose is achieved by the use of "formulation" to reword or summarize what the guest has said. This action allows the audience to follow what has been said.

Since then, Heritage along with other analysts has continued to investigate the sequential organization of news interviews. I include my collected examples of what I call "celebrity interviews and chat shows" within "news" interviews. A general definition of a "news" interview in Clayman and Heritage (2002) sees the content being political news, the interviewer being a "professional" journalist (not a celebrity), and the interviewee as a "newsmaker" of a political nature. I would argue that with wider use of broadcast interviews in various forms and formats to disseminate information and opinions along with the numerous interviewers who host their own shows that "news" or "newsmakers" has taken a much broader meaning. In addition, show host-interviewers come from a varied professional background. The background of the talk show hosts used in my study includes journalism, political/news satire, comedy, education, films, TV, and writing books.

According to Heritage and Clayman (2010), interviewing is a familiar journalistic tool to gather and disseminate information. There is an increasing entertainment element to the multi-media availability of "news" for public consumption 24 hours a day. Changing ways of getting information have shaped the delivery of news (including news about celebrities) to be economic, lively, and most importantly, exploratory in seeking alternative means of presentation. Despite the changes, Heritage and Clayman (2010) point out interview discourse is "relatively formal in character, and progresses primarily through question and answers." After all, there are "basic ground rules governing news participation" (p. 215).

In order to understand how news interviews are arranged, Heritage and Clayman (2010) believe the place to start is turn taking. At the heart of this genre is a "singular" form of talk. It is a distinct form of the communication that is recognizable as an interview by how turns are constructed and how the audiences as well as the participants can see and hear the interview in progress. These features set news interviews apart from other types of institutional talk-interviews which may be confidential and ordinary conversation which is largely unscripted. On the one hand, a significant departure from other forms of talk lies in the practice of observing constraints and pre-determined patterns of when and what to speak about. On the other hand, it would be over simplistic to think that all interviewers have to do is ask questions and the interviewees in turn will answer them. There is potentially a lot of conversational work going on between the question and answer.

According to Heritage and Clayman (2010), "The unexplicated complexity of actual turn taking, in contrast to the utter simplicity of the question-answer rule, becomes apparent when we think about what is required to follow this rule" (pp. 217-128). What I hope to show in my data and analysis is how "the practices and procedures underlying it are complex and often surprising" (Heritage and Clayman, 2010, pp. 217-218). Some of the talks that I will discuss may seem impromptu, but on further inspection, traces of precise timing of turn taking and mutual orientation toward the kind of talk they are doing and where it is headed become apparent. Ultimately, what we have in news and celebrity interviews is what Clayman and Heritage (2002) call "a distinct form of activity that is bounded off from the ordinary run of social life. … It is played through a series of moves and counter-moves" (p. 25). What also separates "celebrity chat and interviews" from ordinary conversation is the quick wit and trained and measured play of actions and reactions displayed by verbal professionals.

Making Connections with Teaching

In the data and analysis section, I will examine three examples of how celebrity talk organized as an interview can vary in how it is set up and delivered. The three cases share a common goal of providing the audience with engaging discourse. While the interaction can be analyzed for its own sake for how such talk is co-accomplished, there is also something worth looking at for language teachers interested in how to improve how they "converse" with students. One feature that can be instructive is how to facilitate and guide further talk through giving "prompts and exploratory probes" of initial answers (as mentioned by Heritage, 1985). Another feature is what to do when participants become "stuck." Getting "unstuck" becomes a matter of re-orienting to a possible trouble source by marking it and repairing it (see Nakamura, 2007, for an explanation and examples).

Teachers have their distinct ways of handling their own conversational challenges with students. In fact, teachers like the host-interviewer can be become known for their distinct and recognizable style of talk. A familiar approach to interviewing or asking questions and extending talk can become the person's brand. Even though listeners and viewers are attracted to celebrities, there has also been strong interest in TV talk show hosts such as David Frost (political talk) and Johnny Carson (late night talk) and more recently on YouTube with Jon Stewart and Stephen Colbert for political and celebrity talks. The interviews are often remembered for the host as much as the guest.

A "successful" interview can be attributed to how the host prepares and arranges the talk. We can further see the importance of the host for the interviews by how online searches for particular talks are often quicker when typing in the host's name rather than the guest's. It is in this light and spirit of how celebrity guest chat shows and interviews are expanding the way we talk, listen, and interact that I present my data and analysis. My point for practical application is that language teachers need to keep up with how talk-in-interaction inside and outside the classroom is changing and expanding well beyond traditional boundaries. Particularly for foreign language classes, how teacher and student talk to each other and what they talk about can create a longer lasting impression than the material being taught and the tests taken. There are lessons to be learned by observing the recipient-designed ways in which hosts facilitate talk.

Analysis of Excerpts

The examples that will be discussed were selected from a larger collection of interviews. How the host and guest co-managed the interaction with precise actions delivered turn by turn in an orderly and timely manner seemed particularly clear in the following interview shows.

(1) Host: James Lipton (JL in the transcript) (2002): *Inside the Actors Studio*

Guest: Johnny Depp (JD)

Approach: List of prepared questions is read from index cards. Questions and answers are organized sequentially in adjacent pairs as quick exchanges.

(2) Host: Kevin Pollak (KP) (2014): *The Kevin Pollak Chat Show*

Guest: Larry David (LD)

Approach: There is side banter with his assistants *before* the guest is introduced and appears. The guest has had a talk with the host beforehand. This previous talk becomes the starting point of discussion once the interview-chat formally begins.

(3) Host: Charlie Rose (CR) (2015): *CBS News 60 Minutes*
Guest: Larry David (LD)
Approach: Long monologue by host introduces the guest with a list of accomplishments. The question-answer exchange starts as an exploratory probe
with open-ended responses. The host occasionally re-formulates the guest's answers for the benefit of the overhearing audience.
The transcript conventions[2] used in this paper follow the symbols commonly seen in Conversation Analysis.

James Lipton (2002): *Inside the Actors Studio*

In a theater used for The New School, New York City, students (acting, directing, and writing), teachers, alumni, and invited guests observe the interview which is conducted on the stage. The program is initially broadcasted on TV followed by a DVD in a series of interviews with actors/actresses.

Excerpt 1

JL: Tell me first ple:ase about the name Depp do you kno::w
     its origin?
JD: Hhh. No I don't I don't really know the origin but I do
     know what it means in German.
JL: What does it mean
JD: (.) Idiot.
     ((Audience laughter for a long time))
JL: Now a question that has come up (.) more frequently
     than I would have expected on this stage. (.) Do you have
     any Native American ancestry.
JD: Yeah apparently yeah. Uh my family comes from
     Kentucky (.) they've been there you know for many years

Analysis

The interviewer's style is clear from the opening of the talk. The interviewer asks the questions and the interviewee answers them. As the questions are prepared in advance on cards, we get the feeling the host knows the answers as well. Thus, the purpose of the questions and answers is to provide information for the overhearing audience. The guest recognizes that the questions serve as prompts for what he should talk about. The yes/no questions (in lines 1-2 and 9-10) are not designed to simply say "yes" or "no." JD's answers match the grammatical form of the questions, but go on to elaborate. In comparison with classroom talk, students often only say "yes" or "no" without realizing the teacher is expecting more.

One way to keep the talk going on the topic-in-progress is seen in the exchange about the origin of his family name, Depp (lines 1-2). JD seems to set up the next question to be asked by volunteering what he does know: “I know what it means in German.” Seamlessly, the interviewer immediately asks, “What does it mean?” Classroom teachers can do the same thing. Elicit an initial answer and then build the topic through requests for elaboration.

Explained from a repair perspective, using the same exchange as an example, we can see how the opening question about the origin of his name is not answered. Instead of waiting for a new question, JD initiates repair of the question by suggesting a different, but related question by saying he knows what it means in German. Saying it is a German name is an adequate answer, but by “volunteering” more information (and a joke as well) extends the topic through another question in a much more amusing way.

Kevin Pollak (2014): *The Kevin Pollak Chat Show*

One of the unique features of this weekly show is that it is not broadcasted on TV, but rather on YouTube and as a podcast. Regular followers can participate on Twitter.

Excerpt 2

KP: Um welcome back once again to Kevin Pollak’s chat
show I am always as chat show happy new year (.)
to you. I’m going to ask our guest today who likes to
put these lists together according to the dossier
when do we stop saying happy new year how long
what’s the window can we stop it with this.
LD: January eleventh. ((spoken off camera))
KP: January eleventh. It’s already been decided. There
it is. I’m happy. It’s like the heaven answered (.)
before we see your face.

Analysis

The above excerpt opens with talk designed for regular viewers and listeners with “welcome back again.” The host has a plan of the opening topic from talking to the guest before going “on air”. The less formal setting (not in a major TV studio) appears to allow for relaxation of the tradition rule in interviews that the interviewee does not talk until directly asked a question by the interviewer. It is true that a question has been nominated to be asked, but the answer should come after the question has been asked face to face (on camera). The informality is reinforced by the host who acknowledges the answer, “January 11” (for later use). In contrast to the guest who is still off camera and has not yet been introduced by name, the host moves on to chat with his assistants addressing them by name. Possibly due to the length of the program, two hours, there seems to be no hurry to begin the interview with the guest.

This weekly interview program is streamed. Previous shows are archived on YouTube, iTunes, and Earwolf. The host, Kevin Pollak, has two regular guests, Samm Levin, an actor and Jaime Fox, Pollak's partner and the creator of much of the show materials. They sit apart from the large oval table where the host and guest sit across from each other. There are three parts to the introduction: (1) Greetings to the viewers or listeners who are not in the studio. (2) An opening chat or banter with the assistants who make up the only studio audience. The guest is not yet mentioned by name nor does he appear. (3) After some time, the guest's bio-data is mentioned and then his name. Finally the camera shows him.

The excerpt below (lines 36-42) shows part of the chat among the three regulars (host and two assistants or sidekicks). Talk is indirectly about the guest as S made a lot of effort to get back in time for this show. What makes this talk interesting and different is that the guest interrupts the host before he can say the guest's name (for the first time). Not only is it an interruption (something that is usually not done in an interview), but what the guest says is a complaint (lines 43 and 45). LD, the guest, goes on to explain pragmatically about what is so rude (lines 47-48). What makes this segment even more memorable is that KP, the host, readily agrees. There is looseness to this discourse where the usual division of roles where the interviewer is in charge of the questions and the interviewee answers them does not constrain the snappiness and spontaneity of exchange.

36 KP: but you did you did change all kinds of plans to be here to
37 come back
38 S: That is that is a hundred percent accurate
39 KP: Yes
40 S: I was not going to miss this.
41 J: °Make the money sign° ((hand gesture for money))
42 KP: Our guest is
43 LD: Yeah yeah I've got dinner plans
44 S/J: Hhhh HHhh
45 LD: Yeah. This is so rude.
46 KP: It really is.
47 LD: You really make your guests wait a long time before you put a
48 camera on them. I love Sammy but come on

Lines 49-54 consist of laughter and short comments by the two regular guests.

Then the interview formally begins.

55 KP: Ah write to us and contact the Kevin Pollak chat show dot
56 com and let us know how you do this show. Do you watch us?
57 Do you listen (.) how do you do all the things send in your
58 Larry King games and from there I say (.) ((Ruffling of papers))
59 my guest today I am most excited to have ah becau::se (.) he golfs
60 with ah Richard Kind. Please welcome Larry David.
61 S/J: ((Clapping hands))

62 KP: How are you sir

63 LD: Let's let's talk about this this new years thing

64 KP: Let's get right to it. You say the eleventh

Analysis

There are some features of this show which distinguish it from the other two shows being discussed. First, the host, KP, talks directly to the overhearing audience who is not in the studio by asking them about what medium they use (lines 55-57), visual or audio. Second, there are opportunities for the audience to participate by sending in comments and even their video clips for the Larry King game[3]. Third, KP refers to playing golf with a locally, but not worldwide known actor (Richard Kind) as being the biggest thrill of having the guest. This remark seems like an insider reference known only to a few.

Finally, in a similar way as Johnny Depp did, but more directly done here, Larry David changes the opening question by first not answering the question and then telling the host and audience what he would like to talk about instead (line 63). The guest initiates repair to get the host to change the question by saying what the topic will be. The host goes along with it (line 64). In the next example, Charlie Rose, the interviewer, has the strictest time limit of the three. The interview section is one small part of an overall "news" story about the celebrity. The following interview is only a few minutes long whereas the Kevin Pollak interview with Larry David and the James Lipton interview with Johnny Depp continue for an hour or more. In all cases, the interview itself is only one portion of an entire program.

Charlie Rose (2015) *CBS News 60 minutes*[4]

The talk is recorded in the studio of a major American broadcast company to be broadcast as a regular part of *60 Minutes*, a landmark TV news magazine program. The audience consists of regular viewers of this program, followers of the interviewer, Charlie Rose, and fans of the guest, Larry David. Charlie Rose is known as well as the others (James Lipton and Kevin Pollak) for his distinct interviewing style. This segment is arranged into three parts (only the interview section is discussed here): (1) Extensive bio-data of the guest's career in show business. (2) A discussion between host and guest centered on an opening question. (3) A change of location with them talking outside the theater of his latest play on Broadway.

I selectively looked at the same guest, Larry David, in two different interviews in order to find out how he interacts with different interviewers. The next excerpts show the guest playing along with how the host organizes the topic and does the interview about it.

Excerpt 3

11 CR: Who is Larry David?

12 LD: Ah this guy he's too much

13 CR: Who is Larry David?

14 LD: You are too much Mister Rose

15 CR: Why

16 LD: Ha you're probing. What is the probe?

17 CR: Because we want who you are

Analysis

One feature of this talk which sets it apart from the other shows discussed in this paper is the type of opening question asked in line 11. First of all, the transition is abrupt from the introduction of Larry David's career to a question of identity. Is there a single correct answer? How would the audience even know if the answer given is true or not? What is consistent in the previous chat with Kevin Pollak and this interview is that the guest, Larry David, speaks his mind regardless of it being his turn (or not). Also, he does not feel the need to answer the question asked.

David is asked the same question twice, but both times (lines 12 and 14) he evades answering by talking about the host. So as in the cases of the Johnny Depp and the Larry David (with Kevin Pollak) interviews, the interviewee here initiates repair of the opening question by not only not answering it, but by giving an answer that will eventually prompt the interviewer, Charlie Rose, to ask a different question ("Why?"). Larry David in line 16 completes the repair (of the initial question) by answering the second question. Instead of waiting for the next question, the guest maintains the flow of the current topic by answering the question and then immediately asking the interviewer a related question. So the interviewee asks the question and the interviewer answers it (line 17). As for teacher-student talk, it rarely happens in the classroom, but having the student ask a question to the teacher for further explanation would be mutually refreshing and beneficial. We re-join the same talk a few moments later. We find that CR, the interviewer who asked the opening question, is giving an extended answer (to his own question).

41 CR: You have no backbone. You have no capacity to say no.

42 LD: NO. ((Points at CR)).

43 CR: But the guy that you would create would be able to say no.

44 LD: There you go. ((Points at CR)).

45 CR: And there's your biggest hang-up.

46 LD: Yep.

47 CR: You can't say no but you can create a character that can say no.

48 LD: Yeah.
49 CR: You're not a jerk but you can create a character as a jerk. But you
50 don't have the courage to be a jerk.
51 (.)
52 LD: That's perfect. That's good. That's good. I like that.

