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LETTER FROM THE EDITORS

Dear Readers,

Welcome to the December 2003 edition of VIEWS. This issue is firmly in the hands of our applied linguists.

A major project housed at the department, Barbara Seidlhofer's VOICE corpus (Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English), is beginning to bear fruit in terms of empirical studies based on it. For a while now, the fact that the use of English among non-native speakers of the language carries a multitude of cultural implications has been discussed among those interested in English as a Lingua Franca (ELF). The suggestive epithet 'linguistic masala' has been proposed by Meierkord (2002) and Ulrike Pölzl has now identified some of the ingredients which go into the particular mix she is looking at. In her paper she identifies various linguistic strategies by which participants in a

number of ELF interactions position themselves as bearers of specific linguacultures as well as participants in a common ELF-culture.

Even though incidental vocabulary acquisition is a well-established research area in second language studies, Angelika Rieder shows that a good deal of unravelling of background assumptions needs to be done in order to arrive at a conception clear enough to be tested empirically. Overall, her empirical results support Ellis's model which considers both implicit and explicit learning to be involved in incidental vocabulary learning. But Rieder also suggests modifications: above all she argues that an interaction of implicit and explicit learning processes is likely to be most effective for both form and meaning learning.

A new project which is currently in its start-up phase is introduced by Ute Smit's contribution. This project integrates existing interests in ELF (see above) and English Medium Instruction (cf. Dalton-Puffer in VIEWS 11(1&2), 12(1)), but is going to break new methodological ground: Ute Smit is following a group of international hotel management students through their two-year course. Exciting data are in the making – read up on the questions she is putting to those data. The text is a modified version of the proposal which won Ute a 2-year grant from the Austrian Science Fund. Congratulations and our best wishes for a successful research-period!

Thank you for your continuing support and keep visiting our website (http://www.univie.ac.at/Anglistik/views).

We wish all our readers a happy and successful year 2004!

THE EDITORS

Signalling cultural identity: the use of L1/Ln in ELF

*Ulrike Pölzl, Vienna**

> For the Americans, the English and some others, the English language is of course the language of identity. But for the rest of mankind, that is to say more than nine-tenth of our contemporaries, it cannot fill that role, and it would be dangerous to try to make it so unless we want to produce hordes of people who are unhinged and disoriented, with personalities that are unbalanced. No one should be forced to become a mental expatriate every time he opens a book, sits down in front of a screen, enters into a discussion or thinks. People ought to be able to make their own modernity instead of always feeling they are borrowing it from others.
>
> Amin Maalouf, On Identity

On the 21st century map of the world English is undeniably the language dominating communication across nations and cultures. Yet it is not the English of the inner circle (Kachru 1986), which has gone 'international'. Native or inner circle English is a primary language of identification for its various native speakers, be they A(merican), B(ritish), C(anadian) or others. They consequently feel a strong cultural affiliation to their language. Not all users of English, however, feel like members of the 'ABC' community. World wide speakers of different linguacultural backgrounds use English as a lingua franca (ELF) to communicate interculturally across and within borders. Hence, the English used globally is sometimes even called a variety in its own right (Knapp & Meierkord 2002). This new variety is a means of communica-

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tion only, which is appropriated by its users and differs from native English (cf. Seidlhofer 2002a; 2002b). I will refer to the 'community' using ELF as either 'lingua franca speakers', which seems preferable to non-native speakers since it does not imply deficiency but variety, or 'ELF users', a term proposed by Seidlhofer (lecture 2004) to shift the focus from 'learners of English' (again implying deficiencies) to 'users of English' (implying independence from native English). When speaking English, lingua franca speakers create what Meierkord (2002) terms a 'linguistic masala' in displaying their individual culture or group membership (be it a temporary or their original one), both being distinct from that of 'ABC' English speakers. It would indeed seem out of place if ELF users tried to pretend to be English and to belong to a particular 'national' English speaking culture when they obviously do not.

The idea of keeping one's voice (Kramsch 1999) in a metaphorical but also literal sense will be investigated in this article. A very straightforward way of making their cultural identity (with focus on primary culture) salient in discourse is the use of lingua franca speakers' 'original voice', i.e. their L1. When ELF users integrate or 'export' their L1 into ELF, this presents a conscious choice and does not necessarily signal 'learner' status but membership of different groups. The use of L1, however, is an option individual speakers can choose rather than a general rule and my own data suggests that it depends on an individual speaker's preference, the context of a contact situation and its communicative goal. The ELF data presented in this analysis derive from naturally occurring casual conversations among rather fluent ELF users, which were recorded and collected in the Middle East (Jordan, Egypt, Lebanon) in 2002. It is part of a small data corpus comprising 20 hours of recordings, where the participating individuals display diverse backgrounds, professions and proficiency levels in ELF. For the present analysis a small selection of settings was chosen to exemplify specific ways in which lingua franca speakers activate cultural identity (primary culture) through ELF-embedded use of their primary language (L1) or their co-participant's primary language (Ln).

1. The communication-identification dichotomy

Much has been written about the intrinsic relationship of language and culture, and so it might seem controversial that English as a natural language can serve as a culture-free communicative code. The term 'culture-free' would hereby relate to the native culture normally associated with a language (e.g. ABC culture associated with English).I will propose that English in lingua

franca contact situations is used as a 'native-culture-free' code. This claim does not assume that conversation occurs in a vacuum, but rather that ELF users have the freedom to either create their own temporary culture, to partly 'export' their individual primary culture into ELF or to reinvent their cultural identities by blending into other linguacultural groups (similar to what Rampton (1995) would describe as language crossing). Indeed empirical data (see section 2.) provides evidence to support this view. The culture-free status of ELF can be explained by investigating the dichotomy of language with regard to communication and identification, whereby Hüllen's (1992: 302ff) distinction of 'Kommunikationssprache' (language of communication), and 'Identifikationssprache' (language of identification) is essential in this respect. Such a categorisation is based upon the twofold function of linguistic signs, namely the referential function and the expressive one. Consequently, a language selected for communication only expresses a communicative and primarily referential function, i.e. the culture associated with this natural language is not activated by its users.

> Kommunikation ist aller Erfahrung nach allerdings auch möglich, ohne daß man sich "seiner" Identifikationssprache bedient. Man benutzt eine Sprache dann als Zeichensystem, das einer speziellen Kultur neutral gegenübersteht. (Hüllen 1992:305)
>
> [Judging from experience communication is also possible without using 'your' language of identification. In such a case one uses a language as a system of signs, remaining neutral with regard to a specific culture. *my transl, UP*]

A language of identification, however, displays a symbolic function (Edwards 1985) by enabling the speaker to identify with a language and through it with a culture to which s/he feels a sense of belonging. The term 'culture' here is used to refer to primary culture/s (membership by shared ethnic origin, e.g. Greek or bilingual Arabic/Greek). However it could also refer to situational culture (e.g. special interest groups such as linguists, where membership is based on specific shared knowledge). Wherever linguists or philosophers, for example, meet internationally they identify with their like-minded group through their own terminology and thus create a self-contained culture. Those two concepts of culture (primary and situational) co-exist and are both highly relevant for ELF contexts. In the following, though, I would like to focus exclusively on the primary culture and language of speakers. Generally, speakers use their primary language as a means of identification. However, exceptions to this rule are possible (cf. Hüllen 1992: 303). Alongside Hüllen's two categories, Rampton's (1995:339ff) offer a more speaker centred distinc-

tion which he terms ‘expertise’ and ‘allegiance’. Whilst ‘expertise’ refers to language proficiency irrespective of whether this language is used as a primary or secondary language, ‘allegiance’ describes a speaker’s identification with a particular language. Both categories prove extremely useful in analysing ELF and its users.

The reason why language has a twofold function can be traced back to essential forces, which Widdowson (1982: 10) identifies and labels as the ‘co-operative imperative’ and the ‘territorial imperative’. The communicative imperative expresses an individual’s need to socialise and to communicate with others irrespective of whether these others belong to his/her own group or not. The territorial imperative is motivated by the individual’s need to preserve his/her identity and promotes self-inclusion versus other-exclusion resulting in in-group (in the most extreme case representing only the individual) and out-group. Speakers use language in both ways, to communicate and to self-assert their group membership or more generally put: to define themselves in relationship to their co-participants.

What has been said about the dichotomy of language proves essential in analysing ELF communication. Lingua franca speakers use a different language than their own primary language as a communicative code in which they display ‘expertise’, whereby they do not activate the culture/s or ‘allegiances’ associated with this code. Using ELF enables them to communicate with co-participants from different linguacultural groups. Still the interplay of both forces is displayed: English used as a culture-free code equally allows for a means to express a speaker’s primary culture (territorial imperative), but at the same time it stimulates him/her to co-create a new inter-culture together with his/her co-participants (co-operative imperative). The dynamic aspect of the cultural, spatial or historical independence (no common ethnic origin) that characterises such inter-culture explains why lingua franca speakers tend to create temporary and rather mixed communities (House 2002:259; Hüllen 1982:86; Meierkord 2002:128f). The ELF inter-culture as an expression of membership is created in the communicative event itself, and its shape depends on and is defined by the communicative goal of the interaction. Using English for communication only, the individual lingua franca speaker does not identify with the cultural norms of English as a Native Language. Evidence for this is found in my data but also in studies by Bowers (1999) or Lufty Diab (1996). Bowers reports on English learners from Cyprus, whose motives were to share and express their culture in English rather than to become English. Lufty Diab shows in a case study of English teachers in Beirut

that some users of English like the intercultural possibilities the language offers, but object to the culture of native speakers.

2. Signalling cultural identity

In the following analysis the focus will be on naturally occurring discourse. The participating individuals bring with them a sense of identity and belonging that is very much shaped by their membership to their primary culture. An interesting notion here is that of 'loyalty', which despite its seemingly strong claim appears a helpful tool in interpreting ELF data. Hüllen (1992: 303) refers to an 'emotional loyalty' speakers feel towards their primary language and Rampton (1995:342) describes this kind language loyalty as 'inheritance', i.e. an integral part of the 'allegiance' with a language which is inherited. This loyalty might be an essential motive why individuals do not necessarily change their 'voice' (in a Kramschian sense) when they change their language in order to communicate across linguacultures. They can show and confirm their cultural belonging and identity at wish in whatever language they use. A very straightforward signal in this respect is, of course, the conscious use of the L1 embedded in ELF.

Speakers' and thus also ELF speakers' identities are never static but they are constructed within interaction (cf. Ochs 1993: 295f) and can involve membership in various groups (e.g. ELF group or primary culture group). These group identities are complex, dynamic and multi-variant, they are formed, negotiated, confirmed or challenged through interaction with others (cf. Collier & Milt 1988:112). This holds especially true for ELF settings, where co-participants can 'export', appropriate or re-invent their cultural identities. Within this newly co-created ELF inter-culture they can engage in diverse memberships and/or signal their own. Displaying loyalty to their own group does not necessarily prevent them from forming other memberships.

2.1. Data description

The data selected for this analysis is part of a small corpus of 20 hours which was collected by means of tape recordings lasting between 5 and 90 minutes. The corpus includes a variety of settings (professional, educational and private settings), professional profiles (academics, students, housewives, tourist guides, a merchant and a doctor) and different ELF proficiency levels. The recordings were collected in the Middle East (Jordan, Lebanon, Egypt), Austria and Singapore in spring, summer and autumn 2002. For the majority of recordings (35 out of 40), participant observation was used, where the re-

searcher, being part of the ELF group and as an ELF speaker herself, was always involved in the interactions. In all encounters the individuals recorded display their own, person-based identity, as well as their group-based identity (cf. Ting-Toomey 1999: 25ff). It is exclusively the latter which will be investigated here. The primary cultures of the participating lingua franca speakers are rather diverse and were as follows: Austrian, Egyptian, German, Greek, Italian, Jordanian, Japanese, Lebanese, Spanish and Turkish.

For the present analysis a small selection of data samples was chosen from the corpus, in order to exemplify ways and contexts in which extremely fluent ELF co-participants with diverse linguacultural backgrounds straightforwardly display or assign cultural identity (their own or others) through their use of their L1 or an Ln (a co-participant's L1). The data samples are casual conversations among academics and/or students. The situational identity of participants (the role they play; be it academic, student or other) which creates a culture in itself is naturally always present. For instance they are educated speakers and experts or learners in their various subjects. This role, however, is not always emphasised in the casual conversations chosen and as it is not the focus of this analysis, it will be mostly neglected below.

Since the lingua franca speakers I recorded are perceived as individuals I do not list them as mere numbers in the data samples. Instead of marking their conversational contributions by "S1", "S2", "S3", etc., the individual speakers are given historical pseudonyms which reflect their cultural origin. Sisi, Berta and Zita, for example are Austrian lingua franca speakers, whereas Naruhito Masako and Suiko are named after Japanese royals to denote 'Japaneseness'. A list of participating speakers is provided below (Table 1). Apart from listing their L1, their knowledge of other Lns used in the conversations is also provided.

Table 1. List of individual participants in alphabetical order:

name	**L1**	**profession**	♀/♂	**age**	**Ln knowledge**
Attila	TURKISH	lecturer in TURKISH	m	60+	ARABIC (basic)
Berta	AUSTRIAN	lecturer in GERMAN	f	20+	ARABIC (1 semester)
Diogenes	GREEK	lecturer in GREEK	m	40+	ARABIC (4 semesters)
Ibn Rushd	ARABIC	student of GERMAN	m	20+	GERMAN (5 semesters)
Cleopatra	ARABIC	student of GREEK	f	20+	GREEK (5 semesters)
Masako	JAPANESE	lecturer in JAPANESE	f	20+	ARABIC (5 semesters)
Naruhito	JAPANESE	Judo instructor	m	20+	ARABIC (3 semesters)
Nuredin	ARABIC	lecturer in ENGLISH	m	40+	FRENCH (M.A. degree)
Ramses	ARABIC	lecturer in MEDICINE	m	50+	none
Sharazade	ARABIC	student of GERMAN	f	20+	GERMAN (5 semesters)
Suiko	JAPANESE	lecturer in JAPANESE	f	30+	ARABIC (5 semesters)
Sisi	AUSTRIAN	student of ELF	f	30+	ARABIC/JAPANESE (3 semesters)
Tristan	GERMAN	lecturer in GERMAN	m	30+	ARABIC (M.A. degree, fluent)
Zenobia	ARABIC	student of GERMAN	f	20+	GERMAN (5 semesters)
Zita	AUSTRIAN	pensioner	f	60+	none

In the data examples selected, the utterances reflecting cultural membership are written in bold letters for better emphasis. In the setting description of each example contextual information and further participant profiles will be provided for a fuller understanding of the conversational exchange. For a conceptualisation of the recorded conversations the VOICE transcription conventions were used and are briefly listed at the end of the paper.

2.2. Data analysis: L1/Ln usage in ELF

When lingua franca speakers use their L1 embedded in ELF, code-switching or borrowing, especially creative borrowing (Dulay et al 1982: 114), are involved. Whilst borrowing refers to the process of incorporating words of one language into another (e.g. in order to express specific cultural concepts), code-switching traditionally describes the socially significant use of different languages within the same conversation or even utterance (Myers-Scotton 1993, Milroy & Muysken 1995). Much of the research is done in and actually refers to bilingual speech communities. In an ELF context, however, it cannot be assumed that there is extensive language contact between the languages involved or that users of ELF are highly and equally bilingual. It might prove

useful, therefore, to add and explore new perspectives in order to investigate the 'linguistic masala' (Meierkord 2002) created in ELF. For the present analysis it is assumed that the lingua franca speakers are bilinguals. Their competence in ELF may vary, but they are able to communicate in two languages (L1 and ELF). In ELF contact situations more than two languages are present and individual co-participants can also use an Ln (a co-participant's L1) if they feel it is desirable or necessary. Lingua franca speakers' competence in an Ln, however, might range from non-existent through basic to Ln-competent. Hence, code-switching and borrowing can occur between ELF, L1 and possibly an Ln. It is difficult at times to distinguish clearly between intra-sentential borrowing and code-switching considering context, co-participants and language proficiencies involved. What will mostly be referred to as use of L1/Ln implies the following range of possibilities:

(a) in the case of L1 and ELF - lingua franca speakers **code-switch** between their L1 and ELF in particular socially significant situations which can denote group membership, when they merely 'export' certain L1 concepts into ELF (to share them with the ELF community but not to assert their own group membership) this is considered **creative borrowing**.