Analysis

Continuing on the theme of switching the typical roles of the interviewer or teacher asking the questions which the interviewee or student waits for and then answers, we see the culmination of this reversal of roles above as the intense exchange winds down. The host, CR, has answered his own opening question about who Larry David is. The interviewer's detailed and extended explanation (lines 41, 43, 45, 47, 49, and 50) are accepted with great satisfaction by the interviewee (line 52). Another way in which the roles and actions have been switched can be seen in the precise timing of
token continuers ("NO", "Yep", "Yeah") produced by LD, the guest-interviewee. Minimizing his turns ironically allows the interviewer to expand his description of the guest's character (rather than have the guest do it).
Finally, the guest brings the conversation to a close in the way the host would usually do by giving comments and assessment. There is a reversal of roles of who does the initiation, response, and feedback. Encountering a similar scenario in the classroom would certainly shake up our idea of how teacher-student talk is conducted. Imagine if the student guides the teacher to answer the question that the teacher had asked. The three turn sequence could close with the student giving a comment or evaluation instead of the teacher.

Conclusion

While all three shows are considered "interviews," there is a range of choices being made in how to organize the talk, arrange the setting, and ultimately shape the distinct character or brand of each host's program. The type of talk also defines the kind of people who would tune in. For James Lipton's *Inside the Actors Studio*, the guest's background is meticulously researched as shown by the stack of index cards of prepared questions on the table. Unlike the other shows, there is a professionally specific live audience of those training to be in the business (aspiring actors, writers, and directors) along with alumni. A general audience is commercially targeted for later viewing. In *The Kevin Pollak Chat Show,* there are quickly timed exchanges which at first glance seem impromptu. The target audience consists mainly of regular listeners or viewers who are familiar with the references, the talk style, and the assistants, not to mention the various ways to interact with the show. In Charlie Rose's section of *CBS News 60 Minutes*, this pioneering TV news magazine has a reputation for hard-hitting journalistic inquiry and contesting claims. The target audience appears interested in more detailed information than is normally provided on major TV network news programs.

What I Learned and What I Apply to My Teaching

What I take away from the data and analysis is that celebrity interviews and chat shows are occasioned events noteworthy for both the guest and the interviewer. The particular style of talk and the personalities are designed to appeal to a certain section of the public. Here are three features of the interviews that can give teachers food for thought about how the talk is organized for clarity, fluency, and engagement.

(1)The name of the host and program is the brand. There are expected ways in which talk is co-accomplished by a particular host, guest, staff, and audience.

(2) Camera angles, visual information, setting, editing, lighting, fashion, sound, and accessibility to the show all play important roles in engaging the audience.

(3) How are the ways I talk, listen, and interact with students changing and expanding? Do I make use of interactional resources available such as prompts, formulation, and repair to keep a conversation going with students? Such self-inquiry can lead to setting up Reflective Practice or Action Research projects.

I have noticed some immediate changes in my teaching approach. I talk a little faster in class, set the pace of the lesson a little quicker, and leave more time for students to ask questions both during and outside of class.

Response to a Question from the Audience

I would like to conclude this paper by responding to a question asked at the end of my presentation. The question was: What is the limitation of studying celebrity talk? At that moment, I said that it is a highly specialized type of talk and it does raise questions about what language teachers can learn from these interactions.

With more time to reflect on this question, I realize that the participants in the data are professional "talkers." That is what they do for a living. People listen and watch them. Not only is interaction through talk engaging for the host and guest, but also for the audience. Unlike in the classroom, these speakers are not second language users, but I believe there are many features of talk that can be studied by teachers and students for mutual learning and benefit. This paper has only mentioned a few (e.g., prompts, probes, reformulations, and repair), but there are others such as body language, inflection, nuance, voice control, intonation, and stress to name just a few. The original event can be overshadowed by the ensuing discussion, but the spark that kindles the fire of further thought and learning comes from two people simply talking.

References

Clayman, S. & Heritage, J. (2002). *The news interview: Journalists and public figures on the air*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Heritage, J. (1985). Analyzing news interviews: Aspects of the production of talk for an overhearing audience. In T. A. Dijk (Ed.), *Handbook of discourse analysis*, (Vol. 3, pp. 95-119). New York: Academic Press.

Heritage, J. & Clayman, S. (2010). *Talk in action: Interactions, identities, and institutions*. Malden, MA and Oxford, UK: Wiley-Blackwell.

Heritage, J. & Roth, A. (1995). Grammar and institution: Questions and questioning in the broadcast news interview. *Research on Language and Social Interaction, 28*(1), 1-60.
Nakamura, I. (2007). *Understanding "stuckness": Descriptions and interpretations of how EFL speakers and a native speaker co-manage talk-in-interaction* (Unpublished doctoral thesis). Lancaster University, Lancaster, UK.
Nakamura, I. (2016). Some conversational challenges of talking to children on the radio: The case of the Chris Evans Breakfast Show. In T. Harrison, U. Lanvers, & M. Edwardes (Eds.), Conference Proceedings from BAAL 2015. *Breaking Theory: New Directions in Applied Linguistics* (pp. 131-144). London: Scitsiugnil Press.
Schegloff, E. A., Jefferson, G., & Sack, H. (1977). The preference for self-correction in the organization of repair in conversation. *Language, 53*(2), 361-382.
Stivers, T. & Rossano, F. (2010). Mobilizing response. *Research on Language and Social Interaction, 43*(1), 2-31.
Tolson, A. (2001). Talking about talk: The academic debates. In A. Tolson (Ed.), T*elevision talk shows: Discourse, performance, spectacle* (pp. 7-30). New York: Routledge.
Wong, J. & Waring H. Z. (2010). *Conversation analysis and second language pedagogy: A guide for ESL/EFL teachers*. New York: Routledge.

Notes

[1] The basic organizational concept is "repair" occurs in two steps. Either party can initiate the display or need for repair. Then either party can subsequently do the actual repair.
[2] Examples from my transcripts are explained through conventions found in Wong and Waring (2010).

Ple:ase	prolonged sound
Kn::w	more prolonged
(.)	micro-pause
((laughter))	transcriptionist comment
?	rising intonation
.	falling intonation
◦make◦	quiet speech
meeting-	abrupt cut-off
Hhh	(a series of h's) laughter (H is louder)

[3] The 'Larry King game' created by Jaime Fox, one of the assistants, refers to recording 'bad' impressions of the well-known talk show host, Larry King.
[4] Charlie Rose conducts interviews of celebrities on *60 Minutes* and his own show *The Charlie Rose Show*.

Achieving Mutual Understanding in International English: A Study in the British Higher Education Context

Elizabeth Poynter, Leeds Beckett University

Abstract

This project attempts to answer two questions:

1. What seem to be the main causes of misunderstanding in international English communication?
2. What strategies do speakers typically employ to achieve mutual understanding?

This study took place within a U.K. HE context, the ultimate goal being to identify potential areas of misunderstanding, and strategies for dealing with them. Eight pairs of English users, four of which included one L1 English speaker, four of which were L2-L2, were recorded performing two different communication tasks. This was followed by stimulated recall interviews with two of the participants. Three of the participants were administrators in the ELT department whose work involves frequent communication with our international students. Local breakdowns were not chiefly with pronunciation, and there were also some global issues. All the pairs demonstrated a range of strategies for (a) avoiding misunderstanding and (b) overcoming misunderstandings which were recognised. There were comparatively few instances of communication breakdown which were not resolved, and a number of points where breakdown might have occurred but was avoided. It is hoped these results can be used to develop:

a) teaching materials of immediate relevance to our students
b) materials to support our administrators, to optimise their effectiveness in communication with our international students.

Background: The Goals of an English Language Teacher in a Globalised World

The realities of modern communications and transport, overlaid on a colonial history and the current economic power of the USA mean that English is of enormous importance in the world today, for good or ill. Even in Kachru's (1985) Inner Circle countries, immigration, tourism, and international business are eroding the traditional monolingual norm, and it has been suggested that around 80% of communication in English globally is among non-native speakers (Graddol, 2006). There is considerable, though by no means universal, agreement that English Language Teaching needs to accommodate this situation.

The mere fact that English is so widely used means it is used in a great range of contexts and for a great variety of purposes, and specific student needs have to be taken into account by the language teacher. Rejecting the ‘deficit’ model, Canagarajah (2007) suggested that any user of English as a Lingua Franca is by definition competent in her/ his own variety of English. However, a number of studies (Timmis, 2002; Coskun, 2011; Vodopija-Krstanoviae & Brala-Vukanoviae, 2012; Poynter & Nolan, 2013) have found that, while many English users acknowledge that mutual intelligibility is paramount, they also paradoxically still regard 'native speaker' competence as a desirable goal. Should this attitude be accommodated?

Working in the context of Higher Education in the U.K., I find myself wrestling with these issues. My students include teenagers on a Foundation programme who will be going on to study in a variety of disciplines, language undergraduates, and Master's students whose primary goal is to develop as English teachers themselves; some of these will be in the U.K. for only a year and return to a country where English is very much a foreign language, others are immigrants who live and work and raise families in this country. Is there one variety of English which will satisfy the diverse needs and aspirations even within this one fairly limited context?

Jenkins (2015) remarked that a university cannot call itself 'international' if all the teaching is in English. In practice, international students at U.K. universities are usually expected to accommodate themselves to the native system. Lecturers in other disciplines than English tend to have a somewhat hazy idea of what kind of language proficiency to expect from them, and university administrators are frequently given little or no training in dealing with international English speakers, although as Kramsch said, monolingual English speakers are likely to be less skilled 'intercultural' speakers than multilingual speakers (1998, cited in Corbett, 2010, p.40).

Despite the continuing reverence for native speaker norms referred to above, I feel it important to focus on successful communication as opposed to sterile perfection of form. As Dombi (2011, p.186) remarked, "[t]he underlying motives of intercultural interactions are mutual understanding and negotiating meaning, rather than projecting native-like command of the language." In my context, English is often the medium rather than the subject of tuition, so it makes sense to prioritize achieving mutual understanding. How can I, as a teacher, facilitate this? The first step seemed to be to gain a clearer picture as to how and why misunderstandings arise, and the second to look at how language users address these. I hoped thereby to develop not only teaching material and/ or techniques for the classroom, but also possibly training material for U.K. administrators.

This study was therefore designed to answer three questions. Within the framework of English as an international language in a U.K. HE context:

1. What may trigger communication breakdown in international English?
2. What strategies do speakers typically employ to negotiate meaning?

and, post hoc:

3. What strategies are typically employed to avoid communication breakdown?

At this point I should like briefly to address the question of terminology. This paper outlines a single study which may assist in the development of practical pedagogy; it is not an attempt to enter the realms of theory. I have therefore opted for the terminology which seems clearest to me: I use *international English* to refer to the language used by speakers for whom it is a, if not the, common tongue, including 'native speakers', and *L1E* and *L2E* to distinguish between those who identified English as their first, if not only, tongue, and those who identified some other first language(s).

Methodology

Data collection

Sixteen respondents were recruited from: a Foundation programme, a BA EFL, an MA ELT, a closed group of Panamanian teachers, students on a part-time languages programme, and administrators who have considerable contact with international students. First languages included Arabic, Chinese, Czech, English (x 4), Farsi, Korean, Kurdish, Polish, Portuguese (x 2), Russian, and Spanish (x 2). Participants were paired with a speaker of a different L1, resulting in four dyads of L1E-L2E and four dyads where both were L2E. The intention was to pair people who had not previously met, but due to some cancellations the eighth pair were in fact from the same class.

Each dyad performed two communication tasks: a spot-the-difference task with pictures and a discussion based on picture prompts. The former was selected because information gap activities are widely regarded as a good way to elicit negotiation for meaning (Nakahama, Tyler & Van Lier, 2001). The latter task involved choosing the best way for a university to spend a limited budget in order to attract more students, based on 5 picture-prompts, and was expected to be less demanding linguistically, but productive of longer turns and possibly "approximating the interactional processes of some naturally occurring conversations" (Nakahama et al. 2001, p.383).

The first four dyads performed the information-gap and then the discussion, the last four reversed this order. All the activities were video-recorded. Participants were told that I would stop them after eight minutes (information gap) and six minutes (discussion) if they had not come to any kind of conclusion themselves by then. There was therefore a certain amount of variation of length, but the average total time per dyad was 13 minutes 50 seconds.

Two of the L1E participants did a stimulated recall activity two weeks after the communication tasks: they watched the video of one of their activities (one information gap, one discussion), and requested that the video be paused whenever they wanted to make a comment. This procedure was audio-recorded so that the video and related comments could be matched. Participants were requested to comment on any misunderstandings they had perceived at the time, and any strategies they had in consequence adopted. I had hoped to do at least one stimulated recall with an L2E participant, but no-one was able to do this within a reasonable time frame.

Analysis

The recordings were transcribed with a fairly narrow transcription, and pauses marked but not measured. All the videos were also watched without audio and the total number of gestures counted: of nods by each speaker, head shakes by each, glances at partner, eye contact between the two, smiles and laughs by each. Only gestures which were clearly intended to facilitate comprehension (e.g. 'describing' gestures) were counted under 'strategies for resolving breakdown', but all were included in 'avoiding breakdown – paralinguistic strategies' (see below).

The transcriptions were then marked up for instances of Breakdown, which was defined as a point where the two participants had different understandings of what was being communicated. In some cases this was immediately recognized and dealt with, successful communication being then achieved. This was coded as 'Resolved breakdown'. In some cases it was either recognized but not successfully resolved, or not recognized by one or both partners, which was coded simply as 'Breakdown'. In two or three cases the resolution was delayed until much later in the conversation, which was coded as BOTH 'Breakdown' (since resolution was dependent on the right topic coming up later in the conversation) AND 'Resolved breakdown'. A further category arose from a preliminary study of the data, namely 'Potential breakdown', where one speaker used a non-standard form (i.e. one which an L1E speaker would not have used) which could have resulted in miscommunication but did not.

These three events, Breakdown, Resolved Breakdown and Potential Breakdown, were then analysed for type of trigger: vocabulary; pronunciation; syntax (there were no examples of a morphological issue); location in the picture and misinterpretation of the picture (specific to the information gap activity) and misinterpretation of the task. All of the above were compared between the two task types and between L1E and L2E speakers.

The strategies employed when breakdown was recognized were then examined, and a framework evolved as outlined below. A first view also suggested a wide range of strategies for avoiding breakdown, so these were also recorded and counted. Strategies were compared not only between tasks and L1E vs L2E, but also between the two genders, as a first impression from the videos suggested some differences there.

Findings

Measuring success

How successful was the communication in this study? If we look at Breakdowns, it emerged that there was approximately one per task, whereas there were just over two Resolved Breakdowns and just under two Potential Breakdowns, i.e. around four times as many problems resolved or avoided as not. However, if we separate these results per task type (figure 1) it appears that while the information gap produced far more Breakdowns than the discussion, probably because very specific language, in particular lexis, was required to perform this task, the discussion produced proportionally more Breakdowns than Resolved Breakdowns, suggesting that, because of the types of Breakdown which occurred in this task, they were more difficult for the participants to recognize or resolve.

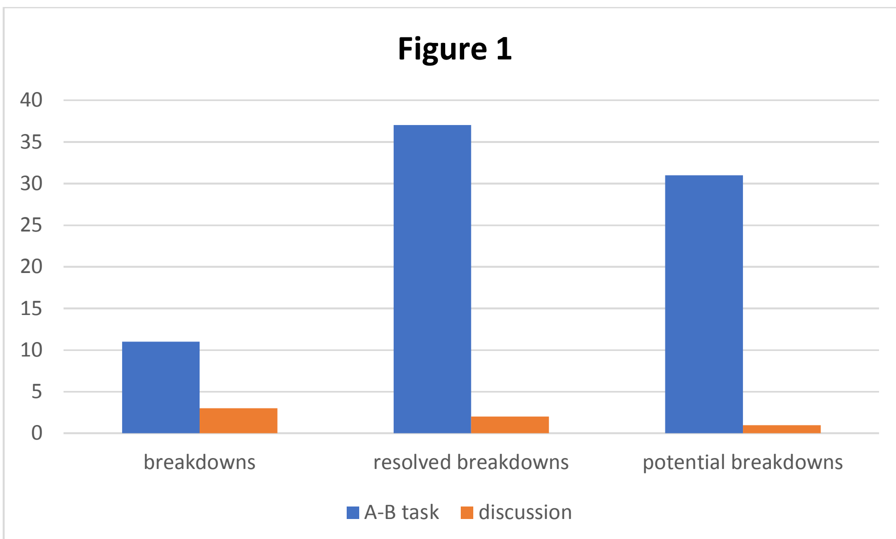

Figure 1. Total number of Breakdowns, Resolved Breakdowns and Potential Breakdowns for the two tasks.

Types of trigger

Vocabulary triggered considerably the largest number of issues (figure 2); quite probably this is an artefact of the task, as figure 3 indicates that most of these occurred in the information gap (A-B) activity. However, it is also notable that most vocabulary-triggered Breakdowns were resolved, or indeed remained at the 'potential' stage, i.e. one speaker used a non-standard word, usually a synonym, without signalling a problem, and the other speaker clearly understood. Examples of this would include 'pin' for 'dart' and 'spider's net' for 'cobweb'. Jenkins (2002, p.87) found that "although pronunciation was by no means the sole cause of ILT communication breakdown, it was by far the most frequent and the most difficult to resolve." In this study, however, there were very few examples of pronunciation-triggered Breakdown, though there were significantly more Potential Breakdowns, for example 'banana [peɪl]', [draʊə] for 'drawer' and [i:tə] for 'heater'. Only two pronunciation-triggered Breakdowns were not resolved, namely a pronunciation of the word 'rug' which was understood as 'rock', even though the speaker's general proficiency suggested he would be familiar with the word 'rug' and there was one in both pictures, and pronunciation of 'mug' as [mɑ:k]; however in the latter, it emerged later that the speaker did not know the word 'mug' so this was actually counted as a vocabulary issue.

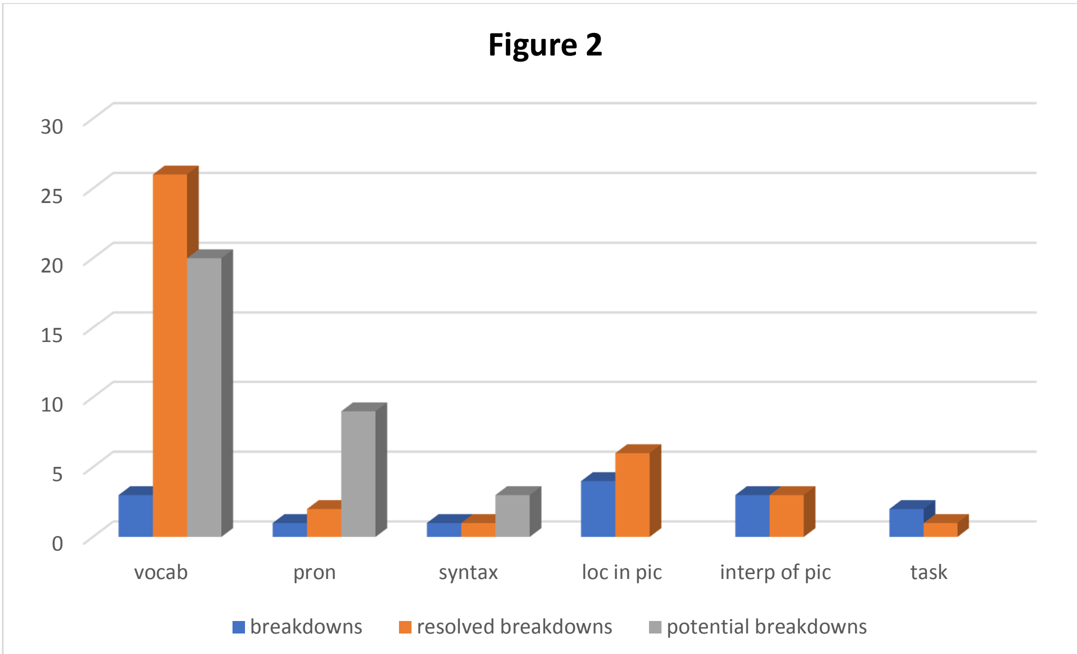

Figure 2. Types of trigger for Breakdown

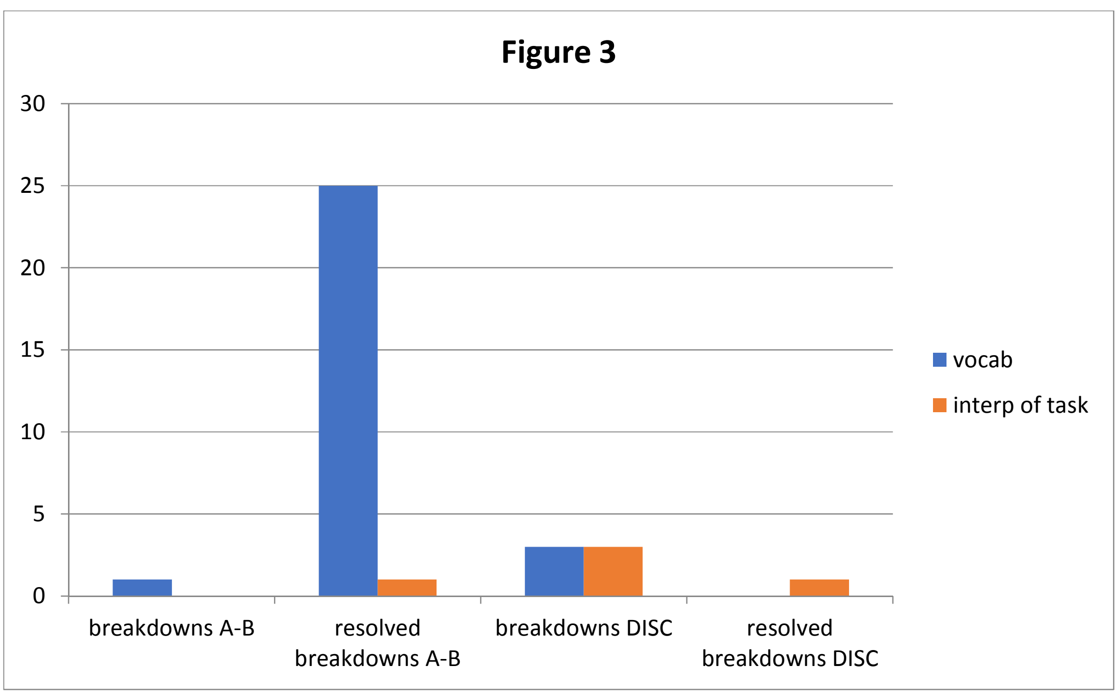

Figure 3. A comparison of types of trigger between// the two tasks

Several issues arose as to which part of the picture was being described in the A-B task. There were several cupboards in the scene; sometimes the two speakers were looking at different ones and consequently identified a difference (e.g. no kettle in one picture) which did not actually exist. In some cases they later realised what had happened, but other times they did not. Most pairs experienced this at some point. Although this generally resulted from one speaker being insufficiently clear or precise, it may not be strictly a linguistic issue, more a matter of cognitive processes. It would be interesting to see how two L1E speakers performed on the same task.

The discussion task gave rise to far fewer Breakdowns overall, yet the proportion of Breakdowns to Resolved Breakdowns was very different (figure1). There were basically two types of trigger here: lexis (local) and interpretation of the task (global, cf. Nakahama et al. 2001). The two L1 Spanish speakers and one of the Portuguese speakers all interpreted 'social programme', one of the options in the university's bid to attract more students, as meaning some kind of programme for the socially deprived.

B number 5 because is social programme when if // if use that in social area // [yeah] people (...) people live there // maybe // these these people need more // more help // more attention {yeah] // that's why they can't afford to pay for // fees in university // if you give these people help // it should be // better than this // in the (...) // what do you think (Dyad 7)

This seemed to be the result of a false friend situation, where the primary meaning of the word 'social' in their L1 was as in English 'social worker' rather than 'social drinker'. In one case, dyad 7, the interlocutor, a British student who spoke Spanish and Italian though not Portuguese, realized there was a problem and described his university social life to indicate his understanding of the term:

A I think if the social have I I thinking // back to my days at university // I learnt a lot // at the university bar // in in the clubs // er playing rugby and // going climbing // so the social life IS important yeah // I would agree //

without succeeding in establishing mutual understanding. This student was one of the two who performed the stimulated recall task, in which he stated that "he seems to be interpreting it as people in social need" and says "I was trying to lead him". When this tactic failed, A opted to continue the conversation without explicitly drawing attention to the misunderstanding.

The other problems with the discussion were with the task itself. Two of the participants were high-school teachers on a professional development programme, and they both appeared to be talking about school rather than university. Neither of their interlocutors queried this, and it was not clear whether they felt there was any kind of problem. These were the same L1 Spanish speakers who misinterpreted 'social programme', and were clearly, to me as observer, talking about after-school clubs to help keep teenagers from joining gangs. The two factors, the false friend 'social' and their own professional experience, seemed to be contributing here to their taking the discussion away from the original task.

One speaker continually talked about 'these people', i.e. the people in the pictures, and seemed to think they were discussing those specific individuals rather than seeing the pictures as exemplifications of a concept like 'better food' or 'better computer facilities'. The interlocutor recognized this but elected not to draw attention to the misunderstanding. "I did feel I was sort of groping a little bit to er to get him on to my wavelength" and said that he had decided just to go along with this.

Strategies for resolving breakdown

When a breakdown was recognized by one or both speakers, a range of strategies was employed to achieve mutual understanding. Kaur (2010) codified four basic strategies among his L2E (mostly MA students) participants, namely repetition, paraphrase, request for confirmation of understanding, and request for clarification. My data seem to require a wider range. Firstly, one speaker frequently signalled a problem, either that there was something they found difficult to express or that they had not understood the interlocutor. They then expanded on the problem until the interlocutor either supplied an unknown word or signified comprehension, or the interlocutor offered further description, used a synonym or a gesture, and so forth. Table 1 gives examples of the various strategies employed.

Table 1

Strategy	Examples from the transcripts
signal	"I don't know exactly what does that word mean"; "I don't know his name how you call" "can you describe more this kettle" "sorry" (rising intonation)
describe	"drawer erm // that you slide in and out at the side of the desk and put papers in" "the thing that you that they put round a dog's neck" "the kettle is for boiling water" (Including paraphrases, e.g. "there's like that little bird" as distinct from one-word synonyms, below)
gesture	typically sliding a drawer, throwing darts
expand	usually adding to the information about where it is in the picture, relating to objects previously mentioned: "A you know on the door // that you'd come in B the door yeah

	A mm can you see a darts like a square dartboard with 2 arrows B 2 arrows yes do you mean mm A like what you // like what you'd throw at the dartboard // it's like on the back of the door so if you imagine the door // [yes] then there's like a square picture on the back of the door [yes] and it's got 2 things pointing out of it"
known synonym	'carpet' for 'rug', 'vase' for 'plant pot', 'chain' for 'dog lead'
check	"A you mean er books are under the chair or under the table under the desk B no no desk"
repeat	"A rug (pron [rʊk]) – ruggy – rug B a carpet you mean"
vague word	"the spider things" (cobweb)
correct	"B do you have ring A what's that B to ring a bell A ah yeah a bell yeah"
ignore	[see above, Dyad 7, on the misinterpretation of the task]

Table 1. Strategies to repair Breakdowns

Figure 4 shows the relative frequencies of these various strategies (two or more often employed together): problems were often signalled, and then description, known synonyms and gesture were the most favoured.

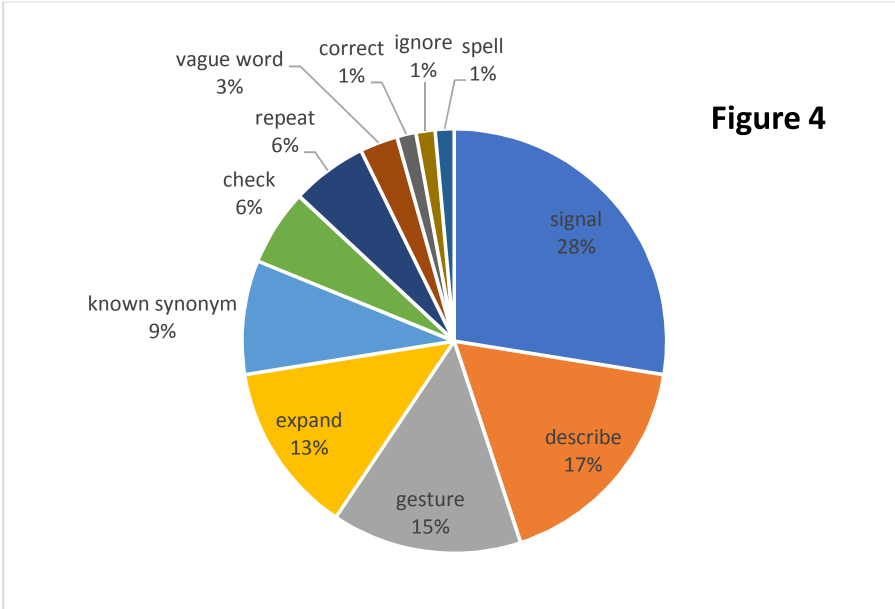

Figure 4. Frequency of repair strategies

There was also a wide use of synonyms which I have identified as Potential Breakdowns as there was no signal of a problem from either partner, for example:

B	yeah what you can see on the // stick on the door
A	there is a pin
B	how many pin (Dyad 3)

B	and the top you have the cuckoo watch
A	cuckoo clock yes
B	cuckoo clock (Dyad 7)

These examples show the two principal situations, where either the partner accepted what had been said without comment, perhaps because they also did not know the 'correct' word, (in this case 'dart'), or alternatively responded with some form of correction, often acknowledged by the original speaker repeating the 'correct' form. One interesting case involved an L2E using the word 'cotton' for knitting wool and her L1E partner replying with the same word. This could have been accommodation, but as the L2E partner several times asked for help with vocabulary without embarrassment, it seems possible that the young man simply did not know the word 'wool' or 'yarn'.

Some of the strategies served a variety of purposes. Gestures were used, for instance, to signal a problem but also to replace or supplement a description. Repeating a word or phrase also sometimes signalled incomprehension but sometimes, as in the example above, seemed to be to confirm comprehension or assist memory after the partner had supplied a new word.