(b) In the case of an Ln and ELF - there are various possibilities with regard to the lingua franca speaker's Ln competence. Fully competent Ln speakers code-switch and borrow in the same way as described for (a). Lingua franca speakers who do not know the Ln at all but adopt Ln expressions in relevant settings clearly borrow. However, a third and problematic group are those who are learners of the Ln. This is particularly relevant for Lns surrounding the ELF setting as in my data where lecturers from diverse countries were working for a limited period in an Arabic country. They needed to acquire at least basic language skills in order to interact in daily life, thus most of them took courses in Arabic. Consequently, in cases where Ln learners use Ln utterances during an ELF conversation they are thought of as borrowing and code-switching similarly to fully competent speakers, see (a). This distinction might be too rudimentary and controversial but it appears quite practical for the present analysis considering the varying degrees of language competence and the Lns involved.

Focusing on the L1 in ELF settings first, there is a variety of possibilities when and where lingua franca speakers might use their native code. With this code created by means of code-switching or borrowing whole cultural concepts are being exported into the ELF community. In the following I will discuss examples such as terms of address, activity-based expressions (e.g. toasts), greetings, speech acts, performed with a pragmatic accent (e.g. thank-

ing someone in the form of a religious saying in Arabic) or culture laden labels (expressions which are none of the above but label activities or concepts of a particular culture). Motives for using the L1 can range from language loyalty to a perceived need or wish to act politely, whereby the latter is achieved by acting according to those norms which lingua franca speakers know best, namely their own. When L1 expressions and concepts are exported into ELF, these concepts can also be temporarily adopted or borrowed as Ln expressions by other ELF users involved.

2.2.1. Terms of address and honorific titles

In a contact situation lingua franca speakers have a variety of choices when it comes to terms of address. They can use English expressions or if they feel that those are not expressive enough, they can use their L1 terms of address or they can even use their co-participants' L1-terms (the Ln's involved). As is demonstrated in the data, lingua franca speakers do not exclusively use L1 terms of address with their primary cultural in-group (e.g. two Turkish ELF users conversing in English within a larger group of co-participants), but also with ELF co-participants who are at first unfamiliar with these expressions.

(1) and (2)
Setting: Amman/Jordan. The three lecturers Attila (Turkish), Tristan (German) and Diogenes (Greek) are involved in a discussion about current issues in Jordan with three students (all from Jordan), of whom only Cleopatra is featured in extract (2). The discussion takes place in Diogenes' office at the University of Jordan. Since the department of Modern Languages is rather small the students are known to all lecturers, but take classes only with the Greek lecturer. The data constitute one of the rare examples of non-participant observation in my corpus (5 conversations out of 40).

(1)
1 Attila: (...) since **tristan <L1=TURKISH> *bey* </L1=TURKISH>** started this weather thing (.)
2 it reminded me of something that i had a (.) long time ago (.) when i used to work in
3 NATO all my commanders complain about the weather of TURKEY (2) they say (.)
4 **attila <L1=TURKISH> *bey* </L1=TURKISH>** ? (1) what's this weather (.) it's very
5 it's very unpredictable it changes half an hour like a woman (1) i say sir this is my
6 weather i don't have a dir- your WOMAN changes at every half hour or not but i mean
7 you know real woman do not changes uh quite that often as you say (1) **<L1=TURKISH>**
8 ***efendom*** **</L1=TURKISH>** yes really uh **tristan <L1=TURKISH> *bey* </L1=TURKISH>**
9 we're enjoying the last days of the forlighting (.) person will have perhaps uh rain coming
10 up again like it did last weekend (.) <L1=TURKISH> ***EFENDI*** **</L1=TURKISH>** i thank
11 **diogenes <L1=TURKISH> *bay* </L1=TURKISH>** for uh his kind INVITATION for this

12 MORNING it was all surprise to me OF COURSE

(2)

1 Diogenes: uh: yeah (1) so (1) yeah i mean that uh: (2) PEOPLEin greece are not- in
2 ATHENS in ATHENS where the problem is are not so conscious of this
3 problem and they realise that SOMETHING uh happens when we are close
4 to: (2) a to uh ph how to say to: <1> uhm a </1> deadlock yeah uhm (1) now uh
5 Attila: <1> deadlock </1>
6 Diogenes: about jordan and how women treat uh: WATER here (.) or the situation [around
7 the water here in jordan (2) cleopatra (1) <2> Cleopatra will </2>
8 Attila: <2> cleopatra **<L1=TURKISH> *hanim* </L1=TURKISH>** </2> will tell [<3> about
9 about her </3> view about water
10 Tristan: <3> cleopatra **<Ln=TURKISH> *hanim* <Ln=TURKISH>** say yes </3>
11 Attila: conservation
12 Juju: ok (1) uhm=
13 Attila: = i think
14 Juju: i <@> think </@> @@@

The Turkish lecturer, Attila, displays his culture by using Turkish politeness conventions when addressing his co-participants, which he does in a very formal way. He does not merely translate his terms of address into English, but he code-switches into his L1 (I would suggest code-switching here since equivalent expressions exist in English and Attila clearly wants to state his 'Turkishness'). Thus in example (1) 'bey' instead of its English equivalent 'Mr.' is used to address and refer to his colleagues, 'tristan bey' and 'diogenes bey'. Consequently, Attila also refers to himself as 'attila bey' when telling his anecdote and imitating the commanders in line 4. In example (2) line 8 he uses 'hanim' to replace 'Ms' in 'cleopatra hanim' when addressing one of the female students and here he is even jokingly imitated by Tristan, his German colleague, who borrows and applies 'hanim'. The terms 'bey' and 'hanim' are honorific titles which take the position after proper names (cf. Dogancay-Aktuna & Kamisli 2001: 226), whereby they are used with first names rather than with full names. The Turkish expressions 'efendi' or 'efendim' used in lines 8 and 10 are another instance of L1 politeness. The honorific title means 'my lord' and also denotes respect (Tannen & Öztek 1981: 41-42) to the person addressed or referred to.

As mentioned in the section's introduction, lingua franca speakers can adopt expressions in the L1 of their co-participant/s and use them within ELF as an Ln either by code-switching or borrowing. Underlying motives might

again be to comply with politeness conventions of a particular group or to blend in with a majority group, as can be seen in example (3).

(3)
Setting: Cairo/Egypt. The participants are Masako and Suiko, two Japanese lecturers who work at different universities in Cairo. Zita and Sisi are two Austrians (a pensioner and a student) visiting Masako. They all have Japanese dinner at Suiko's house. Masako and Sisi are close friends and know each other quite well. Zita is a friend of Sisi's and Suiko is a colleague of Masako's. Sisi tries to explain to Zita that Masako borrowed a blanket from Suiko especially for them.

(3)

1 Sisi:	<to Zita> you know that we have the nice warm blanket from suiko
2	**<Ln=JAPANESE> *san* </Ln=JAPANESE>?**
3 Suiko:	any time
4 Sisi:	the blue one is suiko **<Ln=JAPANESE> *san's* </Ln=JAPANESE>** blanket (.)
5	that we sleep with
6 Zita:	ah mhm (.) mhmhm mhmhm=
7 Suiko:	=so next time in my bed
8 Zita:	@@@
9 Sisi:	and you will move to masako?
10 Suiko:	it's no problem
11 Masako:	@
12 Sisi:	or masako will move to your place?
13 Masako:	@@@@
14 Sisi:	so that she does not have to deal with me?
15 Suiko:	@@ when it's uh masako **<L1=JAPANESE> *san* </L1=JAPANESE>**
16	she comes yeah
17 Sisi:	@@@@@@
18 Suiko:	@@@@ yeah

The Austrian student, Sisi, refers to Suiko as 'suiko san' using the Japanese polite formula, which, having taken lessons in Japanese, she is familiar with. However, Sisi does not use the polite term of address with her friend Masako whom she knows best and longest from this group. The host of the dinner, Suiko, on the other hand refers to her colleague in the correct Japanese way as 'masako san' when co-constructing the joke about moving house for visitors. When referring and addressing her own cultural group the Japanese lingua franca speaker, Suiko, automatically code-switches to her cultural conventions. In this particular case she can do so since she knows that the Austrian lingua franca speaker understands the term and underlying convention used. It is exactly those to which Sisi tries to blend in during this Japanese dominated ELF setting. Sisi and Suiko expand ELF and import expressions in order to comply to an etiquette that might be expected.

2.2.2. Activity based expressions

In addition certain typical activities like having meals or a drink together might stimulate the use of the L1 or Ln , especially if the majority of ELF users belong to the same cultural group.

(4)
Setting: Cairo/Egypt. Masako and Suiko are colleagues working as university lecturers, Sisi (Austrian, student) is Masako's visiting friend and Narhuito is a judo instructor working in Jordan and acquainted to Masako. They all are having dinner together at Masako's house. Suiko and Sisi have met previously, but both of them meet Naruhito for the first time.

(4)
1 Masako: **<L1=JAPANESE> *kanpai* </L1=JAPANESE>**
2 Naruhito: ah <lifting his glas>
3 Suiko: **<L1=JAPANESE> *kanpai* </L1=JAPANESE>**
4 Sisi: oh <1> sorry </1> just a second <getting her glass>
5 Masako: <1> mhm </1>
6 Sisi: shall we first=
7 Masako: =yes=
8 Sisi: =toast?
9 Suiko: **<L1=JAPANESE> *kanpai* </L1=JAPANESE>**
10 Masako: **<Ln=GERMAN> *prost* <Ln=GERMAN>**
11 Naruhito: post?
12 Sisi: **<Ln=GERMAN> *prost prost* </Ln=GERMAN>**
13 Naruhito: post office
14 Sisi: **<Ln=JAPANESE> *kanpai* <2> *kanpai* </2> </Ln=JAPANESE>**@@ nice
15 Suiko: <2> @@@ </2>
16 Masako: <2> @@@@ </2>
17 Naruhito: yeah yeah
18 Suiko: (xxx)
19 Masako: mhm? (3)
20 Suiko: mhm <L1=JAPANESE> *oishii oishii* </L1=JAPANESE> <tasting wine>
21 Naruhito: mhm oh yeah
22 Suiko: <L1=JAPANESE> *oishii* </L1=JAPANESE>
23 Naruhito: wine yeah really good mhm
24 Suiko: **<L1=JAPANESE> *itadakimasu* </L1=JAPANESE>**
25 Masako: <L1=JAPANESE> *douzo* </L1=JAPANESE> <offering food to all>
26 Naruhito: **<L1=JAPANESE> *itadakimasu* </L1=JAPANESE>** oh
27 Suiko: <L1=JAPANESE> *douzo* </L1=JAPANESE> <offering food to all>
28 Sisi: **<Ln=JAPANESE> *itadakimasu* </Ln=JAPANESE>**

When the co-participants toast, they code-switch, whereby they first use the Japanese expression 'kanpai' with the host, Masako, starting and Suiko re-

sponding, while Naruhito raises his glass and utters an agreeing ‘ah’. Sisi, who seems to be a bit confused provides her Ln ‘kanpai’ only in line 14. But Japanese is not the only way in which to toast during an ELF dinner, Masako and Suiko also borrow (none of them is a learner of the language) the German equivalent ‘prost’ to include Sisi, their co-participant, who is Austrian. Naruhito who conceives the meaning but does not know the expression supplies a surprised ‘post?’ in line 11, which sounds similar to ‘prost’ and is more familiar to him . When Sisi code-switches to reply in her L1 before doing so in the Ln, he blends in jokingly with ‘post office’ in line 13. A joke which is acknowledged in line 14 by Sisi’s ‘nice’. Masako’s, Suiko’s and Sisi’s laughter show that his joke is well received, though Naruhito is never given the correct wording of the German toast. When the co-participants start their Japanese meal, another typical expression for such activity is used, first by the Japanese as their L1 and then by the Austrian as her Ln, namely ‘itadakimasu’ which is a polite way to say that you are going to eat. The L1 expression ‘douzo’ which both Masako and Suiko use, translates into ‘please help yourself’. Since Sisi is a learner of Japanese it is assumed that ALL co-participants understand its meaning.

Here the underlying motive can once more be traced back to politeness, in that a culture specific norm is transferred into ELF and adopted as a sign of convergence into a specific temporary group within the inter-culture. Burt’s (1992) concept of compliance could be used to describe the reaction of the Austrian lingua franca speaker, Sisi, since she chooses to ‘basically’ (though as a learner partially) use the same code as her interlocutors and thus complies. It also shows that ELF is flexible enough for a temporary subgroup (as Japanese here) to be created within ELF for certain activities, i.e. speakers can confirm or reinvent their identity and temporarily act Japanese or German but they will sooner or later blend into ELF again.

2.2.3. Greetings

Another area in which the L1/Ln is preferred used are greetings. However, L1 greetings seem to be dependent on context, co-participants and very much on locus. The following ELF conversation is set in an Arab country.

(5)

Setting: Amman/Jordan. Attila (Turkish), Berta (Austrian) and Diogenes (Greek) are colleagues from university, Sisi (Austrian) is a former colleague and is now a student doing her research there. All meet in Diogenes' apartment for tea and extensive causal talk. Suddenly Ramses (Arabic), Diogenes' neighbour, joins them. None of the group knows Ramses apart from Diogenes. The former originally knocks on the door to borrow matches from the latter, but when invited to join the group he immediately and willingly accepts.

(5)

1	<door bell rings and diogenes gets up and openes the door>
2 Attila:	we we deal in dollars (2)
3 Berta:	we're too loud (2)
4 Attila:	no we weren't (3)
5 Ramses:	hello
6 Diogenes:	hello hello how are you?
7 Ramses:	fine (.) do you have a match?
8 Diogenes:	do you need to to to to light yeah yeah yeah i don't have matches but
9	i have uh i have uh this uh (1) <going to kitchen and back>
10 Berta:	lighter
11 Diogenes:	lighter yeah (2) (...)
12 Attila:	diogenes <L1=TURKISH> *bey* </L1=TURKISH> i have a match if he wants
13 Diogenes:	you can keep it it's ok i have one uh i have another (2) you can keep (2)
14	would you like to come? to drink a tea with us? do you have time or not?
15 Ramses:	**<L1=ARABIC> *assalamu aleikum* </L1=ARABIC>** <entering the apartment>
16 Attila:	**<Ln=ARABIC> *walaikum assalam* </Ln=ARABIC>**
17 Sisi:	**<Ln=ARABIC> *walaikum assalam* </Ln=ARABIC>**
18 Berta:	**<Ln=ARABIC> *marhaban* </Ln=ARABIC>**
19 Diogenes:	uh: all colleagues here
20 Attila:	attila
21 Ramses:	yes yes
22 Diogenes:	berta teaches german attila teaches turkish uh sisi uh=
23 Attila:	=german=
24 Diogenes:	=german (1) and me (2) just greek

In lines 5 and 6 Ramses and Diogenes greet each other at first in English. Berta and Attila try to assist in the 'match-problem' and once it is solved, Diogenes invites his neighbour in, since until then the latter had been standing at the door. Ramses who does not know any of the others code-switches and greets them in Arabic – identifying with his own cultural and also the surrounding local norms. The other ELF users have some knowledge of Arabic and thus comply by answering politely in Ramses' L1. The Arabic greeting 'assalamu aleikum' translates into 'peace be upon you' and its correct reply 'walaikum assalam' translates into 'and peace be upon you'. It is a typical Islamic greeting commonly and mainly used among Muslims, but also other

Arabic confessions. The other Arabic greeting ‘marhaban’ originally means ‘welcome’ and is used as an equivalent to English ‘hello’.

As with terms of address or activity based expressions, L1 usage in greetings seems to have a lot to do with acting politely, and code-switching here can signal a situation-specific complex of mutual rights and obligations (Myers-Scotton 1993:58). Since ELF always occurs in a particular context, and here the surrounding culture of the setting is Arabic, the lingua franca speakers can and actually do opt to temporarily adopt Arabic conventions as introduced by Ramses, who at the same time seizes the right to define and represent himself in relation to the others. He introduces himself as being an Arab and his new co-participants respond accordingly.

2.2.4. Speech acts with an ‘accent’

Speech acts are a fourth distinct area, where primary cultural concepts can be shared with other ELF users. These can either be translated or performed in the original. Taking Arabic as an example, religious sayings - for which there is no equivalent in English - can perform a variety of functions (thanking, apologising, condoling). Arabic lingua franca speakers, when using ELF, can opt to introduce their conventions to a ‘wider’ audience and at the same time adhere to their L1 norms.

(6)
Setting: Amman/Jordan: the colleagues, Diogenes (Greek) and Nuredin (Arabic) are having tea in their office at university. Sisi (Austrian) used to be a colleague but is now a student and familiar to both of them. Diogenes serves tea to Nuredin who reacts with the situation adequate blessing ‘god bless your hands’. Nuredin, who is fluent in ELF since also a lecturer in English at the university, is well aware of his linguistic choices.

(6)
1 Nuredin: (...) no sugar please (2) have this thank you a lot thanks a lot
2 Diogenes: uh: @
3 Nuredin: <L1=ARABIC> ma </L1=ARABIC> in arabic we use the (1)
4 expression may god (3) save your (1) hands
5 Sisi: what do you say in arabic?
6 Nuredin: may god save your hands <L1=ARABIC> isalim deyek wahli
7 isalim deyek </L1=ARABIC> right? because you do things
8 with your hands all right?
9 Diogenes: i can <1> say it </1>
10 Nuredin: <1> so you </1> beg for god to keep them save (.) <2> all right? @@@ [</2>
11 Diogenes: <2> <Ln=ARABIC> isalim deyek </Ln=ARABIC> </2>
12 Sisi: <2> @@ nice </2>

13 Diogenes: <Ln=ARABIC> shukran </Ln=ARABIC> nuredin
14 Sisi: and what would one reply? if you say this?
15 Diogenes: <Ln=ARABIC> *shukran* <Ln=ARABIC>
16 Nuredin: and your hands (1) **<L1=ARABIC> *wa deyek* </L1=ARABIC>**
17 Sisi: and your hands <Ln=ARABIC> *wa-* ?<Ln=ARABIC>
18 Nuredin: yeah **<L1=ARABIC> *wa deyek* <L1=ARABIC>**
19 Diogenes: **<Ln=ARABIC> *wa deyek* <Ln=ARABIC>**
20 Nuredin: <L1=ARABIC> *yani* </L1=ARABIC> we try the same way (.) to the same uh
21 Diogenes: acronym
22 Nuredin: the same thing <L1=ARABIC> *yani* </L1=ARABIC> (.) repeating the same thing
23 <L1=ARABIC> *yani* </L1=ARABIC> (1) you are begging the god to save my
23 my hands (.) i beg god (.) to save yours as well (11)

It is interesting to observe that Nuredin first translates his gratefulness into English using 'thank you' or 'thanks a lot'. And he also translates his adequate Arabic reaction in line 4 into English since he assumes his interlocutors, who are learners of Arabic and know the basics, are not fluent enough to understand the Arabic original. However, he willingly provides the latter when he realises that they are interested in knowing the original expression. Looking at the co-participants for a moment, we can see different reactions. Whilst Diogenes in line 13 and 15 code-switches into Arabic to react Ln appropriately by using 'shukran' the equivalent to 'thank you', Sisi wants to know the exact reply to the blessing in order to apply it. In the following Nuredin, further signalling his Arabness, not only gives the correct reply, 'wa deyek', but also explains that with blessings you reply by wishing the same for the 'blesser'. Diogenes then abandons the all-purpose 'shukran' and practices the correct reply. In the specific context of example (6) lingua franca speakers take up another co-participant's L1 expressions and 'enrich' ELF without threatening intelligibility. This certainly depends on the co-participants, but context is also vital here since the conversation takes place in an Arabic country. Nuredin is a mediator in bringing the surrounding culture of this setting closer to its visitors in using ELF and as a complementation his L1.

2.2.5. Culture-laden labels

Naturally, all L1 expressions discussed earlier convey the cultural concepts of their users, thus the blessing in example (5) which was used to express thanks, could also be defined as culture laden since it reflects the religious tradition of Arabic cultures. The category of culture specific labels, however, subsumes expressions which describe typical actions or concepts associated with a particular culture (expressions other than terms of address, greetings, activity

based expressions or speech acts), which if delivered in the L1 or Ln usually result in borrowings. These labels can refer to essential words in the primary culture, but need not necessarily be key words as Wierzbicka (1997) would define them. Lingua franca speakers can either borrow from their L1 (if the expression originates from their own linguaculture) or an Ln (in case the expression originates from another linguaculture) or they translate these labels into English, where they commonly lack exact equivalents. For this reason, culture-laden labels which are translated into English might have different connotations in different cultures and might even cause misunderstandings, as can be seen with the concept of 'prayer' in the following example.

(7)
Setting: same setting as in (5) but prior to Ramses' appearance. Here, Attila has problems opening the bottle of whisky he brought and after unsuccessfully trying to do so, Sisi jokingly alludes to the fact that in Islam drinking alcohol is not exactly a virtue.

(7)
1 Sisi: you drink (.) red label whisky not black label whisky <1> attila </1>?
2 Attila: <1> i </1> cannot afford <L1=TURKISH> *efendom* </L1=TURKISH> that's
3 forty three dinars and this is (.) uh <2> twenty twenty one twenty one dinars </2>
4 Sisi: <2> only forty three dinars but you could drink </2> a semester (.) for forty three [dinars
5 Attila: semester? no way (.) no way i have to <3> take my medicine after jogging </3>
6 Sisi: <3> small sips attila </3>
7 Attila: <L1=TURKISH> *efendom* </L1=TURKISH> (.) after (.)
8 Sisi: attila can i show you how you do this? <tries to open bottle>
9 Attila: uh damage (.) i mean (.) ok (.) smart cookies (3)
10 Sisi: @@@ (2) <tries unsuccessfully >
11 Attila: bullshit
12 Sisi: attila hold it <4> like this like </4> this
13 Attila: <4> let me do it </4> let me do it uh military way
14 Berta: @@@@=
15 Sisi: =it's closed <5> attila </5>
16 Berta: <5>the military way </5> is breaking bottle <6> right? </6>
17 Attila: <6> no it's </6> no dear (.) hitting the bottom@ (1) uh (2)
18 (...)
19 Sisi: maybe it's a sign (.) **allah** is showing you <6> something (.) attila <6>
20 Attila: <6> that but <L1=TURKISH> *tamam* </L1=TURKISH> <6>
21 Sisi: **skip <7> drinking whisky <7>**
22 Attila: <7> <L1=TURKISH> *tamam* </L1=TURKISH> I did my <7> **prayer** <L1=TURKISH>
23 *tamam* </L1=TURKISH> **my prayer was finished <8> about half an hour ago <8>**
24 Sisi: <8> you do your **whisky prayer** <8> as well?
25 Attila: there - **is there a whisky prayer?**=
26 Sisi: =yes=

27 Attila: =this is happy hour no dear

Sisi, herself a Christian, assigns cultural membership to Attila, a Muslim, by using the expression 'Allah', which is an important concept of his primary culture. She could also have used a different expression, like 'your God' or 'the God of Muslims', but firstly she is addressing a Muslim and it makes sense to use his terminology, and secondly the religious term 'Allah' is a profoundly widespread borrowing (e.g. the Cambridge International Dictionary of English defines Allah as 'The Islamic name for God'). With due respect but in a joking manner, Sisi not only categorises Attila as a Muslim but also refers to the cultural tradition that Muslims do or should not normally enjoy alcohol – it is a taboo (handled differently in different Muslim countries; Attila comes from a secular Muslim country). Attila wants to justify drinking alcohol by stating that he finished his prayer (Islamic five o clock prayer), which in his interpretation might make up for drinking whisky. In doing so he confirms his membership of the assigned cultural group. Because ELF cannot be as exact as one's native code with regard to cultural concepts, the word 'prayer', can be translated into both cultural groups varying in meaning. Whilst a Muslim prays five times to Mecca when the azan, the call to prayer, is inviting him to do so, Christian praying times are more flexible and voluntary. When the Christian lingua franca speaker jokingly refers to the whisky prayer we find the Muslim participant puzzled, considering his and Sisi's culture, and thus he asks in confusion, 'Is there a whisky prayer?', meaning – there isn't one in mine but is there one in yours? Used skilfully in ELF settings culture-laden labels are an additional linguistic tool available for lingua franca speakers to designate, display, confirm or characterise membership to specific cultural groups.

3. Conclusion

When using English, the fluent lingua franca speakers in this data sample deactivate the 'native' symbolic function of the language (the inherited 'allegiance') and merely adopt the communicative one (their expertise). ELF is flexible enough to allow its users to signal not only their ELF group membership, but also their individual cultural identity which is part of the ELF interculture. One way to achieve this is by the use of their L1 within ELF. This code option is profoundly linked to ELF users' basic need to identify with what they consider their language, and this is in most cases - as with the individual speakers in this data - their primary language. Hüllen (1992:303) describes the primary language as a speaker's first, thus dominating, mostly

used and mostly loved language. A speaker's loyalty towards his/her language can function as a motivational force for embedding the L1 into ELF. This concept of code choice in ELF differs greatly from a supposed lack in language proficiency, which has often been attributed to ELF users when they were considered 'mere language learners'. Apart from their wish to display their cultural membership, lingua franca speakers (particularly in casual conversations) want to act politely and co-operatively. Cultural identification and politeness can be found in all categories, be it terms of address, activity based expressions, greetings, speech acts or even culture laden labels. Not only do lingua franca speakers have the option of using their L1 in ELF, they can also take up their co-participants' L1 as their Ln during conversation. In using an Ln the speaker wants to act politely according to his co-participants' norms (if known), s/he wants to comply and thus to temporarily blend in and extend the range of ELF membership or even to reinvent himself/herself. The flexibility that ELF offers its users with regard to signalling or denoting cultural identity (in their L1/Ln) to an extent that the conversation remains intelligible (which is of course context dependent) makes ELF not only a fascinating 'linguistic masala' to use Meierkord's term, but indeed a feasible alternative to Native English which in comparison might appear 'voice resistant'. In ELF, lingua franca speakers can truly keep their voice when communicating interculturally.

Transcription conventions

Names	historical pseudomyms are given to individual speakers to replace the VOICE typical 'S1', 'S2' labels
?	rising intonation as at the end of interrogative sentence
<>	contextual information
()	pause counted in seconds, whereby (.) short pause
(xxx)	unintelligible speech
<L1=X> *text* </L1=X>	speaker's L1; the L1 expression is is written Roman alphabet and in italics, e.g. <L1=ARABIC> *ma* </L1=ARABIC>
<Ln=X> *text* </Ln=X>	a co-participant's L1 used by the speaker; the Ln expression is written in Roman alphabet and in italics, e.g. <Ln=JAPANESE> *kanpai* </Ln=JAPANESE>
@	laughter, <@> text </@> utterance spoken laughingly

S1: <1> text </1>

S2: <1> text </1>	simultaneous speech
=	B's utterance occurs without a noticable pause after A's utterance
:	lengthened vowels or hesitation markers, e.g. uh:
dir-	a hyphen marks the self-interruption of a speaker
PEOPLE	words or syllables spoken with emphatic stress are written in captal letters
(...)	some parts of conversation are left out

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Implicit and explicit learning in incidental vocabulary acquisition

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1. Introduction

Psychological studies about implicit/explicit learning in language acquisition have typically been concerned with the acquisition of grammatical structures. Reber (1967) was the first researcher to formulate a theory of implicit learning on the basis of experiments on the learning of miniature artificial grammars, in which he demonstrated that information was abstracted out of the environment without conscious operations; since then, the analysis of implicit and explicit learning has developed considerably, and theories have been proposed which go beyond the context of learning artificial languages in experimental settings (cf. Ellis 1994b).

In the field of vocabulary acquisition, the nature of the implicit/explicit distinction is somewhat different than in grammar learning, and research in this area is still very scarce. Furthermore, it seems that the debate about implicit/explicit learning and vocabulary acquisition has frequently been blurred by a confusion of the issue under discussion. This can be illustrated by the diverse terminology used, contrasting e.g. 'incidental' vs. 'intentional' learning, 'attended' vs. 'unattended' learning, or 'implicit' acquisition vs. 'explicit' directed learning. Among these terms, particularly the notion of incidental vocabulary acquisition constitutes a central research focus in L2 pedagogy which is insufficiently distinguished from the concept of implicit learning in psychology.

In an attempt to disentangle and relate these two terms, the present paper investigates in how far incidental vocabulary acquisition can be said to correspond to implicit (and/or explicit) learning. For such a discussion, the approach suggested by Ellis (1994c) appears to offer a valuable framework and starting point; yet, a preliminary clarification of terminological issues seems to be required due to the inconsistent uses and definitions of the basic terms in the literature. The paper thus starts out with a theoretical discussion of the

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central concepts and subsequently provides an analysis of Ellis' (1994c) claims in the light of empirical case studies on incidental vocabulary acquisition through reading.[1]

2. Terminological issues

2.1 Implicit vs. incidental learning

Current definitions of implicit and explicit learning originate in the field of psychology; these definitions generally focus on the absence or presence of conscious operations as a crucial distinguishing factor, which is in line with Ellis' terminology: Implicit learning is typically defined as "acquisition of knowledge about the underlying structure of a complex stimulus environment by a process which takes place naturally, simply and without conscious operation", while explicit learning is said to be characterized by "more conscious operation where the individual makes and tests hypotheses in a search for structure" (Ellis 1994b: 1).

In vocabulary acquisition as it is discussed in L2 pedagogy, a distinction is frequently made which superficially appears to correspond to the implicit-explicit debate: that of incidental vs. intentional vocabulary acquisition. Here, incidental vocabulary acquisition is generally defined as the "learning of vocabulary as the by-product of any activity not explicitly geared to vocabulary learning" and is contrasted with intentional vocabulary learning, defined as "any activity geared at committing lexical information to memory" (Hulstijn 2001: 271).

The fact that incidental vocabulary acquisition takes place in second language learning is generally acknowledged among researchers. Most scholars agree that except for the first few thousand most common words, L2 vocabulary is predominantly acquired incidentally (cf. Huckin & Coady 1999). However, as for an exact definition and characterization of the processes and mechanisms involved in this phenomenon, many questions remain unsettled.