Strategies for avoiding breakdown

The above strategies are linked to the identified Breakdowns and Resolved Breakdowns. However, a first viewing of the recordings made it clear that all the speakers were using a range of strategies to avoid breakdown in the first place and ensure the smooth flow of communication. As Foster and Ohta (2005) reported of their study, "Obtaining completely comprehensible input appeared to be of lower priority than maintaining a supportive and friendly discourse." Some of these strategies are linked to specific Potential Breakdowns but many are not. Below is the framework which emerged from these data.

LINGUISTIC	synonyms checking recasting / expanding on own speech before partner has signalled a problem repetition of key words of partner in confirmation backchannels
PARALINGUISTIC	hand gestures nods head shakes looking at partner eye contact smiles and laughs

Backchannels were mostly 'yes', 'yeah' or 'mm'. The number per minute per speaker ranged from 0.6 to 4.9, with an average of 2.24 for the A-B task and 1.93 for the discussion. As regards paralinguistic features, there were many more nods than shakes, indicating a lot of positive reinforcement. There was considerable variation as regards eye movement, with some speakers looking more at the partner when the latter was speaking, some when they themselves were. A comparison between male and female participants failed to confirm my impression that the women made more eye contact and used more paralinguistic features; the only significant difference was that the women nodded more (an average of 20.6 times across the two tasks, as opposed to 9.4 for the men). A comparison between L1E and L2E suggested that the latter used more smiles and gestures in particular and paralinguistic features in general (see overall profile of figure 5) not a surprising result.

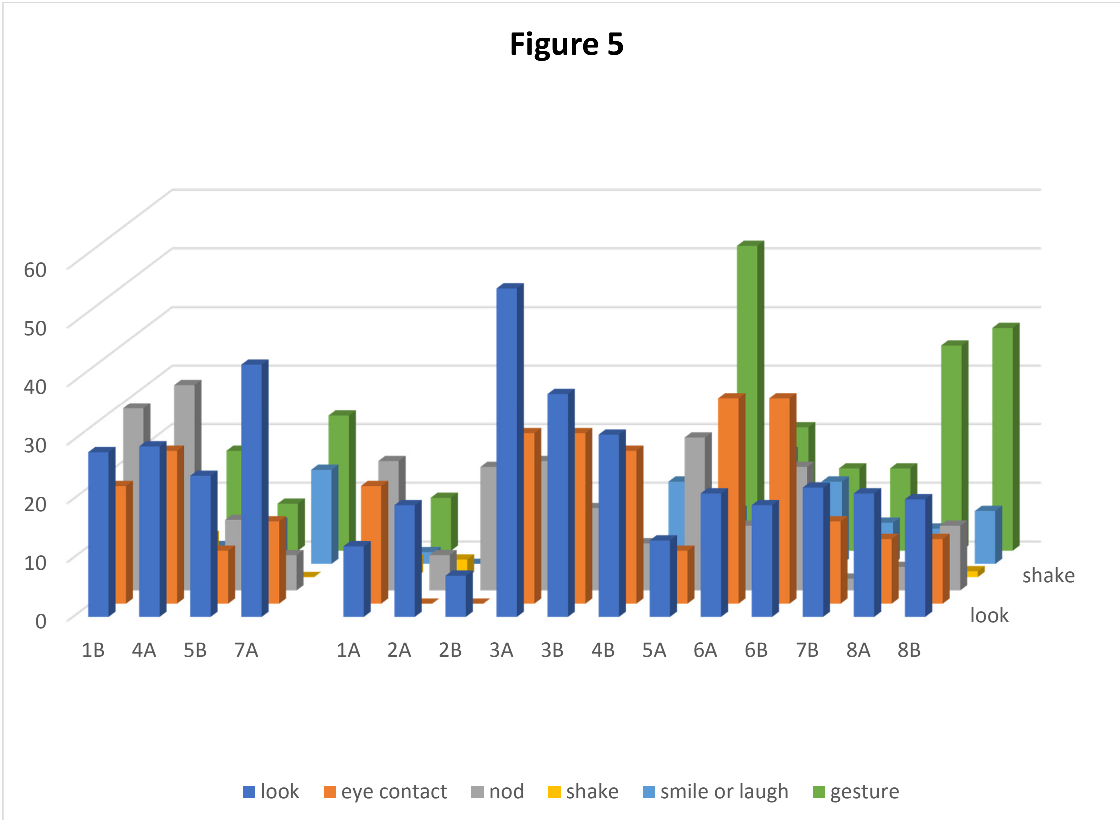

Figure 5. Paralinguistic features of L1E (on the left) and L2 E speakers (on the right)

As stated above, I did not measure the length of pauses. There was of course great variation in fluency. One female-female dyad in particular had very frequent pauses. The L1E speaker was one of the two who performed the stimulated recall task. This participant reported that "I think when I was speaking to her // I was speaking a lot more slowly than I normally would", and that this had been her policy right from the beginning. The L2E partner appeared to me to be quite shy; in the discussion, which was held second, she spoke considerably more fluently and revealed a higher level of proficiency than had at first appeared, all of which suggests her initial hesitation was probably more due to nerves than lack of language. However, the L1E interlocutor accommodated to the perceived language level: "I thought she's not going to know what a dartboard is so straightaway that's when I said with two arrows", thinking even if her partner did not know 'arrow' either, the number would help. She also drew a dartboard in the air "I knew that I needed to draw it out because it just wasn't // clear at all". Similarly she knew her interlocutor probably would not understand 'spider's web' "but I thought if I just get her to the clock // if there's a spider's web there [i.e. in the other picture] if I show her the shape // she'll be able to see the shape // and we'll be in the right place cause I know she's looking at the clock."

This participant was also concerned to create a comfortable atmosphere: "I didn't want her to feel like she was being examined like // I was examining her // so I wanted I wanted to try and make her understand I didn't want her to feel // under pressure // cause I was the one saying oh can you see this can you see that". This desire on the part of the [L1E] participant not to have the interlocutor lose face similarly occurred in Dyad 7's discussion task. This participant commented that he "was aware that he wasn't seeing the task as I did" but he chose not to push this, even though he felt they were not on the same wavelength. As Goffman (1967) suggested, in order to save the face and feelings of others, a participant in any interaction will tend to accept rather than challenge the line taken by other participants.

In a similar vein, there was very little 'correction' or other drawing attention to the interlocutor's 'errors' in any of the transcripts. There were five examples with vocabulary (including the 'cuckoo watch' - 'cuckoo clock' above), four of them occurring from L1E to L2E speaker, such as

A there is also er the heating heating
B yes I have a white heater (Dyad 1).

There were also two examples where one speaker realised that a breakdown had occurred much earlier in the conversation, and drew attention to this:

B oh // I said before
A yes yes // I thought you were talking about the other table (Dyad 6)

B which one sorry
A the corner leg // of the desk // [yeah] the book
B underneath yes yeah that's what I was saying before (Dyad 8).

In both these examples, both partners were L2E. The participants in Dyad 8, in fact, had been in the same class for several months and speaker B, who was widely recognized in the group as having a higher degree of proficiency in English, several times 'directed' the conversation, explaining the task at the beginning "I think you have to tell me what you see for example // if you've got a desk on the picture you have to tell me what you see on the desk and then I tell you what I've got and what I don't", counting the differences spotted, and 'correcting' vocabulary:

A and like a big watch // but the watch is just // doesn't looks like
B what kind of clock do you have

and interestingly:
A do you have a rook // part of rug in the
B do I have what sorry
A ruggy
B what's that
A rug the rug
B a carpet you mean

where actually the word 'rug' was more appropriate. Possibly she was using 'carpet' as a synonym to confirm the meaning of 'rug', which had been mispronounced and then turned into 'ruggy'. In any case, these two participants were accustomed to working together and to B having to explain things to A, so it is not surprising that face was less of an issue here than with the other pairs, who were strangers.

Discussion

This study found that the speakers overall experienced one unresolved communication breakdown for every four that they either resolved or avoided. Given that all but one dyad were strangers to one another and were required to perform quite challenging and specific tasks, this seems quite positive, particularly as the nature of some of these breakdowns was such that it is entirely possible that speakers with the same first language might also encounter them.

The most frequent trigger for communication breakdown proved to be lexis, although this may be partly an artefact of the information gap activity. These lexical breakdowns were usually recognized and resolved; however, when they were not recognized this remained a problem, such as the interpretation of 'social programme'. The number of potential pronunciation-triggered breakdowns exceeded that of actual breakdowns, and only one was not resolved. As has been observed, the issues with the task itself perhaps related to the individual's way of thinking or life experience, which is the kind of problem which can occur between two speakers anywhere, although the blurred line between school and university by two of the participants was possibly a combination of linguistic (since 'school' means 'university' in North America, and they were from Panama, perhaps the British distinction between the two was unclear) and their personal experience as school teachers. The participants included a range of ages, equal numbers of males and females interacting in all three possible combinations, a range of life experience and reasons for using English, and a range of proficiency levels. While the overall number of participants was not large enough to compare these elements in any meaningful way, there was no indication that any one group was less competent than another in terms of ability to negotiate meaning.

Many of the strategies adopted are recognized elements in any discourse: backchannels, nodding, eye contact, and so forth. These would not need to be taught to most speakers of any language. The L2E speakers used more paralinguistic features, but these were not different in kind, only in frequency, and there was considerable inter-speaker variation. Other strategies employed were mostly predictable and what we would probably all teach: signal if you don't understand, ask if you don't know how to say something, describe, paraphrase or use a synonym if you think the other person won't understand, expand, and explain. All these can be practised in a language classroom, but perhaps we need to make sure that we give both enough support and enough opportunity. It can feel as though students are 'just chatting', and both the tutor and the students may feel more comfortable in traditional structured teaching situations.

The L1E speakers in this study did seem to be quite aware of what might be difficult, and were thinking of ways to avoid that. However there were also examples of idiomatic choices of vocabulary which were unlikely to have been understood:

B "they have drink but is normal is // [yes] like now we have coffee and tea
A yes it lubricates the er // (Dyad 7)

Also in the example mentioned where the L1E speaker used the word 'arrows' rather than 'darts', neither of these words is particularly common and since they were not, in fact arrows, it was perhaps confusing to call them this. Training could therefore usefully focus on determining what might cause difficulties or confusion, and on the best ways of avoiding or resolving these.

The most difficult situation of course is where the breakdown is not recognized. If one partner recognizes it, they may in the interests of good relations elect not to press the point. When they did draw attention to it, their way of doing so was sometimes rather bald; training in delicate face-saving ways of doing this might encourage students to feel more comfortable in this situation. If neither partner recognizes breakdown, however, it cannot be resolved. The most productive answer to this seems simply to develop awareness of such issues, not only false friends but also cultural differences which might lead to false assumptions. Clearly it is not viable in a language classroom to cover all possible sources of confusion, but the more sensitized speakers are to the possibilities, the more likely that one or both will realise there is a problem, which is the first step to resolving it.

References

Canagarajah, S. (2007). Lingua Franca English, multilingual communities, and language acquisition. *The Modern Language Journal* 91(Focus Issue), 923-938

Corbett, J. (2010). *Intercultural Language Activities*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Coskun, A. (2011). Future English teachers' attitudes towards EIL pronunciation. *Journal of English as an International Language* 6(2), 46-68

Dombi, J. (2011). English as a Lingua Franca in intercultural communication. *Bulletin of the Transilvania University of Brasov*, Series IV, 4(53:1), 183-186

Foster, P. & Ohta A. S., **(**2005). Negotiation for meaning and peer assistance in second language classrooms. *Applied Linguistics*, 26(3), 402-430

Goffman, E. (1967). Interaction Ritual: Essays in Face to Face Behavior. New York, NY: Doubleday

Graddol, D (2006). English Next: Why Global English may Mean the End of English as a Foreign Language. The British Council

Jenkins, J. (2002). A Sociologically Based, Empirically Researched Pronunciation Syllabus for English as an International Language. *Applied Linguistics* 23(March 2002), 83-103

Jenkins, J. (2015). Repositioning English and multilingualism in English as a Lingua Franca. *Englishes in Practice* 2(3), 49-85

Kachru, B. (1985). Standards, codification and sociolinguistic realism: The English language in the Outer Circle. In Quirk, R. and H. G. Widdowson (Eds) *English in the World: Teaching and learning the language and literatures* (pp.11-30). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Kaur, J. (2010). Achieving mutual understanding in World Englishes. *World Englishes* 29(2), 192-208

Nakahama, Y., Tyler, A. & Van Lier, L**. (**2001). Negotiation of meaning in conversational and information gap activities: a comparative discourse analysis. *TESOL Quarterly* 35(3), 377-405

Poynter, E. & Nolan, J. (2013). English as a global language: where to for pronunciation teaching? *Opening New Lines of Communication in Applied Linguistics* (BAAL: British Association of Applied Linguistics) Herriot Watt University, Edinburgh, 5-7 September, 2012, 409-422 [Available online: http://www.baal.org.uk/proceedings_2013.pdf]

Timmis, I. (2002). Native-speaker norms and International English: a classroom view. *ELT Journal* 56(July 2002), 240-249

Vodopija-Krstanoviae, I. and Brala-Vukanoviae, M. **(**2012). EFL students' perspectives on English: The (widening) gap between ideals and practices. *RBLA, Belo Horizonte*, 12(April/June 2012), 285-309

Defining Criterial Approaches at C1: an approach

Susan Sheehan, University of Huddersfield

Abstract

This paper focuses on the question of where we are now with our understanding of the C1 level of the Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR). The CEFR has had a dramatic impact on the fields of English language teaching and testing. The project which is the topic of this paper hoped to bring clarity to our understanding of an under-specified and under-described level (Green, 2012). This new understanding could aid test developers when creating tests. The project was based on the British Council/EAQUALS Core Inventory of General English (henceforth Core Inventory). The Core Inventory was an attempt to match language points with CEFR levels. The current project aimed to provide data-based evidence conducted with learners to support an existing theoretical work. MA TESOL students with IELTS score of 6.5 or above were invited to take a test of written and spoken English. The scripts were analysed with ATLAS.ti software to identify which of the features described as core in the Core Inventory were found in the scripts and with what level of frequency. The software was used on both the written and audio data. The language points which could be considered criterial tended to be those relating to argumentation and expressing feelings and attitudes precisely. There is some evidence to suggest that giving advice could be considered to be criterial. Perhaps the significance of the project lies in the creation of an approach to identifying criterial features using the Core Inventory.

Introduction

This paper describes a project which aimed to establish the criterial features of written and spoken English at C1 level. It begins with a presentation of the background to the project, followed by a discussion of the methodology. Finally, conclusions are presented with recommendations for further research.

Background

The project aimed to identify criterial features of written and spoken English at the C1 level of the Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR). The project hoped to bring clarity to our understanding of an under-specified and under-described level (Weir, 2005b, Green, 2012). The CEFR has had a huge impact on the teaching and assessment of English (Hawkins and Buttery, 2010). There are many possible explanations for the success of the CEFR which may include the positiveness of the 'Can Do' statements and the recognition of success at all levels (North, 2014). The three broad levels – A, B and C – seemed to be reassuringly familiar and similar to terms already used, such as 'beginner', 'intermediate' and 'advanced' (Hultjuins, 2007; Little, 2007). Whilst it may be argued that the meta-language to describe all levels of proficiency has been strongly influenced by the CEFR, that is not the same as suggesting that teaching and assessment practices have been similarly influenced. A respected commentator on the CEFR, Little, notes that: "On the whole, the CEFR has no more occasioned a revolution in curriculum development then it has prompted the radical redesign of established language tests" (ibid, 2007:649).