A general problem with the operational definition of incidental vocabulary acquisition given above is that it seems to suggest that incidental learning occurs unconsciously. As Gass (1999) notes, however, defining incidental vo-

1 This article is an extended version of a paper presented at the EUROSLA 2003 conference in Edinburgh.

cabulary acquisition as the 'side-effect' of another activity neglects the active role of the learner in this process. The fact that learning occurs as a by-product of reading does not automatically imply that it does not involve any conscious processes (see diagram 1). The seeming equation of 'incidental' with 'unconscious' is also criticized by Ellis (1994a: 38), who states that incidental vocabulary acquisition is non-explicit in so far as it does not involve an explicit learning intention (the overall goal of the learner is text comprehension), but that neither the process nor the product of such learning is necessarily implicit in the sense of non-conscious.

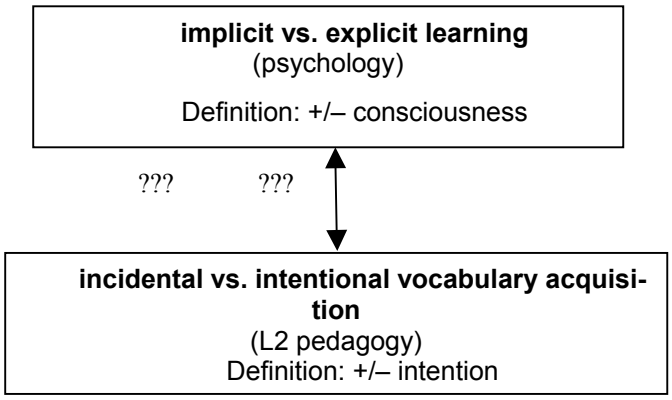


Diagram 1: unclear relation between implicit/explicit and incidental/intentional learning

Even in cases where the notions of implicit and incidental second language learning are brought together in L2 pedagogy, the distinctions and definitions frequently remain notoriously vague. In Hulstijn's article on implicit and incidental second language learning (Hulstijn 1998), for instance, implicit learning is initially defined as "without teaching" and "without conscious inductions", while it is also stressed that implicit lexical learning does in fact require the learner's attention to word form and meaning (Hulstijn 1998: 49). The question in how far the notion of consciousness relates to that of attention, however, remains unanswered. Incidental learning, in turn, is defined as "learning without intention", and does not appear to form a contrast to implicit learning here. Rather, both terms are used side by side, jointly referring to the process of 'picking up' a language.

As these observations suggest, the terminological confusion largely seems to be caused by ambiguities in the interpretation of the term consciousness itself. As Schmidt (1994: 168) points out, the term *unconscious* in definitions of implicit learning can be interpreted in two ways: firstly meaning that im-

plicit learning is *unintentional* and thus incidental, and secondly meaning that it involves induction *without awareness*. These multiple interpretations appear to be symptomatic of a general quandary in the debate about the role of consciousness in second language learning: the blurred definition and operationalisation of the term consciousness itself (see diagram 2).

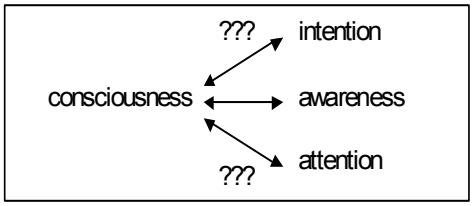


Diagram 2: The unclear definition of the term consciousness

2.2 Concepts of consciousness in second language learning

The inconsistent use and unclear status of the term consciousness in the literature have been noted by various researchers (e.g. Marcel & Bisiach 1988); some even go as far as stating that it is a concept which is too elusive to be criterial (e.g. McLaughlin 1990). In the context of second language learning, there appear to be no less than five basic definitions of consciousness (cf. Schmidt 1990: 138-149, Ellis 1994a: 38):

- consciousness as **intentionality** (incidental vs. intentional learning),
- consciousness as a product of **attention** (attended vs. unattended learning),
- consciousness as **awareness** (learning with/without online awareness).
- consciousness as **instruction** (implicit acquisition vs. explicit instruction),
- consciousness as **control** (implicit vs. explicit memory).

As a result, studies on the role of consciousness in second language learning are too diverse in their scope and claims to be compared, or remain blurred in their statements due to insufficient clarifications of the object under discussion.

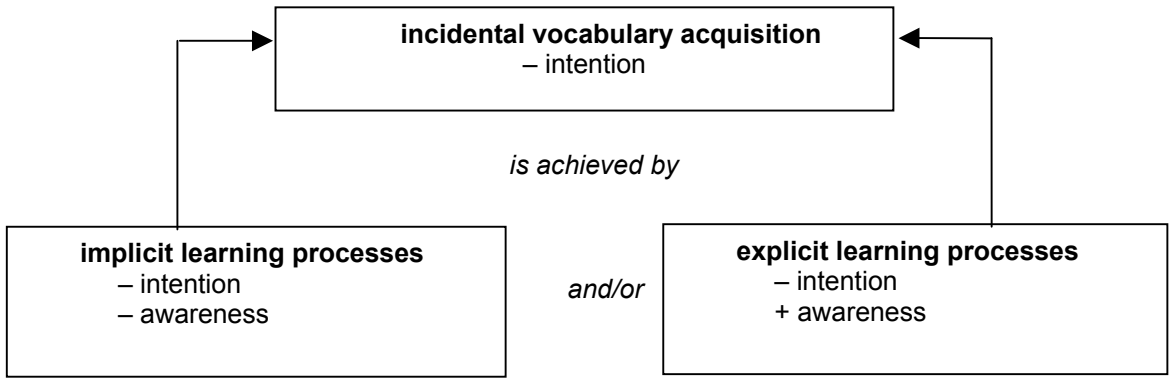
As far as the definition of consciousness in the implicit/explicit learning debate is concerned, the notion of consciousness is commonly equated with

awareness in this context. Explicit learning is characterized as involving the learner's online awareness, whereas implicit learning is seen as an automatic process without awareness of either the acquisition process or the resulting knowledge (cf. Reber 1993: 12). This tradition is also reflected in Ellis' (1994a,b,c) definitions of implicit and explicit learning, where the terms consciousness and awareness are used synonymously.

With regard to the relation between attention and consciousness, Schmidt (2001: 11) notes that the two phenomena are not to be equated, but related in so far as attention controls access to consciousness. If we furthermore incorporate Schmidt's claim that attention to input is a prerequisite for any learning to take place (Schmidt 1994, 2001), we can thus conclude that implicit learning does involve attention to the stimulus but does not involve conscious operations.

In line with the above specifications, the term implicit will be equated with 'non-conscious' in the sense of unaware, while incidental will be equated with 'un-intentional' (without any restrictions as to the role of awareness) in the following sections. This terminological clarification finally enables us to relate the terms *implicit* and *incidental* (see diagram 3) by viewing incidental vocabulary acquisition as being composed of implicit learning processes (which happen without the learner's awareness) and/or of explicit learning processes (which take place without learning intention but nevertheless involve online awareness and hypothesis formation).

Diagram 3. Incidental vocabulary acquisition as a process involving implicit and/or explicit learning



2.3 Incidental vocabulary acquisition and implicit/explicit learning

Within the terminological framework presented above, the relation of incidental vocabulary acquisition and implicit/explicit learning can now be investigated. As stated in section 2.1, incidental vocabulary acquisition can be regarded as non-explicit in so far as it does not involve an explicit learning *intention* (i.e. the overall goal of the learner is text comprehension and not vocabulary acquisition). With regard to the role of *consciousness*, however, two complementary viewpoints can be distinguished. An implicit viewpoint would hold that incidental vocabulary acquisition takes place without awareness, involving implicit learning processes only (e.g. Krashen 1989). What this viewpoint fails to take into account is the fact that learners are active and strategic information processors. An explicit viewpoint would thus argue that incidental vocabulary acquisition also involves explicit (i.e. conscious) learning processes, and would consequently characterize it as primarily explicit learning.

The most comprehensive account of implicit/explicit learning processes in incidental vocabulary acquisition available to date is that of Ellis (1994a, 1994b, 1994c, 1997). Ellis develops a theory for L1 as well as L2 vocabulary acquisition in the framework sketched above, and bases his arguments on an extensive body of experimental psycholinguistic research in the fields of vocabulary and intelligence, implicit memory and global amnesia. His resulting claims are that both implicit and explicit learning mechanisms are involved in incidental vocabulary acquisition: while the acquisition of a word's form, collocations and grammatical class information are said to involve implicit processes, acquiring a word's semantic properties and mapping word form to meaning are claimed to result from explicit learning processes. Furthermore, Ellis argues for a complete dissociation of implicit (i.e. formal) aspects and explicit (i.e. semantic) aspects of vocabulary acquisition (see diagram 4).

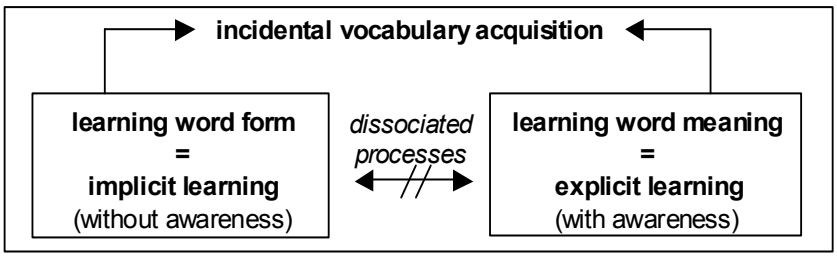


Diagram 4. Ellis' view of implicit/explicit learning processes in incidental vocabulary acquisition

Other authors touching on the issue appear to build on Ellis' model and provide comments and reactions to his claims rather than presenting original viewpoints of their own. Singleton (1999: 153) for instance criticises Ellis' notion of dissociated processes, stating that even if learning forms and meanings of unknown words are initiated by different mechanisms, this does not necessarily imply that they are managed separately at all stages. Instead, Singleton would argue for a possible interaction between implicit and explicit systems. Börner (1997: 61-64) in turn stresses the need for a modification and differentiation of Ellis' model in the sense of integrating different degrees of explicitness and allowing for both explicit and implicit learning of form features.

Although modifications and refinements have been suggested, the basic validity of Ellis' theory still appears to be generally acknowledged. Within the framework of the terminological specifications described above, the following section will thus take Ellis' claims as a starting point and investigate them in the light of empirical evidence on incidental vocabulary acquisition through reading.

3. Empirical investigations

3.1 Research background

The present analysis starts out from Ellis' (1994c) claims that implicit learning is only involved in learning receptive/productive aspects of word forms, while acquiring semantic aspects necessarily constitutes explicit learning, and that these processes are dissociated. Taking these claims as a starting point, the role of implicit and explicit learning in the construction of formal and semantic lexical knowledge during the text comprehension process is analysed on the basis of empirical case study results.

With regard to incidental word form/meaning acquisition, the following questions will be addressed:

1. In how far can inferring unknown word meanings from context during reading be equated with explicit learning?

2. In how far are implicit learning and/or explicit learning responsible for learning word forms incidentally?

Thirdly, a complementary strand of investigation will briefly touch on the nature of the knowledge acquired:

3. In how far can the resulting lexical knowledge be characterized as implicit and/or explicit?

The empirical analysis is based on selected results from a range of case studies on incidental vocabulary acquisition through reading. The study referred to in this article was carried out with 8 German speaking learners of English at an intermediate to advanced level, and involved a think-aloud text comprehension task with 5 short text passages (39-93 words), in which a total of 8 words were substituted by nonsense-words in order to ensure that these words were unknown. The learners were neither informed about the aim of the study nor of the presence of nonsense-words in the texts, but were only instructed to read the texts for comprehension and to verbalize their thoughts in a think-aloud manner. After reading, they received an unannounced vocabulary post-test containing the target words.[2]

The examples presented refer to learner verbalizations and test results for the same text passage (text 2) containing the target words cummous (= bold), refty (= pushy) and amped (= committed):

Text 2
'I would seize the opportunity at once if I were you! And I'll say this again and again, in my eyes you can't get a better chance!'

'What a cummous thing to say! You've really got no sense of shame at all! Would you please stop being so refty and leave me in peace for a moment?'

'But I'm not trying to persuade you – I just think you're so amped to your old job that you don't see the advantages of leaving the place and taking the other company's offer seriously!'

Since the type of study presented (i.e. verbal reports and tests for explicit memory) can only claim to contain genuine evidence about explicit, i.e. verbalized processes, statements about implicit processes will have to be of a

2 For a comprehensive description of the study setup and materials see Rieder 2002a (s.v. Fallstudie 1/1).

more speculative nature. Taking into account these limitations, the case study results nevertheless offer insights with regard to both explicit and implicit learning processes.

3.2 Inferring unknown word meanings

The first focus of the analysis concerns word meaning elaboration during reading. In line with Ellis' argumentation, the case study results suggest that inferring unknown word meanings from context does indeed involve conscious cognitive operations, i.e. selective attention, hypothesis formation and strategy application. One part of these learner strategies relate to the text level and involve adapting the inferencing effort to the overall text comprehension goal (i.e. skipping words deemed unimportant, minimizing the elaboration effort so as to satisfy the comprehension goal). The other group of strategies applies to the process of meaning inference itself (cf. Rieder 2000a). However, the general question arises whether the meaning elaboration process *as such* can be equated with the explicit learning of word meaning.

Interestingly, numerous instances were observed in the case studies where in the vocabulary post-tests learners could not remember the meanings they had inferred during reading, or not even remember having encountered the respective words in one of the texts (see also section 3.3), although they had spent considerable effort on elaborating the meaning of these words during the reading process.

The following verbalisation of one of the case study participants (Cora), exemplifies one of these cases (see transcript 1, TA). As with the other texts she was given, Cora stumbles over the unknown target words in the example text, and gives meaning guesses for the target words (illustrated for the word cummous). After her first guess (not good, inadequate, bad), she carries on reading the text and finally returns to cummous again, checking and confirming her previous hypothesis ('something like I thought before, I think, something like not okay or mean, like that'). In the vocabulary test after reading, however, she does not remember in which of the texts she has encountered the word, nor can she remember any meaning for the word (see transcript 1, Test).[3]

3 The think-aloud excerpts presented in this article constitute English translations of the original verbalizations, which were mainly in German (the learners' native language). Passages or words which were originally uttered in English are printed in italics.

TA: "*'I would seize the opportunity at once if I were you! And I'll say this again and again, in my eyes you can't get a better chance!'* Yes, everything clear so far. *'What a cummous thing to say!* Cummous - *You've really got no sense of shame at all!* […] *cummous thing to say*, cummous, ph, well, not good, inadequate, bad […] *What a cummous thing to say! – don't be so refty*, yes, something like I thought before, I think, […] cummous is something like not okay or mean, like that…"

Test: ✓(II) I remember seeing the word in one of the texts, but I do not remember its meaning[4]
"I've seen cummous, but I don't quite remember how that was, in what context …Cummous I don't know anymore. I remember seeing it but I don't know anymore at all."

Transcript 1. Cora – Think-aloud (TA) vs. vocabulary test answer (Test), text 2

Although the study setup does not lend itself to strong quantitative conclusions, it is still surprising how often this phenomenon occurred in the case study. For almost one third of the target words whose meaning had been inferred during reading, the learners could not remember form and/or meaning in the post-test which was carried out immediately after reading.[5] What this observation certainly suggests is that the path from meaning inference to meaning acquisition is less straightforward than assumed.

This empirical observation can be complemented by a cognitive model integrating word meaning inference and text comprehension (cf. Rieder 2002b). When a learner builds up a mental model of the text meaning, the meanings of the words in the text will generally form one of the bases on which this model is constructed. Unfamiliar words will thus be perceived as discontinuities or

4 In the post-tests, the learners were asked to specify the meaning of each test word, as well as to tick the most appropriate description of their knowledge status from a choice of four answers:

(I) I don't remember seeing this word in the texts.

(II) I remember seeing the word in one of the texts, but I do not remember its meaning.

(III) I have seen this word and I think it means _____.

(IV) I know this word. It means _____.

5 In the case study, learners had given meaning guesses for target words during reading in 51 cases. For 13 of these words, the learners could not remember their meanings in the post-test, and in 3 cases they could neither remember form nor meaning.

gaps in the learner's mental representation of the text meaning, and consequently, learners will typically only attempt to specify the contribution of these words to the textual meaning in order to complete their mental model. This implies that meaning elaboration strategies are not automatically strategies for inferring word meaning, but rather text comprehension strategies and means-to-an-end for bridging discontinuities in the text meaning.

The knowledge gained this way is thus initially part of the text meaning knowledge, and the true vocabulary learning step is only induced by an additional, active shift from the text level to the word level on the learners' part, i.e. focus on the word form, abstraction from text to word meaning, integration of this meaning into existing knowledge structures and consolidation of the form-meaning connection.

The vital shift from text to word meaning can either be triggered by learner-specific factors (individual interest in a particular word, general motivation for vocabulary enlargement, etc.). On the other hand, formal factors such as the prominence of a word form or recurring encounters with a word, or content-related factors such as the word's centrality for the textual meaning, will also enhance the chances of focus on the word level.

At any rate, it seems that in many cases we are actually facing learning which is gradually intentional rather than incidental, and that this explicit learning takes place *not* at the level of inferring meaning with text comprehension focus but at the level of abstraction with word learning focus. This point, i.e. the fact that the distinction between incidental and intentional vocabulary learning is in fact difficult to maintain theoretically (even though it may still be relevant methodologically) has also been acknowledged in recent publications (e.g. Hulstijn 2001: 267).

After discussing semantic aspects of lexical acquisition, let us now turn to aspects of form acquisition and the nature of the learning processes involved.

3.3 Learning word forms

The second question of interest concerns the nature of form learning in incidental vocabulary acquisition, which Ellis claims to be implicit and dissociated from explicit learning processes. In the case studies, form-learning through simple attention to input without further conscious processes was recorded in some cases. However, interesting observations include those instances in which the learners did not remember having encountered the target word forms in one of the texts when they saw them in the post-tests, although

they had invested effort in specifying the meaning of these words during reading.

This phenomenon can be illustrated by the verbalization of the case study participant Susi (see transcript 2, TA). When she reads the target words, they obviously attract her attention and she recognizes them as unknown words ('I don't know what cummous means', refty is at first left untranslated in her passage translation, followed by a meaning guess). But although she notices the words and invests effort in narrowing down their meanings, she cannot remember having seen the words in the post-test (see transcript 2, Test).

TA: **"…***What a cum-, cummous thing to say, you've really got no sense of shame at all, would you please stop being so refty and leave me in peace for a moment.* I don't know what cummous means, or how you pronounce it, but, well, at any rate it means something, well it's some sort of criticism of his previous statement. You really have no sense of shame, or something like that, no sense of that at all. Would you please stop now being so refty and leaving me alone for a moment, well, leaving me in quiet leaving me in peace, so refty, ah, probably so pushing, or something along these lines, well at any rate he seems to feel a little under pressure somehow, or she. *But I'm not trying to persuade you* …"

Test: cummous: ✓(I) I don't remember seeing the words in one of the texts
refty: ✓(I) I don't remember seeing the words in one of the texts
"… I've, well ahm, I can, I've heard them before, well in the texts, but, that doesn't have to be the case, right? Well, mh, refty, right, I don't necessarily have to have heard that before, cummous – […] – refty – I don't remember. And cummous – I don't remember either."

Transcript 2: Susi – Think-aloud (TA) vs. vocabulary test answer (Test), text 2

Despite Susi's attention the target words during reading and her conscious meaning specification, the quality of her processing appears to have been too superficial to result in memory of the word form. One possible explanation for this phenomenon might be that her focus was on the text level rather than on the word level, which is illustrated by her immediate reference to the contribution of the target words to the text meaning (cummous: 'it's some sort of criticism of his previous statement', refty: 'he seems to feel a little under pressure somehow'). This observation ties in with the lack of focus on the word level in text comprehension referred to above, and consequently raises the question in how far strategic focus and memorizing are helpful or necessary

for form-learning to take place, and to what extent explicit and implicit processes might interact in this case.

As far as Ellis' argument is concerned, he allows for form-learning to be speeded by explicit knowledge (cf. Ellis 1994c: 268), but still claims that it is completely implicit and dissociated from explicit learning. However, if we take into account the above example, it might be argued that simple attention to the stimulus is not sufficient for incidental form acquisition in this case, but that explicit focus on the word form is necessary here to induce learning. Generally, it would appear that explicit learning can at least have an enhancing effect on form learning, if we consider explicit mediation strategies like the keyword technique, which involves relating word form and meaning through mnemonic devices (cf. Atkinson 1975). In the light of this evidence, the claim of a distinct implicit learning module appears difficult to maintain, and Singleton's (1999: 153) criticism of the complete dissociation suggested by Ellis seems to be justified; the alternatively proposed interaction of implicit and explicit learning processes, as well as of form and meaning learning, seems to represent a more accurate picture of the situation.

Complementary to these observations on the role and interaction of implicit and explicit learning processes in incidental vocabulary acquisition, we will now briefly comment on some aspects of the lexical knowledge gained incidentally which appear to be of interest with regard to the implicit/explicit debate.

3.4 Implicit/explicitness of lexical knowledge

Turning from implicit/explicit learning to implicit/explicit knowledge, we are turning from the process to the product of learning. Although the two notions are not identical, some case study observations which were related to lexical knowledge rather than learning appear to justify a discussion in this context.

Interesting observations in this context concern the nature of the meaning knowledge which had been built up in the process of reading, but which was not abstracted to the word level at this point.

In the post-tests, it was observed that learners sometimes retrieved the text situation, and then extracted some 'meaning essence' for the target words at the point of the test. Transcript 3 shows an excerpt from a verbalization for the target word cummous which illustrates this procedure:

Test: cummous

"that was in the texts and I think that meant – that was at this one instance

where someone complained about the way the other one is talking to him, about him, about the new job, that he wants to impose the new job on him. I think that perhaps means – (4 second pause) – ha, now that's difficult. Perhaps a little impertinent or something like that…"

Transcript 3: Michael - Vocabulary test answer (Test), cummous

Here, it appears that Michael has not narrowed down the meaning of cummous sufficiently during reading to specify the meaning at the test. In fact, when reading the text, he did not give any meaning guess for the word; but as he can obviously remember the text in which the word occurred when he sees it at the post-test, he conjures up the text situation and the specific co-text again and aims at narrowing down the word meaning on the basis of his memory. In a way, this type of knowledge appears to be implicit since it is not directly available. On the other hand, it does not constitute word meaning knowledge per se initially, but rather an un-analysed, indirect source for word meaning construction. Consequently, characterizing it as 'indirect' or 'covert' knowledge (which is explicit in so far as it is retrievable) rather than as truly implicit knowledge seems to be more appropriate.

In terms of the learning processes, form-learning appears to have taken place during reading, since Michael can remember the target word, but the learning of word meaning seems to have been partly delayed to the test situation. In a way, we could thus speak of delayed explicit learning in this context. At any rate, these observations seem to suggest different degrees and forms of explicitness with regard to both learning and knowledge, in line with Börner's (1997) claim for a refinement of the implicit/explicit dichotomy.

4. Conclusion

There appears to be some confusion in research on language learning with regard to the notions of implicit vs. incidental learning, which is partly due to the notorious ambiguities of the term consciousness. The present paper aimed to provide a terminological clarification of the notions under discussion, and a framework for analysing the relationship between incidental vocabulary acquisition and implicit/explicit learning processes.

Within this framework, the vocabulary acquisition model proposed by Ellis constitutes an apt starting point: The case study results correspond with his claims in so far as incidental learning of meaning aspects appears to be characterized by explicit learning, whereas form learning may occur through implicit learning with simple attention to input only. However, the empirical

observations only partly match Ellis' model, clashing in particular with the claim that implicit and explicit learning processes are dissociated, and with the simple implicit-explicit dichotomy. The data points to the need for modifications and differentiations on three levels: With regard to form-learning, explicit learning mechanisms seem to have facilitating effects, which would imply an interaction of implicit and explicit learning processes rather than the proposed separation. As regards meaning-learning, a more refined specification of the actual nature of the processes involved would have to be provided. Finally, different levels of explicit learning/knowledge appear to exist which are not grasped by the implicit vs. explicit distinction.

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English as Lingua Franca (ELF) as Medium of Learning in a Hotel Management Educational Program: an applied linguistic approach

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(Applied) linguists started to show interest in English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) a good decade ago, which almost immediately sparked off strong and thriving research activities at various universities; not least at our own department, as readers of VIEWS are very aware of (Seidlhofer 2000). This contribution outlines a new research project in this area. As it is in its initial stages, comments are particularly welcome.

The paper is a slightly abridged version of the project proposal I submitted earlier this year to the FWF (Austrian Fund for the Promotion of Scientific Research), on the basis of which I was granted a two-year research grant (Charlotte-Bühler-Habilitationsstipendium). Section 1 provides a summary-like overview of the basic considerations, underlying rationale and research questions of the project. This is followed by a discussion of the most relevant theoretical and disciplinary background information (sections 2 and 3), which paves the way for a more detailed presentation of the research questions pursued and research methods used (section 4). Section 5 concludes this paper by describing some anticipated results.

1. Introduction: purpose and aims of the project

More and more educational programs use English as medium of learning, either alone or together with another language. In this regard, Austria follows the word-wide trend, which in itself is a reflection of the global move towards English as the generally shared language of communication. Besides various models of English-medium secondary education as, for instance, the presently so popular 'Englisch als Arbeitssprache' (= content and language integrated learning; cf. Dalton-Puffer 2002), English has recently been chosen as me-

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dium of learning in more and more tertiary programs in Austria (Stegu and Seidlhofer 2003). In a growing number of them, the participants, lecturers and students, make use of English as a lingua franca (ELF), i.e. they speak various first languages (L1s), come together in a non-EL1 environment, and use English as their only shared medium of communication (Meierkord and Knapp 2002). One such program is the object and site of research of the present project. It is a two-year intensive program in hotel management, organised by and situated at a Viennese hotel school. It caters for the international market in terms of student intake and ensuing working possibilities. For anonymity's sake, I will in the following simply refer to this educational program as HMP (hotel management program).

Despite the abundance of literature on English-medium classrooms (see below), this is to my knowledge the first study in an ELF setup which focuses on spoken and written classroom discourse.

ELF instructional settings are by definition characterised by extreme heterogeneity amongst the participants (students and lecturers) with regard to culture and language, including how they have learned and used English before joining the program. Quite clearly, this heterogeneity does not prohibit interaction to take place. As in any other ELF setting, participants manage to communicate, thus discursively creating their own culture or "new interculture" (Meierkord 2002: 120) which is constantly changing; at least, this is true of most ELF situations. An instructional setting is different in this regard. For a specific period of time, the same group of people spend a good part of their working days (and sometimes also nights) together, usually involved in some kind of verbal activity. This means that the 'new inter-culture' is here to stay for some time. While this will make it no longer 'new' and 'inter', more research is needed before a more appropriate description can be given. In light of the understanding of culture and interaction as mutually created by and dependent on each other (e.g. Sherzer 1987), the nature of such an 'ELF Third Culture' (Kramsch 1993) could become discernible in the interaction taking place at an ELF instructional setting over an extended period of time.

Taking these considerations into account, we thus arrive at the following three concerns for the present study:

1) What are the main characteristics of classroom discourse in this ELF instructional setting? In which ways do the ELF features established here overlap with or differ from results from previous EL1, ESL and ELF research?

2) In which ways does classroom interaction construct, and get constructed by, the learner group's culture? In which ways does classroom interaction change during the HMP?
3) What are the students' and lecturers' views on ELF as medium of learning and in which ways are these reflected in, and constructed by, classroom discourse?

The aim of this project is thus to provide a detailed and insightful analysis of ELF and how it functions, and is experienced as, medium of learning in a tertiary, professionally-oriented instructional setting. This will contribute not only to a more refined theoretical understanding of ELF classroom discourse, but will also be applicable for program administrators in their syllabus design and teacher preparation; an expectation repeatedly voiced by the organisers of the HMP.

2. Classroom discourse

While the focus of the present project – ELF as medium of learning – is unprecedented in this combination, its parts are rooted in long-standing research traditions. To begin with, the history of education shows us that our present-day understanding of the learners' L1 as default option for the medium of learning is misplaced in many settings. Teaching and learning has quite often taken place in second or foreign languages, such as French and English in colonial Africa, or in lingua francas, such as Latin in medieval Europe.

In contrast to educational settings using ELF, classroom discourse seen more generally has attracted a lot of research interest since the 1960s. Of the various theoretical approaches applied, highly relevant input has come from the educational sciences (e.g. Barnes 1976, Edwards and Westgate 1994, van Lier 1988), second language acquisition approaches (e.g. Chaudron 1988, Tsui 1995), pragmatics, including interlanguage pragmatics (e.g. Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper eds. 1989, Rose and Kasper eds. 2001, Trosborg 1994) and discourse analysis (e.g. Coulthard ed. 1992, Sinclair and Coulthard 1975, Stubbs 1983). Quite clearly, each research paradigm rests on its own assumptions, is concerned with specific questions and, as a consequence, arrives at conclusions which are not always easily comparable with those of other paradigms. At the same time, though, the research taken in its entirety offers detailed insights into the varied and complex nature of classroom discourse and is thus a valuable source of information for the classroom discourse investigated in the project presented here.

2.1. General considerations

The classroom is the meeting place of more than two people, one of whom is the teacher, who have gathered for the purpose of learning (Tsui 1995: 1). While learning happens in different semiotic systems, language is "the principal resource ... with which to achieve educational goals" (Christie 2001: 184). As learning success hinges even more on language in multicultural and multilinguistic settings like the one under consideration here, such classroom communication can be classified as 'problematic medium' (Cazden 1988), which "we must study in detail" (van Lier 1988: 78). While teachers and students generally agree that language is of central importance, they have their own perceptions of their roles (Allwright and Bailey 1991) and of education in general. Put in a nutshell, views of education oscillate between two models: on the one extreme, there is the transmission model that understands the teaching process as one where a body of knowledge is transported from the expert, the teacher, to the novices, the learners. The other extreme is the construction model of education, which sees knowledge as emerging from classroom communication with the active participation of teacher and students alike. Depending on the participants' points of view, therefore, classroom discourse manifests itself in, and is interpreted as consisting of, vastly different components. What the implications of such differences are in an actual classroom setting will be one of the outcomes of the present study.