The Core Inventory was the key reference document for this project. I was one of the co-authors and our stated aim of the Core Inventory was: "to make the CEFR accessible to teachers and adult learners of General English" (North, Ortega and Sheehan, 2010:6). The Core Inventory associates language points with CEFR levels. So, for example, present perfect is placed at A2 which indicates that the authors considered this to be the point at which present perfect should be taught. It was not expected that a student following an A2 level course would have mastery of the present perfect. Rather it was expected that students would study it as part of an A2 level course. The Core Inventory does not include any recommendations as to how and when language points, such as the present perfect, should be recycled with a particular group of students. The Core Inventory does not preclude returning to a particular language point at any CEFR level. The data used in the creation of the Core Inventory was mainly based on teacher judgements with some input from examination boards. The input included attendance at Core Inventory writing workshops by researchers from the principle EFL examination boards. In addition, examination syllabi were analysed. The third principle source of data was an analysis of popular coursebooks.

A validation study of the Core Inventory was conducted by Jones (2015) under the auspices of the British Council Aptis research programme. He found nearly 50% of the language points had been misplaced. Furthermore, where they had been misplaced they had been placed at a level above the one where they it should have been placed. That is to say, a language point placed at B1 would have been better placed at A2. Nonetheless, his project does offer some evidence to suggest that nearly half of the language points were placed at the correct level. North (2014:91) compared the Core Inventory with English Profile Version 1.0. He found: "… a high level of agreement in the classification of content by the two projects…" Thus, it would seem that there is some limited work to support the classifications of the Core Inventory. However, there are two caveats which should be acknowledged. As North (2014) notes similarities between the Core Inventory and the English Profile Project may be expected as both projects have a European focus and thus similar types of learners are involved in both. In addition, both projects were conducted in contexts where materials based on previous language specifications such as Waystage and Threshold were widely used.

The Core Inventory's authors argued that:

> The Core Inventory is a documentation of good practice. In future it will be interesting to compare the Inventory with data-based research conducted with learners…and note points of similarity and contrast. Fruitful avenues of research could be opened up to investigate possible explanations or reasons for the differences. (2010:18)

This project took the Core Inventory as its source document. Thus, this project is responding to the above call made by the Core Inventory authors. The way in which the Core Inventory was used in the data analysis process will be discussed below.

C1 is a challenging CEFR level to investigate as there is a lack of consensus around what makes a person a C1 level language user (Weir, 2005b). When writing the Core Inventory, the C levels were the most problematic. Indeed, the lack of consensus around what should be taught at C levels led to C2 being excluded from the Core Inventory project. Limited consensus was found around C1. Whilst those involved in teaching or assessment would generally claim to be able to recognise a C1 or indeed a C2 level language user, I would argue, there is little agreement on the language features which define language learners at these levels. While working on the Core Inventory it was found that C1 and C2 level language courses are context specific and very little commonality was found amongst courses at these levels. The C level courses tended to focus on English for very specific purposes or highly specialised translations.

North (2014:50) states that: "Level C1 is characterised by access to a broad range of language that results in fluent, spontaneous communication …They (C1 speakers) are also very accurate, with a solid grasp of the main grammatical structures of the language…" Green (2012) notes that 80% of functions are present at B2. This would suggest that new language points are not a defining feature of C1. This may go some way to explaining the difficulties encountered by the authors of the Core Inventory when they attempted to assign language points to the C levels.

One of the reasons why establishing the criterial features of C1 could be considered to be important is because it is a level which is requested by various authorities. For example, for a teacher certification agency C1 is the required level of English language proficiency for someone wishing to teach English as a foreign language. The stimulus for the current project was to develop a test which satisfied the requirements of an external validation agency for prospective teachers of English to demonstrate a C1 level of proficiency. This led to question of what is C1 and how the content of such a test is to be determined. The following definition of criterial features informed the project: "...criterial features that might help users to distinguish one level from another." (Green, 2012:94)

Research Questions

The challenges of identifying criterial features of written and spoken English at C1 have been identified above. The current research project used the Core Inventory as a tool through which the criterial features of C1 could be identified.

The specific research questions that were addressed were the following:

- Which of the features identified as core in the Core Inventory feature in the candidates' responses to the written test?
- Which of the features identified as core in the Core Inventory feature in the candidates' responses to the oral test?
- Are there other features which recur in the candidates' responses but which are not included in the Core Inventory?

Participants

MA TESOL students with IELTS scores of 6.5 or above were invited to take a test of written and spoken English. The test had been created to satisfy the requirements of an external validation agency. An IELTS score of 6.5 has been found to be equivalent to C1 (Lim, Geranpayeh, Khalifa and Buckendahl, 2012). The authors acknowledge that such equivalences are controversial and other studies have reported an IELTS score of 7 to be equivalent to C1. The participants were all aspiring teachers of English. Participants came from China, Libya, Kurdistan, Vietnam and Pakistan. The first two countries in the list provided the most participants. The participants were all aged between 25 and 35. The majority of the participants were female. This reflects the gender balance of the course. All the participants stated a desire to have a career as an English teacher upon completion of their studies. The number of participants was 15. This was fewer than hoped for and may have been due to the decision not to offer the external teaching certificate to this particular cohort. All the participants signed informed consent forms. They had the right to withdraw from the project at any time. None of the 15 participants exercised this right.

Materials

Participants were asked to complete a written test and an oral interview. The test was developed to satisfy the requirements of an external validation agency. The written test was composed of three parts. The first part was a multiple-choice grammar test. The second part was a test of lexis; a head word was supplied to which the participants had to supply the other members of the word family. The source for the lexical items was the Word Family Framework (2012). The final part of the test was to provide a commentary on two pieces of student writing. The participants had to analyse the strengths and weaknesses of the two samples and suggest possible remedies for the weak points. The external validation agency demanded that candidates for its course should be able to demonstrate language awareness in order to be able to teach English. The interview questions were also based on the external agency's requirements and focussed on past language learning experiences and reasons for wanting to be an English teacher. Piloting had been conducted the year before and the relevant adjustments had been made.

Data Analysis

The tests of grammar and lexis were marked using a key of correct answers. The number of participants meant that statistical analysis was not possible. The extended writing task and interview data were analysed using ATLAS.ti software. The codes used were based on the Core Inventory. So, for example, 'Critiquing and reviewing' was used to code all examples of participants using such language. In cases where the Core Inventory did not have the appropriate language point, a code was created by the research team.
Once the data had been coded the number of times a code had been used was counted. Following the practice of the authors of the Core Inventory a language point needed a minimum of 15 occurrences for it to be considered criterial.

Findings

The small size of the data set means that the findings presented here must be taken with caution. Nonetheless some language points were found to be present with such frequency that they may be considered criterial.

The participants generally responded correctly to the multiple-choice grammar questions. The questions required the participants to correctly identify the missing word from a sentence from a choice of three options. There were however two test items which were incorrectly answered by most of the participants. These were:

- expressing certainty, probability doubt – e.g. "I rather doubt that he'll come."
- collocations – e.g. "The suspense is palpable."

This may suggest that these points could be considered to be beyond C1.
The scores for the test of lexis were generally high. C1 words were correctly identified 55 times. This compares to 37 correctly identified words at B2 level and 16 words at C2. The participants focussed their attention on more challenging vocabulary which may account for the higher number of correct responses at C1 level than at B2 level. The highest average scores were found at C1 level with the exception of the A1 level. This finding seems to support Capel's (2012) assertion that knowledge of word families is defining characteristic of learners at C levels

Nearly one quarter of the language points included at C1 in the Core Inventory occurred with sufficient frequency to suggest that they could be considered criterial for the level. The language points which were found with sufficient consistency for them to be considered as criterial were the following. In cases where a point could be classified inn different ways it was included in all relevant categories. Some language points appeared in multiple categories. Each point is illustrated with an example taken from one of the extended writing tasks:

- expressing attitudes and feelings precisely – e.g. “it surely could have been worded better”
- critiquing and reviewing – e.g. “the writing is organised by using some cohesive devices though it still contains mistakes”
- developing an argument systematically – e.g. “All the evidence suggests”
- markers to structure and signpost formal speech and writing – e.g. “Nonetheless”
- conditionals – e.g. “If I were the teacher, in order to help this student, I would teach cohesive devices.”
- phrasal verbs – e.g. “to put a lot of effort into”
- passive forms all – e.g. “The route map should be improved”
- collocations – e.g. “One gets the gist of the main points.”
- colloquial language – e.g. “The language is a bit loose here and there.”
- technical and legal language – e.g. “ability to use different tenses, e.g. Present Tense, Future Simple, Past Simple”

The possible problem with the topic area of technical language being criterial is that it will be different for different groups of students and indeed for individuals. The participants in this study were all English teachers so the technical language all related to the teaching and learning of English. A C1 level test aimed at engineers or financiers would necessarily feature different technical.

The next section reports findings related to the second research question which focussed on features which could be considered criterial in only spoken English. These were:

- markers to structure and signpost informal speech – e.g. “The reason I want to become a teacher is because I love children. In addition, it is because I want to teach them a more sophisticated language”
- narrative tenses for experience – e.g. “The teacher would make us complete many exercises.”
- collocations – e.g. “They had good intentions and they helped us to overcome problems.”

It is disappointing to note that only three language points were found with sufficient frequency for them to be considered criterial at C1 level. The low number of participants may account for this result. A larger data set may have contained more points in common. Or it may be ascribed to an increased importance of written English at higher levels. Language users at this level of proficiency tend to focus on English for specific purposes such as legal English where written ability is emphasised.

The third research question asked if there were language points which recurred in the data but were not included in the Core Inventory. Much of the participant output in both written and spoken forms was included in the Core Inventory. The responses included language points from across all CEFR levels. A common feature found in the extended writing tasks was what could be termed as ‘sophisticated advice’. Sophisticated in terms of content rather than grammatical form. Advice is placed at A2 level of proficiency in the Core Inventory. The exponents given for it are: “You should ask the teacher, you could try the Internet.” Examples of this language point taken from the commentaries include: “the road map should be improved…” and “I’d recommend this student to…” The frequency of this feature may be in response to the nature of the given task. As Green (2010:9) notes: “The tasks that learners are asked to perform have a substantial impact on the nature and quality of the language that they will be able to produce.” It would seem that in this case the nature of the extended writing task influenced the language produced.

Limitations

As noted above the response rate from invited participants was lower than hoped for. This has obviously affected the generalizability of the results. Secondly, the task types may have influenced the language used by the participants. Thirdly, all the coding was undertaken by one researcher. Thus, the number of idiosyncratic codes may be higher than desirable. It was not possible to find another rater.

Conclusions

Using test data, it has been possible to investigate patterns of occurrence with respect to the C1 level. It has been found that 13 language points listed in the Core Inventory could be described as criterial. This would seem to suggest that limited data-based evidence has been found to support an existing theoretical framework. Or, it may suggest that IELTS 6.5 does not correspond to C1. As discussed above the limited number of participants means that a great deal of caution should be exercised when considering these findings. Perhaps the most significant finding of this project is the creation of an approach to establishing criterial features through the use of the Core Inventory. This approach could be replicated with larger data sets across the full range of the CEFR levels discussed in the Core Inventory.

As discussed above, C1 is considered to be an underspecified level; the Core Inventory authors were unable to find consensus around the language points to be included at this level. The current project found that nearly one quarter of the language points included at C1 occurred with sufficient frequency to suggest that they could be considered criterial for the level. This may indicate that C1 level users share more in common than has previously been thought to be the case.

As stated above, the authors of the Core Inventory aimed to provide a resource for teachers and not testers. There is evidence from this project and perhaps that of the project conducted by Jones (2015) that Core Inventory describes when learners have mastered a language point rather than when learners should be taught at the specific CEFR level. It may be argued, therefore, that using the Core Inventory as a source for test development projects is appropriate.

The project has developed significantly since the BAAL conference. Firstly, a second cohort of students has participated in the project which increased the total to 36 participants. Secondly, the approach was applied to Aptis test data. This increased the size of the data set considerably. It was, therefore, possible to be more certain about the identification of criterial features (see Sheehan, Sanderson and Harris, 2017 for more details of the second phase of the project).

References

Capel, A. (2012). 'Completing the English Vocabulary Profile: C1 and C2 Vocabulary', *English Profile Journal* vol 3 pp 1-14

Council of Europe. (2001). Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: learning, teaching, assessment, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge

Gad, L, Geranpayeh, A, Khalifa, H, and Buckendahl, C. (2013). 'Standard Setting to an International Reference Framework: Implications for Theory and Practice', *International Journal of Testing,* vol 13, pp 32-49

Green, A. (2012). Language Functions Revisited Theoretical and empirical bases for language construct definition across the ability range, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge

Green, A, (2010).Requirements for Reference Level Descriptions for English, *English Profile Journal* vol 1, pp 1-19

Hawkins, J. and Buttery, P. (2010). Criterial Features in Learner Corpora: Theory and Illustrations, *English Profile Journal,* vol 1 pp 1-23

Hulstijn, J. (2007). The Shaky Ground Beneath the CEFR: Quantitative and Qualitative Dimensions of Language Proficiency, *The Modern Language Journal,* vol 91, pp 663-667

Jones, G. (2015) A Validation Study of the British Council – EAQUALS Core Inventory for General English, British Council, London

Little, D. (2007). The CEFR: Perspectives on the Making of Supranational Language Education Policy, *The Modern Language Journal,* vol 91, pp 645-655

North, B., Ortega, A. and Sheehan, S. (2010). *British Council – EAQUALS Core Inventory for General English.* London: British Council

North, B. (2014) *The CEFR in Practice.* Cambridge: Cambridge Univeristy Press

Sheehan, S., Sanderson, P., and Harris, A. (2017) Identifying Key Criteria of Written and Spoken English at C1 – A qualitative study of key language points at C1, British Council, London

Weir, C. (2005b) Limitations of the Common European Framework for developing comparable examinations and tests, *Language Testing,* vol 22, pp 282-300

West, R. (2012). *Word Family Framework* London: British Council

Learner Output and Listener Perceptions of Compliments on Study Abroad

Joseph P. Siegel, Meiji Gakuin University

James R. Broadbridge, J. F. Oberlin University

Abstract

Complimenting behavior, one type of pragmatic interaction, can be crucial for second language (L2) learners on study abroad because they are newcomers to the host community. However, the extent to which L2 learners' complimenting behavior develops while on study abroad has been underresearched. Furthermore, pragmatic studies often focus exclusively on language production rather than on the listener's role during interaction. In order to address these areas, this study investigated the pre- and post-study abroad complimenting behavior of five Japanese English learners who spent one semester in the US. They completed oral discourse completion tasks, which were analyzed in two different ways: first, they were analyzed from a productive standpoint that examined length of response, syntax, and pragmatic strategies employed; and second, they were analyzed from the viewpoints of three groups (English language teachers, target community members, and international students) who listened to and rated student speech for speech style and contextual appropriateness.

Introduction

During interaction, speakers invariably make linguistic decisions based on myriad factors, including interlocutor, context, objectives, and background. This pragmatic knowledge and ability allow speakers to adjust their level of formality and politeness to match a given situation, something that is constantly done according to implicit cultural and contextual rules (Ishihara, 2011). Yet precisely how this pragmatic competence develops remains ambiguous, both for first language (L1) and second language (L2) users. While L1 users develop nuanced, sophisticated, and flexible interactional competence to operate appropriately in whatever situation they find themselves, the same type of pragmatic adaptability can be challenging for L2 learners. Nevertheless, it is important for L2 learners to be aware of cultural patterns and norms of local communities (e.g., LoCastro, 2012), and to recognize possible reactions and consequences resulting from use or avoidance of those norms. The notion of accepted 'norms' and conventions, however, continues to evolve within the areas of English as an international language (EIL) (e.g., Canagarajah, 2006) and English as a lingua franca (ELF) (e.g., Jenkins, Cogo & Dewey, 2011).

From a pragmatic standpoint, study abroad (SA) experiences provide ample opportunities for learners to be exposed to authentic language in action (e.g., Taguchi, 2015a). While previous research has investigated various types of gains that learners make while overseas, such as improvements in general fluency, speaking accuracy, and written correspondence (e.g., Alcón-Soler, 2015; Lara, Mora & Pérez-Vidal, 2015), fewer studies (e.g., Siegel, 2015; Taguchi, 2015a) have focused on specific elements of SA students' pragmatic ability. The present study examines a particular pragmatic element, complimenting behavior, and was motivated by the many functional and practical applications of compliments and because of their frequent use in American English (e.g., Golato, 2002).

This study aimed to examine the extent to which a six-month SA experience in the US affected the complimenting behavior of Japanese university students. Further, the study provides insights into how three different groups (EFL teachers, non-teaching native English users living in the US, and international (i.e., non-Japanese) students studying in Japan), perceive the students' output. This paper describes changes in spoken output and rater perceptions of speech samples before and after SA. There have been too few studies to date that compare the perceptions of different types of raters. Therefore, this study makes an innovative contribution to the field by moving beyond language teacher ratings to include ratings from SA target community members as well as international students, two groups that offer new perspectives on EIL/ELF communication. Analysis of the responses and ratings leads to discussion and implications for pragmatic awareness and instruction, SA preparation, and intercultural communication.

Background

Pragmatics and compliments

Pragmatic competence and ability are crucial for all speaking objectives, especially complimenting, which can be used for several purposes, but perhaps most importantly to 'grease the social wheels' (Wolfson, 1983, p. 89), thereby allowing speakers to break the ice, start conversations, develop and maintain amiable relationships, and create pleasant social environments. While L2 users are likely able to compliment (give and receive) according to their L1 cultural and linguistic norms, complimenting norms and behaviors in the L2 may be inhibited by those from the L1. As Huth (2006) notes, L1 pragmatic patterns and structures may be deeply embedded in learners' linguistic output, potential interference which may become obstructive when giving or receiving compliments in the L2. This is not to suggest that learners must completely master pragmatic conventions in their target language; in fact, some learners do not aspire to reach total proficiency and/or they may wish to consciously maintain their own L1 pragmatic standards (e.g., Bardovi-Harlig & Mahan-Taylor, 2003; McKay, 2003). Changes and adaptations stemming from cross-cultural norms represent a further challenge to appropriate complimenting behavior; for example, as some Chinese families receive more exposure to western culture via the media, traditional Chinese complimenting behavior is being altered (e.g., Cheng, 2011). This type of cross-cultural influence may be affecting other groups as well.

When exposed to L2 cultural and pragmatic norms different from their own, L2 learners may feel challenged, and any cultural gaps that exist in complimenting behavior can be particularly noticeable. Unsurprisingly, people from various cultural backgrounds typically evaluate and deal with compliments in different ways (Jucker, 2009).

Japanese learners of English in particular may notice considerable differences in complimenting behaviors between their L1 and L2 norms. Since complimenting behaviors in Japanese involve patterns distinctly different from American English, Japanese EFL learners may be unsure of how to pay someone a compliment or to respond to a compliment in a US context (Jucker, 2009). In addition, Japanese tend to be less direct than American English users. While 'thank you' may be a common compliment response for most speakers of American English, a direct translation of 'ありがとうございます' (literally, 'thank you') is not a common compliment response in Japanese. Further, Japanese may tend to respond to a compliment by acting surprised, by questioning the sincerity of the compliment, or by rejecting it completely, 'えー？本当に？ そんなことないよ''(Literally, 'What, really? That's not true').

Given the frequency and usefulness of complimenting, these cultural differences could have serious consequences for Japanese EFL learners studying in the US. Generally speaking, EFL learners on SA would want to be and be perceived as welcoming and friendly, establish relations with the people around them, and be able to express their feelings openly. Culturally appropriate complimenting practices could allow them to initiate access to such situations and achieve these objectives.

Types of compliments

A compliment can be defined as 'a positive assessment of affairs, of an object, or of an action' (Huth, 2006, p. 2028). The compliment, or positive assessment, represents the initial move, which is usually followed by a compliment-response. These two parts form the typical compliment-sequence. Such sequences, which include both requisite and optional stages, are also described as speech act sets (e.g., Ishihara & Cohen, 2010; LoCastro, 2012).

Compliments are used for a wide variety of functions, including apologies, greetings, thanks, farewells, and expressions of gratitude (e.g., Cheng, 2011; Wolfson, 1983). They can also be used to soften or mitigate face-threatening situations, to establish and maintain group unity, and to reinforce desired behavior (Ishihara & Cohen, 2010). In simpler terms, Wierzbicka (2003) states that giving a compliment essentially means 'I want to say something good about you' (p. 136). Meanwhile, compliment responses can come in the form of, for example, shifting credit to others, commenting on the history of the referent, or downgrading the compliment (e.g., Billmyer, 1990). Other options include upgrading the compliment to more self-praise, disagreeing with the compliment, or reciprocating the praise (Ishihara & Cohen, 2010). In addition, compliment responses typically require decisions about acceptance or rejection of and/or agreement or disagreement with the compliment (Pomerantz, 1978).

It is important to note that there is not always a one-to-one correspondence between a compliment or compliment-response and the interactional function it serves, a frequent observation in speech act literature (e.g., LoCastro, 2012). In other words, a compliment could praise one individual while at the same time warning others, as in the classroom example used by Golato (2003) in which a teacher's utterance ('Mary's sitting up nicely') was analyzed as simultaneously a compliment to Mary and also an indirect reprimand to slouching, inattentive students. The multiple functions that compliments and responses can accommodate make them a useful and flexible linguistic option for learners of North American English and other varieties as well. However, the complexity of L1 patterns in use may prove challenging for learners to acquire, particularly for Japanese learners due to the distinctness in cultures.

Exploring two perspectives

Any spoken output concerns two parties: the speaker and listener(s). Most research on pragmatic output has focused on the speaker and has often overlooked the importance of how that language is received and perceived by the interlocutor(s). As noted by LoCastro (2012), pragmatic meaning concerns both a speaker's productive capacity as well as the receiver's ability to understand the intended message. Therefore, when examining pragmatic interactions such as compliment scenarios, a research design acknowledging both sides of the communication would be preferable. In SA contexts, the ways L2 learner output is understood and interpreted by target community members and international students should be a high priority for L2 students and teachers.

Much previous research on compliments has been largely descriptive in nature. Research has demonstrated the similarities and differences between compliments in German and American English (Golato, 2002) and described the impact that culture has on the structure of compliment scenarios (Huth, 2006). Other studies have shown that students rely heavily on thanking as a compliment-response and struggle to utilize a variety of other strategies compared to more experienced English users (Cheng, 2011).

The study

This study examined the spoken output of five Japanese university EFL learners before and after a one-semester sojourn to the US. Perceptions of three groups of trained raters (EFL teachers, non-teaching native English users from the US, and international university students studying in Japan) scored the student output in terms of speech style and situational appropriateness. Informed consent was obtained from all participants, and the project was approved by the university's research ethics review board.

Data were used to address the following research questions:

1. To what extent does a one-semester SA affect complimenting behavior for Japanese university EFL learners?
2. To what extent does a one-semester SA affect compliment-response behavior for Japanese university EFL learners?
3. Is there any difference in how EFL teachers, target community members, and international students studying abroad perceive EFL learners' compliment scenario output before and after a one-semester SA?

Participants

Four different groups, in addition to the main researcher, participated in this study. First, five sophomore Japanese university students (three male and two female) responded to compliment situational prompts. These learners had received six years of compulsory EFL education at the junior high and high school levels in Japan, along with a one-year required four-skills English course during their first year at university. All were at the pre-intermediate or intermediate stage, approximately A2-B1 level according to the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR).

The other participants formed three separate rater groups, who watched videos of and rated learner responses to the compliment scenarios. Rater group one (EFLT group) consisted of four EFL teachers (average age 40) each with a master's degree in EFL and more than 10 years of teaching experience. The target community member (TCM) group consisted of four non-teacher host community members from the US (average age 49), who responded to a general call for participation made via social media. This group was included to represent non-teaching adults with whom SA students might interact with while overseas. The third group (average age 20) consisted of four international students (IS) who claimed English as their native language yet studied at a Japanese university (two from the US, one from Iceland, and one from Singapore). At the time of the rating, they had been in Japan for approximately two months. The IS group was included because of the age proximity with the Japanese participants and because of their assumed familiarity in communicating with Japanese university students as well as their presumed interest in intercultural and ELF communication. Finally, the main researcher had lived in Japan for approximately 12 years, held a PhD in Applied Linguistics, and had taught at the university for three years but had no previous contact with the student-participants prior to the study.

The three separate groups were formed to examine rater perceptions in the following ways: Are there differences in how teachers and non-teachers rate learner output? Does location (i.e., currently residing in the US or Japan) impact ratings? Are their differences in ratings depending on the average age of the raters? All of these sub-questions are directly related to the more global theme of research question three.

Methods

The five student-participants responded to two compliment-giving and two compliment-response situations, which were part of a larger pragmatic speaking test that included other speech acts such as apologies and requests. See Appendix 1 for situations presented as oral discourse completion tasks (ODCTs) (e.g., Brown, 2001; Kasper & Rose, 2002).

All rater groups underwent a training session that involved reviewing and discussing the rating system as well as rating sample participant speech. The six-point rating scheme measured perceptions of speech style and appropriateness of the speech act (see Appendix 2). For the purposes of this study, and aligning with similar research (e.g., Siegel, 2015; Taguchi, 2015a), speech style involved the language forms, register choice, syntactic construction, and hedging while appropriateness involved the participant's ability to understand the context, choose appropriate conversation and pragmatic tactics, and express an intended meaning suitable to the situation. Because raters from the TCM and IS groups were non-teachers and had not undergone formal training in applied linguistics or language teaching, some basic definitions (e.g., hedging, register) were explained verbally and in writing on the rating scheme document. In addition, some general descriptors, such as 'This rating is for the type of speech you'd expect from a socially-conscious native-level English user' (score of 6/excellent) and 'A native listener may feel frustrated, confused, or uncomfortable hearing the speech act' (score of 3/poor) were supplied to make the rating scheme more accessible to novices. As such, the rating scheme built on previous studies but also broadened the scope to incorporate non-expert perspectives.

Each of the five students produced four output samples, with two ratings each (i.e., one rating for speech style and one for appropriateness); thus, each rater provided a total of 40 scores. Each of the three groups each provided 160 individual ratings for a total of 480 individual ratings. All raters watched the same video samples of all four ODCT scenarios and wrote a numerical score. Video samples were randomized and raters were not informed whether they were watching pre-SA or post-SA output. Scores for each scenario were used for subsequent analysis and comparison. This data set relates to research question three and rater perceptions.

Findings

Research question 1: To what extent does a one-semester SA affect complimenting behavior for Japanese university EFL learners?

Ratings of learner output by the three groups increased both in terms of speech style and appropriateness of the speech act.

Speech style

Speech style ratings improved, with an increase of 0.48 (see Figure 1) for ODCT3 (complimenting a classmate), and showed a slightly greater change of 0.65 for ODCT4 (complimenting a professor). This greater change can be accounted for in the lower pre- score of ODCT4 (3.93) in comparison with the score of 4.23 for ODCT3.

Appropriateness

The scores for appropriateness saw less of an improvement, but increased nevertheless. The more informal scenario ODCT3 received a post-SA rating of 4.81, an increase of 0.31. This was the highest post-score but the smallest increase, indicating the high level of proficiency as assessed by the raters. The more formal scenario (ODCT4) received a comparatively lower post-SA rating of 4.46, but still rose by 0.35.

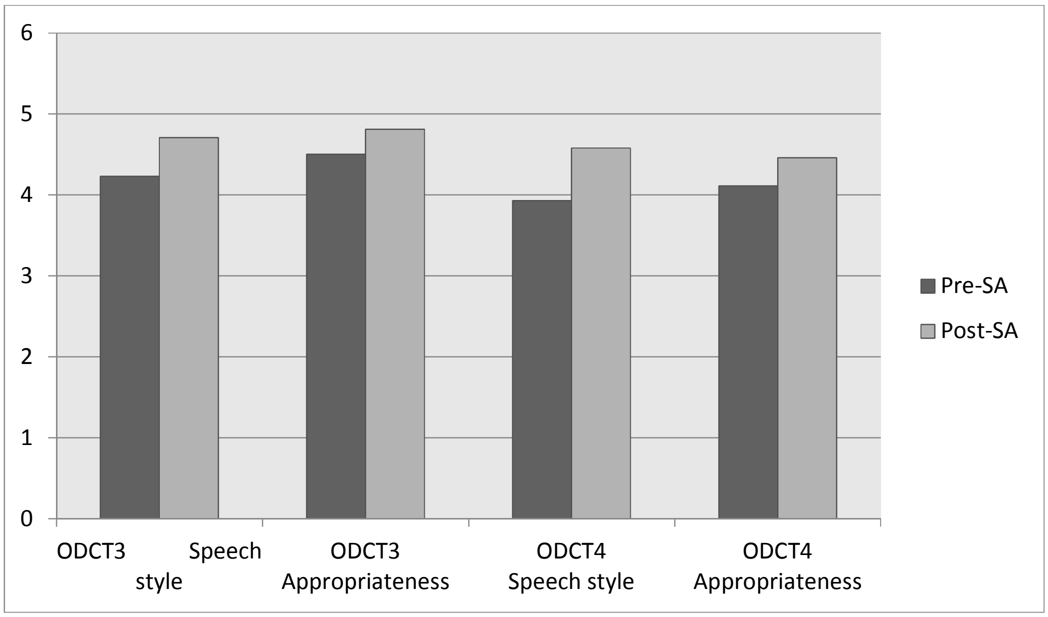

Figure 1. Giving compliments. Pre- and post- study abroad ratings for speech style and appropriateness

An examination of a typical response from a participant illustrates possible reasons for the increase in the scores from pre- to post-SA. Here the participant Ann (a pseudonym) is complimenting a friend on her performance in a presentation in class:

Pre-SA: *Kathy, your presentation is so great. Please teach good presentation for me.* (Speech style ratings: EFLT group average 3.3; TCM 4.0; IS 4.7; Appropriateness ratings: EFLT group average 3.6; TCM 4.6; IS 4.6).
Post-SA: Kathy, your presentation is so nice. I want to take presentation like you. If you have time, please teach me about presentation how to presentation. (Speech style ratings: EFLT group average 4.8; TCM 4.8; IS 4.4; Appropriateness ratings: EFLT group average 4.7; TCM 5.0; IS 4.5).

Both responses follow a similar structure, with the initial compliment (underlined), and the only change being the sentence-ending adjective *great* to *nice*. This is followed by the expansion, which post-SA is longer, with greater grammatical complexity being used, specifically the conditional construction. Although areas for improvement remain in the response, such as the misuse of *teach*, reasons why raters would assign higher scores for post-SA responses can be identified. Other responses demonstrated similar modifications in learner speech.