With their focus on interaction, classroom discourse analyses generally adopt a constructivist approach (e.g. Wetherell, Taylor and Yates 2001, ch. 1). So will this one. It is based on Johnson's (1995: 1-14) lucid adaptation of Barnes' (1976) framework of classroom communication as it constructs educational knowledge. The process of communication is seen as the discoursal interplay of what students bring to the classroom and what teachers offer them. The group develops into a discourse community with its own communicative practices. At the same time, though, the individuals interact from the viewpoint of their own frames of reference, which differ with regard to experience, world knowledge and linguistic knowledge. This point of Johnson's model is particularly relevant to the ELF educational setting of this project because it can be expected that the participants' frames of reference of what amounts to successful classroom discourse diverge markedly. At the same time, my study looks at how such classroom discourse changes and develops over a longer period; how the classroom is shaped into a discourse community. This aspect is echoed in Basil Bernstein's notion of 'pedagogic discourse' (cf. Christie 2001), which describes discourse that enables learners to

take on their positions as pedagogic subjects. With the focus on language, this process of acculturation has been interpreted as dependent on the interplay of the regulative and instructional registers (Halliday 1994). While at the beginning of an educational program, the regulative usually dominates in order to direct the learners into their roles, the two registers later converge and allow the participants to work towards tasks and to learn about 'content'.

2.2. L1 classrooms

The investigation of educational interaction was one of the first research areas of discourse analysis (Sinclair and Coulthard 1975, Mehan 1979, see also Ehlich and Rehbein 1986 for 'funktionale Pragmatik'). Seeing that education counts as one of the primary domains or "institutional contexts" (Fishman 1972), this interest is not really surprising. Classroom discourse has been identified as highly organised and sequentially and hierarchically structured. One characteristic feature of classroom interaction that differentiates it clearly from everyday conversation is the turn-taking mechanism. In contrast to 'normal' conversation where speakers can also self-select to take their turns, the power structure of the classroom makes the teacher the one who allocates turns and who decides when s/he can take them back (Mehan 1979). Furthermore, every-day communication can be characterised by the two-part system of the adjacency pair (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1974), which contrasts with the three-part system of (teacher) initiation, (student) response and (teacher) evaluation so fundamental to classroom discourse (Mehan 1985: 126). It is especially the third part, evaluation, which marks classroom interaction as distinct because it reflects the fact that teacher questions generally are display questions, i.e. asking for information the teacher knows already, and not referential ones which would ask for unknown information (Musumeci 1996).

The IRE (initiation – response – evaluation) structure, which was first identified and described in detail by Sinclair and Coulthard (1975, 1992), has triggered critical appraisals (e.g. Burton 1981) and ensuing research, also including sociocultural considerations (Jarvis and Robinson 1997). Based on a wider data set, Mehan (1979) basically confirms the structure, but widens the scope considerably by investigating the alterations that happen frequently and generally carry meaning. This more dynamic approach takes into consideration the *ad-hoc* nature of discourse, which is especially relevant in settings like the one of the present project where the participants' linguistic and cul-

tural frames of reference differ considerably and require more negotiated interaction, as will be expounded on in the following section.

2.3. L2 classrooms

In general, analyses of educational talk presuppose monolingual and –cultural classrooms. While this might reflect unquestioned assumptions of formal education and the *monolingual habitus* of our education system (Gogolin 1994, de Cillia 1998), it does not capture reality. Most of the classrooms world-wide are multicultural and –lingual, but even in apparently monolingual countries like Austria, learners represent an, on the whole unacknowledged, multitude of cultural and linguistic backgrounds (de Cillia 1995). Generally speaking, there are three widely accepted ways in which the idea of using more than one language is integrated into the learning setup: language classes whose focus is on learning the 'target' language, i.e. a language other than the learners' L1s, content-based instruction (CBI), i.e. teaching specific subjects through the second or foreign language, and immersion schooling projects.

The HMP combines factors of all three approaches: the tourism college which offers this English-medium program is located in a German-speaking country, which indicates an EFL situation. The view of the participants as language learners who need or want to improve their English has also come to the fore in initial interviews undertaken with the program organisers, lecturers and students themselves. At the same time, though, the HMP is solely in English, which implies immersion into English. On the other hand, all the participants use English like a 'working tool'. As can be expected of a professional educational program, the aim lies on content, which has also become apparent in first classroom observations. In other words, the HMP seems to be vexed by contradictions: immersion *vs.* foreign language setting; content *vs.* language learning; classroom discourse constructed by language learners *vs.* language users. That these fundamental points represent actually felt contradictions is unlikely, though, since the participants seem to generally perceive the HMP as successful (personal communication with lecturers and students, Feb.-March 2002). Instead, they most likely indicate that the program represents a new form of multilingual teaching, which this project aims to describe and analyse. The first step towards an analysis of this educational innovation is to turn to what is known about its 'predecessors', i.e. foreign/second language learning, content-based instruction (CBI) and, as a specific sub-type of it, immersion education.

Foreign/second language classes

English target language classes have, quite understandably, been researched with regard to language learning and interaction in a second or foreign language, i.e. English as L2 in English- or in non-English-speaking settings. While both interests in language learning and interaction have led to various SLA theories (for an overview cf. e.g. Ellis 1994, Mitchell and Myles 1998), SLA research has been criticised for its "skewed perspective on discourse and communication" insofar as foreign/second language speakers are generally seen as "striving to reach the "target" competence of an idealized native speaker" (Firth and Wagner 1997: 285). Classroom discourse is thus not analysed in its own right, but always in comparison with what the researchers expect native speakers to do. A more realistic view of how interaction works, namely to primarily negotiate meaning, has been taken up by interlanguage pragmatics (IP). While IP still accepts the native speaker norm as the one shared by all interactants, it allows for an "enhanced awareness of the contextual and interactional dimensions of language use" (Firth and Wagner 1997: 285). With its roots in pragmatics and, more precisely, speech act theory, it does not come as a surprise that IP has focussed on how speech acts, in particular apologies and requests, are expressed by second language speakers (e.g. Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper eds. 1989, Trosborg 1994). The detailed description of the structure of the speech acts and the analyses of how learners express them are definitely helpful to my study, even if the question of the language norm cannot be decided on *a priori* in the ELF setting but will have to be established from an emic perspective, i.e. from the point of view of the participants.

With the same restrictions on applicability, the existing literature on ESL/EFL classroom interaction gives a detailed description of the relevant factors (e.g. Ernst 1994, Pica 1994, for a general overview cf. Tsui 1995). As the key participant, the teacher generally 'runs' classroom interaction, which is shaped by not only the ratio of teacher talk *vs.* student talk (generally in favour of the teacher, Harrison 1996), but also by the kinds of question formulated. For instance, mainly closed or display questions will lead to fairly short student replies and basically very little joint construction of knowledge. Interaction in ESL, however, needs to be negotiated by both teachers and students with regard to medium – through, for instance, comprehension checks, decomposition, clarification and repetition requests – and content, which is often language-related and needs to be student-initiated as well. This also explains why the IRE structure of L1 classroom interaction is generally modified and,

interactionally seen, more complex in ESL settings (Boulima 1999). Further, teacher feedback gives students relevant information on their proficiency levels and guidance as to how the target language works, but, as in ESL classrooms a lot of it is error correction, it can lead to changes in interactional structures (Lyster 1998, Seedhouse 1997). Depending on their language learning background, students also display different kinds of sensitivity to violations (Bardovi-Harlig and Dörnyei 1996) and help themselves with various compensation strategies (Dörnyei and Scot 1997). The present study will show in how far the ELF classroom interaction reveals similar or different manifestations of the factors. A second point of interest will be where the English of the HMP can be located with regard to ESL and EFL because my project concerns English-medium education in Austria, a classic EFL country, but also English as only ingroup language, a classic factor of ESL.

Classroom interaction is also shaped by another factor not mentioned so far, but very central to ESL and increasingly also EFL settings – cultural diversity. This factor can surface in two, not unrelated ways, either as a main characteristic of the student group, like in the HMP, or as teaching and learning goal, as reflected in the view that European foreign language classrooms have recently taken on an inter-, multi- or transcultural approach (Risager 1998) and should aim at intercultural communicative competence (Byram 1997, Byram and Fleming eds. 1998, Byram, Gribkova and Starkey 2002). This increasingly shared understanding of education has gone hand in hand with the recent shift in ESL/EFL from specified language classes to its use as medium of learning (Mohan, Leung and Davison 2001) or content-based instruction (CBI).

Content-based instruction (CBI)

In contrast to content classrooms which are message-oriented, traditional language classes can be characterised as mainly medium-oriented (Ellis 1984, Willis 1992). CBI programs try to combine the two and, depending on focus, they turn out either “language-driven” or “content-driven” (Snow 1998: 243). What they all have in common is that they combine the teaching and learning of a particular subject matter with instruction in a second language, based on the assumption that it will further learning in both areas. As research shows this assumption is not so wrong: under the right circumstances, students in CBI perform better in language proficiency tests than those with target language learning only (Snow 1998: 252-253), thus supporting the use of CBI.

When looking at classroom interaction in CBI, however, the combination of content and language is not always that successful, mainly because content teachers are generally not aware of what the language learning aspect entails for their teaching. In a study in a Dutch secondary school, for instance, it was found that teachers focussed on the content to be taught to such an extent that they paid little attention to student language, their share in the interaction and also the kind of language used in the textbook. This is generally not so because teachers would not want to offer "language-sensitive content instruction" (Snow 1998: 255), but rather because they have not been made aware of how to do it. Once they have become familiar with ways of integrating language teaching into their content teaching, they are much more willing to also do so. At the same time, content instruction seems to have its limits as regards 'language sensitivity'. In a detailed study, Musumeci (1996) describes typical CBI classroom interaction as dominated by the teachers who ask display questions, receive reference questions from students, and modify their speech when they get signals of non-understanding. In contrast to language classes, 'sustained negotiation', i.e. teacher and students verbally resolve incomplete or inaccurate messages, rarely happens. In interviews and questionnaires, teachers and students evaluated their classroom interaction as appropriate classroom behaviour, linked to the existing power relations and reflecting the teachers' time management.

As far this can be claimed on the basis of the initial phase of the project, the relationship of content and language also seems to be experienced as problematic by the lecturers of the HMP. Classroom observation has shown that the instruction is clearly content-focussed and very little, if any, time is spent on language-related issues, but when interviewed, the lecturers, none of whom have any language teaching background, revealed their awareness of unattended language-related problems the students might have. This hints at a potential applied linguistic problem, for which the present study will, I hope, deliver the necessary information.

Immersion education

Immersion education is widely used in bi- and multilingual settings worldwide and, thus, comes in many different manifestations. Generally, it can be described as offering (parts of) an educational program in a language which is not the learners' L1 with the aim to facilitate learning in content and language. Depending on circumstances, language learning is more or less explic-

itly taken as learning goal. At GIBS (Graz International Bilingual School), for instance, the higher proficiency in English is one of the main motivations for parents and students, almost all of whom are German-speaking (personal communication with teachers, October 1997). The HMP, on the other hand, sees language learning as clearly subsidiary – in its self-presentation, proficiency in English is only mentioned as an entrance requirement but not as learning goal (http://www.modul.at/schule/ichm.htm). In informal conversations and interviews, however, both lecturers and students have mentioned language learning as one of the HMP's assets. It will, therefore, be interesting to see in which ways content and language learning are interrelated over the whole period of the program.

Whether immersion programs allow learning success to take place depends on many factors and their complex relationships. While quite a lot of research has been undertaken to describe and analyse the students' language and overall performance (e.g. Johnson and Swain eds. 1997, Shedadeh 1999, Tarone and Swain 1995, Wode 1995), it is fair to say that the most influential part of it has taken place in relatively specific settings in English-speaking countries, in particular Canada and the USA. As learning is a social activity, the theoretical insights gained in one setting cannot easily be generalised to others. For a particular investigation, it is therefore necessary to describe the constitutive factors of the learning context and keep their potential influence in mind. First, the sociolinguistic status of the immersion language will play a role: is it a majority, minority, foreign or, as in the present project, an international language. Similarly relevant, and also difficult to ascertain, are the social psychological aspects of the language(s) in question (e.g. Williams and Burdon 1997: ch. 6, Dörnyei 2001: ch. 3). Immersion into English, for instance, goes together with highly different language attitudes when it happens in the USA, in Ghana, in Pakistan or, as in the present case, in Austria (cp. for EL1 countries Mohan, Leung and Davison eds. 2001). Based on informal conversations with the participants of the HMP I suspect that they value English generally positively because of its instrumental value, but do not feel any threat to their L1s. In how far this applies to all participants and circumstances, will have to be ascertained in due course.

Besides the factors connected to language, there are also educational aspects to keep in mind, as, for instance, whether the immersion program is elitist or mainstream and whether there is a choice concerning the medium of learning. Just for the sake of illustration, International Schools and South African townships schools are both English-medium, attended by a large number of second language speakers, but, not only geographically seen, worlds apart.

Canadian immersion programs, on the other hand, while open to all pupils, need to be chosen specifically (Swain 1997). The HMP is definitely elitist, but does not allow much choice because, as an international educational program, it comes only in English. Further relevant educational factors to be considered for the learning context include such basic, but highly relevant points like school infrastructure, teaching materials, teacher education and, not to be forgotten, the general political situation. That all of these factors are not only relevant taken by themselves, but also in their complex relatedness, will be kept in mind in the analysis of the HMP classroom discourse.

In conclusion, research on classroom discourse offers highly valuable insights for the present project, but, as indicated by such labels as 'second/foreign language' and 'interlanguage', it is based on the somehow uncritically shared assumption that the participants are primarily language learners who try to improve their language proficiency towards the native speaker standard (Firth and Wagner 1997). As indicated above, this assumption does not hold in lingua franca settings where various language norms meet and people do not necessarily act as language learners. For the present project it is thus necessary to take a closer look at ELF as the medium of learning.

3. ELF as medium of learning

Generally seen, lingua francas are used amongst second and foreign language speakers for a range of communicative purposes (Meierkord and Knapp 2002: 9-10) such as, for instance, air traffic control, international business negotiations, and also in international educational settings and service encounters. For the students and lecturers of the HMP English is thus not only the lingua franca of the school setting, but also of their professional careers in general.

3.1. 'Global English' – conceptual considerations

While many languages have functioned as lingua francas in a vast range of socio-cultural situations, English holds a special position because it is an international language that is used all over the world; it has become World English (Brutt-Griffler 2002) or the 'global language' (Crystal 1997). As this development, and its consequences, are unprecedented in human history, various descriptive and analytical frameworks have been offered. Up to the 1980s, when global English did not yet explicitly refer to English as spoken between non-native speakers, the attempt was mainly to put the African, Asian and Caribbean English varieties – the 'Outer Circle' – on the map and to place

them on an equal footing with the 'Inner Circle', the traditional English L1 countries, such as England and the USA (Kachru 1986). This meant that the 'new', indigenised Englishes (Platt, Weber and Ho 1984) were seen as sociolinguistically independent. Parallel to globalisation in general, the global spread of English started to be questioned as such in the late 1980s. The basically positivist stances of celebrating the spread of English either in neocolonial or universalist ways (e.g. Honey 1997, Crystal 1997) were questioned from the points of view of language ecology, linguistic imperialism and language rights, all of which stress the negative implications new languages have on the indigenous ones and their speakers (e.g. Phillipson 1992, Skutnabb-Kangas 1998 and 2000, Tollefson 1991). Put somewhat simplistically, these approaches tend to either worship or condemn global English and, in doing so, they seem to either ignore the relevance of the power hierarchy and language hegemony or miss the 'worldliness of English' (Pennycook 1994), i.e. the fact that language, like cognition in general, is appropriated by those who use it (Pennycook 1999) and that 'ownership of English' lies no longer exclusively with its native speakers (Widdowson 1994, 1997, 2003).