Length of response

Differences in length of response are evident in almost all cases, as displayed in Table 1, which shows that on only one occasion was the utterance shorter post-SA. Longer utterances are most evident in the less formal setting where students expanded their responses by an average of nine words. The smaller change in the more formal ODCT4 though could potentially be accounted for by students' knowledge prior to departure of a possible need to be more verbose in some formal situations. This observation is not to imply that longer utterances are always better, and in certain cases, brevity is preferable. However, longer turn length does allow for more pragmatic strategies and more flexibility.

	ODCT3 Pre-SA	ODCT3 Post-SA	ODCT3 Difference	ODCT4 Pre-SA	ODCT4 Post-SA	ODCT4 Difference
Words per response	12	25	13	23	15	-8
	11	13	2	5	15	10
	14	17	3	20	21	1
	15	28	13	19	28	9
	14	28	14	18	25	7
Average	13.2	22.2	9	17	20.8	3.8

Table 1. Number of words per response

Structure of compliments

Of nine structures discussed by Ishihara and Cohen (2010), three types were used pre-SA and four post-SA (See Table 2). Out of the structures used, a majority were reliant on the type 1 compliments (i.e., NP is/looks (really) ADJ) both pre- and post-SA. This suggests learners are comfortable with this type and may not feel the need to expand their strategic repertoire. Linguistically they are able to do more in the post-SA output than they were before their SA. Their utterances are longer, but little has changed in terms of their basic pragmatic use of the compliment speech act. New structures do, however, emerge. Listed in Table 2 as type 2 (i.e., I (really) like/love NP), and a further compliment type that is outside those discussed as being most common in the literature. This suggests that while the students remain reliant on the structures they have learnt prior to departure, they are beginning to expand their pragmatic range as well as their overall linguistic ability.

Structural Type	Number of occurrences Pre-SA	Number of occurrences Post-SA
1. NP is/looks (really) ADJ.	8	8
2. I (really) like/love NP.	0	2
3. PRO is (really) a ADJ NP.	1	0
7. What (a) ADJ NP!	1	1
Off	0	1

Table 2. Structural types of compliments used Pre-SA and Post SA

Research question 2: To what extent does a one-semester SA affect compliment-response behavior for Japanese university EFL learners?

The data exhibit a consistent change between pre- and post-SA compliment-response behavior (see Figure 2). Post-SA students are rated higher for both appropriateness and speech style. Speech style shows a larger change of 1.3 in ODCT1 (accepting a compliment from a friend). Ratings for ODCT2 (accepting a compliment from a professor) saw a change of 0.87.

For appropriateness, a similar increase occurred in both formal and informal scenarios (a 0.94 rise change for ODCT1 and 0.83 for ODCT2). These results show that the raters consistently scored compliment-response proficiency higher after SA.

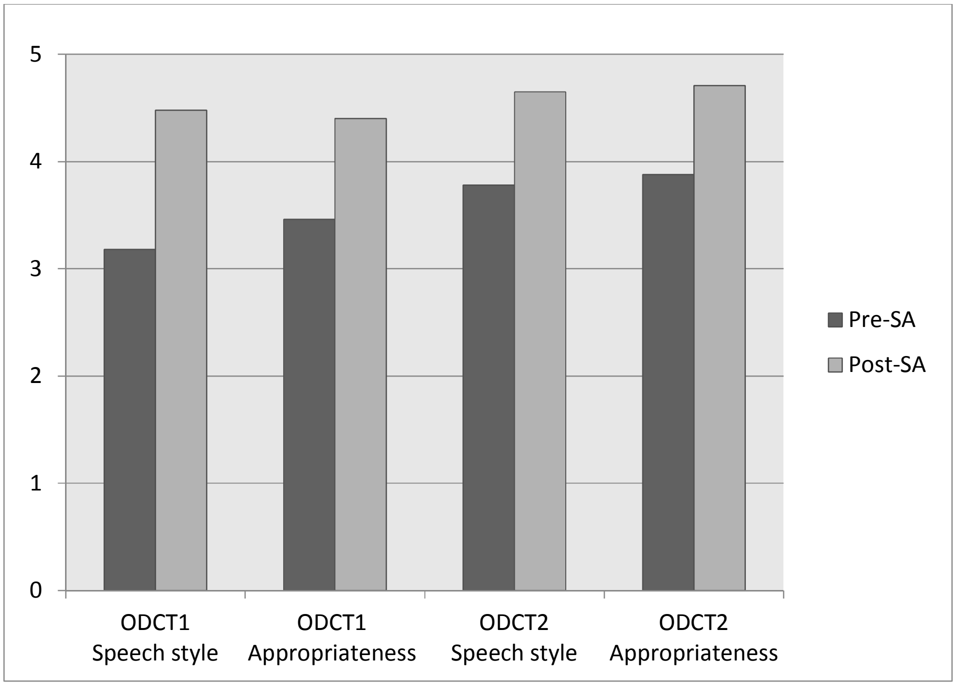

Figure 2. Compliment-response pre- and post-study abroad ratings for speech style and appropriateness

Types of compliment-responses

Moving beyond the rater scores, a change was evident in both the frequency and variety of responses (see Table 3). Post-SA students continued to rely heavily on a simple 'thank you' to show acceptance of the compliment; however, students also became more adept at expanding beyond that simple remark. The expansion comes as students seem to understand the need to perform more than one type of response within each compliment-response speech act set, as is shown by this example from Tom:

Pre-SA: *Thank you. If I I will go, ah, New York again, so, I will I will buy ah same bag present for you.* (Speech style ratings: EFLT group 2.6; TCM 2.8; IS 3.4; Appropriateness ratings: EFLT group 3.1; TCM 3.3; IS 3.7).
Post-SA: Thank you so much. I actually I bought it ah some somewhere, so ah I like this I like also this color and design. I can I can ah lend you if you want, yeah, if you need, ah when you go to trip somewhere. (Speech style ratings: EFLT group 4.9; TCM 4.2; IS 4.4; Appropriateness ratings: EFLT group 4.7; TCM 4.3; IS 4.3).

Post-SA the acceptance of the compliment has expanded (*Thank you so much)*, plus Tom mentions the history of the item (*I bought it ah some somewhere*) and also extends with an additional comment (*ah, I like this I like also this color and design*). Further, the request interpretation is now downgraded to an offer to lend the bag if needed (*I can I can ah lend you if you want, yeah, if you need, ah when you go to trip somewhere*).

It would seem Tom's awareness and understanding both linguistically and strategically has developed. He is able to agree with the compliment in a more detailed way, and also no longer misinterprets the compliment as a request. Rather, he understands that in this situation, an offer to lend the bag is much more culturally astute in comparison with an offer to buy or give a similar bag to the person giving the compliment. At this point, he appears to now understand the pragmatic function of the compliment speech act to a much greater degree and illustrates a more sophisticated cultural understanding, reflected in the ratings.

Type of response		Pre	Post
Acceptance	Appreciation	8	10
	Comment	1	3
	Self-Praise	1	1
Mitigation	History	1	2
	Shifting Credit	4	4
	Questioning	0	0
	Reciprocating	1	3
	Scaling Down	1	1
	Future Intention	0	2
Disagreeing		0	0
No response		0	0
Request interpretation		3	3
TOTAL		20	29

Table 3. Types of compliment-responses found in the data

Research question 3. Is there any difference in how EFL teachers, target community members, and international students studying abroad perceive EFL learners' compliment scenario output before and after a one-semester SA?

When looking at the rater scores divided between the three groups, a clear pattern emerges. The EFLT group rated the pre-SA students lower than both the TCM and IS in almost all instances. Figures 3, 4, 5, and 6 show the teacher group rating lower for both appropriateness and speech style in both situations of giving and responding to compliments. However, the EFLT group saw larger changes from pre- to post-SA in scores for speech style and appropriateness. This is in contrast to the group of TCM, who noticed some improvements, and the group of IS who noticed less improvement between pre- and post-SA and in one instance rated students lower post-SA (see Figure 5).

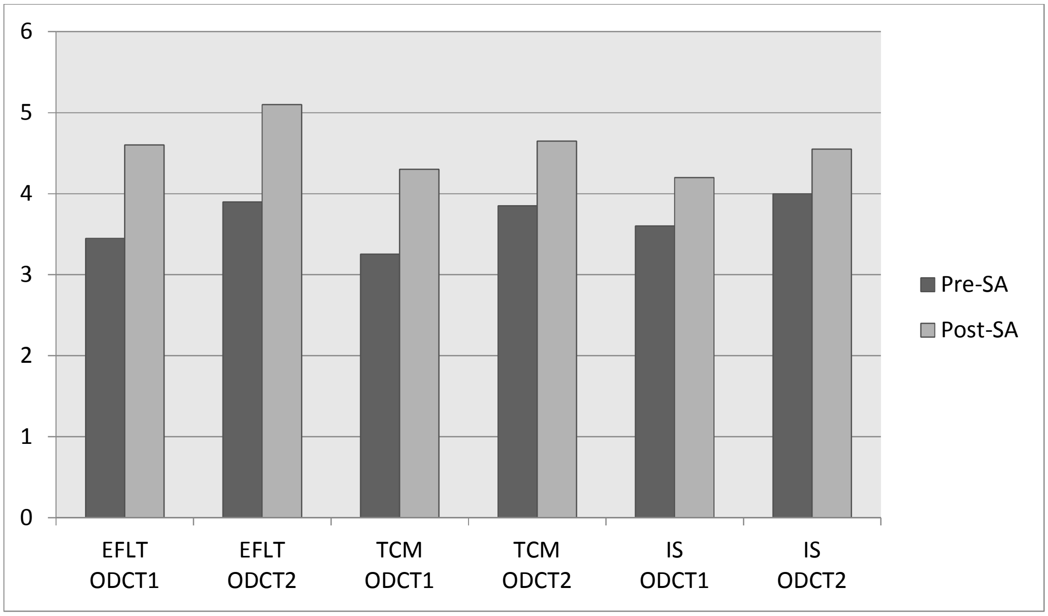

Figure 3. Compliment-response ratings for appropriateness by rater group

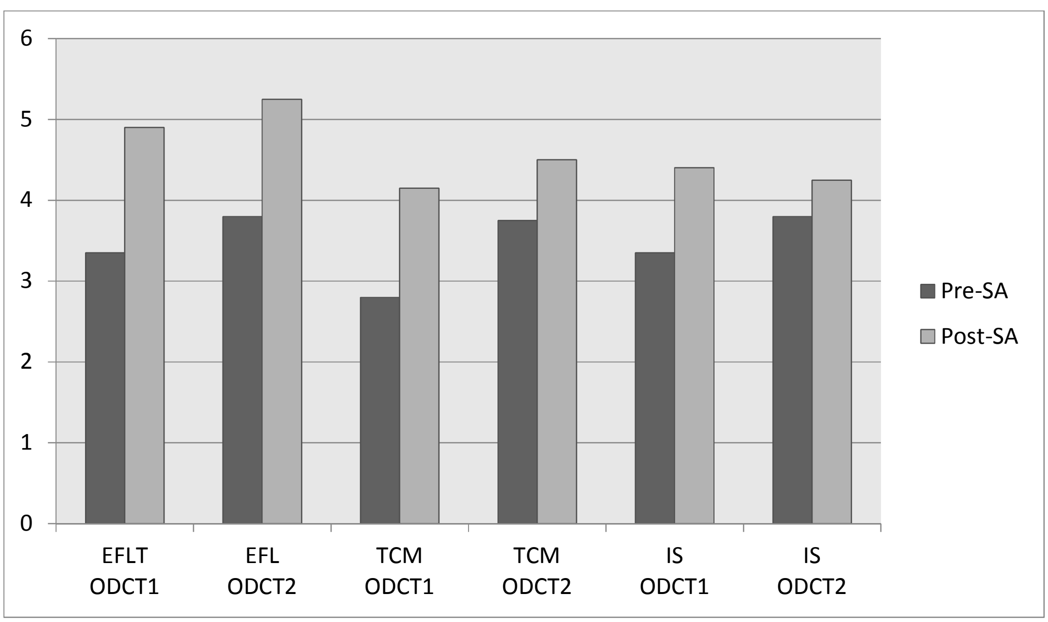

Figure 4. Compliment-response ratings for speech style by rater group

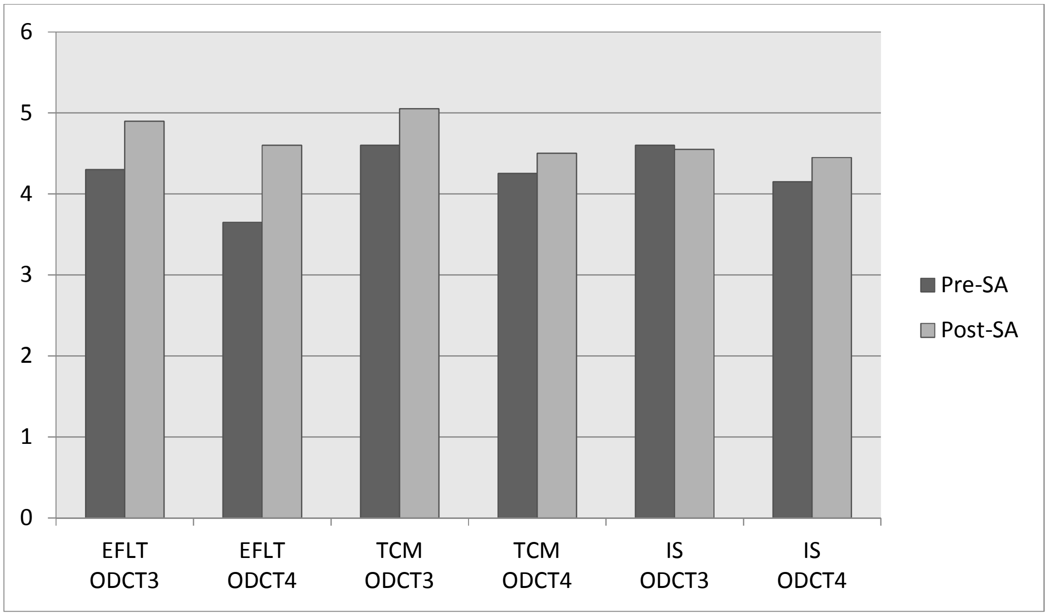

Figure 5. Giving compliment ratings for appropriateness by rater group

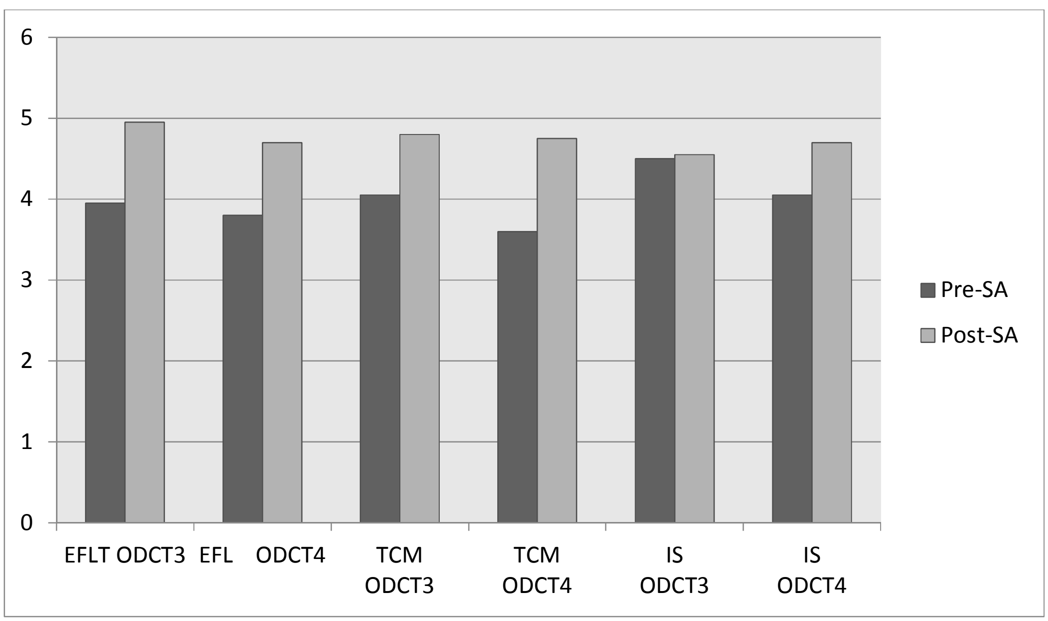

Figure 6. Giving compliment ratings for speech style by rater group

Discussion

Regarding research questions one and two, which focus on compliment and compliment-response output, respectively, a number of linguistic and strategic gains were evident following the SA experience. These increases manifested themselves through two different analyses. First, objective examination of the student responses showed that the total number of words increased for the group as a whole. The variety and sophistication of pragmatic strategies and syntactic expression also improved for some of the individual students. From the second, more subjective perspective, different groups of listener-raters found the learners' post-SA output to be more contextually appropriate with improving levels of speech style. Possible reasons for these increased ratings include the fact that learners went on SA and that the raters could have become more familiar with the participants' speech throughout the rating process. Given that learners lived in the target language country for an entire semester, these overall findings are not surprising. However, they are important to the field as they measure and illustrate developments in complimenting behavior and illustrate how different rater groups perceive student output.

While research questions one and two demonstrated that the learners' responses had progressed from a production-oriented perspective, research question three aimed to determine how different groups might view the same speech samples and to investigate the extent to which cultural familiarity might impact rater perceptions. All three groups tended to score post-SA speech samples either higher than or the same as on the pre-tasks (EFLT: 82% increased, 0% decreased, 18% the same; TCM: 66% increased, 4% decreased, 30% the same; and IS: 23% increased, 18% decreased, 60% the same). These variations may be interpreted as being related to cultural familiarity, age, and life experience.

As shown in Figures 3-6 above, the EFLTs rated the pre-SA responses the lowest of the three groups. Yet they also scored several of the post-SA answers higher than the other two groups. This group may be more attuned to learner ability from their classroom experience (e.g., attending to grammatical or contextual errors) as well as their integration into the L1 (i.e., Japanese) society. As language teachers, they are accustomed to listening to learners, evaluating speech, identifying strong and weak points, and assigning grades. Thus, they were able to make marked distinctions between the two data sets.

In contrast, while the TCM and IS groups did register gains on the post-SA samples, their pre- and post-SA scores were much closer together than those of the EFLT group. These two groups both recognized that gains were made on the post-SA output, but the pre-SA ratings were higher than those of the EFLTs, a finding that suggests two possible interpretations. First, that the TCMs and ISs may have been more focused on message content rather than grammatical or syntactic correctness than the EFLTs. In other words, they may have overlooked minor lapses in accuracy in order to determine the main theme or function the speaker was trying to express. Secondly, these groups did not seem to have noticed as much improvement as the teacher group, who may be more sensitive to learner development.

As these findings demonstrate, all learners made pragmatic gains, both according to the content analysis as well as the interpretive perspective. These gains were made without any explicit pragmatic support in language classroom prior to the SA experience. While these gains are certainly noteworthy, the findings lead to broader questions about how pragmatic awareness, strategies, and linguistic options might be further developed in the class prior to SA. These students, like so many others, clearly benefited from their interactions within the target community. Yet, at the pre-SA stage, many of their messages may not have matched a given situation in terms of speech style and/or appropriateness, an observation that indicates that SA preparation instructors may have a vested interest in explicitly including at least some coverage of pragmatics.

Although this study demonstrated gains in terms of both the production of complimenting behavior as well as how that speech was received by various listeners, the research design contains several weaknesses that must be acknowledged. First, it would have been useful to collect from raters qualitative reasons for why they assigned certain scores. Such data would reveal their thought-processes and clarify specific strong and/or weak points relating to learner output. In addition, the size of each of the four participant groups could be increased to verify these findings. Furthermore, while this study involved Japanese university learners and TCMs from the US, similar studies could be carried out with participants from other contexts.

Conclusion

In general, findings showed that the amount and complexity of output in compliment and compliment-response situations increased. Furthermore, evaluations of this output made by three groups (EFLTs, TCMs, and ISs) demonstrated that a range of raters, with varying ages and backgrounds, recognized learners' pragmatic development. As such, this study illustrates how SA experiences can impact one particular area of pragmatic competence and spoken production and how time spent in the target culture can help influence L2 development. Moreover, as the study revealed, pre-SA output and ratings may be lower than teachers and learners might hope. As such, findings suggest that units related to pragmatics may be welcome additions to courses aimed at speaking and SA preparation. While this study focused specifically on complimenting behavior, other areas such as requesting, apologizing, inviting, and threatening, could be investigated in similar ways.

While many commentators agree that pragmatics deserves attention in the classroom (e.g., Ishihara & Cohen, 2010; Shively, 2010; Siegel, 2016), the teaching of pragmatics also raises a number of issues. One such issue relates to whether and to what extent L2 pragmatic patterns should be imposed on learners. For instance, Golato (2002) compared German and American compliment responses, which is interesting from a linguistic perspective. However, should Germans learning American English be encouraged to adopt American English complimenting norms, and vice versa? Similarly, Cheng's (2011) study examined differences in complimenting behavior between Chinese L2 and native English users. Do Chinese L2 English users need to adhere to L1 English patterns for complimenting? Learners and their teachers may struggle with whether and how to either maintain L1 pragmatic patterns or adopt those of the L2. This line of thinking also raises the question of whose complimenting 'norms' should be considered prototypical, as views of English as an international language and as a lingua franca promote the idea that there is no 'correct' model (e.g., Jenkins, Cogo & Dewey, 2011; McKay, 2003). In an attempt to incorporate some of these issues, the present study incorporated raters from several backgrounds.

While these tensions exist within the language learning and teaching field, it must be remembered that language use is situated within a given cultural context. Language is employed for certain purposes and is received by individuals who have varying levels of ambiguity and expectations of communicative ability. For learners preparing for and/or attending SA experiences, it seems that implicit exposure to the L2 norms had a positive influence on how their messages were received by potential members of the target community, which would likely lead to greater comfort and satisfaction for both speaker and listener. Still, it is possible that other learners may steadfastly adhere to complimenting behavior that more closely aligns with their L1 norms.

In order to incorporate the broader ideas of EIL and ELF in pragmatic research, it may be necessary not only to compare the 'norms' of two different cultures but also to capture multiple views and interpretations of language. This study aimed to do that by inviting three different rater groups representing three different demographics with which L2 learners will likely come into contact while on overseas SA sojourns. An EIL/ELF perspective such as the one adopted for this study focuses more on message content and functional achievement (represented by the TCM and IS raters in this study) than by a more traditional linguistic analysis of output (such as with the EFLTs). Future research that accounts for this perspective would acknowledge the broader use of English on a global scale.

Acknowledgement

This work was supported by JSPS KAKENHI Grant Number 26770200.

References

Alcón-Soler, E. (2015). Instruction and pragmatic change during study abroad email communication. *Innovation in Language Learning and Teaching*, 9*(1)*, 34-45.

Billmyer, K. (1990). 'I really like your lifestyle': ESL learners learning how to compliment. *Penn Working Papers in Educational Linguistics,* 6*(2)*, 31-48.

Bardovi-Harlig, K. & Mahan-Taylor, R. (2003). Introduction to teaching pragmatics. *English Teaching Forum*, July 2003, 37-39.

Brown, J.D. (2001). Pragmatic tests: Different purposes, different tests. In K. Rose & G. Casper (eds.) *Pragmatics in Language Teaching* (pp. 301-326). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Canagarajah, S. (2006). Changing communicative needs, revised assessment objectives: Teaching English as an international language. *Language Assessment Quarterly* 3*(3)*, 229-242.

Cheng, D. (2011). New insights on compliment responses: A comparison between native English speakers and Chinese L2 speakers. *Journal of Pragmatics*, *43*, 2204-2214.

Golato, A. (2002). German compliment responses. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 34, 547-571.

Golato, A. (2003). Studying compliment responses: A comparison of DCTs and recordings of naturally occurring talk. *Applied Linguistics*, 24*(1)*, 90-121.

Huth, T. (2006). Negotiating structure and culture: L2 learners' realization of L2 compliment-response sequences in talk-in-interaction, *Journal of Pragmatics*, 38, 2025-2050.

Ishihara, N. (2011). Formal instruction on the speech act of giving and responding to compliments. *Proceedings of the 7th Conference of Pan-Pacific Association of Applied Linguistics*, 62-78.

Ishihara, N. & Cohen, A. (2010). Teaching and learning pragmatics: Where language and culture meet. Harlow, UK: Pearson Longman.

Jenkins, J., Cogo, A. & Dewey, M. 2011. Review of developments in research into English as a lingua franca. *Language Teaching* 44*(3)*, 281-315.

Jucker, A.H. (2009). Speech act research between armchair, field and laboratory: The case of compliments. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 41, 1611-1635.

Kasper, G. & Rose, K. (2002). *Pragmatic Development in a Second language*. Malden: Blackwell.

Lara, R., Mora, J. & Pérez-Vidal, C. (2015). How long is long enough? L2 English development through study abroad programmes varying in duration. *Innovation in Language Learning and Teaching*, 9*(1)*, 46-57.

LoCastro, V. (2012). *Pragmatics for Language Educators*. New York Routledge.

McKay, S. (2003). Toward an appropriate EIL pedagogy: re-examining common ELT assumptions. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics*, *13(1)*, 1-22.

Pomerantz, A. (1978). Compliment responses. Notes on the co-operation of multiple constraints. In J. Schenkein (Ed.), *Studies in the Organization of Conversation Interaction* (pp. 79-112). Academic Press: New York.

Shively, R. (2010). From the virtual world to the real world: A model of pragmatics instruction for study abroad. *Foreign Language Annals 43(1)*, *105*-138.

Siegel, J. (2015). Using speech act sets to inform study abroad instruction. *The Language Teacher,* 39*(6)*, 3-9.

Siegel, J. (2016). Pragmatic activities for the speaking classroom. *English Teaching Forum*, 54*(1),* 12-19.

Taguchi, N. (2015a). Cross-cultural adaptability and development of speech act production in study abroad, *International Journal of Applied Linguistics*, 25*(3)*, 343-365.

Taguchi, N. (2015b). Instructed pragmatics at a glance: Where instructional studies were, are, and should be going. *Language Teaching*, 48*(1)*, 1-50.
Wierzbicka, A. (2003). *Cross-Cultural Pragmatics: The Semantics of Human Interaction*. (2nd edition). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
Wolfson, N. (1983). An empirically based analysis of complimenting in American English. In N. Wolfson & E. Judd (Eds.), *Sociolinguistics and Language Acquisition* (pp. 82-95). Newbury House Publishers: London.

Appendix One: Oral Discourse Completion Task Situations

ODCT1. You are carrying a new bag you bought during your trip to New York a few weeks ago. A close friend of yours, Sarah, has noticed the bag. She says the color is pretty and the design is unique. What do you say to Sarah? (accepting compliment)
ODCT2. It is around the end of the semester. You are talking with Professor Thomson, the instructor of your English composition class. She tells you that your English writing has improved dramatically since the beginning of the semester. What do you say to Professor Thomson? (accepting compliment)
ODCT3. You are taking an American literature class. A good friend of yours, Kathy, has just made an excellent presentation in class today. After class, you want to compliment her on her performance. What do you say to Kathy? (giving compliment)
ODCT4. You are taking Professor Smith's music class. The class was really interesting today, as always. He is an experienced senior professor and is much older than you. Today's lecture was particularly good. You decide to tell him this after class. What do you say to Professor Smith? (giving compliment)

Appendix Two: Speech Style and Appropriateness Rating Scheme

Speech style: Please focus on speech style, politeness, register, hedging, sentence style, etc.

6 Excellent	Almost perfect control of speech style. Consider the following: Appropriate openings and closings; Appropriate use of register; Appropriate use of hedging; Appropriate sentence structure choice for the speech act. Language used naturally and accurately. **This rating is for the type of speech you'd expect from a socially-conscious native-level English user.**
5 Good	Good control of speech style. Consider the following: Appropriate openings and closings; Appropriate use of register; Appropriate use of hedging; Appropriate sentence structure choice for the speech act. **Grammar and lexical errors exist but they are not so noticeable. Speech may be formal at times, but the speaker could make better choices.**
4 Fair	Moderate control of speech style. Consider the following: Appropriate openings and closings; Appropriate use of register; Appropriate use of hedging; Appropriate sentence structure choice for the speech act. **Grammar and lexical errors are**

	noticeable and make it difficult to understand the speaker's intent. The speech act is probably understandable but the listener may need to infer meaning.
3 Poor	Poor control of speech style. May include inappropriate or absent openings and closings; use of register; use of hedging; sentence structure choice for the speech act. **Unnatural mixing or little control of register. Speech seems too direct or casual for the situation. A native listener may feel frustrated, confused, or uncomfortable hearing the speech act.**
2 Very Poor	Almost no control of speech style. Formal form used in informal situation and vice versa. Speech is obviously unnatural. **Clearly too direct or casual for the situation. Obviously inappropriate or absent openings and closings; use of register; use of hedging; sentence structure choice for the speech act. A native listener would probably find the speaker's intent confusing and/or would likely feel frustrated, confused, or uncomfortable hearing the speech act.**
1 Can't evaluate	**Can't understand the sentences because speech is fragmental or contains major mistakes. Unable to understand speaker intent at all. The speaker does not address the state speech act.**

Appropriateness of speech act Please focus on directness and clarity of the speaker's intended meaning.

6 Excellent	Almost perfectly appropriate in the level of directness and politeness. **Speech contains an excellent range of semantic moves to mitigate face threat in a formal situation. Intention would be very clear to a native English user. This is what you'd expect from a native English speaking adult.**
5 Good	**Adequately appropriate in the level of directness and politeness. Speech contains some semantic moves to mitigate fact threat in a formal situation. Intent is clear but may not be particularly polite.**
4 Fair	Somewhat inappropriate in the level of directness and politeness. **Expressions are more direct or indirect than the situation requires with minimum semantic moves to mitigate the directness/indirectness. Intended meaning is somewhat clear to the listener, but they may struggle to understand completely.**
3 Poor	Clearly inappropriate in the level of directness and politeness. **Speech sounds almost rude. Speech contains odd or inappropriate expression. Speaker intention is somewhat clear but only in an indirect or inferred way.**
2	**The speaker's intention is not clear and would leave someone wondering exactly what they want to do. Not sure if speech act is performed.**

Very poor	
1 **Can't evaluate**	**Can't understand the sentences because speech is fragmental or contains major mistakes. Unable to understand speaker intent at all. The speaker does not address the state speech act.**