What is asked for instead is to conceptualise global English – similar to 'global culture' (Featherstone 1990) – as highly diverse and shaping contextually imbedded discourse (Pennycook 1999). This view underlines the 'down to the grass-roots' approach also taken in the present study of analysing specific, contextually-situated manifestations of global English. At the same time, diversity relates to the earlier focus on categorising the varieties of English and describing their functions and roles. Although a geographically based categorisation does not apply to those varieties of Global English that are used for specific purposes such as air traffic, tunnel engineering or hotel management, Widdowson (1997) suggests that they should still be regarded as specific varieties, exactly because they are defined and shaped by their respective communicative purposes and 'owned' by the groups of specialists who make use of them. Besides it functioning as ingroup language, global English is quite obviously also used in communication between groups of various kinds, more and more so in Europe where, with the help of the European Union, English has become the main lingua franca (Hoffmann 2000). These intergroup settings are specifically varied in terms of participants involved and their frames of reference, purposes of interaction and, presumably, also kinds of English employed. What they all have in common is their intercultural character.

Such fundamental considerations about language are generally closely linked to the domain of education because of the double role language plays

as motivational factor and primary field of application. The central concern here is which language model to adhere to or, as Pennycook (1994:10) puts it "whether efforts should be made to maintain a central standard of English or whether the different varieties of English should be acknowledged as legitimate forms in their own right". While the question of standard and standardisation has always been a hotly debated one (e.g. Bex and Watts eds. 1999, Quirk and Widdowson eds. 1985, Seidlhofer ed. 2003, sect. 1), there is nowadays wide-spread agreement amongst academics that Inner Circle standards are inappropriate models for Outer Circle countries (e.g. Kachru 1985, van der Walt and van Rooy 2002, Widdowson 2003). Instead, the respective localised acrolectal varieties should be used as models (Bamgbose 1998).

When looking at what Braj Kachru has termed 'Expanding Circle', i.e. countries whose internal languages of communication do not include English, then the situation is less clear-cut. Based on the sociopolitical discussion of the ownership of English, there is the crucial question whether English is used as a foreign or international language. Until about 20 years ago, the former was the case, i.e. English was learned as foreign language in order to facilitate communication with native speakers of English. This justified the adherence to native standard English as model. Our present-day scenario is different, however, and non-native speakers use English mainly as lingua franca in communication with other non-native speakers (Alexander 1999, Crystal 1997, Graddol 1997). The teaching profession has responded to this change (Seidlhofer 2002b); instead of the seemingly absolute notion of correctness, it has embraced appropriateness in terms of contextual features, local culture and teaching style (McKay 2002, Smith 1984). However, the "assumptions about ... 'English' ... have remained curiously unaffected" (Seidlhofer 2001: 135) as it is still modelled on standard native English, which computer-based corpora and ensuing teaching materials have made even more accessible (cp. Seidlhofer ed. 2003, sect. 2). In other words, as Seidlhofer (2001) points out so convincingly, there is a conceptual gap which needs to be bridged between the sociopolitical view of global English and the model of English targeted in the teaching profession (cf. also Burger 2000, Hüllen 1982). The best way of building this bridge is through a linguistic description of ELF. While relevant research has been undertaken in the last years and is still ongoing (see below), much more needs to be done. The present study will be the first to directly investigate ELF as it is used in education.

3.2. English in intercultural encounters and English for specific purposes (ESP)

As with most international professional training courses, the English medium of the HMP functions both as an intergroup and an ingroup language (e.g. Robinson ed. 1996, Tajfel 1981); the former refers to the intercultural setting in terms of students', and lecturers', cultural backgrounds and frames of reference. The latter works in two ways: as the language of two years of classroom discourse and in terms of the professional aim of the HMP as a developing ESP, namely English for hotel management. It is for this twofold nature of English that the following discussion combines insights gained from research on intercultural communication and ESP.

What is special about ESP is not the purpose (P) – after all, all language use is *per se* purposeful – but the fact that it defines and shapes a specific (S) group of people as experts in a specific field (Widdowson 1998). Communication between such experts can take place successfully because of their shared schematic knowledge, which forms one aspect of culture (Finkbeiner and Koplin 2001). As culture also refers to shared rules of interpretation (Kramsch 1998), such experts form a discourse community (Swales 1990), i.e. a group of people whose frames of reference overlap to such an extent that they share the semantics and pragmatics of their English (E) (Widdowson 1998, for a detailed description cf. Swales 1990: 24-27). This view of ESP has various relevant implications for the present study: Firstly, from a pedagogical perspective, novices who want to gain group membership will do this also via the ingroup language. Professional education must, therefore, provide content and language teaching. As the HMP is geared towards novices, it will be interesting to see in how far and in which ways content teaching goes hand in hand with ESP teaching. Secondly, from a language perspective, ESP cannot simply be reduced to specific terminology, but stands for the way a specific community conceptualise their reality (Widdowson 1998). Consequently, ESP research has moved away from register analysis to genre analysis (Bhatia 1993, Flowerdew ed. 2002, Swales 1990, 1991) with its focus on "how [the linguistic forms] realize, make real, the conceptual and rhetorical structures, modes of thought and action, which are established as conventional for certain discourse communities" (Widdowson 1998: 8). The present study shares this focus. Thirdly, from a cultural perspective, ESP is the carrier of the group's culture, which means that it has a clear gate-keeping function and is clearly not culturally neutral (Swales 1997). Further, and reminiscent of the ownership debate mentioned above, it is 'owned' by the group. This means

that it is up to the group to jointly develop and change it (e.g. Bhatia 1997). In view of the afore-mentioned two-fold interpretation of 'ingroup', it will be interesting to see in how far the discourse and genre analyses reveal a more specific 'English for hotel management' culture or a more general "culture of [lingua franca classroom] learning" (Flowerdew and Miller 1995).

Besides the shared aim of gaining access to the same discourse community, the participants of the study represent diverse cultural backgrounds. Their classroom discourse could therefore show signs of intercultural communication; at least, the lecturers interviewed in the pilot phase speculated on the influence of cultural differences, especially with regard to amount and kind of class participation (cf. Jones 1999 for similar findings). The lecturers also expressed their own willingness to act in culturally sensitive ways by making use of their intercultural communicative competence (Kramsch 1998: 117). As understanding the other is an active process that involves all participants, interviews with students will aim to reveal their intercultural understanding in terms of how they make use of information about other cultures and connect it with their own cultural knowledge (Finkbeiner and Koplin 2001: 114). The classroom discourse analyses will then allow an insight into the dynamics of what might be best described as a third culture (Casmir 1993, Finkbeiner and Koplin 2001, Kramsch 1999). Before, however, classroom discourse can be interpreted in its entirety, the actual exchanges will need to be analysed in more detail as regards their inter- and cross-cultural nature. Seeing that this analytical step relates to how the participants "as social actors ... get things done [and] attend to their interpersonal relationships with other participants at the same time" (Rose and Kasper 2001: 2), the analytical point of departure often taken is pragmatics or, more precisely, cross-cultural and interlanguage pragmatics (CCP and IP). Both research paradigms are concerned with how people manage, or fail, to communicate across different cultural frames of reference. This is mainly so because of the fundamental ethnolinguistic differences with regard to how, for instance, speech acts, routines, or social power and distance are socially and linguistically constructed (e.g. Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper eds. 1989, Rose and Kasper eds. 2001). The difference between CCP and IP concerns the question of language norm (Boxer 2002: ch. 7). CCP follows an ethnographic approach and describes interaction that involves different cultural frames and schemata, which can impede communication (e.g. Chick 1995). The burden of making mutual understanding possible rests with both interactional parties and, in doing so, it has been argued, the participants create a form of inter-culture. In contrast, IP stands in the language learning tradition and presupposes one norm of verbal

behaviour, namely the one of the native speakers, to which the newcomer, who is seen as a language learner, has to conform. As mentioned above, IP generally focuses on the different realisations of speech acts, while due to its observational approach CCP tends to take a broader research interest in discourse phenomena more generally as, for instance, simultaneous talk, floor management or establishing rapport (see also Ehlich and Rehbein 1986). As so often with dichotomies, the distinctions become less clear-cut when we turn to actual situations of language use. This is the case in this project because, as revealed in informal conversations with lecturers and students, the HMP seems to ask for a combination of aspects of CCP as well as of IP: The English of the participants is generally compared with native speaker or 'good' English, thus revealing the native speaker as norm-providing. At the same time, though, the situation is recognised as much too complex for a single language norm to which everybody would aspire. Instead, it is up to the participants with their diverse frames of reference to find common ground amongst them. Since the lecturers interviewed have indicated that it takes some time for mutual understanding to start happening, it seems to be the case that the initial phase of getting to know each other involves an acculturation process. What the resulting interculture might look like will, I hope, become evident in the course of the project.

3.3. Researching English as a lingua franca

That English has become the global language is mainly due to its prominence in lingua franca settings (e.g. Ammon 1996, Crystal 1997, Graddol 1997). While, as briefly described above, the sociopolitical aspects have been at the forefront of academic debate, the language focussed research on ELF has been overshadowed by comprehensive and well-funded investigations of native speaker English or of intercultural communication. ELF studies as the prototype of intercultural communication have only recently begun to take place and, so far, have had little impact on either linguistic descriptions of English (Seidlhofer 2002a: 272-274), or on intercultural communication research (House 1999: 73-74). Typically, an ELF study looks at interactions that take place in an international setting between experts for whom English is the sole medium of communication (Meierkord and Knapp 2002: 11-12). Except for the fact that the participants of the HMP are still acquiring their expertise, this form of lingua franca elite discourse is commensurate with the present study. ELF research will therefore be discussed in more detail in the following.

By definition, participants in ELF interactions take part in intercultural encounters. The first question to be considered is, therefore, what this interculture looks like. While communication studies suggest the creation of a third culture (Casmir ed. 1994, see above), ELF research paints a more fragmented picture of the situated cultural diversity which is discursively created in a 'myriad' of ELF settings: it is influenced in varying degree by, what Meierkord (2002) calls, 'linguistic masala' and 'language stripped bare'. The latter refers to observations made that, in classic specific purposes situations, participants make use of a restricted number of, for instance, politeness phenomena which are experienced as culturally relatively neutral and therefore non-offensive. The former, 'linguistic masala', is created by the heterogeneity of ELF users and surfaces in some form of highly dynamic 'communicative hybridity' (Meierkord 2002: 124), i.e. English marked by influences and incorporations of other languages relevant to the participants. While usually this hybridity does not harm understanding, it can, in its most extreme form, lead to a pidginized kind of English no longer intelligible to the outsider. As regards the present project, initial classroom observation has not provided any evidence of pidginization. Similarly, it is unlikely that the ELF of the HMP can be reduced to 'language stripped bare' alone, simply because of the relatively long duration of the HMP. I therefore expect to find some kind of 'linguistic masala'; the analysis of the classroom discourse will give insight into its 'ingredients'.

In spite of the clear predominance given to the description of native speaker English, researchers started to increasingly turn to English as a lingua franca in the last decade. This recent attempt at describing ELF should, as Seidlhofer (2002a) points out, take cognisance of older descriptive systems, especially Charles Ogden's detailed proposal of Basic English of the 1930s. While it has not turned into the international language Ogden envisaged, its careful design with its endonormative orientation in linguistic and cultural terms "provides points of reference for a future program of research aiming at establishing a broad empirical basis for the description of ELF" (Seidlhofer 2002a: 295). The 1990s have produced ELF research from two, relatively divergent points of departure: phonology and pragmatics, both of which have yielded highly useful results also for the present project. The work on phonology, which has mainly been undertaken by Jennifer Jenkins, illustrates how productive ELF research can be: based on detailed descriptions of ELF interactions, Jenkins (1998, 2000) presents the 'Lingua Franca Core', a detailed model of EIL (English as International Language) which rests on the underlying endonormative criterion of mutual intelligibility. Keeping in mind that a

descriptive model is not the same as a pedagogical target, Jenkins (1997, 2000) also offers useful suggestions as to how the 'Lingua Franca Core' can be used for pronunciation teaching and learning.

The research into the pragmatics of ELF, which developed out of research into intercultural pragmatics (e.g. Kasper ed. 1993), reveals a clear conceptual shift as it moved from the exonormative model of the native speaker to the endonormative one of the lingua franca user. This has also had an influence on how intercultural communication is seen: ELF investigations regard them as basically successful rather than prone to breakdowns (Meierkord and Knapp 2002: 16). In this light, various studies have provided valuable information on ELF as regards nature of interaction, cooperativeness and communicative success. The first aspect combines the changing nature of ELF interactional norms and cultural frames of references with its 'interactional robustness' (Firth 1996). In other words, despite the continuously changing norms, participants usually accept ELF interactions as 'normal'. They do this by applying two principles: as long as ambiguous talk does not interrupt the conversation 'let it pass' and whenever there is 'abnormal' talk 'make it normal' (Firth 1996). In her study of business telephone conversations, for instance, Haegeman (2002) observes speakers' willingness to take their less proficient interlocutors' English as norm and adapt to it in terms of pronunciation, grammar, lexical choice and textual construction.

Secondly, ELF interactions seem to be conducted in a co-operative environment (e.g. Firth 1990, 1996, House 1999, Meeuwis 1994). Meierkord (1996), for instance, analyses informal conversations in an international student residence in London and notices that verbal and non-verbal cues, such as back-channels or cajolers, are employed to create a non-face-threatening atmosphere. However, ELF cannot be the ticket to conflict-free communication (e.g. Scollon and Scollon 1995), otherwise "the entire business of intercultural communication training would not flourish in the way it does" (Knapp 2002: 219). Knapp (2002) reports on such a counter-example of uncooperative behaviour in a simulated large-scale conference amongst teenagers, some of whom took part because it was a school requirement and counted towards their grades and others did it out of interest. Most participants came from English-medium schools in- or outside English-speaking countries. The resulting groups of native, near-native and non-native speakers acted very differently as regards speaking time and turn allocation. The more proficient ones used their language proficiency to gain more floor space and silence the others. This study shows that cooperativeness cannot be taken as a defining criterion of ELF interactions, but that it results from situational factors.

Cooperativeness is also closely linked to the third aspect of ELF investigations, communicative success: cooperative ELF interactions tend to be communicatively successful. In another, but this time co-operative, simulation of a large-scale conference Lesznyak's (2002) analysis of topic management reveals that the interactants, in order to fulfil their task efficiently, implicitly work out common rules of communication. It seems that the participants engage in ELF talk as individuals whose various group memberships become irrelevant in ELF settings (House 1999) while the culturally-based expectations of interactional norms may still apply (House 2002). At the same time, participants with even a relatively high proficiency in English lack "pragmatic fluency" (House 1999: 81) as observable in their limited use of such discursively relevant features as gambits, routines for topic initiation, turn alignment, rate of speech and frequency and function of repairs (House 1996, 1999). When looked at from a pedagogical point of view, these results support House's (2002: 261-264) call for "developing pragmatic competence in English as a lingua franca", which includes, firstly, intercultural competence in order to respond flexibly to ever-changing linguistic-cultural norms; secondly, pragmatic fluency in order to express effectively what one wants to say; and, thirdly, verbalising and understanding communicative intentions. As these three aspects can be correlated with the interpersonal, textual and ideational metafunctions of language (Halliday 1994), they capture language in its entirety and, thus, form a truly comprehensive approach to the teaching and learning of ELF.

This brief overview of the status quo of the budding ELF research indicates that, despite the multitude of relevant discourse settings, there seem to be common ELF features. Further ELF studies will help to draw a more complete picture of ELF interactions, which should then also lead to a more detailed description of when and how which feature plays which roles. The final goal will be a descriptive model of ELF, which could then, in a further step, function as basis for pedagogical and didactic decisions (Seidlhofer 2002a, 2002b). But until then, a lot more descriptive work is necessary. As it would go too far to give a comprehensive overview of ongoing work (cf. http://www.lingua-franca.de), I will name the three relevant Austrian research projects whose foci and scopes are such that networking seems beneficial to all parties (cp. the workshop on "Interkulturelle Kommunikation und Englisch als Lingua Franca", Österreichische Linguistiktagung, 6 Dec. 2003): firstly, Hermine Penz's investigation of multicultural, English-medium seminars, which are run by the Council of Europe at its foreign language centre in Graz,

Austria; secondly, 'ELF in the Alpine-Adriatic region' (James 2000) which focuses on the use of English as the fifth language in this region covering parts of Austria, Slovenia and Italy; and, finally, the VOICE (Vienna Oxford International Corpus of English) project, run by Barbara Seidlhofer, University of Vienna, which aims at compiling a one-million word corpus (Seidlhofer 2001) that should allow detailed analyses of lexico-grammatical aspects of ELF.

4. Research questions and hypotheses

The basic rational and research concerns of the project were outlined in the introduction. Based on the insights summarised in sections 2 and 3, the three research foci of the project can now be described in more detail:

4.1. Classroom discourse

Communication in ELF has received considerable attention, but most of it has remained on the 'meta' level. Actual studies of ELF interaction are less numerous and, with regard to ELF use in education, non-existent. It is, therefore, the aim of this project, firstly, to provide a detailed description of the classroom discourse, in its spoken and written forms, and, secondly, to find out in how far it can be seen as "*sui generis*" (House 1999:74).

a) What are the main characteristics of classroom interaction of the HMP? As my working hypothesis is that this classroom discourse will show similarities to CBI and general ELF discourse, I will start my analysis with features that have been described as relevant by both research traditions.
b) What are the main discursive characteristics of student writings? The HMP is structured in such a way that the students receive their grades mainly on the basis of written work, either assignments, project reports or exams. Some of this requires mainly receptive language skills and asks for one-word replies, but in the majority of all cases, the students need to verbalise their ideas in coherent written texts. It has therefore been deemed necessary to extend the scope of analysis to the written medium. Based on the assumption that the main purpose of the written discourse is the same as of the spoken one, namely communicative success, the attempt will be made to analyse texts along the same parameters as the spoken interaction, albeit with con-

cessions made to the delay in response, and in view of the research tradition of genre analysis.

c) In which ways can the ELF classroom discourse be described as different from or similar to EL1, ESL and EFL (classroom) discourse?

Seeing that classroom discourse has generally been shown to be fundamentally different from the discourse of other domains, especially informal conversation, my hypothesis is that this will also be the case here. Furthermore, research on ELF has shown that it differs from EL1 or ESL/EFL. I would therefore assume that the combination of the two – ELF classroom discourse – is also specific and *sui generis*. The discourse and genre analyses under (a) and (b) will show whether this assumption is well founded.

4.2. Classroom culture

As, by definition, ELF concerns intercultural settings, considerations of culture form an integral part of ELF discourse analysis. Classrooms, on the other hand, create their own ingroup culture, which means that ELF classrooms seem to form a contradiction in terms between in- and intergroup settings. It is thus especially interesting to see how the verbal exchanges of the ELF classroom construct, and are constructed by culture. ELF interactions can be characterised as 'stripped bare' of group specific culture and/or as reflecting extreme cultural 'hybridity' (Meierkord 2002). An intercultural educational or training program, on the other hand, presents a fairly stable setting in terms of participants, purpose and meeting time. It is thus the right 'breeding ground' for a classroom (or 'third'?) culture to establish itself.

d) In which ways does ELF classroom interaction construct, and get constructed by, the learner group's culture(s)?

As the classroom stands for the highly verbal social activity of teaching and learning, it is justified to approach and uncover cultural dynamics through the classroom discourse, in its spoken and written forms. Such an analysis will show to what extent the ELF classroom discourse comes closer to the 'fleeting' nature of ELF interactions or to the stable 'third' culture of the intercultural classroom. It is my working hypothesis that it will uncover a mixture of both, in the form of a relatively stable linguistic masala, of which one ingredient will be the expert culture of hotel management. This analytical step will, fur-

thermore, be a necessary move into the direction of developing a model of ELF as medium of learning.

e) In which ways does 'classroom culture', as co-constructed in interaction, change during the HMP?

Educational and training programs are, by their very nature, developmental. This applies not only to the teaching and learning aims, but also to the linguistic-cultural characteristics of the group. It is thus to be expected that the 'linguistic masala' mentioned under (d) cannot be observed right at the beginning of the program, but needs some time to develop. Based on lecturers' and students' opinions as voiced so far, I hypothesise two phases: the first one, which lasts approximately the first semester, covers the initial development of this classroom culture; the second phase, which spans the remaining three semesters, includes the relatively slow, but continuous development in the direction of an expert 'discourse community'.

4.3. Language use and evaluation

The research questions formulated so far aim at the description and analysis of the classroom discourse of the HMP based on linguistic data and how they are interpreted by the researcher from her etic perspective. This might suffice for a discourse analytical project, but not for the present, applied linguistic one. In order to gain an indepth understanding of the classroom interaction, it is paramount to include the emic perspectives of the participants, lecturers and students (cp. Flowerdew and Miller 1996).

f) Which norm(s) of English are (seen as) relevant and in which ways?

Since all participants attend the training program voluntarily, one could jump to the default conclusion that the exclusive use of English meets with complete agreement and general support. This, however, might not be so as comparable training possibilities might either not exist in other languages or, if they do, be closed to potential candidates. Differing attitudes to the use of English as medium would have considerable impact on how the participants evaluate the English of the program and maybe even on their own language behaviour (Giles and Coupland 1991, Stahlberg and Frey 1996). It will, therefore, be necessary to find out how the participants evaluate English as regards its general use as medium and also as regards the specific ways it is used in the program. These evaluations will then provide the emic per-

spective, which together with the linguistic data and the researcher's etic perspective will allow a more complete view on the complex question of language norms in the ELF training setting.

g) What do the participants understand by intercultural competence and in which ways is it relevant to, and applied by, them?

That ELF situations are intercultural is not only a point for thought for researchers, but also, and even more so, for practitioners who are confronted with it in their daily work. As has become apparent in first interviews and informal conversations, lecturers and students of the HMP are generally aware of 'culture' as a relevant factor in classroom discourse and stress their willingness to act in culturally sensitive ways. This fairly sweeping generalisation needs to be broken down into individualised and contextualised opinions before it can form the emic perspective that will then, in combination with the discourse analysis, allow a comprehensive interpretation as to the participants' intercultural communicative competencies (Kramsch 1998).

h) What is the relationship between content and language learning for the participants and how is it reflected in classroom discourse?

Professional training programs, especially those of the pre-service kind, introduce students to new, specialised knowledge, which, because of the nature of knowledge, includes both content and language. Such programs are thus always settings of content and language learning. In cases where the medium of learning is not the L1 of the participants, the language-learning aspect becomes even more obvious. In contrast to this, most training programs, such as the HMP, foreground content as learning goal and treat the language learning aspect as between minor and negligible (cp. Musumeci 1996). Whatever the reasons might be, this situation is rather complex. Again, similar to the two preceding questions, an insightful analysis will rest on the combination of the emic picture in its full complexity with the analysis of the classroom discourse.

5. Methodological considerations

As revealed in the research questions, this project investigates a "real world problem[] in which language is a central issue" (Brumfit 1997: 93) by applying "an interdisciplinary, as opposed to purely linguistic, approach" (Poole 2002: 73). In other words, its scope of investigation is that of applied linguis-

tics (Davies 1999, Strevens 1991, Widdowson 1990). At the same time, this project has repeatedly been described as doing 'discourse analysis', a term similarly "wide-spread, but spread very thin." (Widdowson 1995: 158) It is understood here as the analysis of the "pragmatic process of meaning negotiation, [..., i.e. as the process of] what a [speaker/]writer means by a text [... and what] a text means to the [listener/]reader." (Widdowson 1995: 164). As these definitions already indicate, both applied linguistics and discourse analysis investigate language in use as inextricably connected with contextual features, which has made discourse analysis into the preferred methodology of applied linguistic studies, specifically classroom-based research (Poole 2002). With regard to institutionalised professional settings (Swales 1991), language-related problems are generally linked to the specialist communicative events of the respective discourse community. This requires genre knowledge, i.e. a form of 'situated cognition' with regard to engaging in the production, distribution and consumption of the texts relevant to that discourse community (Bhatia 1997). As the HMP introduces the students to the profession, its communicative events and genres, genre analysis (Swales 1990, Bhatia 1993) will also be applied, especially to the written data, because the written genres of hotel management can be taught directly, while the classroom setting of the program cannot create the natural interactional environment of the spoken genres (Poole 2002: 77).

The comprehensive scopes of investigation of discourse analysis (with regard to language in use) and applied linguistics (with regard to the language-related real world problem) have the logical implication that they follow the principles of qualitative research in its overall design and methodological approach (Flick, Kardoff, Steinke 2000: 22, 24). Therefore, qualitative research is contextual in its scope, which means that it focuses on a clearly localised social experience with the aim to render a 'thick description' of the complex social processes involved, the relevant intentions and the underlying meaning (Holliday 2002: 77-79). In order to achieve a thick explanation, qualitative research proceeds dialectically between theory and the subject of investigation. Despite criticism raised concerning methodological rigidity, this is a strong point of qualitative research as it allows researchers to develop, in a principled way, the "research strategy to suit the scenario being studied as it is revealed" (Holliday 2002: 6). At the same time, though, this in-built flexibility bears the danger that such studies are driven by more or less haphazard decisions as regards methodology; detailed descriptions and explanations of the research strategy chosen are, therefore, a *conditio sine qua non* for qualitative research. In a similar vein, qualitative researchers must be careful with

the labels they attach to their studies – ethnography has been particularly widely used or, rather, overused in recent research on classroom interaction (Scollon 1995). The present study is clearly naturalistic, as it gathers qualitative data in naturally occurring settings (Bailey and Nunan 1996: 1-2). It is, furthermore, designed as contextual, unobtrusive, longitudinal, collaborative, interpretive and organic, which are, according to Nunan (1992: 56), the defining criteria of ethnography. At the same time, though, its focus does not lie primarily on "study[ing] the culture" of the HMP, which would be the ethnographic aim (Nunan 1992: 55), but on its classroom discourse. Due to the close relationship between language and culture, it is, of course, debatable in how far the two can be separated, but as such a close relationship cannot be ascertained at the outset of the study, the final decision on whether this project will lead to an ethnography of the HMP will have to be postponed to a later stage.

5.1. Classroom data

What has been referred to as 'classroom discourse' in the previous sections falls into written and spoken language data. Written language, which is generally relatively easy to access, is produced in two ways: the first one is the teaching input that comes in the form of textbooks and lecturer-generated materials and will be consulted whenever necessary and helpful. The second kind of written language is student work in the form of assignments, exams or project reports and is thus highly relevant to the students' grades and success. When permission is granted, written student work will be collected and transformed into a computer-readable corpus, which will be analysed from a genre perspective (see research question b). Wherever deemed necessary and insightful, results on, for instance, communicative success or characteristic genre features, will be presented to the respective students and lecturers in order to get their emic points of view.

As instruction is by nature an interactive event, the bulk of classroom data is spoken and will, therefore, form the core of the investigated materials. Classroom-interaction data will be collected in this longitudinal study in two ways: firstly, by observation and resulting field-notes, taken with an adapted version of the Mitchell and Parkinson (1979) observational scheme (Malamah-Thomas 1987: 60-69), and, secondly, by audio-taping and subsequent transcription, which will make up the spoken part of the corpus. The spoken data will then be analysed in relation to the research questions. The analysis itself will draw not only from the classic (L2) classroom investigations de-

scribed above, but also from the knowledge-base of the long-standing functional linguistic interest in classroom interaction and discourse (e.g. Unsworth ed. 2000).

5.2. Interviews and questionnaires

Since this projects does not only want to describe (patterns of) ELF in the classroom, but also tries to find out the underlying intentions, interpretations and meanings, the linguistic data alone cannot be enough. They have to be combined with the participants' views. To put it somewhat simplistically, the 'objective' data need to be interlinked with the 'subjective' ones in order to allow the kind of thick description and explanation envisaged. These 'subjective' data are collected in interviews with lecturers and interviews and questionnaires with students. The topics of the interviews and questionnaires concern ELF as medium, the intercultural classroom, and the relationship between content and language learning (cp. research questions f, g and h).

So, for the main study of the project, the 'subjective data' will be collected in various ways: all the lecturers of the HMP will be asked for their views on the participants' English, classroom interaction and their lecturing style in structured one-on-one interviews in the semester when they teach the class first. Structured one-on-one interviews with all students, which will be conducted during the first year of studies, will similarly focus on the participants' English and patterns of classroom interaction. In the second year, students will be interviewed in small groups of 2 or 3 with the focus on the developmental aspect of the roles and functions of English as medium of learning of the HMP. In order to reach all students at two crucial moments of the program – the beginning and the end – questionnaires with open-ended questions will be handed out to the whole group. The first one will elicit the students' "pre-HMP" ideas and expectations and the second one will tap their "post-HMP" experience and evaluations. All the interviews will be audio-taped and transcribed. The transcriptions together with the answers given to the questionnaires will form the corpus of 'subjective data'. These will be analysed thematically and compared with the discourse and genre analyses of the 'objective data'. In a further step, which leads beyond the scope of the present project, the 'subjective data' could also serve as linguistic data and be subjected to discourse analysis in its own right.

A further, very promising research instrument would be diaries or personal journals (Nunan 1992: 118-124), which, in theory, both lecturers and students could be asked to keep for the duration of the program. This would allow

them to express their ideas openly and regularly and would lead to a rich data collection on how the participants see the research points in question. As, however, keeping a diary is time-consuming and requires institutionalised support, it cannot be integrated in the project now because the work-schedules of both students and lecturers are over-loaded already and it is unlikely that the syllabus could be changed so quickly. This, however, should not preclude that a follow-on diary study is out of the question.

6. Conclusion: some anticipated results

The anticipated results of the present project are relevant to at least four areas. Firstly, the project will provide the first detailed *empirical description of an ELF classroom*. It will produce insights in the kinds of discourse which are typical of such a classroom and the kinds of linguistic forms and functions which characterise them. In discussion with current models of ELF interaction and intercultural communication it is hoped that it will produce a realistic representation of the ELF-medium classroom. It may well turn out that some of the participants feel and act as language learners much rather than language users, so that the vision of ELF as norm-developing or even norm-providing (Seidlhofer 2001) might have to be revised. Secondly, the project will make a significant contribution to the *development of theory*. The formulation of an explicit model of ELF classroom discourse will represent the first theoretical blending of classroom discourse analysis, genre analysis and ELF research. Thirdly, the study is *methodologically innovative* in ELF research through its applied linguistic approach of combining discourse analysis with the participants' insider and the researcher's outsider perspectives. Furthermore, the study covers the whole two years of the educational program and is thus longitudinal. Finally, the results of the study have considerable *practical relevance*. The exchange between university and professional educational programs has been going strong for a long time (e.g. ESP research) and such an interest has also been voiced by the organisers of the HMP. The outcomes of the present study can be expected to serve as an impulse on various levels in this respect:

- towards a clearer understanding of the implications of choosing ELF as medium of learning in professional educational programs as regards the intercultural nature of the group of participants and the relationship between language and content learning;

- for the development of in-service seminars on ELF, including such aspects as language and culture and learning in a lingua franca, for lecturers in professional programs, most of whom have not had any previous pedagogical education;
- for university-based pre-service teacher education to include ELF issues.

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IMPRESSUM:
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